

Polish Journal of Political Science

Volume 5 Issue 4 (2019)



(this page is intentionally left blank)

Polish Journal of Political Science

Volume 5 Issue 4

Editorial Board

Clifford Angell Bates Jr., University of Warsaw

Stephen Brooks, University of Michigan

Michael Freedon, University of Nottingham, University of Oxford

Shpresa Kureta, Her Excellency Ambassador of Albania to Poland

Paolo Pombeni, University of Bologna

Agostino Massa, University of Genoa

Bohdan Szlachta, Jagiellonian University in Krakow

Tomasz Żyro, University of Warsaw

Chief editor

Jarosław Szczepański

Editor

Karolina Kochończyk-Bonińska

Editorial Secretary

Katarzyna Gruszka

Paulina Kalina

Wydanie bieżącego numeru PJPS – zadanie realizowane w ramach umowy 874/P-DUN/2019 ze środków Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego przeznaczonych na działalność upowszechniającą naukę.



**Ministry of Science
and Higher Education**

Republic of Poland

eISSN 2391-3991

Original version: e-book

Visit our site: www.pjps.pl

Submit your paper: pjps@inop.edu.pl

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Table of Contents

Articles

Piotr Lizakowski, Ph.D.

Health care system and health services reform
as a challenge for public authorities in Poland p. 7

Maciej Wróbel

The images of “Rainbow Friday” in liberal and conservative
online media..... p. 27

Karolina Zakrzewska

Human condition in the *tragedies of fate* by Ancient
Greeks, Wyspiański and Sartre p. 61

Aluko Opeyemi Idowu

Theorising truth and justice in governance: a study
on truth commissions p. 91

Mariusz Boguszewski

From humanitarian to development aid. A case study
of the activities of the Aid to the Church in Need Pontifical
Foundation..... p. 117

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Piotr Lizakowski, Ph.D.

Naval Operations Command Department
Polish Naval Academy of the Heroes of Westerplatte

Health care system and health services reform as a challenge for public authorities in Poland

Abstract

The health care system in Poland is an important element of the activities of state authorities. Public opinion polls confirm the need for reforms in this area. The health sector comprises healthcare, public health and health-related social welfare activities and as a whole requires operational improvement. Well-planned activities should improve health security in general. One of the ways to improve the effectiveness of healthcare entities is commercialization of independent public healthcare institutions. It is in line with the generally observed tendency to more and more frequently outsource tasks to external entities by public administration. In this way, the traditional tasks of public administration, so far performed mainly by the public finance sector, are entrusted to private entities. However, this does not change the scope of public authorities' responsibility for the functioning of healthcare security.

Keywords: health care, administration, health security, commercialization

Contact: piotrl@interia.pl

Introduction

The functioning of the Polish health care system is the subject of interest and examination of many scientific disciplines in various areas of knowledge. By its very nature, human health and responsibility of public authorities to ensure health security of residents require an interdisciplinary approach, and in this case limiting ourselves to a static analytical approach is not sufficient. The mere multiplication of issues to be solved or even individual problems does not explain the situation.¹ There is also a need for real activity of public entities responsible for health in Poland, expressed, inter alia, in proposing systemic changes.² The awareness of the need for changes in the Polish health care system was confirmed, among others, by The Supreme Audit Office, which in the *Information on the results of control of ownership transformations in selected hospitals in 2006–2010*³ indicated the complexity of the commercialization process in the healthcare sector.⁴

The main objective of this article is to analyse the existing contradiction in the Polish health care system which boils down to the dilemma: How to reconcile patients' welfare with economic efficiency of public health care providers.

The most often mentioned reasons for the decision to transform healthcare entities into commercial units by the founding bodies included: improving availability of healthcare services for patients, increasing economic efficiency of entities after their transformation, better asset management and

¹ Beveridge (1963): 21; Zaczyński (1968): 23–25.

² Kolwitz (2010): 131–143.

³ URL = <https://www.nik.gov.pl/plik/id,3393,vp,4298.pdf>.

⁴ The concept of health protection is used here interchangeably with the term health care.

strengthening corporate governance.⁵ However, a question arises whether it is not also about transferring responsibility for the activities of an entity directly from the public sector (broadly understood government and local government administration) to commercial law entities, i.e. most often limited liability companies? The discussed issue of specific withdrawal of public authorities from independent performance of public tasks is of great importance for both the security studies and management sciences;⁶ however, its in-depth elaboration exceeds the scope of this publication.

The issue of health services reform in Poland falls not only within the scope of the security sciences, but the health and management sciences as well. Therefore, the problem discussed demands an interdisciplinary approach with constant reference to the latest scientific research findings and up-to-date source materials.

Materials and methods

The undertaken research problem has reflected on the selection of research methods. For the purposes of this article the following research methods have been used: critical analysis, examination of documents, and observation. The undertaking of considerations was preceded by a preliminary survey of publications related to security and health sciences as well as management and social policy.⁷ A lot of articles, binding legal acts, internal legal acts, judicial decisions, official documents that are significant for the process of reasoning

⁵ Świerczek (2013): 201–209.

⁶ See also Leszczyński (2013): 71–83 and quoted literature.

⁷ Earn, Satku (2016); Lübcke (2016); Busse, Klazinga, Panteli, Quentin (2019); Hervey, McHale (2015).

presented in the article have been thoroughly analyzed. In this area a comparative analysis has proved to be particularly helpful.

The needs and contexts of changes

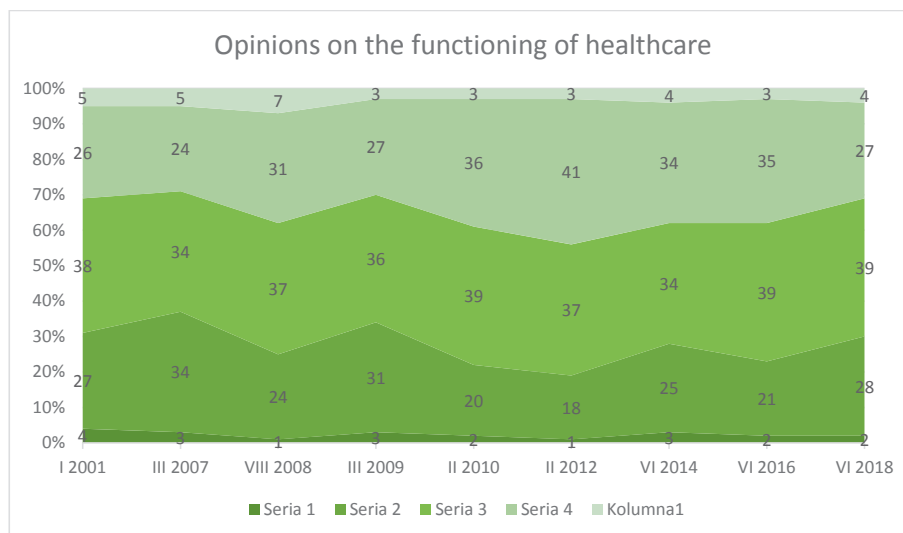
As numerous public opinion polls show, changes in the health care system are among the most desired by society. Moreover, the situation in the broadly understood health service is more and more often described not only in scientific publications, but also in non-fiction literature.⁸

In a 2018 study carried out by the Public Opinion Research Centre (hereinafter: CBOS) entitled *Opinions on the functioning of the healthcare system*,⁹ only three out of ten respondents (30%) positively assessed the operation of health services in Poland, while as many as two thirds expressed a negative opinion (66%), of whom 27% formulated their assessment as definitely negative. It is worth adding here that in the last two years there were more people satisfied with the functioning of healthcare (by 7 p.p.), and fewer those who are dissatisfied (by 8 p.p.). However, the authors of the report from the survey emphasize that two years earlier there was a deterioration in ratings (28% were satisfied, 68% were dissatisfied), and this year's results are similar to those recorded four years ago. The respondents' opinions from 2007–2018 are presented below.

⁸ Reszka, (2017); Reszka (2018).

⁹ URL = https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_089_18.PDF.

Fig. 1. Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the way healthcare is currently functioning in our country?



1. Definitely satisfied 2. Rather satisfied 3. Rather unsatisfied 4. Definitely unsatisfied. 5. Hard to say

Source: URL = https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_089_18.PDF.

In the study, dissatisfaction with the functioning of healthcare is articulated by people aged 25–34 (76% dissatisfied), with higher education (74%), with per capita income exceeding PLN 2,500, and residents of cities of 20,000 to 500,000 inhabitants. Taking into account affiliation to social and professional groups, the most dissatisfied are the self-employed (as many as 80%), management staff and specialists with higher education (76%) and administrative employees (77%). In turn, the most satisfied with the quality of health services provided are people aged 65 and older (45% satisfied), inhabitants of rural areas (35%), and taking into account the socio-professional status - farmers (44%) and pensioners (43%). It seems that the Gini coefficient and the Lorenz

curve¹⁰ known from social sciences could be used to assess the size of inequalities in access to health care.

Equally interesting is the analysis of the results of CBOS research on the strengths and weaknesses of the health care system. Identification of strengths and weaknesses is extremely important with a view to proper management of the organization, including the entities of the healthcare system, and allows for a better use of the resources at the disposal of the organization.¹¹ The weaknesses and strengths of the health care system, as assessed CBOS respondents, are presented in the figure below.

Fig. 2. Weaknesses and strengths of the healthcare system in Poland



URL = https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_089_18.PDF.

¹⁰ Domański, Karpiński, Pokropek, Przybysz, Sawiński, Słomczyński (2012): 115 et al.

¹¹ Danielak, Frankowska, Kułakowska (2017): 35–39; Aserczyk-Wroniecka (2016): 311–314.

The selection of the main areas (dimensions) of the health care system activity in our country allows them to be assessed by respondents. As a result of the analysis of the arithmetic mean of the variables in specific areas, it appears that the perception of the research group was positively assessed by: availability of GPs, use of modern solutions, availability of night and holiday care, quality of treatment, approach to patients and efficiency of service. On the other hand, location, the facilities for users of healthcare, no additional fees, poor access to specialists and diagnostic tests were assessed negatively. The number of medical personnel in hospitals was given the lowest rating.

Another extremely interesting issue arising from the CBOS Research Report is the opinion of the respondents on the causes of poor access to health services financed by the National Health Fund. The answers in this regard are presented in the figure below.

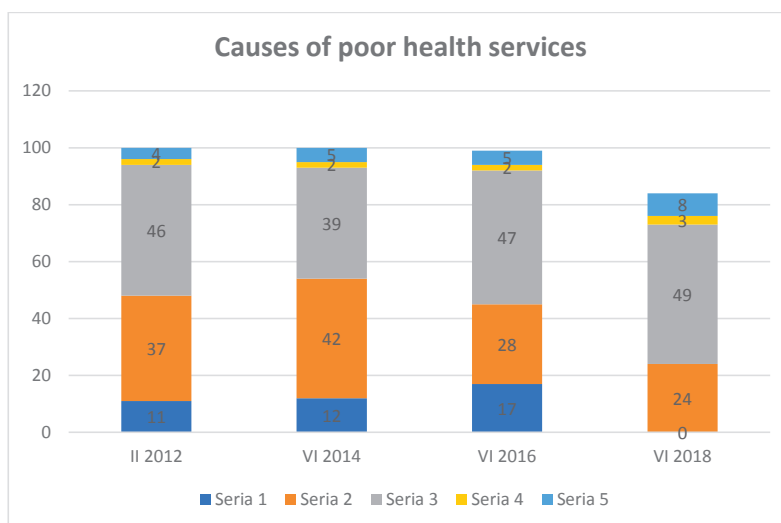
Almost half of the respondents (49%) stated that the problems with the availability and quality of services obtained under general health insurance result both from the insufficient level of funds allocated from the state budget for health care, but also from their incorrect use. In turn, 24% of the respondents believe that the main problem is the misuse of public funds for this purpose. One in six respondents says that too little public money is spent on health-related expenditures. Public expenditure, by its nature, is directly related to the collection of public levies as part of the functioning of the public finance sector.¹²

It is worth adding here that the revenues of the National Health Fund in 2018 increased and amounted to over

¹² Pogonowski (2016): 155.

PLN 84.6 billion.¹³ It seems justified to deepen and extend the research in this area, using meta-analysis as a statistical method of determining the common denominator for many studies and obtaining a summary statistical conclusion for them.¹⁴ A lively polemic about the reform of the healthcare system in Poland has been going on for years, arousing many emotions and disputes. It arouses interest among politicians, medical professionals, and citizens who are patients.¹⁵

Fig. 3. The causes of problems concerning availability and quality of services provided under general health insurance.



1. Insufficient funding of healthcare.
2. Ill-spent healthcare funding.
3. Problems arising from both, insufficient funding and ill-spent money.
4. No problems observed.
5. Hard to say.

URL = https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_089_18.PDF.

¹³ See: URL = http://www.nfz.gov.pl/gfx/nfz/userfiles/_public/bip/finanse_nfz/sprawozdania_finansowe/laczne_sprawozdanie_finansowe_nfz_2018-sig-sig.pdf.

¹⁴ Kleka (2011): 99–103.

¹⁵ rzemień (2018): 377 et al.

In the opinion of both patients and experts the assessment of the condition of the Polish health care system is low. This situation is confirmed by the results of the research conducted by the Health Consumer Powerhouse, thanks to which the so-called European Health Consumer Index (EHCI) has been elaborated. In 2016, Poland was placed 31st in this ranking out of the 35 surveyed countries, scoring 564 points out of 1000 possible.¹⁶ Another important aspect of health care in Poland is the liquidation of public hospitals and their replacement by commercialized facilities (usually in the form of limited liability companies) or by non-public entities. It usually happens in such a way that the access to health services for patients is continuously ensured by non-public health care establishments established by companies that have been established in place of liquidated hospitals. These activities are supported, among others, by the Minister of Health and thanks to this, local government units receive assistance in the transformation process.¹⁷

Curative activities

The health sector includes healthcare, public health and health-related welfare activities. All these areas have a direct impact on health security.¹⁸ Moreover, non-governmental organizations play an increasingly important role in the care and treatment activities. As part of healthcare, services are provided for people suffering from diseases. Another element of the health sector is public health. Public health directs

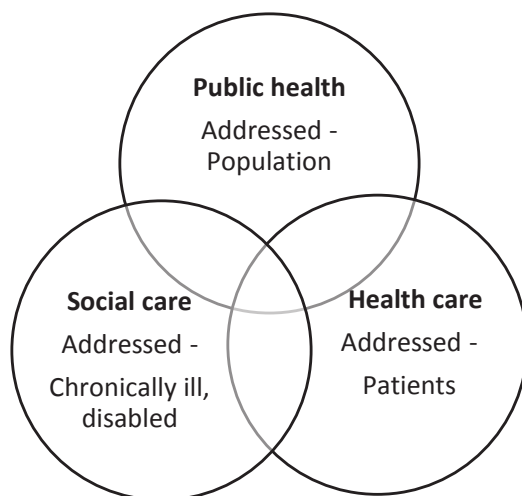
¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Świerczek (2013): 201.

¹⁸ Lizakowski, Maliszewski, Skalski, Czarnecki, Kowalski (2018): 167–177.

its activities to representatives of the entire population and is aimed at preventing diseases; it also covers health promotion and prevention. In turn, the activity of social welfare entities is addressed to people who permanently require both social benefits and health services (the disabled, chronically ill, elderly).

Fig. 4. Health sector in Poland, *Report. Financing protection for health in Poland*, Green Book II: 10.



The above-mentioned activities may be carried out by medical entities specified in Art. 4 of the Act of 15 April 2011 on medical activities, i.e. entrepreneurs, budgetary units, research institutes, foundations and associations, as well as churches, church legal entities or religious associations to the extent to which they perform medical activities.¹⁹ Pursuant to Polish law, medical activity may also be conducted

¹⁹ Nogalski, Waśniewski, Wojnarowska, (2012): 12.

by independent public health care institutions (SP ZOZ). An independent public health care facility may be established by: a minister or a central government administration body, a voivode, a local government unit, a public medical university or public universities conducting teaching and research activities in the field of medical sciences, or the Medical Centre for Postgraduate Education. All these entities may also establish and run medical entities in the form of a joint-stock company.²⁰

In the group of independent public health care institutions, an important role is played by clinical hospitals established by public medical universities or public universities conducting teaching and research activities in the field of medical sciences. These entities are stationary health care facilities which provide 24/7 health services. Their structure includes hospital departments, a diagnostic, treatment and rehabilitation and rehabilitation department, as well as technical and economic facilities. In addition to carrying out typical medical activities, they are also obliged by law to perform tasks in the area of training in medical professions, which they combine with providing health services and promoting health. This situation additionally hinders the already complicated organizational and financial situation of such units.

Independent public health establishments, including clinical hospitals, should be considered quasi-enterprises. Such an approach is justified because these entities, on the one hand, provide services that are more public than private services; moreover, they pursue “higher” social goals, and their activities are subject to constant ethical evaluation and evaluation by politicians, various interest groups and

²⁰ Imidem.

the media. An important feature of SP Healthcare Centres is that the main source of their revenues are contracts with the National Health Fund, which, as a public payer, has a real possibility of imposing financial and substantive conditions of these contracts. In the area of medical services, the price of services is not determined basing on general principles and market regulations. There is also the other side of the coin. Independent public health care units are enterprises operating and must, apart from the good of the patient, ensure appropriate economic efficiency of their activities.²¹ This paradoxical situation causes a situation in which the antagonistic goods are the costs of treatment and the health of the patient.

Legal framework and sources of financing health care in Poland

Article 68 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland guarantees all citizens the right to equal access to health care services financed from public funds, regardless of their financial situation.²² The terms and scope of the provision of services are specified in the acts, which include, inter alia:

- Act of 15 April 2011 on medical activity (Journal of Laws of 2011, No. 112, item 654, as amended),
- Act of 27 August 2004 on health care services financed from public funds (Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 210, item 2135, as amended),
- Act of 6 November 2008 on the rights of patients and the Patient's Rights Ombudsman (Journal of Laws of 2009, No. 52, item 417, as amended),

²¹ Ibidem..

²² Skrzydło (2007): 66–67.

- Act of 28 July 2005 on spa treatment, health resorts and health resort protection areas, and health resort municipalities (Journal of Laws of 2005, No. 167, item 1399, as amended),
- Act of 5 December 1996 on the professions of physician and dentist (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 28, item 152, as amended),
- Act of 15 July 2011 on the professions of nurse and midwife (Journal of Laws of 2011, No. 174, item 1039, as amended),
- The Pharmaceutical Law of 6 September 2001 (Journal of Laws of 2001, No. 126, item 138, as amended).

The health care system in Poland is based on the insurance model. However, it contains elements of the Beveridge model in its design.²³ In 2014, nearly 62% of expenditure is financed by contributions to general health insurance. The public institution responsible for collecting funds in the form of contributions paid by the insured and at the disposal of the accumulated funds is the National Health Fund (NFZ). Health insurance can be of two types. In general, however, it appears as compulsory insurance (dominant form) or voluntary (a form that allows all persons not covered by compulsory insurance to enter the system).²⁴

Health insurance is based on the principles of equal treatment and social solidarity.²⁵ The constitutional principle of equal treatment is the basis for equal access to health care services financed from public funds for all persons covered by the Act. The principle of social solidarity is associated

²³ Paszkowska (2017): 27–31.

²⁴ Borkowska (2018): 34.

²⁵ Prokop (2016): 11–20.

with the accumulation of funds in the form of insurance premiums from all insured persons on a permanent basis, defined by generally applicable law, and using the funds thus collected to finance the costs of healthcare services. These benefits are provided to people with specific health needs, also on fixed, defined terms.²⁶

Table 1. Health financing in Poland after 1999.

Financing sources	Financing area
Universal health insurance	Within the scope covered by contracts with the National Health Fund or contracts within the hospital network: basic health care, specialist services, outpatient and inpatient services
State budget	Specialist medical procedures, health policy programs, emergency medical services, public blood service, sanitary inspection, part of non-income health insurance premiums
Local government units	Organization of health care at local and regional level, including financing of investments and further financing of independent public health care facilities generating a loss
Private expenses	Direct purchases of drugs and health services, purchase of commercial health insurance, financing of the company health service, purchase of subscriptions for employees in private health care facilities

The table presented above confirms the complexity of the health care financing system in Poland, which includes

²⁶ Piątkiewicz (2006).

funds allocated from the health insurance system, the state budget, budgets of local government units, and private funds.

Conclusions

The health care system in Poland is an extremely important element of the activities of state authorities. Public opinion polls confirm the need to reform the health care system. The health sector comprises healthcare, public health and health-related social welfare activities and as a whole requires operational improvement. Such actions should contribute to improvement of health security. One of the ways to improve the effectiveness of healthcare entities is commercialization of independent public healthcare institutions. It is in line with the generally observed tendency to more and more frequently outsource tasks to external entities by public administration. In this way, traditional tasks of public administration, so far performed mainly by the public finance sector, are entrusted to private entities. This also applies to the health sector.

The mere transformation of health care and all medical services into commercial law entities will not automatically improve the effectiveness of the health care system. Even such a key change must also be followed by further, systematic activities relating to, among others, improvement of the management process, optimization of operating costs, implementation of services on the commercial market and meeting the requirements of competition on the local and regional market.

Literature

- Aserczyk-Wroniecka M. (2016), *Zastosowanie analizy SWOT w doskonaleniu zarządzania jednostkami administracji terytorialnej*, 'Finanse, Rynki Finansowe, Ubezpieczenia', no. 6/2016 (84).
- Beveridge W.I.B. (1963), *Sztuka badań naukowych*, Warszawa.
- Borkowska I. (2018), *Ocena kondycji publicznej opieki zdrowotnej w Polsce*, 'Scientific Bulletin' 165/2018.
- Danielak W., Frankowska E., Kułakowska A. (2017), *Zarządzanie organizacją w aspekcie finansowym i organizacyjnym. Ujęcie teoretyczne i praktyczne*, Wrocław.
- Domański H., Karpiński Z., Pokropek A., Przybysz D., Sawiński Z., Słomczyński K.M., Trzciniński R. (2012), *Metodologia badań nad stratyfikacją społeczną*, Warszawa.
- Kleka P. (2011), *Statystyczne kryteria przydatności raportu z badań do metaanalizy*, in: *Metodologia badań społecznych. Wybór tekstów*, ed. J.M. Brzeziński, Poznań.
- Kolwicz M. (2010), *Polski system ochrony zdrowia – perspektywy i możliwości zastosowania systemów ochrony zdrowia innych państwa Unii Europejskiej*, 'Roczniki Pomorskiej Akademii Medycznej w Szczecinie', 2010, no. 56(3).
- Kowalczyk M. (2015), *Ochrona zdrowia w Polsce w latach 1999–2015*, 'Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Częstochowskiej', 2015, no. 20.
- Krzemień A. (2018), *O potrzebie zmian instytucjonalnych w ochronie zdrowia*, 'Nierówności Społeczne a Wzrost Gospodarczy', no. 54 (2/2018).
- Lesczyński M. (2013), *Decentralizacja funkcji społecznych państwa*, 'Colloquium', 3/2013.
- Lizakowski P., Maliszewski M., Skalski D., Czarnecki D., Kowalski D. (2018), *Podmioty odpowiedzialne za bezpieczeństwo zdrowotne w Polsce*, in: *Medycyna i bezpieczeństwo wodne. Wybrane zagadnienia*, ed. E. Zieliński, Bydgoszcz.

- Nogalski B., Waśniewski J., Wojnarowska M. (2012), *Model przekształcenia organizacyjno-prawnego Uniwersyteckiego Centrum Klinicznego*, 'Przedsiębiorczość i zarządzanie', 2012, vol. XIII, Book 5.
- Paszowska M. (2017), *System ochrony zdrowia w Polsce – zmiana modelu*, *Problemy Zarządzania*, vol. 15, no. 3.
- Piątkiewicz J.A. (2006), *Prawo w ochronie zdrowia*, Katowice.
- Pogonowski M. (2016), *Bezpieczeństwo socjalne w aspekcie działalności Zakładu Ubezpieczeń Społecznych*, Koszalin.
- Prokop K. (2016), *Ubezpieczenia społeczne a konstytucyjna zasada sprawiedliwości społecznej*, in: *Prawo ubezpieczeń społecznych. Wybrane problemy*, ed. M. Czuryk, K. Naumowicz, Olsztyn.
- Raport. Finansowanie ochrony zdrowia w Polsce. Zielona Księga II*, (2008) Warszawa.
- Reszka P. (2017), *Mali bogowie*, Warszawa.
- Reszka P. (2018), *Mali bogowie 2. Jak umierają Polacy*, Warszawa.
- Skrzydło W. (2017), *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warszawa.
- Świerczek E. (2013), *Komercjalizacja zakładów opieki zdrowotnej w aspekcie ochrony osoby pacjenta*, 'Acta UniversitatisLodzianensis', 2013, Folia oeconomica 270.
- Zaczyński W. (1968), *Praca badawcza nauczyciela*, Warszawa.

Internet sources

- URL = https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2018/K_089_18.PDF, [access: 23.07.2019].
- URL = <https://www.nik.gov.pl/plik/id,3393,vp,4298.pdf>, File number 104/2011/P/10/097/KPZ, [access: 22.07.2018].
- Łączne sprawozdanie finansowe Narodowego Funduszu Zdrowia z siedzibą w Warszawie za okres 1.01.-31.12.2018 r., URL = http://www.nfz.gov.pl/gfx/nfz/userfiles/_public/bip/finanse_nfz/sprawozdania_finansowe/laczne_sprawozdanie_finansowe_nfz_2018-sig-sig.pdf [access: 24.07.2019].

Tables

Table 1. Healthcare financing in Poland after 1999.

Figures

Fig. 1. Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the way healthcare is currently functioning in our country?

Fig. 2. Weaknesses and strengths of the health care system in Poland.

Fig. 3. The causes of problems with the availability and quality of services obtained under the general health insurance.

Fig. 4. The health sector in Poland.

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Maciej Wróbel

Institute of Journalism and Social Communication
University of Wrocław

The images of “Rainbow Friday” in liberal and conservative online media

Abstract

Communication in public spaces has a tremendous influence on every single aspect of the society: education, politics, culture. A crucial role in this communication is played by the media which present to the public a precise interpretation and valuation of given information, thus creating specific images of the world. In 2018, “Rainbow Friday” – a social initiative coordinated by the civil rights group Campaign Against Homophobia – has become a widely commented topic which attracted a lot of from the media. Thanks to the analysis of such publications we can observe mechanisms of creating and consolidating specific world images by the media and to better understand how different world views validate the topic of sexual education. The main goal of this article is to look into the narrations of liberal and conservative media with regard to “Rainbow Friday” and to highlight the connections of those narrations with the already realized researches on the language used to describe people from sexual minorities.

Keywords: Linguistic image of the world, discourse, heteronormativity, media, Rainbow Friday

Contact: maciej8wrobel@gmail.com

Introduction

Social communication is ever-changing. It is a complex process that creates the society, sets mental boundaries and cognitive abilities. Therefore, its alterations are the main origin of social and cultural changes. Furthermore, it is a source of valuable information about the ways the world is perceived and its images organized by diverse social groups. For these reasons, it is crucial that researchers examine the ways of communicating, especially regarding topics that polarize the society.

Sexual orientation and gender identity are one of the threads that is repeatedly brought up in public debate. In Poland, it is still a controversial topic. It is linked to many crucial aspects of existence of not only humans as individuals but also social units and the society as a whole – procreation, family, education, biology and psychology. Since the school and the system of education combine all those facets they are a perfect field for examining the topic. Taking all of the above into consideration, this article will focus on the image of “Rainbow Friday” (social action initiated by the Campaign Against Homophobia) as presented by liberal and conservative media in Poland in 2018.

The main goal of the article is to look into the narrations of the said media with regard to “Rainbow Friday” and to highlight the connections of those narrations with already realized studies of the language used to describe people of sexual minorities in Poland.

Thanks to this analysis a few questions may be answered:

- What differentiates the images of “Rainbow Friday” presented by liberal and conservative media?

- Do the opinions presented by said media suggest the possibility of implementing sexual education regarding non-normative orientations into the educational system in Poland?
- How do the images of "Rainbow Friday" correlate with different studies describing the situation of homosexual people in Poland?

To realize those goals qualitative methods of research have been used. The presented approach is based mainly on the theories of critical analysis of discourse, but they will be supported by the methods of content analysis and linguistic analysis. Using them together in an approach called bricolage will ensure that this publication of a qualitative nature provides reliable answers to the set questions.

The techniques used consist in multiple reading of the gathered material, isolating repetitive categories of meaning, and then trying to decipher their meaning in the context and in relation to the entire discourse (liberal or conservative). Those techniques allow look fully and reliably into the discussed topic.

Theoretical issues

Following Waldemar Czachur's thoughts, an analysis of world images can be an effective method of expanding our understanding of the role of the media in creating and reinforcing social opinion. Czachur states that social opinion is "a reflection of public opinion, generated and stabilized by media."¹ Thus, the media construct various discourses which later set

¹ Czachur (2011), (author's own translation).

the dimensions and directions of communication for different social groups.

If one intends to analyse the images of the world, it is important to define the term of discourse as it is an ambiguous word. Because of the extent of its use in different fields of social sciences it can be described in many different ways but in a constructivist perspective proposed in this article it can be referred to as a complex structure. It is not a single sign, a word, or even a word string but an entire constellation of meanings placed in a specific communication context. The importance of a context has been stressed by Jay Lemke, who states that:

When we want to focus on the specifics of an event or occasion, we speak of the text; when we want to look at patterns, commonality, relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we speak of discourses.²

As we refer each and every new information to all the information about the world our brain already contains, we interpret it in unique ways. The same qualities may be deciphered and valuated in an endless number of different manners that are a direct result of discourses consolidated for example by the media of different political profiles. Referring to Ernest Laclau, Maciej Gdula explains that the discourse is a collection of interpretations and contexts and is of crucial importance for the society and its life³. What is important, the language (understood more widely than just a single sign or symbol) cannot be consciously altered

² Lemke (1995), [cit: Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2011].

³ Gdula (2009): 72–73.

by people who function in the discourse. They can try but multiple layers of meanings and context are beyond their control as they originate in various texts, connections and interactions. Therefore, a human is closed in in the space with borders set by utterances, written texts and entire institutional systems. All of those are in different ways produced and distributed by the media.⁴

The space described above cannot be understood only as a physical system of possible movements. It is, first and foremost, a cognitive territory. As Gdula explains:

Elements are organized by the rules specific for a given discourse. A special structure arises and sets functional boundaries for a given social system, thus regulating, for example, the ways of describing social world and its impressions.⁵

An analysis of media discourses allows for examining cognitive barriers and ways of organising the knowledge about the world by the media. In the words of Waldemar Czachur:

in every cultural and political space they [the media] have a set of world view profiles and in the public discourse present fixed points of view. In consequence, voices of people affirming the adopted ideological lines are allowed there.⁶

Maintaining objectivity is certainly one of the primary elements of a journalistic code. Still, media messages always

⁴ Ibidem: 69–72.

⁵ Ibidem: 74, (author's own translation).

⁶ Czachur (2011): 85, (author's own translation).

“contain elements of author’s creations and serve presenting specific ideological and political options,”⁷ regardless the attempts of the creators. They need to select and process information so that it has a length and form suitable for a given medium. In this way a journalist’s own worldview is not irrelevant. It also has to be taken into consideration that media workers themselves function in the set discourses. In consequence, their images of the world always influence the picture seen by the recipients of media content.

In addition, many media describe themselves as independent to implement freely their chosen programme line, believing at the same time in its objective validity. This way, using a language, selecting information, or simply choosing quoted entities of the secondary degree (people influencing media content in a non-direct way⁸) they construct an image of the world. A given image is, in turn, situated in the frames of a particular medium and at the same time it creates a discourse and closes its recipients within.

On the basis of communication of specifically classified media (for example: conservative), we are able to distinguish various images (for example: conservative) of “the same” reality and, if needed, expose a hidden system of power. As Michael Foucault wrote: “Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.”⁹ Undoubtedly, the media are such an educational system: their main task is to inform, explain and interpret for their recipients. In this way “the fourth estate” can decide what knowledge is possessed by the society and does

⁷ Bartmiński (2010).

⁸ Czachur (2011): 85.

⁹ Foucault (2002): 32.

it by selecting information. This, in turn, becomes a discursive image of the world described earlier and contains ways of thinking comprehensible for people. Therefore, it not surprising that Barbara Jabłońska states that:

“a critical approach [to the discourse analysis]¹⁰ has one more goal. Its aim is also to change the reality described and explained by the researcher of communicational acts. [...] The goal of the research has, therefore, not only a scientific but also a social and political character. In accordance with the critical approach, a sociologist aims to debunk violence present in the language and hidden relationships of authority.”¹¹

Thus, one can hope that the analysis of media discourses which refer to “Rainbow Friday” will contribute to a better understanding of the processes of constructing the image of the world by the media not only in the context of a singular event but also in other areas connected to human sexuality – discrimination, law or education.

Review of existing studies

Public opinion and the images of the world are the object of studies conducted in various fields of science. This topic is discussed by sociologists, media scholars, anthropologists. In the context of non-heteronormativity most of the analyses conducted in Poland touch the threads of stated opinions, acceptance or discrimination. They point out, among

¹⁰ Author's explanation.

¹¹ Jabłońska (2011): 46.

other things, the lack of legal regulations, the lack of sexual education in the core curriculum implemented in schools and the influence of the Catholic Church on the attitudes of the society towards nonheterosexual people (Jabłońska, Knut, 2012; Burek, Klaus, 2013; Felisiak, 2017; Świder, Winiewski, 2017).

There are still few publications regarding linguistic or communicational phenomena surrounding the topics of sexual orientation and gender identity in public communication in Poland. Two of them, analysing the language and contexts of communication, should be discussed in more detail.

In 2012, Karolina Lachowska and Marcin Pielużek published their article “Lesby i pedały – konteksty komunikacyjne związane ze środowiskami LGBT wśród użytkowników Internetu”.¹² In this publication the authors extensively describe the linguistic picture of homosexual people which is constructed in the texts published on online forums. They analyse the language used to describe members of LGBT communities and their conclusions suggest strong negative connotations of many words and also that the described language is surprisingly rich. What is interesting, more synonyms are used for gays than for lesbians. For those researchers the main reason is marginalisation of women’s role in the society.

This publication describes all contexts of communication with respect to two events that were, at that time, important for public existence of non-normative people: EuroPride2010 and the marriage of a Polish couple of lesbians that was organised by the SAS airlines. Categories of the language used

¹² “Dykes and faggots – communicational contexts related to LGBT communities among users of the Internet” (author’s own translation).

on online forums are mostly negative: "conditional tolerance", "normal-abnormal", "disease" and "elimination". Lachowska and Pielużek identify explicit connections between the discourse that excludes and criticizes non-heterosexual people and conservative discourses:

Therefore, communications are used to marginalize the right of homosexual people to exist in social spaces. Aversion to sexual minorities is used to manifest conservative or even nationalist attitudes. In extreme cases the totalitarian rhetoric is used to strengthen the function excluding this social group.¹³

In consequence, the analysis of the conservative media discourse in 2018 can give us knowledge on how, if so, it correlates with the communication of Internet users in 2010 and 2011.

"Przecież jesteśmy! Homofobiczna przemoc w polskich szkołach – narracje gejów i lesbijek"¹⁴ by Marzanna Pogorzelska and Paweł Rudnicki is a second publication that is important in the context of the linguistic or discursive image of homosexuality. It was published in 2020 and contains the authors' critical discourse analysis based on students' stories. Thanks to that adapted conception (critical discourse studies) the authors expose most important qualities and contexts of communication (or non-communication) on the topic of homosexuality in Polish schools. Focusing on the discourse present in schools those are mostly: absence and silence,

¹³ Lachowska, Pielużek (2012): 154 (author's own translation).

¹⁴ "Still, we're here! homophobic violence in Polish schools – gays' and lesbians' narrations" (author's own translation).

pathologizing, homosexuality as a sin, pogrom language and heterosexuality without an alternative.¹⁵

Pogorzelska and Rudnicki highlight the lack of an official curriculum which would reflect on sexuality and identities different than heteronormative. If those threads exist, they are classified as deviations and presented next to HIV and venereal diseases. The authors associate this observation with the history of changes in the curriculum in Polish education which omitted the analysed topic or countered it, in the name of sustaining the traditional and natural, in the government's interpretation, with the existing status quo. Those changes were implemented successively by the following ministers of education: Roman Giertych, Ryszard Legutko, Katarzyna Hall.¹⁶

So, if sexual education that covers topic of non-heterosexuality is not implemented under the official "top down" core curriculum, the reactions to "Rainbow Friday" as a "grass roots" initiative may suggest that according to the media there is room for such topic in schools.

Analysis of publications describing "Rainbow Friday" in 2018

"Rainbow Friday", an event that in 2018 aroused lively interest of the media and generated research material, is a civil initiative of a Polish foundation Campaign Against Homophobia and its first edition took place in 2016. According to the words of the initiator it is:

¹⁵ Pogorzelska, Rudnicki (2020): 61–81.

¹⁶ Ibidem: 28–36.

a cyclical action which take place every year on the last Friday in October [...]. The initiative is a chance to show that regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity every student can feel safe, count on the support and go to school with pleasure.¹⁷

Campaign Against Homophobia declares that the action may be launched exclusively by members of a given community: teachers, students and parents. The foundation provides ready-to-use supplies: posters, pins, information brochures and publications. In 2018, the media particularly animatedly commented on the topic, in consequence triggering involvement of their recipients and reproducing, strengthening and modifying the already existing images of the world.

In order to reconstruct and describe those images, assumptions of critical analysis of discourse have been used. This approach is widely applied in the areas of *queer linguistics*¹⁸ and therefore it seems suitable for the analysis of media publications regarding "Rainbow Friday". In addition, reflections of Waldemar Czachur have been used.¹⁹ This is why finding key words and repeating phrases has become the basis of this work. This makes it possible to identify ways of organising knowledge²⁰ and describe the images of the world more precisely.

For the purpose of this analysis six web portals have been chosen (*Frona, Do rzeczy, Niezależna, Queer, Gazeta Wyborcza, Polityka*). In 2018, the creators of those portals

¹⁷ Kampania Przeciw Homofobii, URL = <https://kph.org.pl/tecowypiatek/> [access: 06.05.2020].

¹⁸ Pogorzelska, Rudnicki (2020).

¹⁹ Czachur (2011).

²⁰ Fleischer (2018).

published 70 texts describing “Rainbow Friday”. Three of the above websites may be classified as liberal²¹ (*Queer, Gazeta Wyborcza, Polityka*), three – as conservative²² (*Fron-da, Do rzeczy, Niezależna*). All of them have used citations in an extensive number, in consequence shifting the weight of argumentation onto the entities of the secondary degree and achieving freedom in drawing a picture of “Rainbow Friday”.

After having read the gathered material multiple times, a few sets of categories of the language used were distinguished: education–agitation, relation “we–them”, truth–false, risk–chance, propaganda–freedom, parents, children. The analysis is illustrated with examples from publications precisely described in the bibliography section under “The sources of research material”. The parts of the citations that in my opinion are crucial were boldfaced. Also, all of the material was translated with caution and precision as I am well aware of the dangers of varying semantics in different languages.

Conservative media

In 2018, the conservative media were much more engaged in commenting “Rainbow Friday” – 43 out of 70 texts in the analysed media were published on conservative platforms. It accounts for 61.4% of all publications.

They call into question the educational worth and character of “Rainbow Friday” by taking in quotation marks every word indicating any cognitive values and omitting terms usually

²¹ As “Cambridge Dictionary” defines: one that emphasizes the need to make new laws as society changes and the need for government to provide social services.

²² As “Cambridge Dictionary” defines: one that does not trust sudden changes or new ideas.

associated with the educational process. Thus, "»educators« will be telling", not teaching. Pupils will "listen to the shop-talk". The media also state that "let's not be deceived by repeating that this is just a »tolerance lesson«". Instead of treating "Rainbow Friday" as an educational action, the authors classify it as "a canvassing action". They also highlight that:

in accordance with the content of Article 108 § 2 of the Electoral Code, canvassing addressed to students is illegal in schools. Brochure distributed during the campaign may be judged as electoral canvassing conducted against the rules prescribed by law in the Electoral Code.

In the areas of politolinguistics, canvassing is described as a sub-type of the language of politics, which in the words of Janina Fras:

differs from propaganda not only with respect to goals that are set ad hoc for canvassing and far-reaching for propaganda. Canvassing texts are more aggressive, their language is highly emotional.²³

This way, without pointing it out directly, conservative media suggest hidden political motives of the organizers of "Rainbow Friday". The language that is used brings about a specific – negative – interpretation of actions.

Of crucial significance is the way the non-heterosexual orientation is described. It is named as "customs" and "behaviours and manners of LGBT":

²³ Dudek-Waligóra (2018), (author's own translation).

The anti-discrimination education is **nothing more than promotion of behaviours and manners of LGBT** which is described by Kochanowski in his book as “sexual politics”. Under these politics **parents, children, teachers are being convinced** that homosexual relations are as good and normal as a marriage between man and woman.

According to this, the non-heterosexual orientation is considered by conservative media as specific to a given community with a typical culture and behaviours separate from the rest of the society. What is more, people responsible for preparing informational brochures are “**ideologists of this subculture**”. Behaviours and manners are commonly understood as something freely chosen – one decides what manners will be specific for them. As a result one can also choose to abandon such a way of living. In this way, the media strengthen the belief that a distinct group of people decides to behave in a “non-heterosexual” way and therefore represents an attitude adequate for this lifestyle. In addition, those categories build antagonistic relation “we-them” which automatically positions non-heteronormative people as “different”, “peculiar” and support stigmatization already described by Karolina Lachowska and Marcin Pielużek.

The sexual orientation and “Rainbow Friday” are portrayed also as a threat. Positioning an event this way does not allow for any possibility of a positive value generated by the initiative to exist. Conservative media urge to “**defend children**” and inform that “**the devil reaches out for them**”. Recipients of conservative media are encouraged to perceive a given event as a threat by the descriptions of actions of representatives

of the educational system – they **"intervened"** and were **"monitoring the situation"**.

The parents of students of eight upper secondary schools and one primary school (!) in Masovian Voivodship **intervened** at the Warsaw Board of Education in regard to this event.

The strongest, most present categories used in conservative media to portray "Rainbow Friday" are propaganda and indoctrination, i.e. a concealed and conscious action used to instil ideas. This suggests that recipients of this initiative are not willing to receive those ideas and that those are forced onto them. This construction enhances the idea that "Rainbow Friday" should be treated as a threat. Positive reactions of students are explained as a result of conversations with a teacher who **"in good time managed to train children"** The presupposition (an implicit assumption present in the statement, even in its negative form) used in this information is also present in one of the headlines: **"Finally there is a reaction to the homopropaganda in schools!"** In this context, there is no doubt that propaganda in schools does exist only when there is any reaction.

In addition, the term "propaganda" may suggest withholding some facts. This leads to discrediting any information provided by the supporters of "Rainbow Friday". **"Campaign Against Homophobia confesses"**, **"Dorota Kania reveals"**, **"The question arises: why is it done quietly?"** All those quotes emphasize hiding the truth.

In all pictures of "Rainbow Friday" there are two really important elements: students and parents. The latter are shown in two ways – as naive and deluded (which emphasises that

“Rainbow Friday” should be perceived as propaganda) or outraged, tricked and deprived of their rights.

In my opinion, parents should react. The Constitution guarantees the right to raise children in accordance with one’s own values and beliefs. **Here, without informing parents beforehand** the leftist Polish Teachers’ Union headed by Mr. Broniarz says that they organize “Rainbow Friday” in 211 schools. **This is a serious infringement of the rights of parents** – a Member of Parliament from the Law and Justice Party does not hide her indignation.

Students, on the other hand, are “**directed**” towards a specific world view by the teachers or they behave “**ostentatiously**” and “**demonstratively**”.

Students involved in the action **were ostentatiously carrying paper rainbow banners**. Students were wearing black outfits. Blackness of the clothes was sometimes broken by rainbow leggings.

Therefore, they are tricked and declare their views “for show”. In this way, the problem of homophobia (specified by Campaign Against Homophobia as a main reason for the initiative) is marginalized. What is important, the categories of discrimination and homophobia are present in the publications of conservative media only in quotes. In addition, those citations are criticized and their credibility and sincerity of intentions are called into question. The most important conclusion is, then, that in the conservative image of the world “Rainbow Friday” is an event relating to an unimportant or

non-existent issue. Robert Biedroń does not provide details about suicides of LGBT+ people so discrimination is “alleged”.

Liberal media

When observing “Rainbow Friday” through the words of liberal media, one can notice that the liberal image is by far different from the conservative picture. Although it does refer to similar aspects, it presents them in a contrasting manner.

First, liberal media highlight the educational character of the initiative and describe it as “**tolerance lessons**” and “**learning tolerance**”. Furthermore, “Rainbow Friday” is designated as a tool that can be used by teachers. Those media also mention promotion, but it is promotion of tolerance and not – the LGBT community or ideology.

I would like to see the day when there is no need to organize lessons or actions about LGBT in schools. I long for the day when there is an atmosphere of friendship and respect for every person in Polish schools. The school is a miniature of the society. **This is a place where we are raised, where we wish to educate better people to create the society with room for friendship and respect for people who are different and whose difference does no harm to others.**

Also the role of Campaign Against Homophobia is depicted in a different way. In this picture of the world, Campaign Against Homophobia only coordinates this worldwide initiative. Liberal publications emphasize that this organization sets itself in the role of an advisor and leaves decision-making to teachers, students and headmasters. The initiative is also

repeatedly called “an opportunity”, i.e. something that one can use only if one has such will. Also the needs signaled by students are present in those descriptions of “Rainbow Friday”:

“Being a student who belongs to the LGBTQ+ community, I know how difficult it is to live in an ignorant society. At school, among peers **who aren’t taught** that every love should be accepted – it is difficult to live.” – writes Wiktoria to the Minister of Education Anna Zalewska. **This is only one of a few hundred of voices of students of both genders, teachers, parents and their allies – in defence of not only “Rainbow Friday” but first of all equality, acceptance and tolerance in school education.**

Liberal media define the goals of “Rainbow Friday” as adequate for the problems occurring in Polish schools. Basing on the researches, they are certain that **“in Poland the rights of LGBT people are violated and their social situation is bad”** and that **“the lack of tolerance in schools is a common phenomenon”**.

The attack on “Rainbow Friday” is a **symptom of a deeper problem – the lack of actual anti-discrimination education in Polish schools**. After all, if there were legitimate classes on the topic of preventing discrimination, nobody would be concerned about the fact that once a year students decide to pay a little more attention to LGBT people, wear rainbow symbols and demonstrate that the school is a space open to diversity. **Maybe Dominik from Biezuń, who committed suicide in 2015, would now be preparing himself for his graduation exam.**

At the same time, the described media emphasize that teachers may provide facts or leave them unsaid. This, being a presupposition, suggests that the problem of homophobia at schools is real – even if we try to negate the above sentence.

In the liberal image of "Rainbow Friday" the word "propaganda" is also present, but it is always put into quotation marks. It indicates that the authors of liberal publications do not treat that word seriously in a given context, especially when it is a part of a cited expression. Journalists state that **"telling about something, educating is not yet propaganda"**.

First of all, massive congratulations and my respects to all the activists, especially teachers and parents, who in spite of **the most serious risk of harassment and repressions** organized "Rainbow Friday" in 211 schools throughout the country!

Liberal media describe a **"manhunt"** and **"crusade"** of the government, the Ministry of Education and Boards of Education, and name them as restrictive and attacking. They write that **"a lot of schools have not given up"**. In this image of the world the government carries out hateful activities and behaviours adequate for the regime which persecutes the democratic opposition. As a result, as an opposition to that regime "Rainbow Friday" seems to be a manifestation of democracy. This image is strengthened by pointing out the grassroots character of the initiative and the entire social movement which supports the action. **"Headmasters and students have not succumbed to the pressure"**, so they have shown strength against **"threats"**.

Conclusion

The goal set for this article was to deconstruct the narratives of liberal and conservative media relative to “Rainbow Friday” and to compare those narratives with the knowledge gathered as a result of researches already conducted with regard to this topic.

There is no doubt that although conservative and liberal media refer to similar categories in assessing “Rainbow Friday”, their interpretation and validation could not be more different. If two groups of recipients read only conservative or only liberal media and that was the only way they gathered knowledge about this initiative, its image would be completely different for each.

Conservative media create an image of the propagandist, dangerous and rights-violating action – especially the rights of parents and students. The most important factor underlying this way of organizing knowledge is the lack of the problem of homophobia in schools, which is a result of unnaturalness and abnormality of the concept of sexual orientation other than heterosexual. The communication of the supporters of “Rainbow Friday” is therefore a lie, propaganda and indoctrination – a process of repeating and consolidating untruth. All important elements of the communication of conservative media may be observed in the following quote:

October 26, in more than two hundred schools in Poland there is said to be organized so called “Rainbow Friday” coordinated by Campaign Against Homophobia (KPH) – organization that promotes the customs of LG-BTQ groups. The action may involve infringement of educational law and the constitutionally guaranteed

right of the parents to provide their children with upbringing in line with their beliefs, and most of all –putting students in danger of harmful content.

Liberal media construct a picture of the initiative responding to the actual needs and problems of school communities which is, at the same time, only a non-offensive proposition for the educational programme. In this perspective, students, parents and teachers communicate the problem of homophobia and social exclusion, and the need for educational measures. Therefore "Rainbow Friday" is a response to the reality of Polish schools. In this image of the world the initiators of the action have to face hate, censorship and political regime if they want to exercise their democratic rights. This category is the most substantial one present in liberal publications. This could suggest that those media have not communicated on "Rainbow Friday" on their own but only in response to the image created by conservative media. The most important threads in the narrative of liberal media are well visible in one of the quotes:

What every school needs is reliable education about the fact that people have various sexual orientations and various gender identities. Education free from superstitions and prejudice. Young people need to feel safe at school. A manhunt conducted by the ministries and superintendents causes even a vaster aggression and a larger sense of danger among the LGBT+ youth, who already fight an "uphill battle". People responsible for the Polish educational system cannot stoke the already immense homophobia in Polish schools.

Thinking about all of the already discussed publications, what is thought-provoking is the lack of any references to the categories of disease or faith in the analysed publications. Those two threads were present in most of the past researches, often constituting the basis of the argumentation and construction of a given image of the world. Political correctness may be the cause of such absence, as it marginalizes extreme statements in public debate. It may be concluded that as the opinion of the World Health Organization (which does not classify homosexuality as a disease) and the changing position of the Catholic Church in Poles' lives, those categories may be the first ones to disappear from the language used to describe non-heterosexual people.

Finally, it is worth to once again recall the thoughts of Barbara Jabłońska who postulates a critical approach not only in the academic but also in the social and political dimension.²⁴ Knowing the results of regularly conducted researches (Świerszcz 2012; Świder, Winiewski 2017; Felisiak 2017; Pogorzelska, Rudnicki 2020) and having analysed the conservative image of "Rainbow Friday", is surprised that those media still deny the occurrence of homophobic actions. They may lead not only to injuries but even pose a threat to life and are a symptom of the lack of basic knowledge about non-normative orientations and gender identities. Of course, we have to take into account the complicated legislation – which tries to organize the complex system of education – and the systemic design itself – each and every change shall entail more alterations. Still, we should hope that the growing number of academic publications and research will help raise the awareness about the problem of homophobia and

²⁴ Jabłońska (2011), (author's own translation).

will encourage not only academics but also politicians, people managing the Polish system of education, and journalists to examine more closely the attempts to educate the Polish youth with attention and compassion.

Bibliography

- Bartmiński J. (2010), *Jak zrekonstruować językowo-kulturowy obraz Europy?*, „Etnolingwistyka” 2010, v. 22, nr 1.
- Czachur W. (2011), *Dyskursywny obraz świata. Kilka refleksji*, „Tekst i dyskurs” 2011, v. 4, nr 1.
- Dudek-Waligóra G. (2018), *Propaganda jako termin naukowy polskiej politolingwistyki*, „Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej”, v. 53, nr 1.
- Felisiak M. (2017), *Stosunek do osób o orientacji homoseksualnej i związków partnerskich*, Warszawa.
- Fleischer M. (2018), *Zarys ogólnej teorii komunikacji*, in: *Communication Design, Antologia*, ed. M. Wszolek, M. Pielużek, Wrocław.
- Foucault M. (2002), *Porządek dyskursu*, Gdańsk.
- Gdula M. (2009), *Trzy dyskursy miłosne*, Warszawa.
- Jabłońska B. (2011), *Sfera publiczna Unii Europejskiej: (krytyczna analiza dyskursu)*, „Media, Kultura, Społeczeństwo” 2011 v. 6, nr 1.
- Lachowska K., Pielużek M. (2018), „*Lesby i pedały*” – konteksty komunikacyjne związane ze środowiskami LGBT wśród użytkowników Internetu, in: *Communication Design, Antologia*, red. M. Wszolek, M. Pielużek, Wrocław.
- Pogorzelska M., Rudnicki P. (2020), *Przecież jesteśmy! Homofobiczna przemoc w polskich szkołach – narracje gejów i lesbijek*, Kraków.
- Świerszcz J. (2012), *Lekcja Równości - postawy i potrzeby kadry i młodzieży wobec homofobii w szkole*, Warszawa.
- Świder M., Winiewski M. (2017), *Sytuacja społeczna osób LGBT w Polsce, raport za lata 2015–2016*, Warszawa.
- Wodak R. (2011), *Wstęp: Badania nad dyskursem – ważne pojęcia i terminy*, in: *Jakościowa analiza dyskursu*, ed. R. Wodak, M. Krzyżanowski, Warszawa.

Sources of the material

All texts incorporating the words "Rainbow Friday" or tagged "Rainbow Friday" published in 2018 on the chosen websites have been used in the analysis:

- Bednarek M. (2018), *Fala nienawiści przez "Tęczowy piątek". "Za Hitlera poszliby do pieca". Dyrekcja szkoły odwołała akcję*, URL = <http://katowice.wyborcza.pl/katowice/7,35063,24092822,fala-nienawisci-przez-teczowy-piatek-za-hitlera-poszliby-do.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Bodnar A. (2018), *Czego polska szkoła mogłaby uczyć w "Tęczowy piątek"*, URL = <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75968,24102345,czego-polska-szkola-moglaby-uczyc-w-teczowy-piatek.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Hartman J. (2018), *Tęcza idzie do szkół, a minister straszy*, URL = <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1769354,1,tecza-idzie-do-szkol-a-minister-straszy.read> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Jaskot R., Zakrzewska S. (2018), *Tęczowy Piątek w bydgoskiej szkole niespodziewanie odwołany. Uczeń na dywaniku u dyrektorki*, URL = <http://bydgoszcz.wyborcza.pl/bydgoszcz/7,48722,24094609,teczowy-piatek-w-bydgoskiej-szkole-odwolany-uczen-na-dywaniku.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Karpieszuk W. (2018), *"Tęczowy piątek". Szkoły w Warszawie przyłączyły się do akcji. A radny PiS pisze o "agitacji"*, URL = <http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,54420,24093328,teczowy-piatek-szkoly-w-warszawie-przylaczly-sie-do-akcji.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Marosz M. (2018), *Do szkół zbliża się lewicowa propaganda „Tęczowego Piątku”. Sprawdź, czy chcą zindoktrynować Twoje dziecko*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242541-do-szkol-zbliza-sie-lewicowa-propaganda-teczowego-piatku-sprawdz-czy-chca-zindoktrynowac-twoje-dziecko> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Marosz M. (2018), *Tak „naprostowywano” dzieci przed „Tęczowym Piątkiem” w warszawskim liceum!*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242772-tak-naprostowywano-dzieci-przed-teczowym-piatkiem-w-warszawskim-liceum> [access: 02.05.2020].

- Pospieszalski J. (2018), *Czytając Kochanowskiego*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/243992-czytajac-kochanowskiego> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Pospischil A. (2018), *“Tęczowy Piątek”. Chcą uczyć akceptacji i otwartości w szkołach. Przeciwno jest radny PiS*, URL = <http://lublin.wyborcza.pl/lublin/7,48724,24087290,chca-uczyc-akceptacji-i-otwartosci-w-szkolach-przeciwko-jest.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Przemyski J. (2018), *Rodzice! Pilnujcie swoich dzieci. Aktywiści środowisk LGBT wejdą do szkół agitować dzieci*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242698-rodzice-pilnujcie-swoich-dzieci-aktywisci-srodowisk-lgbt-wejda-do-szkol-agitowac-dzieci> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Suchecka J. (2018), *“Tęczowy piątek” rozdrażnił prawicę. Jedna szkoła już się wycofała. “Pojawiły się groźby”*, URL = <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,24093271,teczowy-piatek-rozdraznil-prawice-jedna-szkola-juz-sie-wycofala.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Suchecka J. (2018), *“Tęczowy piątek” w ponad 200 szkołach. Prawica atakuje*, URL = <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,24088738,teczowy-piatek-w-ponad-200-szkolach-prawica-atakuj.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Suchecka J., Puculek A. (2018), *Prawicowa kruczata przeciw “Tęczowemu piątkowi”. Wiele szkół się nie poddało*, URL = <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,24097051,prawicowa-kruczata-przeciw-teczowemu-piatkowi-wiele-szkol.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Szpunar O. (2018), *Byłe liceum prezydenta Dudy odwołało “Tęczowy piątek”*, URL = <http://krakow.wyborcza.pl/krakow/7,44425,24095419,byle-liceum-prezydenta-dudy-odwolalo-teczowy-piatek.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Szpunar O., Figurski P. (2018), *“Tęczowy piątek” w szkołach. Kurator protestuje, Ordo Iuris straszy sądem*, URL = <http://krakow.wyborcza.pl/krakow/7,44425,24089835,teczowy-piatek-w-szkolach-kurator-protestuje-ordo-iuris.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Szydłowski G. (2018), *Kuratorium ściga szkoły za “Tęczowy piątek”, “Konstytucję” i Halloween*, URL = <http://olsztyn.wyborcza.pl/olsztyn/7,48726,24111730,kuratorium-sciga-szkoly-za-teczowy-piatek-konstytucje-i-halloween.html> [access: 02.05.2020].

- Theus J. (2018), *"Tęczowy piątek" w Poznaniu. Akcji sprzeciwiała się Młodzież Wszechpolska. Ale w inicjatywę zaangażowało się sporo uczniów*, URL = <http://poznan.wyborcza.pl/poznan/7,36001,24095104,teczowy-piatek-w-poznaniu-iii-lo-odwolalo-wydarzenie-akcji.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Wilczyńska E. (2018), *Wrocławskie szkoły organizują "Tęczowy piątek", ale o zajęciach mówić nie chcą, bo boją się nagonki*, URL = <http://wroclaw.wyborcza.pl/wroclaw/7,35771,24094990,skoly-organizuja-teczowy-piatek-ale-o-zajeciach-mowic-nie.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Zubik M. (2018), *Ordo Iuris chce rozliczać szkoły za "Tęczowy piątek". "Toniepokojący i niezrozumiały atak"*, URL = <http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,54420,24107799,ordo-iuris-rozlicza-szkoly-za-teczowy-piatek-toniepokojacy.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Absolwenci liceum im. Hoffmanowej piszą do dyrektor w sprawie "Tęczowego piątku"*, URL = <http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,54420,24109345,absolwenci-liceum-im-hoffmanowej-pisza-do-dyrektor-w-sprawie.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Andrzej Duda zastanowi się nad zakazem "propagandy homoseksualnej"*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/202030/andrzej-duda-zakaz-homopropagandy-prawo> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Będą konsekwencje wobec szkół za „teczowy piątek”? W grę wchodzi postępowania dyscyplinarne*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/243377-beda-konsekwencje-wobec-szkol-za-teczowy-piatek-w-gre-wchodza-postepowania-dyscyplinarne> [access: 02.05.2020].
- "Chronmy dzieci przed Tęczowym piątkiem". Kampania Ordo Iuris przeciwko deprawacji w szkołach*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81649/Chronmy-dzieci-przed-Teczowym-piatkiem-Kampania-Ordo-Iuris-przeciwko-deprawacji-w-szkolach.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Diabeł z „Tęczowego Piątku” wyciąga ręce po wasze dzieci! Oto, co trzeba zrobić*, URL = <http://www.fronda.pl/a/diabel-z-teczowego-piatku-wyciaga-rece-po-wasze-dzieci-oto-co-trzeba-zrobic,117240.html> [access: 02.05.2020].

- Dlaczego Tęczowy Piątek jest potrzebny*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201986/dlaczego-teczowy-piatek-jest-potrzebny-piszemy-do-minister-zalewskiej-men-lgbt> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Homopropaganda w polskich szkołach. Dorota Kania ujawnia, co zapowiadało „Tęczowy Piątek”*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242754-homopropaganda-w-polskich-szkolach-dorota-kania-ujawnia-co-zapowiadalo-bdquoteczowy-piatekrdquo> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Jest stanowisko ministerstwa ws. Tęczowego Piątku – „Tylko rodzice mogą o tym decydować”*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242552-jest-stanowisko-ministerstwa-ws-teczowego-piatku-tylko-rodzice-moga-o-tym-decydowac> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Jesteśmy w każdej klasie*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201823/jestesmy-w-kazdej-klasie-lgbt-w-polskich-szkolach-teczowy-piatek> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Kwaśniewski o Tęczowym piątku: To odzieranie rodziców i dzieci z ich praw*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/82199/Kwasniewski-o-Teczowym-piatku-To-odzieranie-rodzicow-i-dzieci-z-ich-praw.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Liceum prezydenta Dudy odwołuje Tęczowy Piątek*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201966/teczowy-piatek-krakow-ii-lo-sobieskiego-andrzej-duda> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Lista szkół z „tęczowym piątkiem”? KPH: Ta informacja nie jest tajna, ale nie jest też publiczna*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81698/Lista-szkol-z-teczowym-piatkiem-KPH-Ta-informacja-nie-jest-tajna-ale-nie-jest-tez-publiczna.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Macie godzinę”. Dyrektorka szkoły organizującej “Tęczowy piątek” grozi DoRzeczy.pl prokuraturą*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81672/Macie-godzine-Dyrektorka-szkoly-organizujacej-Teczowy-piatek-grozi-DoRzeczypl-prokuratura.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Małopolska Kurator Oświaty jasno i wprost o ‘Tęczowym Piątku’*, URL = <http://www.frona.pl/a/malopolska-kurator-oswiaty-jasno-i-wprost-o-teczowym-piatku,117271.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Małopolska kurator oświaty: Szkoła nie może być przekształcana w miejsce indoktrynacji*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81690/>

- Malopolska-kurator-oswiaty-Szkola-nie-moze-byc-przekształcana-w-miejsce-indoktrynacji.html [access: 02.05.2020].
- MEN: "Tęczowy Piątek" miał charakter marginalny, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81941/MEN-Teczowy-Piatek-mial-charakter-marginalny.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- MEN oficjalnie o Tęczowym Piątku: Rodzice mogą się sprzeciwić, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81664/MEN-oficjalnie-o-Teczowym-Piatku-Rodzice-moga-sie-sprzeciwic.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Minister Anna Zalewska o Tęczowym Piątku: Może wkroczyć prokuratura, URL = <http://www.fronda.pl/a/minister-anna-zalewska-o-teczowym-piatku-moze-wkroczyc-prokuratura,117269.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Narodowcy kontra "Tęczowy Piątek", URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242585-narodowcy-kontra-teczowy-piatek> [access: 02.05.2020].
- NASZ APEL do polityków PiS: Zakażcie homopropagandy w szkołach!!!, URL = <http://www.fronda.pl/a/nasz-apel-do-politykow-pis-zakazcie-homopropagandy-w-szkolach,117199.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Nie chcą "Tęczowego Piątku"! To liceum nie uległo homopropagandzie, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242618-nie-chca-teczowego-piatku-to-liceum-nie-uleglo-homopropagandzie> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Odpowiedź "Do Rzeczy" na "tęczowy piątek", URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81755/Odpowiedz-Do-Rzeczy-na-teczowy-piatek.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Ostra dyskusja polityków o „Tęczowym Piątku”. „Jak najdalej od gender i innych chorych rozwiązań”, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242714-ostra-dyskusja-politykow-o-teczowym-piatku-jak-najdalej-od-gender-i-innych-cho-rych-rozwiazan> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Paweł Lisicki o "Tęczowym piątku": Ewidentny przykład deprawacji, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81532/Pawel-Lisicki-o-Teczowym-piatku-Ewidentny-przyklad-deprawacji.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Piasek o Biedroniu: w różnorodności siła, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201984/andrzej-piaseczny-o-robercie-biedroniu-w-roznorodnosci-sila> [access: 02.05.2020].

- Piontkowski: Rodzice mogą zablokować „Tęczowy piątek”*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81620/Piontkowski-Rodzice-moga-zablokowac-Teczowy-piatek.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Po ‘tęczowym piątku’. MEN: To marginalna akcja*, URL = <http://www.fron-da.pl/a/po-teczowym-piatku-men-to-marginalna-akcja,117341.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Prof. Pawłowicz o “Tęczowym Piątku”: Lewacka bezczelność, sprawdzanie granicy*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81663/Prof-Pawlowicz-o-Teczowym-Piatku-Lewacka-bezczelnosc-sprawdzanie-granicy.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Przylepią mi twarz homofoba”. Jaruzelska zaskoczyła ws. “tęczowego piątku”*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/obserwator-mediow/81747/Przylepia-mi-twarz-homofoba-Jaruzelska-zaskoczyla-ws-teczowego-piatku.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Piszecie do Anny Zalewskiej: ciężko się żyje w szkole, w której nie ma akceptacji*, URL = <https://queer.pl/arttykul/202040/piszecie-do-anny-zalewskiej-teczowy-piatek-edukacja-lgbt> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Reakcje na słowa Dudy: mówienie o czymś to nie propaganda*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/202037/zakaz-homoseksualnej-propagandy-andrzej-duda-zagraniczne-media> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Robert Biedroń: Dobrze, że jest “Tęczowy Piątek”, szkoda, że tak późno*, URL = <http://www.fron-da.pl/a/biedron-dobrze-ze-jest-teczowy-piatek-szkoda-ze-tak-pozno,117295.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Są skargi na “Tęczowy piątek”. Rodzice uczniów nie chcą homopropagandy!*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242823-sa-skargi-na-quotteczowy-piatekquot-rodzice-uczniow-nie-chca-homopropagandy> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Szef Kancelarii Premiera ostro o „Tęczowym Piątku”. Dworczyk nie przebiera w słowach*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242756-szef-kancelarii-premiera-ostro-o-teczowym-piatku-dworczyk-nie-przebiera-w-slowach> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Szkoła nie dla LGBTQ”. Episkopat zabiera głos ws. “Tęczowego piątku”*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81680/Szkola-nie-dla-LGBTQ-Episkopat-za->

- biera-glos-ws-Teczowego-piatku.html [access: 02.05.2020].
- "Taka jest prawda o waszym pseudokonserwatywnym charakterze". Winnicki ostro o "tęczowej propagandzie" pod rządami PiS*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81540/Taka-jest-prawda-o-waszym-pseudokonserwatywnym-charakterze-Winnicki-ostro-o-teczowej-propagandzie-pod-rzadami-PiS.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- „Tęczowy piątek” łamie prawo oświatowe! Episkopat przestrzega rodziców*, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242713-teczowy-piatek-lamie-prawo-oswiatowe-episkopat-przestrzega-rodzicow> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Tęczowy Piątek”: Kuratorium weryfikuje rodzicielskie zgłoszenia*, URL = <http://www.fronda.pl/a/teczowy-piatek-kuratorium-weryfikuje-rodzicielskie-zgloszenia,117337.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- „Tęczowy Piątek” - czy w szkołach naruszono prawo? Ordo Iuris sprawdza*, URL = <http://www.fronda.pl/a/teczowy-piatek-czy-w-szkolach-naruszono-prawo-ordo-iuris-sprawdza,117307.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- „Tęczowy piątek” też w podstawówce? Jest stanowisko kuratorium*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81804/Teczowy-piatek-tez-w-podstawowce-Jest-stanowisko-kuratorium.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Tęczowy piątek”. Homopropaganda w polskich szkołach*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81527/Teczowy-piatek-Homopropaganda-w-polskich-szkolach.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Tęczowy piątek w 16 szkołach w regionie. Nowy radny Szczecina grzmi o “homopropagandzie”*, URL = <http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/7,34939,24092122,teczowy-piatek-w-16-szkolach-w-regionie-nowy-radny-nagrywa.html> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Tęczowy Piątek w ponad 200 szkołach w całej Polsce!*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201949/rekordowy-teczowy-piatek-w-polskich-szkolach> [access: 02.05.2020].
- Tęczowy Piątek: Jak było dziś w polskich szkołach?*, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/201971/teczowy-piatek-podsumowanie-jak-bylo-w-polskich-szkolach> [access: 02.05.2020].
- “Tęczowy piątek” bez wiedzy rodziców?*, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/>

kraj/81591/Teczowy-piatek-bez-wiedzy-rodzicow.html [access: 02.05.2020].
Tęczowa klasa, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/82157/Teczowa-klasa.html> [access: 02.05.2020].

Totalna kłapa homo-kampanii! Ministerstwo potwierdza: Tęczowy Piątek to kompletny niewypał!, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/242843-totalna-klapa-homo-kampanii-ministerstwo-potwierdza-teczowy-piatek-to-kompletny-niewypal> [access: 02.05.2020].

W poznańskiej stacji o homoseksualizmie, który jest... uleczalną chorobą, URL = <https://queer.pl/news/202011/poznanska-grupa-stonewall-kontra-prawica-rzeczpospolitej-w-otwartej-antenie-wtk> [access: 02.05.2020].

Według posła Nowoczesnej, krytyka “Tęczowego Piątku” narusza konstytucję, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81829/Wedlug-posla-Nowoczesnej-krytyka-Teczowego-Piatku-narusza-konstytucje.html> [access: 02.05.2020].

“Won z Tęczowym Piątkiem”. Cejrowski apeluje do rodziców, URL = <https://dorzeczy.pl/kraj/81753/Won-z-Teczowym-Piatkiem-Cejrowski-apeluje-do-rodzicow.html> [access: 02.05.2020].

W „Woronicza 17” o Tęczowym Piątku: „Sprawy seksualne nie powinny być przynoszone do szkół”, URL = <https://niezalezna.pl/243018-w-woronicza-17-o-teczowym-piatku-sprawy-seksualne-nie-powinny-byc-przynoszone-do-szkol> [access: 02.05.2020].

(this page is intentionally left blank)

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Karolina Zakrzewska

Uniwersytet Warszawski

**Human condition in the *tragedies of fate*
by Ancient Greeks, Wyspiański and Sartre**

Abstract

In the article I introduced selected concepts of fate expressed in the dramatic works by authors of different cultural backgrounds, at various stages of the development of civilisation. By analysing the selected literary works, I presented a multidimensional man's attitude toward metaphysics, the consciousness of the aim of his life and death, based on the works of great artists who are both sensitive observers revealing the spirit of their own times and educators promoting their courageous outlook on the stage. The works of chosen artists showed that there is certain connection between the way of understanding the human fate and formation of the mentality model and the degree of moral and social activity of man, thus the condition of the entire community, and consequently the nation.

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiłam wybrane koncepcje losu wyrażone w twórczości dramatycznej autorów z różnych kręgów kulturowych, na różnych etapach rozwoju cywilizacyjnego. Analizując wybrane dzieła literackie ukazałam wielowymiarową postawę człowieka wobec metafizyki, jego świadomość celu własnego życia i śmierci w oparciu o dzieła wielkich twórców będących zarówno wrażliwymi obserwatorami oddającymi ducha swoich czasów, jak i wychowawcami wychodzącymi ze swoim śmiałym światopoglądem na scenę. Twórczość wybranych przeze mnie artystów pokazała, że istnieje pewna prawidłowość między sposobem pojmowania losu ludzkiego, a kształtowaniem

się modelu mentalności oraz stopnia społecznej i moralnej aktywności jednostki w świecie, a co za tym idzie kondycji całej wspólnoty.

Słowa kluczowe: metafizyka, patriotyzm, religia, wiara, sakrum, kerygmat, naród, teatr, tragedia, wspólnota

Keywords: metaphysics, patriotism, religion, faith, sacred, kerygma, nation, theatre, tragedy, community

Introduction

It is a cliché to say that each attempt at a theoretical description of human condition is entangled in unresolvable axiological and epistemological disputes, and that it is dependent on cultural resolutions. However, it is hard to define unequivocally human condition, though for the needs of this article I shall adopt the line of thinking of Hannah Arendt, according to which it may be assumed that this is the way in which man exists in the world, perceives his place in the community, the sum total of values he professes, the attitude towards death, the way of conduct – whether he assumes an active attitude – gives meaning to life himself, creates the reality in which he lives or unreflectively succumbs to the authority. In a sense, it also describes man's attitude to comprehending fate, or otherwise: his role in the world. Throughout history, in different cultural circles, playwrights expressed diverse concepts of fate, and the writings of some exerted a strong impact on how the purpose of human life was perceived. Playwriting is a medium which owing to its popularity both in the Antiquity and in modern times shaped the world outlooks of groups which had a decisive impact on formation of religious, social and political views. In this article, I shall venture to put forth a thesis that there is a consistency between a cultural concept of fate entangled in eschatology, metaphysics¹ and social condition, and in consequence also existential human condition. In other words, the interrelationship between the way human fate is perceived and the degree

¹ In this article, I use the word *metaphysics* in the classical, Aristotelian meaning – I understand *metaphysic* as something that exceeds physics and sensual experience, see Aristotle, transl. Ross (2005).

of social and moral human activity is translated into the condition of the entire community.

I shall present this relationship on the basis on the analysis of the artistic output of selected playwrights, who are important for and represent the spirit of their times. I selected such playwrights who presented a multidimensional man's attitude to metaphysics, his awareness of the purpose of his own life and death, his earthly and eschatological destiny; they identified the forms of behaviours, dilemmas, fears, hopes, anxieties, intellectual attitudes and human struggles with fate that were typical of their epochs. They were thus sensitive observers and at the same time philosophers, who were ready to go on stage and propose their clearly formed world outlooks as a universal moral foundation. Therefore, I focused on such tragedians as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Wyspiański and Sartre, who in their plays not only expressed their world outlook credos, but also carried a specific way of experiencing fate into their times. There is a clear-cut relationship between literature as an attempt to understand human motivations and the way human attitudes and activities are motivated depending on adopted national, ethnical or religious convictions. The destiny of a courageous, fearless and merciless Homeric warrior is one thing, while the destiny of a meek servant of God of the Middle Ages is quite another. It does not concern only a totally separate system of values, but also the way of completion and the purpose of existence of each of them. Fate may be perceived as a ruthless, callous cosmic force, in the face of which man turns out to be totally helpless, but also may be understood a punishment for violation of moral, religious or simply natural harmony.

The way fate is perceived is connected with the changes resulting from civilizational development. In archaic, mythical

Greece, where man did not understand the surrounding world, felt overwhelmed by it, helpless, fate is most primordial, identified mainly with gods, who personified the forces of nature. Zeus intervenes in human lives with the use of lightning; Demeter symbolizes earth's fertility; the rage of Oceanus explicates unpredictability of the sea that is so important for the Greeks; while Eros is responsible for uncontrollable passion. In the Classical world, the era of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, when people grew out of the folk tales about Olympic gods, fate assumes the form of an abstract notion, a force that permeates the cosmos, impersonal though equally overpowering. It has a character of almost a philosophical notion, not much short of the arche of Ancient Greek philosophers, such as the fire of Heraclitus or the number of the Pythagoreans.

In the period of Christian Europe fate was obviously associated with the will of God, whereas in modern times the French Enlightenment replaced Him with the laws of nature, or the laws of history in the later period – for example in Hegel's philosophy. Science gained in importance to the extent that its nature became religious.² It started to be treated as an instrument of cognizance of the eternal mystery of existence. In the times of the French Revolution, even the Festival of Reason was set up in the form of a public parade headed by the Goddess of Reason – a beautiful young woman selected for that event.

Also important is the fact that even if the Supreme Being deciding about human life is not personified as a deity, it may be a subject of faith and cult. In such case it may assume a form of an overwhelming and overpowering superior force

² Migasiński (2011).

as the unchangeable and universal moral law or the laws of human history. In each of the above cases man's freedom becomes extremely problematic, while an alternative to faith in the supreme order most frequently turns out to be fearsome chaos or nihilism, which offer no protection against the vision of awe-inspiring fate. However, it is not connected with the impossibility of realizing of a moral or religious idea, but expresses the weakness and solitude of man, who sees an enormous contrast between the sense of his own freedom and associated dignity, and the actual possibilities of shaping one's own fate. In this context, of special interest in the vertical relationship: man – heaven, regardless of whether it uncovers the existence of a supreme force or discloses emptiness.

The Greeks

Greek tragedies were the first to present man subjugated to impersonal necessity – the were based on myths filled with the sacred, at the times when attempts were made to reconcile the world of yesteryear legends about gods and heroes with the idea of a modern civil state. Owing to their popularity and universality, in the Antiquity they shaped the world outlook of the entire community, reconciling man with the fall of the safe fairy-tale world, adding more profound sense to his life as a citizen.³ This is connected with the fact that in the classical ancient Greek culture nature ceased to offer a safe and soothing environment linking man with the realm of gods, as it had been in archaic Greece. People aimed at gaining control over nature and its forces through development of *poiesis* – material production. Human activity ceased to be

³ Artaud (1958).

instruments but was aimed at purposeful creation of a being which could not be reduced to a product of nature. Obviously *poiesis* takes place in the context of *logos* and *polis*, was a technique of creating things (from Greek *poiesis* as the poetic art, creation, production). Aristotle named it *ergon*, that is the production of the pure world of artefacts; it was one of the methods used by the Greeks to subdue defiant nature.⁴ The Hellenes also believed that there was a set of constant traits that is possessed only by humans, which described two basic categories: *zoon logon echon* – a rational, reasonable creature, and *zoon politikon* – a political creature. According to that concept it was believed that “it is evident that the state is creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal”, and a creature living outside of its *polis* is either a god or an animal,⁵ so that barbarians, slaves and women – as creatures deprived of both politics and philosophy, involved in imitative work or subject to the need of biological maintenance of the species – were excluded from the life of a *polis*.⁶

Greek democracy and philosophy have their roots in mythology, so when the might of the gods and heroes passes to oblivion, the law they set becomes an impulse for creating human laws, sanctioned and formed by informed and voluntary conclusion of agreements within the arising democratic community. The precursors of the genre, Aeschylus

⁴ Siemek (2002): 17–18.

⁵ Aristotle, transl. Ross (2005a): 446, (Politics, I, 1253a)

⁶ Siemek (2002): 19. I consistently refer to the interpretational tradition of the notion of politics and citizenship in the political culture of ancient Athens, which was initiated by Hegel and was continued by Hannah Arendt and Marek Siemek. With a view to the size of a scientific article, it is obviously impossible to take into account all other interpretational currents.

and Sophocles, were the first to try to resolve the problem of fate, which it to realise catharsis, and in consequence bring about consolation in the world deprived of gods. That is why the tragic play touches the core of the dilemmas, discloses the cruelty of the world, and the gods that are present seem to be powerless, just like in the case of Prometheus, indifferent or only apparently present as in *Antigone*,⁷ *Oedipus the King*,⁸ *Electra*.⁹ Sophocles' heroes are led to the extreme, alien to people and themselves, they discover that the heaven is empty or revolt against absurd existence in order to give sense to life. Supplications, making offering to gods turn out to be of no use: in less than an hour after having offered her payers Jocasta commits suicide; Clytemnestra is deluded during the libations by the false and fatal for her information by the Servant that Orestes is dead; Creon in vain pays homage to the body of Polynices to fulfil divine laws. It may be said that gods' indifference is merely the reverse side of their instrumental treatment by the protagonists of Greek tragedies. In the tragedies of Aeschylus or Sophocles there is no room for the sacred; man can live in accordance with his nature as it is a reflection of the divine, which has been created for human needs.

Therefore, the origin of the Greek tragedy should be linked with its therapeutic function of reconciling man with the fact that the realm of gods and heroes has passed away and has been replaced by the laws set by man. The freedom to set laws involves the need to assume responsibility for decisions concerning the social dimension of human life. Gods are present therein as guarantors of the law they conferred, but their

⁷ Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998).

⁸ Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998a).

⁹ Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998b).

intervention is not needed to fulfil it because deities are made redundant by the heroes' faith in the Olympic realm and its verdicts. Friedrich Nietzsche also discerned the reconciliatory function of the tragedy which unites the spectator not only with the fellow man but also with the entire cosmos, allows to sense existence as the sole living creature.¹⁰ In his opinion, the Dionysia was an event strictly connected with *polis* – already democratic, so it did not only represent archaic myths but provided an opportunity to discuss current problems of the city.¹¹

In ancient Greece the tragedy played a very important role in reconciling people with the cultural breakthrough. The presence of gods confirms the law they conferred, on the other hand, however, their intervention is no longer needed to fulfil it – with their faith in the divine decrees the tragic figures make gods redundant. Therefore, Greek tragedy writers such as Aeschylus and Sophocles, did not promote the visions of man totally subjugated to the whims of gods, helpless and passive, but showing the possibility of self-determination of the free individual not dependent on the supreme forces, contributed to the growth of credibility of the democratic system, elevating civic freedom above Middle Eastern despotism. In this way they educated the people ethically, socially and politically, at the same time familiarizing them with the incomprehensible, brutal, and sometimes simply overpowering world. It was also noticed by the researcher of the tragedy Jan Kott: "The contemporaneity of the Greek tragedy is the cruelty of fate it presents, the cruelty of life, the cruelty of the world. And refusal of consent for this world and those

¹⁰ See: Nietzsche (1968): 47.

¹¹ Baran (2001): 10.

that set it up and control it: gods and rules.”¹² That is why such a frequent motif in the ancient tragedy is a revolt against the authority, a dissent against the world that is or the immovable, intransigent supreme forces relentlessly intervening in the affairs of tragic mortals.

It is also important that the poets, who in those times were treated as teachers of morality, in their plays presented rebels without condemning them. In a tragic situation there are always two basic solutions: the hero either revolts or accepts the existing situations. Acceptance results from affirmation of the existing order or fear of change; that is why it is either an ethical or intellectual choice. *Oedipus the King* perhaps puts forth a fundamental question: what attitude should be assumed towards life when the world is reigned by coincidence or fate – determined by gods. Jocasta suggests that Oedipus defies this choice in the name of carefree existence: “live at random, live as best one can.”¹³ Nietzsche, in turn, sees the fate of Oedipus as an attempt to extort its own mysteries from nature through victorious resistance against it – commitment of an unnatural deed such as incest.¹⁴ Oedipus is downgraded by what the forces of nature have led him to and by his ignorance of own blood ties; this Greek initially full of vital forces eventually regrets to be alive. “For had I died that day less ruin had I brought on me and mine.”¹⁵ The world of this tragedy is saturated with suffering; traps are set everywhere and caught in them are also those who want to avoid evil fate at any price. In the opinion of Odo

¹² Kott (1986): 6; this quotation is found only in the preface to the Polish edition, and has not been included in the English edition.

¹³ Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998a).

¹⁴ Nietzsche (1986): 75.

¹⁵ Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998a).

Marquarda: “Thus what man has to fear is not determination, but the undividedness of its power.”¹⁶; in this context Oedipus’ obsession with the prophecy and inability to tolerate accidentality were the underlying causes of the catastrophe, an impression of being totally enslaved by fate. *Oedipus the King* could be summed up as follows: “if the accidental were only the arbitrarily optional, this would indeed have ruinous consequences, both for usual practices, which are indeed accidental, and for human life, for which usual practices are unavoidable.”¹⁷

Without doubt, Greek heroes, alienated from society and deprived of friends, suffered from solitude. The greatest punishment for them was life in exile, individually, without the understanding and compassion of others. In this light it is important that the death of a rebel not only gives sense to his life, but also leads to improvement of the life of others. The death of Antigone or Prometheus¹⁸ are something more than individual events since their lives gained sense in the world of other people. Hellenic heroes incessantly needs an audience not only to ensure their immortality through granting fame, but also in order to set in motion and uplift the lives of others. The praise of courage, unfettered speech and public action is of an educational character – it teaches than man exerts an impact on the state and society, and that is also on politics.

¹⁶ Marquard (1991): 125.

¹⁷ Ibidem: 119.

¹⁸ It refers to Antigone, the title heroine of Sophocles’ tragedy [Sophocles, transl. Kitto (1998)] and Prometheus, the title hero of Aeschylus’ tragedy [Aeschylus, transl. Scully (1989)].

“For Sophocles’ characters, life is disaster, and their heroic choice is to give meaning to their own defeat.”¹⁹ – in the Greek tragedy the picture of inescapable annihilation of everything is to inspire the desire for living – a tragic liberation. Since the tragic play represents life in the entirety of its cruelty and at the same time encourages existence by showing its indestructability. Man escapes from the horror of Dionysian, bare life into the Apollonian deception, while truth becomes symbolised²⁰; it has a cathartic dimension on metaphysical grounds – it brings consolation. Aristotle believed that to played a very important function in the already very much democratic, urban, classical culture of Greece, where shattering events were much rarer in everyday life. Identification with the heroes allowed them to experience their own existence more fully – in this sense death, incest, crimes, redemption were of a religious nature.²¹

Wyspiański

In later culture, it was Christianity that offered an opportunity for experiencing deeply existential states, such as identification with God, death, betrayal, which give an unearthly, noble character to everyday life. One may be an ordinary man and at the same time live in friendship with Christ, partake in the mystery of redemption, transformation, salvation; betray, cleanse, add heroism to one’s life. That is why it was in the Greek tragedy that Wyspiański found a certain pattern for his plays; although his classical plays maintain the ancient form, but apart from adorning them with Slavic

¹⁹ Kott (1974): 160.

²⁰ Baran (2001): 10–12.

²¹ Siemek (2002): 8.

ornamentation the author totally deprived them of their vitalistic dimension, turned them into an attractive medium for expounding his religious views. He noticed that it could serve culturally diverse – Christian, Messianic, Slavic purposes. What massively distinguishes the classical tragedy from Wyspiański's late tragedies is the fact that he made common people the heroes of his plays against the views of Aristotle [“For no man can practise virtue who is living the life of a mechanic or labourer”²²] as well as the precursors of the genre whose heroes were people of noble descent. They also showed to their audience that “Forze naturali calate in forme umane idealizzate, sono aspetti dell'uomo sublimati, ipostatizzati; sono forze dell'uomo cristallizzate in bellissime sembianze. In somma: gli Dei della religione naturale greca non sono nient'altro che *uomini amplificati e idealizzati*, sono, quindi, *quantitativamente* superiori a noi, ma non *qualitativamente* differenti.”²³ Against any appearances, making simple man the hero of his tragedies Wyspiański did not grant him autonomy as he had to accept the authoritatively imposed system of values, because the author of *Klątwa (The Curse)*²⁴ and *Sędziowie (The Judges)*²⁵ did not believe that a peasant or craftsman (like an Aristotelian slave) had any capability of growing up to accept freedom which forces one to become responsible for one's own deeds. That is why he considers it appropriate that a model of morality has been imposed thereon, which makes him an infantile and passive creature.

Insofar as in the classical Greek culture dangerous nature deprived of a metaphysical dimension was tamed with

²² Aristotle, transl. Ross (2005): 475, (Politics, III, 1278a).

²³ Reale (1987): 24.

²⁴ Wyspiański (1959).

²⁵ Wyspiański (1920).

material production, in his literary output Wyspiański presents it as an instrument with which God punishes man for his misdeeds. Restoration of harmony, which is indispensable for man's life, depends exclusively on His will; therefore, man has to demonstrate faith, respect and humility in fulfilling divine laws. Any violation of this fixed moral order – sacrilege causes automatic punishment. At the same time, there is always a chance for redemption, which requires intervention of the supreme force, which has to accept this offering.

The faith in the existence of a moral order constituted by the Decalogue and the possibility of redemption through an offering causes that death becomes but another stage in spiritual development. In all of his plays Wyspiański evaluates people's attitudes, decisions and deeds through the lens of Christian ethics by creating negative figures such as Samuel, Natan and Dziad (in *Sędziowie*), Odysseus (in *Achilleis*²⁶). One may get an impression that he simplifies the construction of the classical tragedy, in which there are no mean, mediocre, hypocritical figures that purposefully harm others, devious, wicked and cowardly creatures that cannot even live by the rules they profess. Nevertheless, it seems that Wyspiański does it on purpose in order to show in full the existence of a single universal ethics in conformity with human nature; a single truth to which all are or should be subjected. The possibility and necessity of expiation in the eschatological perspective, connected with human weakness in sinning and greatness in redemption, seems to be totally alien to the Greeks. The classical tragedy discloses the community character of Greek culture and ethics, as opposed to Christian individualism. In Wyspiański's plays, despite

²⁶ Wyspiański (1984).

the fact that violation of divine laws by an individual brings a curse onto the community, ultimately man stands before the Creator alone, incurring individual punishment for individual guilt – the community serves only as a background or temptation to do evil. Otherwise than in the Greek plays, where redemption results in restoration of the natural order for the good of the community, which constitutes the audience, partner, advisor or critic of the tragic hero, frequently as a chorus.

Despite the fact that in Wyspiański's plays fate touches man alienated from the society, there is a possibility of overcoming it, and therefore his output is devoid of the fatalistic dimension characteristic for other Polish modernist artists experiencing a world outlook crisis – non-dogmatism, nihilism. Against the trends of his epoch Wyspiański sought a resolution for ethical and existential problems in the Bible. He distinguishes heroes who represent definite archetypes of man's attitude towards God. If a figure from his play follows the principle of moral relativism, later on in the plot become a tragic hero. Since he believes that this principle leads to negation of morality in general, it turns out to be a source of a dramatic fall and suffering. Hence man, as a free-willed creature should be aware of the threats that emanate from breaking inviolate norms of conduct (compliant with the Decalogue). In *Meleagrze*, *Protesilas i Laodamia*, *Powrót Odysa* (*Return of Odysseus*), *Achilleis*, *Klątwa* (*The Curse*), *Sędziowie* (*The Judges*) the order breaking culprit is a man who succumbs to lust, resigns from sanctity, commits sacrilege.

In his works, Wyspiański tries to show that man can reach sanctity through vocation, which is tragic but at the same time makes salvation possible. God is a harsh, but also merciful and generous judge. Ethics, laws of nature, life and death

assume existential dimensions – apparently independent human plans are irrevocably intertwined with those of God. The interpenetration of the sacred and the profane causes that the everyday human life assumes solemnity, emanates the hidden, sometimes barely perceptible out of this world mystery. This allows him to create a great tension in his tragedies, arouse extreme emotions in surprising places to show, to remind the existence of the supreme force which bestows significance onto even apparently trifling matters. In *Klątwa* and *Sędziowie*, showing the substance and principles of Christianity against a broad religious and cultural background, he confirms the metaphysical dimension of earthly reality.²⁷ Transcendence, verticalism, interpenetration of divine and earthly things characterise all of his tragedies. They touch upon issues considered in all religions: the sacred and the profane, the image of God and His vocations, world, human fate and nature, the problem of guilt, punishment and responsibility. This is what the universal character of Wyspiański's dramas consists in, while the fact that the key point of reference for him was Christianity and the Bible, partially shared with the Jewish Faith, prejudices the answers the author finds to the problems connected with the major dimensions of human existence. This is evidenced by the fate of the heroes of all of his tragedies, both those taking place in Polish realities (*Klątwa* and *Sędziowie*), as well as those taking place in the realities of Ancient Greece (*Meleager*,²⁸ *Protesilas i Laodamia*,²⁹ *Powrót Odysa*,³⁰ *Achilleis*), who transgressed the model of decent and worthy life imposed by Christian religion.

²⁷ Kaczmarek (1999): 105.

²⁸ Wyspiański (1858).

²⁹ Wyspiański (1958a).

³⁰ Wyspiański (1984).

Sartre

Changing slightly the perspective, I would like to remind that in Sigmund Freud' opinion success in earthly life causes that man focuses on daily affairs, trusts the world and easily finds sense for his creative activity, but when he encounters failures and loses faith in the possibility of improving his fate by himself, the conditions become ripe for moving the value of life beyond life. When fate becomes cruel it starts to be perceived as a punishment for the deeds done or for omissions; it is then perceived as a surrogate of parental authority and hence a conviction that if one suffers a misfortune it means that the supreme power ceased to love him, and thus one humbles oneself before this authority to win its favours again. "This becomes especially clear where Fate is looked upon in the strictly religious sense of being nothing else than an expression of the Divine Will."³¹ This mechanism is obviously seen in the works by Wyspiański – misfortune is always conceived as God's punishment, which at the same purifies, erases guilt. On the other hand, free will is used to make a correct choice in accordance with the will of the Creator and the Judge.

Alike Freud, Sartre believes that people deprived of inner morality seek an external one in the form of providence or God. In light of his philosophy, a weak man, intellectually and morally immature, is unable to make life choices by himself, resigns from individual assessment leaning on an outside authority. It may be God, the Church, or a political campaigner. Sartre tries to prove that man's dignity is based on his freedom which he realises when his deeds are not determined

³¹ Freud (1961): 82

by secular or religious authorities. It is worth reminding that the philosopher makes a distinction between *being-in-itself* and *being-for-itself*. The former is predictable, finished, devoid of any potential, stands no chance for freedom, in the being of things. In turn, *being-for-itself* is the centre of the consciousness of man, who is doomed to the need of taking decisions and making choices.³² The essence of human existence is what has been given by nature: sex, sexual orientation, sensitivity, abilities, courage, etc., and what we have been taught, what has been internalized by man by living in the society and within the boundaries of its culture, that is: values, attitudes, convictions, the way of perceiving oneself and others, one's duties, destiny. Since the essence is everything what man is, existence may be called a gap, the absence of definitiveness, which makes it possible to freely define what will a man become, what will he be.

In Sartre's opinion, the major source of threat to dignity is another man who perceives, evaluates, ascribes to another a given set of characteristics, motivations – treats him like an object. The possibility to negate one's own image created by others offers a possibility to preserve one's dignity and the sense of one's life. Desiring his own freedom, non-conditioning, man also strives for the good of Others, since only among free people one can consider oneself truly free.³³ What is important, man cannot enjoy the peacefulness of free choice since responsibility resting on this choice causes anxiety and the sense of accidentality of existence – hence reaching of "godlike" existence is excluded. Therefore, individuals look for objective justifications of their choices, and the efforts they

³² See: Sartre (2004): 4–15.

³³ Ibidem: 15.

use to escape responsibility are called *bad faith* by Sartre.³⁴ It is an attitude consisting in escaping freedom, negating one's existence. Defining oneself for example as a Catholic, conservative, libertarian, representative of the middle class, man or woman is tantamount to reducing the richness of one's life and existence to a product of culture. Each of such attributes conceals an assortment of strictly defined social meanings meant to create a discernible scheme of life. It is then understandable, while man easily find his place in the social system when he knows what is to be expected from others and assuring them of his own credibility. In Sartre's opinion "Since we have defined the situation of man as one of free choice, without excuse and without help, any man who takes refuge behind the excuse of his passions, or by inventing some deterministic doctrine, is a self-deceiver."³⁵

As a consequence, the above concepts of *good* and *bad* have a sense different than the commonly accepted one. The good is the one who can and wants to realize the social role that has been intended for him, trusts the myths, traditions, authorities, culture. The bad, in turn, is the one who undermines universal social good, dares to make a choice out of compliance with his assigned role or actually challenges the commonly accepted convictions concerning good and bad. In other words: negativity is bad – a manifestation of freedom, while positivity is good – a sign of enslavement. According to Sartre as a domain of freedom negativity should be the goal of man's pursuit, since it is the only factor which may make life concretely and truly sensible. In the manner Sartre undermines the sense of the traditional dualism

³⁴ Ibidem: 10.

³⁵ Sartre (1957): 307.

of good and bad, at the same time revealing the naïve and also hypocritical character of such notions as *malefactor*, *offender*, the society makes room for – delineating an opposition between honesty and dishonesty.

Sartre believes that “man’s dignity requires him to be the only creator of values and his own fate. If man is to live as a free and autonomous creature, God must die.”³⁶ In his opinion, existentialism is a extremely optimistic doctrine, since it makes man realise that he himself controls his fate, he is what he wants to be. He shows, at the same time, that of great importance is the activity which determines life, and man reaches fullness thanks to responsible deeds. Totally differently than in Wyspiański’s tragedies, where deeds lead to errors and sin, and the desired form of shaping one’s consciousness is self-reflection.³⁷

In Sartre’s opinion, myths recount the entirety of human condition,³⁸ they are manifestations of *bad faith*, remnants of religious thinking; that is why in his plays he demythologises them and gives them a new dimension uncontaminated by existentialism. In his drama *The Flies*,³⁹ he desacralizes the story of Orestes and Electra to a greater degree than Sophocles; he does the same to *The Trojan Women*.⁴⁰ In contrast with the classical approach, the hero of Sartre’s *The Flies* Orestes determines his own life himself, coolly weighs the consequences of his own deeds, gets to know

³⁶ Gromczyński (1969): 268.

³⁷ It can be seen in Wyspiański’s tragedies such as: *Meleagier*, *Protesilas i Laodamia*, *Powrót Odysa*, *Achilleis*, *Klątwa*, *Sędziowie*.

³⁸ Puszko (1997): 229.

³⁹ Sartre (1948); *The Flies* is an adaptation of the mythical story, which in the Antiquity was dramatized by Sophocles and Euripides, and was entitled *Electra*.

⁴⁰ Sartre (1967).

the world through action and making decisions, for which he takes full responsibility. He says to God frankly: "I am no criminal, and you have no power to make me atone for an act I don't regard as crime."⁴¹ He discovers that he is free and therefore he can choose the path on his own without being forced to fulfil the family revenge. With his revolt he destroyed the until then applicable law of two tyrants: God and King. When Zeus offers him atonement, like Aeschylus' Prometheus Orestes rejects it with disdain. Moreover, he gets involved in the fate of the oppressed party: Electra and the inhabitants of Argos, since involvement on the side of Aegisthus and Zeus would be the same as for Sartre choosing the side of fascism of the Church, that is declaring oneself against freedom, putting oneself to fate, that is resigning from the path of freedom.⁴²

Sartre believes that it is impossible to enslave man if he becomes conscious of his ontological freedom; from the viewpoint of a tyrant he then reminds a spreading plague: "He knows he's free? Then, to lay hands on him, to put him in irons, is not enough. A free man in a city acts like a plague-spot. He will infect my whole kingdom and bring my work to nothing. Almighty Zeus, why stay your hand? Why not fell him with a thunderbolt?"⁴³ says Aegisthus to Zeus, fully aware of the seriousness of the situation. In *Trojan Women* he also exposes the fact that moral laws are pure fiction of a political nature, while people overlook existential problems, reject their potential of consciousness. They are a manifestation of the author's unacceptance of segregating people into those that deserve respect and those who are denied fundamental

⁴¹ Sartre (1948): 113.

⁴² Simon (1966): 226.

⁴³ Sartre (1948): 102.

rights; dividing nations into civilised and barbarian ones.

Unlike in Wyspiański's tragedies, in *The Flies* and *Trojan Women*, when the heroes demand a lightning as a sign of punishment, the skies are silent, disclose emptiness. There is no human nature inscribed into the cosmic order; man becomes only when he creates himself. Through investigating his essence and the choices he makes man will be what he wants to be, what he desires to be after he has gained consciousness. He shows how important is the action which determines life, since in Sartre's opinion the only thing that ensures fullness is action.⁴⁴ He believes that we cannot choose evil. Making a choice we choose not only what is good for us, but also for people at large. If we would like to create a model of man in our existence, that model is applicable for all people and our epoch. We create a model of man we believe we should be like, that is choose the values that are positive for us. "In fashioning myself I fashion man,"⁴⁵ says Sartre claiming that if man honestly thinks about what he should be like, he creates a universal rather than individual ideal, and since there is no God it is us that have to give value to the world. The French philosopher perceives this attitude as an opportunity to create a human community based on mutual respect. He makes Orestes utter the following words: "What do I care for Zeus? Justice is a matter between men, and I need no god to teach me it."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibidem: 58.

⁴⁵ Sartre (1957): 292.

⁴⁶ Sartre (1948): 103.

Conclusion

The analysis of human fate in the above discussed plays clearly shows that there is a constant regularity between the perception of human fate in the literature of a given epoch and the shaping of the type of mentality and degree of social and moral activeness of its recipients, which undoubtedly affects the community life of man. In Greek tragedies, stripping the gods of their omnipotence, showing the need for own determination, teaches man how to live responsibly, take autonomous decisions in a democratic state. Wyspiański's creative output was a revolt against sacralisation of science and desacralisation of faith. An attempt to restore metaphysical dignity to the notion of human fate. In turn, Sartre's philosophy and dramatic plays express a revolt against seeking the mystery of creation outside of creation itself. It is a protest against subjugating man to a supreme power, regardless of what character or form it was to assume in a given epoch. Sartre exposes the inferior character of a concrete form of faith in fate, finding mechanisms which shape the character of each.

According to Wyspiański, waiving the rules proclaimed in the Decalogue pushes man towards misfortune, since departure from the will of God always brings about fatal consequences. This is evidenced by the tragic fate of the heroes of all of his plays, who transgressed the model of decent and valuable life imposed by the Christian religion. Each of their actions carries a danger of opposing God, while negation or renunciation of one's needs is considered a virtue. Creation of this type of mentality may lead to the consolidation of a passive or fearful attitude. Even in a situation of threat, oppression, utter injustice, the man who has been brought up in such a conviction may be not able to respond actively and

oppose the situation that is undesirable for him or his fellow men, for instance coercive authorities, oppression, injustice, aggression, suffering because humility vis-à-vis the status quo has been instilled in him.⁴⁷

Without doubt, Greek dramas what put their tragic heroes in a situation from which there is no one good way out, and also throwing upon them responsibility for the choices they make, show the need to justify moral norms on one's own. It turn out to be salutary for making the citizen of *polis* realize that he is a fully autonomous individual who is expected to take mature and responsible decisions. Such an attitude contributed to full consolidation of civil democracy. Similar ideas are present in Sartre's concept of fate – his literature, which is also an exponent of philosophy, promotes the attitude of man liberated from the dominion of God, creating a moral system which corresponds with the good of the public.

In the classical tragedy, the hero gets redemption during his lifetime, whereas the tragic hero of Wyspiański only upon death. It indicates, among other things, a significant difference in the comprehension of human destiny, that is the perception of the place and role of man in the life of the community he is a member of. A characteristic feature of Greek tragedies, differentiating them, *inter alia*, from Wyspiański's dramas (even those which intentionally refer to the classical tradition) is that the events, motivations of the heroes, moral overtone retain full sense even when we put aside their religious dimension. In other words, the divine decrees come to the fore as a result of the deeds of man, who turns his faith in fate into actions that give a real dimension to it. What is connected with all this, depending on the cultural context man's attitude

⁴⁷ See: e.g. Freud (1961) and Freud (2001).

to death changes and translates into respect or no respect for life. In Wyspiański's works the affirmation of life determined by the divine will leads to disrespect its value as such, is merely but another stage in the development of the soul on the path towards salvation. Suffering is desirable – it constitutes a path towards redemption.

Summing up: the relationship of man with the Absolute determines how the purposes of existence of human communities are perceived, also the modern ones, functioning with the framework of democratic states. The Christian notion of God, the Creator and Lawgiver, deciding the fate of not only an individual but also an entire nation, has become an ideological background and an ideal model for all forms of the authoritarian regime. The decline of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, enhanced by the development of science, spread of education, as well as political and industrial revolutions, resulted in the emergence of socio-political systems the metaphysical background of which has become hardly discernible, but very influential.⁴⁸ The undoubted mer-

⁴⁸ Such interdependencies were noted for example by Max Weber, who noted a relationship between the professed religion and the political system of the state or the form of economic activity. He believed, for instance, the Protestantism was strictly related with the emergence of the spiritual background of capitalism. Asceticism of the Protestant religion supported the duty of industrious work, which was to lead to reaching financial benefits and wise management of wealth. Work was treated as a moral duty, constituting a value in itself. According to the Protestant religion, ethical behaviour consisted in carrying out everyday duties rather than fruitless rattling off prayers in church and renunciation of earthly life. Weber noticed a relationship between Protestant self-discipline, individual initiative, enterprise, honesty, timeliness, industry and the development of capitalism, for which the above-mentioned "virtues" constitute a necessary background. See e.g. Weber (2012) or Weber (1978). The impact of the metaphysical background on

it of Sartre is the exposure of permanent mechanisms of giving the world the metaphysical background, independent from the secondary and accidental ways of its justification. In this light, the Christian faith in the moral order pervading the world of interpersonal relations not much differs from the democratic belief in the existence of universal and unalterable human rights. The foundation of Sartre's criticism of culture is the exposure of a chasm between the meaning giving freedom and the thoughtless cult of the law which relieves man from maturity and responsibility. The notion of human nature, fate, man's place in the world permeated with incomprehensible forces, but also man's attitude towards them, present in the literary output, constitute an inexhaustible source of inspiration for seeking relationships between self-consciousness of man and the world he co-creates. However, there is a clear-cut relationship between literature as an attempt to understand human motivations and the way human attitudes and activities are motivated depending on adopted, sanctified and mythologised, national, ethnical or religious convictions.

the community was also noted by such thinkers as Mircea Eliade [Eliade (1987)] or Emil Cioran [Cioran (2015)].

Bibliography

- Aeschylus (1989), *Prometheus Bound*, transl. J. Scully, USA.
- Aristotle, (2005), *Nicomachean Ethics* [in:] *The works of Aristotle*. transl. W.D. Ross, Chicago.
- Aristotle (2005a), *Politics*, in: *The works of Aristotle*, vol. 2, transl. W.D. Ross, Chicago.
- Artaud A. (1958), *The Theater and Its Double*, New York.
- Baran B. (2001), *Metafizyka tragedii*, in: *Narodziny tragedii albo Grecy i pesymizm*, Kraków.
- Cioran E. M. (2015), *History and Utopia*, Arcade.
- Eliade M. (1987), *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, Orlando, New York, London.
- Freud S. (1961), *Civilization and its discontents*, New York – London.
- Freud S. (2001), *The Future of an Illusion*, in: *The future of an illusion, Civilisation and its discontents and other works*, London – Vintage.
- Gromczyński W. (1969), *Człowiek, świat rzeczy, Bóg w filozofii Sartre'a*, Warszawa.
- Kaczmarek W. (1999), *Stanisława Wyspiańskiego etyczna i estetyczna lektura Biblii*, 'Ethos', 1999, no. 4.
- Kott J. (1986), *Od Autora*, in: *Zjanie Bogów. Szkice o tragedii greckiej*, Kraków.
- Kott J. (1974), *The eating of the Gods: an interpretation of Greek tragedy*, London.
- Marquard O. (1991), *In Defense of the Accidental: Philosophical Studies*, USA.
- Migasiński J. (2011), *Filozofia nowożytna. Postacie. Idee. Problemy*, Warszawa.
- Nietzsche F. (1968), *The Birth of Tragedy*, in: *Basic writings of Nietzsche*, New York.
- Puszko H. (1997), „Być Stendhalem i Spinozą...” *Szkic o filozofii Jean-Paula Sartre'a*, Warszawa
- Reale G. (1987), *Storia della filozofia antica*, Milano 1987.

- Siemek M.J. (2002), *Wolność, rozum, intersubiektywność*, Warszawa.
- Simon P.H. (1966), *Świadectwo człowieka*, Warszawa.
- Sophocles (1998), *Antigone* in: *Antigone, Oedipus the King, Electra*, transl. H. D. F. Kitto, Oxford-New York.
- Sophocles (1998a), *Oedipus the King Antigone*, in: *Oedipus the King, Electra*, transl. H. D. F. Kitto, Oxford-New York.
- Sophocles (1998b), *Electra* [in:] *Antigone, Oedipus the King, Electra*, transl. H. D. F. Kitto, Oxford-New York.
- Sartre J.P. (2004), *The Imaginary: A Phenomenological Psychology of the Imagination*, London - New York.
- Sartre J.P. (1957), *Existentialism is a Humanism*, in: *Existentialism: from Dostoevsky to Sartre*, New York.
- Sartre J.P. (1948), *The Flies*, London.
- Sartre J.P. (1967), *The Trojan Women*, New York.
- Weber M. (2012), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York.
- Weber M. (1978), *The Types of Legitimate Domination*, in: *Economy and Society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Wyspiański St. (1959), *Klątwa*, Kraków.
- Wyspiański St. (1920), *Sędziowie Tragedya*, Kraków.
- Wyspiański St. (1982), *Achilleis*, Wrocław.
- Wyspiański St. (1858), *Meleager*, in: *Dzieła zebrane*, Kraków.
- Wyspiański St. (1958), *Protesilas i Laodamia*, in: *Dzieła zebrane*, Kraków.
- Wyspiański St. (1984), *Powrót Odysa*, Wrocław.

(this page is intentionally left blank)

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Aluko Opeyemi Idowu

Political Science Department
Ajayi Crowther University

**Theorising truth and justice in governance:
a study on truth commissions**

ABSTRACT

Crime is everywhere. Demystifying the truth about the origin of a criminal activity against humanity may be difficult. The dilemma of truth is that half of the truth is no truth, a bit of truth is no truth and almost whole truth is no truth. Therefore, can truth be ever gotten from a matter whose stakeholders do not know the truth or deliberately conceal the truth? Can truth be ascertained when the truth is that there is no truth established in the matter? Then what can be done to get the truth from a matter that has no genesis of truth surrounding it? Therefore, wherever truth is compromised or not known, justice delivery will be hard to come by and in most cases justice delivery can never be ascertained. However, this does not mean that the truth of a matter can never be known and justice delivery can never be ascertained. This quest is what the truth commission seeks to demystify in every truth finding missions across the world. Game theory will be used to analyse the concept of truth in the process of demystifying the herculean task of justice delivery in governance of a political system. Sections will be created to discuss the quests for truth by the truth commissions across the world, theorising truth and justice using a truth searching model and conclusions will be based on the fact that truth brings justice, justice propels peace, and peace drives development in human endeavours.

Keywords: conflict, development, game theory, justice, peace, truth and truth commission.

Contact: opealukoheavenprogress@gmail.com

Introduction

Crime is ubiquitous. It is present everywhere. There is no part of the world that crime and criminalities are not present. The level of crime perpetration varies from country to country. The level of (in)-security is determined by the vibrancy of the government in curtailing the crime and unveiling the truth behind the matter. The quest of every government is to generate the facts by finding out the truth in every matter. Truth therefore must be ubiquitous at the end of the truth commission missions.

The herculean task of demystifying the truth about the origin of a violence or crime to humanity may be difficult to accomplished in many developing countries and less difficult in the developed countries. Several scholars opined that this is so because in the developed countries, the task is simplified by high intelligent personnel with sophisticated equipments other than the developing countries.¹ The dilemma of truth is that a little truth is no truth, a bit of truth is no truth and almost whole truth is no truth. This shows that truth is so complex to understand and decipher and in many cases it is referred to as a relative commodity.

The relativity of truth as a commodity is seen by divergent conceptions of people, that is what is truth to someone might seem not to be the whole truth to another person, and at the same time it might be a total falsehood to another person. This sounds as if the three personalities had different minds to an issue. Therefore, can truth be ever gotten from a matter whose stakeholders do not know the truth or

¹ Laplante, Theidon (2007); Niezen (2017); Nichols (2019); Aluko (2019a).

deliberately conceal the truth? Can truth be ascertained when the truth is that there is no truth established in the matter? Then what can be done to get the truth from a matter that has no genesis of truth surrounding it? These are compelling questions that truth commissions are saddled with to unravel in many situations.

Therefore, wherever truth is compromised or not known, justice delivery will be hard to come by and in most cases justice delivery can never be ascertained. However, this does not mean that the truth of a matter can never be known and justice can never be delivered. In many countries of the world, crimes against humanity had been committed by top government personalities and need to be unveiled for appropriate justice to be meted out. Due to the fact that they are top government personnel, government apparatus is also deployed to cover up their tracks from the public or sweep the hideous deeds under the carpet.²

Therefore, there must be an independent agency or group of people independent from the judiciary, such as the truth commission to champion the cause of delivering justice to the aggrieved persons. The iron law of oligarchy and the rule by the powerful few by trapping off the rights of the people must be refuted. This quest is what the truth commission seeks to demystify in every truth finding mission across the world. They are set up to inquire into an incident relating to crime against humanity usually involving the government, individuals and/or government personnel of any hierarchy.³

² Grunebaum (2017); Nichols (2019); Aluko (2019b).

³ Cole (2018); Skaar (2018).

Game theory will be used to analyse the concept of truth in the process of demystifying the herculean task of justice delivery in governance of a political system. Sections will be created to discuss the quests for truth by the truth commissions across the world, theorising truth and justice using a truth searching model, and conclusions will be based on the fact that truth brings justice, justice propels peace and peace drives development in human endeavours. Conclusions are premised on the need to enforce truth and make justice visible in the society.

Conceptual Clarification

Truth Commission

Truth commissions are non-judicial and independent panels of inquiry that are typically set up to establish the facts and context of serious or grievous violations of human rights or of international humanitarian law in a country's past.⁴ This implies that the past is revisited so that it can be corrected, at the same time to sanitize the present and secure the future.

A truth commission is a form of a quasi or non-judicial mechanism designed to investigate and report on past situations involving large-scale and often systematic atrocities. They are impartial and independent institutions that are often, but not always, government sponsored and may be of national, international, or mixed composition. They may be created by the State itself or under the auspices of the United Nations.⁵ Truth commissions focus on victims' needs rather

⁴ The International Center for Transitional Justice (2019).

⁵ Buergenthal (1994).

than on punishing perpetrators. They are non-judicial bodies that may make recommendations but do not themselves have the mandate or power to prosecute perpetrators.

What truth commissions do and their mandates vary, but they are generally empowered to collect statements from a broad array of stakeholders including victims, witnesses, and perpetrators. They collect information and documentation of past abuses; conduct public hearings; identify patterns and practices of abuse. They uncover the root causes of violence; and issue public reports with recommendations for future action to help prevent reoccurrence of violence and promote peace and stability.⁶ Truth commissions aim to generate an accurate record of what happened during a conflict or period of repression in order to provide a measure of justice for victims, prevent a recurrence of violence, reform institutions that enabled abuses, and create conditions to promote reconciliation, peace, and stability.

For a truth commission to promote justice, peace, and stability, it must be viewed as legitimate. It therefore should be designed and implemented in a way that demonstrates that it is free from political manipulation, treats all sides fairly, and is open to public scrutiny.⁷ A commission should have autonomy to control its resources, conduct inquiries, build relationships, and make recommendations. It needs a mandate and methodology that permits it to investigate all relevant parties and issues. It should conduct its business and manage its finances in a way that is transparent. Finally, it should be empowered to make its final report and recommendations public.

⁶ Hayner (2006); Aluko (2019).

⁷ TTorelly (2018).

There are three basic attributes of truth commissions; Consultation, Complementarities and Context. A process of consultation with a wide array of stakeholders, including civil society organizations, victims' groups, women, youth, and marginalized groups is essential at all stages of the commission's design, establishment, and operation. Consultation promotes stakeholder acceptability and ownership. It also educates the community about the process; it helps to set expectations and increases participation in the truth-seeking process. Complementarities, on the other hand, are most effective when they complement rather than replace other justice mechanisms. Revealing the truth about atrocities may frustrate victims and embitter local populations if it is not accompanied by steps to punish perpetrators, address the needs of victims, and promote institutional reforms. The Context attribute implies that truth commission should be context specific, reflecting on the local cultural needs, strengths and opportunities.

There are some key considerations in design and operations of a truth commission. These are: the temporal, geographic, and substantive scopes. This is in terms of start and end dates. Also the number, composition, and selection of commissioners and staff are important. Staffing a commission means how many commissioners should the commission have? Should there be some international commissioners? What process should be used to choose the commissioners? Furthermore, the powers with respect to cooperation and access to information of the truth commission are essential.⁸ What powers will the commission have to induce cooperation from all relevant actors? It is important to recognize the limitations

⁸ Johnston, Slyomovics (2016).

of the commission. Lastly, amnesty recommendations from prosecution must be determined: whether amnesties for the crimes in question are permitted under applicable law, as well as how to ensure that victims are consulted in any amnesty process.

Theoretical Framework

Game Theory

Game theory is the branch of decision-making theory concerning decisions that are interdependent. The main problem arises from the fact that various interests and multiple participants are involved. Each participant has individual objectives related to a common system or shared resources. The reason while it is called game theory is because it arose from the analysis of competitive scenarios, such as the scenario between truth and falsehood. The problems are called games and the participants are called players. However, these techniques apply to more than sports, truth inquiries and are not even limited to competitive situations. In game theory, the player one's strategy deals with any problem the other players' strategy depends on and what other players do. Situations involving interdependent decisions arise frequently, in all walks of life. It calls for strategic thinking and making use of available information to devise the best plan to achieve one's objectives.

Moreover, all players are intelligent in the sense that they understand the structure, the laws and the standing point of the truth commission and the panel set to inquire matters on hand. In the case of truth commission panels of inquiry, they need to be explicit about what every player can

conceivably do.⁹ This includes the capability and extent of threat they can foment against other players. Another component of game theory is the payoff function for each agent that specifies how each player evaluates every strategy profile. Myerson¹⁰ opined that the tradeoff or payoff includes what an actor loses in one thing and what he stand to gain in another. That is to figure out what each agent wants to do and what they should expect others to do. At this stage, the players or actors, that is the truth commission panel of inquiry and the crime perpetrator need to know the utility of every choice of the agent as well as every choice of everyone else.¹¹

In international politics and truth inquiry team, game theory operates as either a sequential game or a simultaneous game. In a sequential game, actors reacts basing on the information they have at hand over the other party in question. In this case, mapping out of all the possibilities is done by looking ahead to the very last decision, and assume that if it comes to that point, the deciding player will choose their optimal outcome. The truth commission will ensure for the truth of the matter, while an offender or defendant will stick with defensive cover ups. Actors at this point usually back up to the penultimate decision, and assume the next player would choose their best outcome. The inquiry will be treated strategically and also continue to reasoning back in this way until all decisions have been fixed.

A simultaneous game, on the other hand, involves quick decision making because there is not necessarily any last move. This is usually in cases that involve very high profiled personnel from a developed country of the world. Actors (the truth

⁹ Ichiishi (2014).

¹⁰ Myerson (2013).

¹¹ Aluko (2018b).

commission and the defendants) cannot look ahead and reason back, since neither decision is made first. They just have to consider all possible combinations. In the new world order and current realities in the truth commission of inquiries across the world, both sequential and simultaneous strategies are employed. In specific cases classified as 'strong', this involves inquiry on less powerful personnel, usually from a developing country, the sequential game model is used to relate with the less powerful states. They preempt their last outcome and present their joker to win the best of justice. However, in specific cases classified as 'very strong', this involves inquiry on powerful personnel, usually from a developed country, the simultaneous game which puts each actor (the truth commission and the defendants) in the dilemma of what the other might do if a certain decision is taken. This is because the last joker of the first actor is almost equal or equal to the others on the negotiation table. Therefore, there is no last move but consequential simultaneous actions.

Myth Of Truth And Justice In Governance

More than 30 countries in the world have created truth commissions to investigate and report on human rights abuses. These commissions of inquiry help to seek recognition for victims and promote possibilities for peace, reconciliation and democracy. This is a quest for truth, justice and equity to be entrenched in all situations in the society.¹² Truth commissions collect much of their primary information through statements taken directly from victims, witnesses and survivors of past violations, generally during a one-on-one private

¹² Hayner (2006); Hayner (2011); Shore (2016).

meeting with a staff statement-taker. Statement-taking is generally one of a truth commission's first major activities and usually lasts for at least several months and perhaps up to a year, depending on the length of the commission's mandate. The dilemma is that statements may be selective, untrue and fabricated in some cases.

Therefore, can truth be ever gotten from a matter whose stakeholders do not know the truth or whose respondents deliberately conceal the truth? The mode of operation of a truth commission is usually established by a legal connotation with a legal jurisdiction. The selection processes of the commissioner that will preside over the affairs of the truth commission in the purposed location are also selectively and carefully appointed. However, the process of such selection and membership inclusion in the commission is a major point of 'give and take' for most of the truth finding mission. This give-and-take phenomenon can make the process of unveiling truth to become a myth and not reality.

Furthermore, can truth be ascertained when the 'truth' is that there is no truth established in the matter? When the commission members have loopholes in their characters and blur track records, are corrupt and greedy, the resultant effect will be a wishy-washy, uncertain, unreliable fruitless truth searching endeavour. A politically motivated truth commission will breed politically modified truth. Of a certainty, there may be genuine outcry for justice from both the national and the international community due to various degrees of inhumane activities perpetrated by some individual or a particular governmental regime. However, the truth becomes mythical when the process had been politicized and biased. In response to the popular outcry, the government may set up a truth commission that will be saddled with

the role of investigating the crime related matter. However, can a government personnel set up a panel to investigate itself in a genuine manner? Therefore, truth cannot be ascertained in such truth commission because the motive and agenda behind the setting up of the commission is politically inclined and may lack the basic iota of truth but a mere response to a popular cry from both the national and international quarters.

Democratic regimes and governments in transition are major examples of governments that have the high tendency of setting up truth commissions because when people become agitated, their will is mostly satisfied.¹³ However, truth will become a relative commodity when the mission is more or less like a revenge and aggression mission. In this case, a popular noticeable symptom is that the majority of witnesses may come from a single section of the community, opposition political party or close alliance in favour of a group. Therefore, the research and investigation desk of such commission will be flooded with economical and political truth instead of the real truth and reality of the situation. In some cases, the set of people that has the real facts or dissenting view against the politicised group in witness may be sidelined from having regular access to the truth commission

Then, what can be done to get the truth from a matter that has no genesis of truth surrounding it? Whenever a commission is set up, the foundational flaw is the membership that constitutes the staff. This starts from the research staff to the administrative secretary(s) and the investigating unit. Also the core staff of interrogating and fact recommendation units are essential. There, membership must be objectively

¹³ Aluko (2018a); Torelly (2018).

selected. The alignment to a religious, ethnic, political or economic group will turn the truth into a commodity that can be negotiated on at the short and or long run. Also, the susceptibility of the truth commission team to be bought over by another group - international or national - will make the duty of the commission to be in futility. This implies that the foundation of the truth commission in terms of the staffing must be solidified with morality sub-consciousness, checks and balances from within and outside the group.

Flow Chain Of Truth

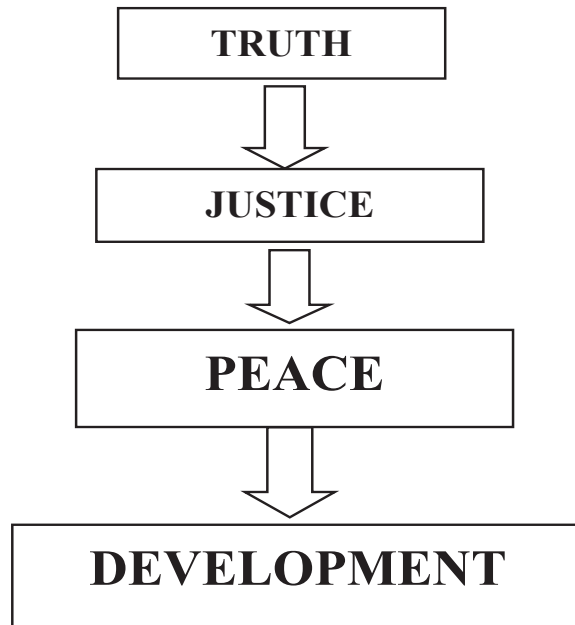
Truth as a relative concept is a basic commodity that leads to development in a society when it permeates the fabrics of the society. This means that where truth is established, justice is ensured. This is so because justice delivery depends on the level of truth established in a matter. In a state where justice is ensured by law, peace will be ensued. Justice, therefore, brings peace in the society. This is because it exerts positive satisfactory notion on the people. Truth and justice level in the society will have a notion of peaceful co-existence in the community. Also, the perception that no one is going to harm or injure their neighbour is a level of established peace due to the truth and justice ascertained in the society. Peace, on the other hand, ensures development. This is attained because more people will be ready to invest in a peaceful society than in a chaotic environment.¹⁴ Investment in turn will then bring development in the society.

Therefore, in a community where truth is upheld, development is eventually attained due to the presence of justice and

¹⁴ Aluko (2020).

peace attained in the community. On the other hand, where truth is not respected, justice will be denied; peace will not be established among the parties involved in a dispute. This will lead to protracted violence and, eventually, development will be a delusion. Figure 1 below further shows the flow chart of truth, which indicates that truth commissions search for truth based on the fact that truth brings justice, justice propels peace, and peace drives development in human endeavours.

Figure 1: Flow Chart of Truth



Source: Author 2019

Selected Truth Commission Across The World

Table I shows some selected truth commission expeditions across the world. It shows the period they were established, their years of operation, the legal framework that established

them and the violation of human rights that necessitated or prompted the setting up of the commission.

Table I. Selected Truth Commissions across the World

Country	Name of truth commission	Years of operation	Dates covered	Legal standing for the truth commission	Significant violations or acts not investigated
Argentina	National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP))	Established: 16 December 1983 Report completed: 20 September 1984	1976–1983	Decree No. 187 of 15 December 1983 by President Raúl Alfonsín	Killings by armed forces in real or staged “armed confrontations” Temporary disappearances, when person was released or body was found and identified Forced exile Detention and torture Acts of violence by armed opposition
Chile	National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (Comisión Nacional para la Verdad y Reconciliación)	Inaugurated: 1990 Report completed: February 1991	11 September 1973 – 11 March 1990	Decree No. 355 of 25 April 1990 by President Patricio Aylwin	Torture not resulting in death Illegal detention if released and survived Forced exile

Country	Name of truth commission	Years of operation	Dates covered	Legal standing for the truth commission	Significant violations or acts not investigated
Chad	Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes and Misappropriations Committed by Ex-President Habre, His Accomplices and/or Accessories	Established: December 1990 Report completed: May 1992	1982 – 1990	Decree No. 014/P.CE/CJ/90 of 29 December 1990 by President Idriss Déby	Killings, abductions and disappearances Detention, torture and ill-treatment Illegal seizure of properties
South Africa	Truth and Reconciliation Commission 3	Inaugurated: 1995 Primary reports completed: 1998 (commission continued to operate for several more years to complete amnesty hearings)	1960 – 1994	The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 by the South African Parliament	Forced removal and displacement of millions of people based on race Everyday policies and practices of apartheid that did not result in killings, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment as defined by the commission

Country	Name of truth commission	Years of operation	Dates covered	Legal standing for the truth commission	Significant violations or acts not investigated
Nigeria	Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission (aka Oputa Commission)	Inaugurated: 14 June 1999 Report completed: June 2002	31 December 1983 – 29 May 1999	Created through presidential decree, 4 June 1999, by President Olusegun Obasanjo	
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leonean Truth and Reconciliation Commission 4	Established: 2000 Inaugurated: July 2002 Report completed: 5 October 2004	1991 – 2000	Truth and Reconciliation Act, enacted in 2000 by the Sierra Leone Parliament, implementing Art. XXVI of the Lomé Peace Agreement	Forced displacement Arbitrary detentions, abductions and killings, amputations of limbs Recruitment of children into armed groups Sexual slavery of girl children
Ghana	(covered above) Created by Ghana National Reconciliation Commission	Inaugurated: 6 May 2002 Report completed: mid-2004	7 March 1957 – 6 January 1993	National Reconciliation Commission Act 611 of 2002 by the Parliament of Ghana	Killings, abductions and disappearances Detention, torture and ill-treatment Illegal seizure of properties

Country	Name of truth commission	Years of operation	Dates covered	Legal standing for the truth commission	Significant violations or acts not investigated
Peru	Truth and Reconciliation Commission	Inaugurated: 13 July 2001 Report completed: August 2003	1980 – 2000	Supreme Decree No. 065-2001- PCM of 4 June 2001, amended by Supreme Decree No. 101-2001-PCM of 4 September 2001	Assassinations and massacres Forced disappearances Arbitrary executions Torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment Sexual violence against women Violation of due process Abductions and taking of hostages Violence against children
Morocco	Equity and Reconciliation Commission	Inaugurated: January 2004 Report completed: December 2005	1959 – 1999	Created through a Royal Decree of King Mohammed VI	Insufficient attention to violations against minority populations (people of the Rif and Western Sahara) Assassinations and massacres Disappearances, torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment perpetrated by the state Sexual violence against women Abductions and taking of hostages

Country	Name of truth commission	Years of operation	Dates covered	Legal standing for the truth commission	Significant violations or acts not investigated
Liberia	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia	Inaugurated: February 2006 Expected to conclude mid-2008	January 1979 – 14 October 2003	Truth and Reconciliation Act passed in June 2005 by the National Transitional Legislative Assembly, implementing Article XIII of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 18 August 2003	Gross human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law. Massacres, sexual violations, murder, extrajudicial killings and economic crimes, such as exploitation of natural or public resources to perpetuate armed conflicts.

Country	Commissioners staff	Total # of cases presented	Budget		Public Hearings?	Final Report
Argentina	13 members (all national)	60				

Source: Researcher's compilation 2019

Model For Truth Commission Justice Findings

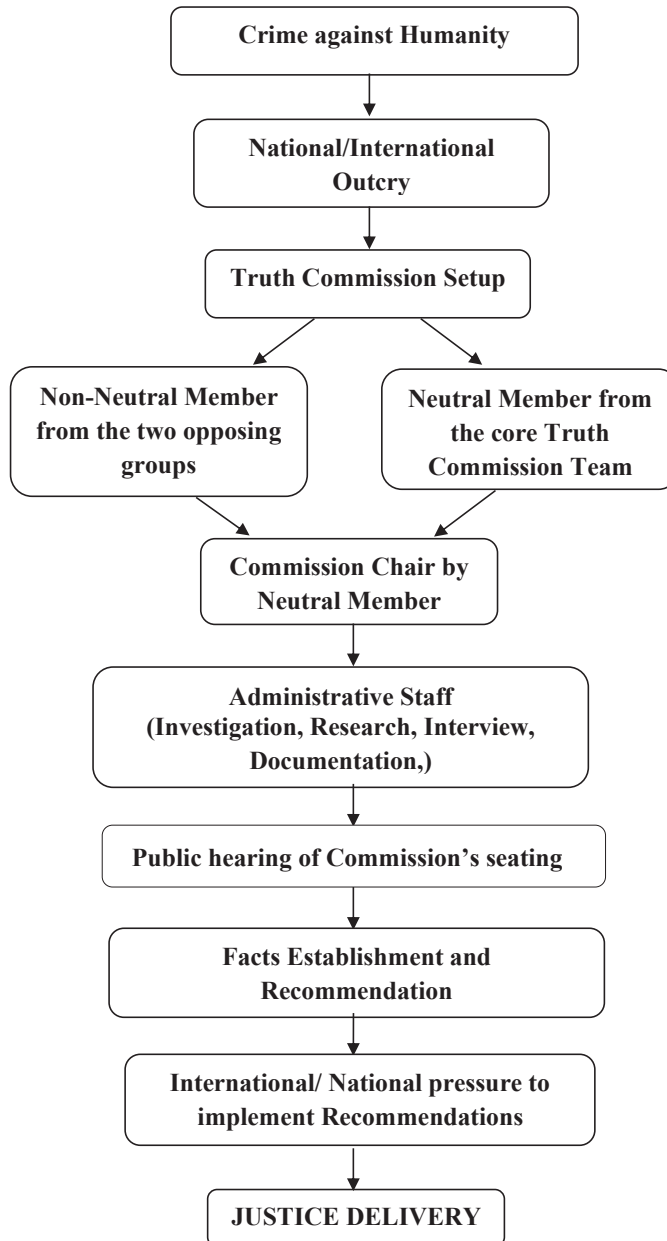
Justice delivery is the hallmark of all findings of truth commissions. However, truth commissions have no power to implement their recommendations. This singular limitation had crippled all the painstaking truth finding activities. The executive arm of the government may decide to jettison the report and or politicise the implementation by selecting what is 'suitable' to them.

This means that there is a need to factor in all the interests of the stakeholders into the debate and the justice mechanism. This implies having an inclusive truth commission panel which comprises of all the groups; the victims or victor, positive or negative and or the extreme right or extreme left groups. At the middle of the two parties in the truth finding matter will be the neutral party which should be the chair of the commission. The reason for including the two dissenting groups in the committee is to make the matter inclusive and objective to all the groups and not exclusive or subjective. This will promote openness in the fact finding mission, implementation and the objective of justice delivery will be fully achieved.

At the tail end of the model is a potential grid block against justice. This indicates delay in justice delivery by delaying or jettisoning the implementation process. The government agencies or personnel saddled with the implementation of the recommendations must not be left unchecked. They may decide not to implement the recommendations not because it was not proper but may be because it was not part of their main agenda for the period. Therefore, there is a need to quickly mount pressure on such persons from both national and international quarters so as not to waste

the human and intellectual resources invested into the truth searching process.

Figure 2: Model for Truth Commissions Justice Delivery



Source: Author (2019)

If the government implements some of the findings and recommendations in a selective manner, more pressure is needed to be mounted on them at this stage so as to be able to attain full justice. As incomplete truth is tantamount to falsehood so is incomplete justice tantamount to injustice. At the end of the process, justice will be delivered and the lesson of peaceful coexistence, love and harmony among the various groups in the country will be achieved. The future of the country will be secured as well because the rule of tyranny had been checkmated and brought to book through truth and justice delivery.

Conclusion

There is no country that had not passed through a measure of tyrannous rule in history. The quest for a just human community is not negotiable. Therefore, it implies that all countries deserve to support the truth finding missions of the truth commission. In the late 18th century till todate, several crimes against humanity have been committed and they should be investigated and the perpetrators, benefactors of crime and the networks of demand and supply of violence must be brought to book.

However, countries that have implemented some measures of the rule of law and are following the principles need to keep forging ahead instead of digging deep into the past centuries. The issue of implementing the findings and recommendations of truth commissions is expedient to the sustenance of law and order in the human societies. The level of implementation will deter the would-be tyranny or any form of inhumane behaviour such as kidnapping, human massacre, unlawful torture of the citizens or perceived enemies.

Citizens' advocacy is important to aid the outcry of the masses so as to protect their human dignity from a political demagogue leadership. Countries that had recently passed through such trauma need to look for national remedy by setting up a truth commission of inquiry into the hideous crime.¹⁵ If national advocacy is somewhat weak, there is a need to seek international collaboration to call on the government to set up a truth commission of inquiry so as to nip to the bud the perpetrators of the crimes against humanity.

The fact remains that truth brings justice, justice propels peace and peace drives development in human endeavours. The quest for justice delivery among the aggrieved persons is invaluable. This will propel peace among the various groups in the country. Harmonious relationship brings understanding and understanding drives in trust and trust among the various groups in a community will propel rapid development. Therefore, justice delivery by a truth commission will enhance good governance and a peaceful, equity and egalitarian society.

¹⁵ Aluko (2018a).

Reference

- Aluko O. (2020), *Backdoor Politics: Permitting Informalities for Formal Development in African Democracy*, "TEME Journal for Social Sciences", 2020, Vol. XLIV, No 1.
- Aluko O.I. (2018a), *Urban Violence Management in Nigeria*, "ACU Journal of Social and Management Sciences", 2018, Vol 2, No 2.
- Aluko O.I. (2018b), *Entangled in the "New World Order": Africa's (In-)Security Quandaries and Prospects*, in: *Rethinking Securities in an Emergent Technoscientific New World Order: Retracing the Contours For Africa's Hi-jacked Future*, eds. M. Mawere, A. Nhemachena Mankon, Bamenda, Cameroon.
- Aluko O.I. (2019a), *Caging the Leviathan*, "Dynamics of Public Administration", 2019, Vol 39 (1).
- Aluko O.I. (2019b), *Political Culture of Violence in Developing Democracies*, "Nigeria Political Science Association Journal Studies in Politics and Society", 2019, (Non-Thematic Edition) Vol 7.
- Buergethal, T. (1994), *The United Nations Truth Commission for El Salvador*, "V and J. Transnat'l L.", 1994, 27, 497.
- Cole, C. E. (2018), *Commemorating Mass Violence: Truth Commission Hearings as a Genre of Public Memory*, "Southern Communication Journal", 2018, 83(3).
- Grunebaum, H. (2017), *Memorializing the past: everyday life in South Africa after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Routledge.
- Hayner P.B. (2006), *Truth commissions: A Schematic Overview*, "International Review of the Red Cross", 2006, Vol 88, No 862.
- Hayner P.B. (2011), *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, New York.
- Ichiishi T. (2014), *Game theory for economic analysis*, Elsevier.
- Johnston B.R., Slyomovics S. (2016), *From Theory to Practice: Implementing Reparations in Post-Truth Commission Peru. In Waging War, Making Peace*, Routledge.

- Laplante L.J., Theidon K. (2007), *Truth with consequences: Justice and reparations in post-Truth Commission Peru*. "Hum. Rts. Q." 2007, 29, 228.
- Myerson R.B. (2013), *Game Theory*, 1997.
- Nichols A.D. (2019), *Truth Commission Legitimacy and Human Rights. In Impact, Legitimacy, and Limitations of Truth Commissions*, Cham.
- Niezen R. (2017), *Truth and indignation: Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian residential schools*, Toronto.
- Shore M. (2016), *Religion and Conflict Resolution: Christianity and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Routledge.
- Skaar E. (2018), *Anita Ferrara, Assessing the Long-Term Impact of Truth Commissions: The Chilean Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Historical Perspective*, Abingdon, Routledge.
- The International Center for Transitional Justice* (2019), *Truth Commission*, URL = www.ictj.org
- Torelly M. (2018), *Assessing a Late Truth Commission: Challenges and Achievements of the Brazilian National Truth Commission*, "International Journal of Transitional Justice", 2018, 12(2).

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Mariusz Boguszewski

Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1770-1933>

**From humanitarian to development aid.
A case study of the activities of
the Aid to the Church in Need Pontifical Foundation.**

Abstract

The description of the mission and activities of the international NGO organization Aid to the Church in Need (ACN) should be seen as an example of humanitarian, pastoral and development aid. The presented data gives a picture of the needs, but also shows that behind each of the projects there are specific stories of disadvantaged people. Reflecting on the activities and specific projects of the ACN Foundation allows us to conclude that one organization, even with an international reach, is not able to solve all the world's problems, but it can certainly show the world a picture of needs in many of its regions. The study is part of the research into the areas of humanitarian aid, religious problems in the world, the impact of the papal aid organization on the development of social and religious life, volunteering and the integral development of local communities. The source data used in this text is the Foundation's internal 2019 data. Two selected countries, Lebanon and South Sudan are representative countries supported by ACN. The selected aid projects illustrate the scale of the aid and can be used to draw a picture of the needs.

This example of ACN activities contributes to further research into the state of aid, the identification of aid needs and aid effectiveness in different regions of the world. The presented data may also inspire even greater solidarity between nations in mutual aid and may inspire other aid organizations to increase their involvement in aid in the indicated regions.

Keywords: humanitarian help, Church, foundation, ACN, need, development help, pastoral help, Lebanon, South Sudan.

e-mail: m.boguszewski@pkwp.org

Introduction

The aim of this article is to present a selected aid organization from the NGO sector as an example of the humanitarian pastoral and developmental aid activity. An example of such organizations in the international arena is Aid to the Church in Need.¹ Its founder, Father Werenfried Van Straaten (1913–2003)² is one of the well-known figures of the 20th century, like Mother Teresa and Abbé Pierre, who was religiously motivated to help suffering people. The sources used for writing this text were the Foundation's internal documents, 2019 Annual Report,³ studies on the functioning of the organization, and media reports. Since 1962, the foundation has extended its aid to the developing countries and has become a global organization. The study fits in the research of humanitarian aid areas, religion problems in the world, influence of religious organizations on the development of social life, voluntariness, and integral development of local communities.

¹ URL = <https://www.acninternational.org/our-history/>.

² In 1934, Fr. Werenfried Van Straaten entered the Flemish Premonstratensian (Norbertine) monastery in Tongerlo. From 1947, he called for aid to the defeated Germans during World War II and for reconciliation with the former enemy. It was the birth of the organization "Kirche in Not-Ostpriesterhilfe" (Kirche in Not). In 1952, he began helping the countries behind the Iron Curtain. After meeting with Fr. card. Stefan Wyszyński in 1957, Father Werenfried started helping the Church in Poland. Firstly, contemplative orders and seminaries were helped. Help for the contemplative sisters has continued until today. An important element of it was also the funding of scholarships, enabling the preparation of staff for Polish seminaries and Catholic universities. Aid to the Church in Need financed the construction of many Polish churches, including the Arc of the Lord in Nowa Huta. Cf. Ogonowska (2006); Kolmann (2005) - the historical information quoted herein comes from this study.

³ *Pomoc Kościołowi w Potrzebie* (2020).

The presented interdisciplinary study is set in the research space of various social, theological and religious sciences.

1. The aim of the Organization

The motto of the Aid to the Church in Need association is reconciliation and solidarity in the world. It carries out this mission by helping Christians who are persecuted, oppressed and suffering all over the world. After World War II, Father Werenfried Van Straaten showed determination to complete a seemingly impossible task of forgiveness and solidarity. His faith in people was expressed in the spectacular humanitarian action of providing existential aid to Germans, which he carried out in 1947 in Belgium and The Netherlands. Thanks to his efforts, the nations occupied by Nazi Germany gave generous financial and food support to their recent enemies. In the years that followed, Father Werenfried surprised the world with more and more intriguing ideas for spreading the Gospel and doing charitable work.⁴ Shortly after the war, he proposed chapels on wheels, converted trucks in which Mass was celebrated, reaching the faithful who were without places of worship. In 1953, he established the International Building Order to deal the construction of houses for German refugees. In the last years of his life, Father Werenfried amazed all sources with brilliant designs. The first of them was inspired by a personal request of St. John Paul II addressed to ACN for an effort concerning ecumenical reconciliation with the Orthodox Church. The answer was Father Werenfried's design of famous churches - dots "floating on Russian rivers and reaching places where there were no

⁴ Van Straaten (1965).

temples or any access roads.”⁵ Father Werenfried was the initiator of previously unused activities for re-evangelization in atheistic Germany. He organized cruising cars - confessionals encouraging people to receive the sacrament of penance. These ingenious forms of providing pastoral and material help to the followers of Christ, still inspiring admiration and respect in the world today, are a legacy that rests on those who continue the work of this Genius of Love.⁶ During the seventy years of its existence, Aid to the Church in Need has raised nearly two billion euros, which it has carefully allocated to forgotten, needy people living from hand to mouth on the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

A separate, no less important section of Aid to the Church in Need was care for the nations enslaved by Soviet dictatorship. Poland received most of this aid. After Father Werenfried and Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński met in 1957, ACN funds supported nuns, priests and laity persecuted by the communist authorities. Contemplative orders are supported with the annual campaign “Quiet and faithful presence”.⁷

The most important goal of ACN is to help the Church wherever it is persecuted in the world in a broad sense. Christians are persecuted in over 50 countries.⁸ The threat to their health and even life is growing. In 70 countries around the world, worship is restricted and Christians are discriminated against and forced to reject their faith. By sharing information about the situation of many people in need of help around the world, ACN makes all Christians aware of the fate

⁵ Gołąb (2006): 12.

⁶ Kolmann (2005).

⁷ URL = <https://misericors.org/cicha-i-wierna-obecnosc-wesprzyjsiostry-klauzurowe-wraz-z-pkwp/>.

⁸ Cisło (2014): 008.

of their sisters and brothers in faith all over the world, and by undertaking, together with many people of good will, specific projects of help. For this purpose, a newsletter is published 8 times a year, with over 40 years of tradition. Anyone can get it for free after making such a request to the regional office and giving their address. With the help of over 700,000 benefactors and volunteers, more than 7,000 projects are carried out each year, with a total budget of more than EUR 100 million.⁹

2. The idea of help

ACN helps refugees and those who are persecuted because of their faith or religion by providing them with material and pastoral assistance.¹⁰ Because of wars, religious or political persecution and natural disasters, millions of people around the world live as refugees. Very often, because of faith, they cannot get employment. In 2019, the aid went mostly to Africa. The Middle East was also an important region that received support. The new aid trends in Africa result mainly from the vigorous activity of terrorist groups in the north of the continent and in central African countries. While the number of Christians continues to increase, the scale of persecution and other forms of oppression is also increasing. The Middle East needs many more years of help to rebuild houses, places of worship, schools. There is a need for a very urgent development aid and the lack of adequate livelihood is still noticeable, so humanitarian aid is still needed. The third region under special care from ACN is Venezuela,

⁹ *Pomoc Kościołowi w Potrzebie* (2020).

¹⁰ Cisło, Paś, Boguszewski (2018): 7.

where life is hampered by a very difficult political and economic situation and a very low level of healthcare. Parishes are often the only places where people can get real life or health-saving assistance. One should also pay attention to threats from religious fundamentalisms and hence the need for support to the inhabitants of Pakistan and India.

2.1. Help in numbers

In 2019, ACN supported 5,230 projects for a total of 111.2 million euro.¹¹ Africa received 29.6% of this sum, the Middle East – 22.1%, Asia 16.0%, Central and Eastern Europe – 14.3%, Latin America - 13.1%, international projects 2.2%, Western Europe – 1.6%, Oceania - 0.9%, North America 0.2%. The funds raised come from more than 330,000 donors worldwide. In 2019, ACN had 25 national offices in: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, South Korea, Spain, Switzerland, USA, Venezuela.¹²

Funding comes mainly from donations made on a regular basis by donors, and an important aid trend are bequests allocated to ACN's activities. In 2019, legacies accounted for EUR 20.1 million, i.e. 18.9% of the income for the entire 2019. All projects, implemented in 139 countries around the world, were carried out with the participation of proven and reliable partners. This is particularly important for the credibility and purposefulness of the funds spent. As regards the nature of implemented projects: construction aid accounted for 24.0%, aid

¹¹ Statistical data from the ACN Yearly Report 2019 sent out to all benefactors.

¹² URL = <https://www.acninternational.org/about-us/acn-worldwide/>.

for refugees and humanitarian aid 16.8%, education of priests and religious 16.0%, mass scholarships 15.9%, training of lay missionaries 11.0%, automotive 5.8%, basic material assistance for cloistered sisters 5.0%, means of social communication 3.2%, book publications 2.3%. Thirty percent of construction projects were implemented in the Middle East; 1,315 of them basically concerned reconstruction and renovation of churches, monasteries, pastoral centres and residential houses destroyed as a result of armed conflicts. An important motivation to help with the extension of all public buildings and private homes is the fact that most of these buildings are needed so as to enable Christians, in particular, to return to their homes from exile caused by persecution. Constructions and renovations in Africa, on the other hand, are related to new infrastructure needed to achieve the goals of African beneficiaries. ACN has supported more than 16,000 seminarians who prepare for priesthood. The number of clerics who received support indicates that one in eight seminarians in the world received help from ACN.¹³ Clerics in Africa received most of that help; a total of 8,039 clerics in Africa, 3,061 in Latin America and 3,254 in Eastern Europe were supported. In 2019, support was provided to programs related to shaping personality of future clergymen. Over 13,000 religious sisters received material help in their daily functioning or in their religious and human formation. Help was provided to 3,529 sisters from active religious orders and 2,190 from contemplative orders. 4,416 sisters and 1,035 novices received help for formation. 663 means of transport were purchased. The purchases of boats, cars, bicycles and motorcycles help to fulfil the tasks resulting from the functions and tasks of the project

¹³ There are 115,382 clerics in the world today.

beneficiaries. ACN's humanitarian projects are primarily related to a very urgent need to save lives or health of the inhabitants of the regions affected by fights, persecution or violations of the rights of religious freedom. The total of 5,230 projects amounts to 211 more than in the previous year, but it should also be noted that in 2019 more requests were received than usual. In 2019, 7,154 applications were received, 2,041 were rejected. On average, one project was supported with EUR 14,535. Projects were implemented in 139 countries around the world, in 1,162 dioceses¹⁴. Support was provided to 24,000 catechists and people involved in the implementation of the goals resulting from the mission of the organizations that received help.¹⁵

2.2. Selected projects

Lebanon and South Sudan are representative countries of the two ACN assisted regions. The selected aid projects illustrate the scale of aid and can be used to draw a picture of the needs.¹⁶

2.2.1. Lebanon

1. Formation of 7 seminarians in the diocese – 2019/2020 – 10,000.00
2. Finishing of the parish hall construction at St Anthony of Padua parish – Chlifa Bekaa Nort – 25,000.00

¹⁴ There are 3017 catholic dioceses in the world.

¹⁵ *Pomoc Kościołowi w Potrzebie (2020)*.

¹⁶ The Data from ACN Archive in Warsaw.

3. Pastoral festival camps for children of Riders of the Virgin Mary Movement– CCVM – Northern Beqaa Region, 2019 – 15,000.00
4. On–going formation for animators belonging to Riders of the Virgin Mary Movement – CAGM – Northern Beqaa Region, 2019/2020 – 8,500.00
5. Extension of St Elie Beit – Shema church, Bekaa Valley (continuation) – 15,000.00
6. Pastoral summer camps for eight diocesan parishes – July 2019 – 6,800.00
7. On–going formation activities for 30 diocesan priests – 2019 – 15,000.00
8. Formation of 6 seminarians studying at the University of Holy Ghost Kasslik (Khalil Berqachi, Chadi Houry, Georges Daoud, Tony Keyrouz, Marc Rahme, Johnny Al Kozah) 2018/ 2019 – 9,000.00
9. Missae ordinariae for 30 diocesan priests – 2019 – 14,400.00
10. For children and youth summer camps – 2019 – 15,000.00
11. Missae ordinariae for 20 priests of Patriarcate de Cilicie des Arméniens Catholiques – 2019 – 8,000.00
12. Missae ordinariae for four diocesan priests – 2019 – 3,200.00
13. Rehabilitation of noviciate belonging to Saint Michael convent, Kesrewan (Cesc n°3133) – 15,000.00
14. Youth and children camp “Jesus Ma Joie” – 27./28.09.2019 – 30,000.00
15. Special donation ACN Poland: Bus and mattresses for students and orphans living in the Salvadorian House in Dar Al Sadaka, Zahle/ Beka – 29,047.08
16. Emergency help after the burning of Carmel St Joseph de Mechref – 30,000.00
17. Forwarding donation ACN USA to support Télé Lumière – Noursat – 86,956.52

18. Enlargement of the chapel and alteration of the ground floor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel convent, Hazmieh – 53,000.00
19. Socio–pastoral support for imprisoned female Ethiopian migrants in Lebanon – 2019 – 10,000.00
20. Missae ordinariae for 23 Missionaries of St Paul – 2019 – 9,200.00
21. Missae ordinariae for 27 priests of the Ordre des Pères Carmes (Carmelites) – 2019 – 16,100.00
22. Holistic assistance for young girls in Distress – Sisters of Good Shepherd, Sehaile, Keserwan, Mount Lebanon (October 2018 – July 2019) – 41,500.00
23. Missae ordinariae for 62 diocesan priests – 2019 – 24,800.00
24. Missae ordinariae for 39 diocesan priests – 2019 – 15,600.00
25. Missae ordinariae for 38 diocesan priests – 2019 – 15,200.00
26. Emergency food and hygiene packages for 500 families – 6,000.00
27. “Saint John the Merciful Table” for Syrian refugees and others in Zahle area and Bekaa Valley (03/ 2020– 02/ 2021) – 700,000.00
28. Assistance plan “Children Summer Camp” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – April 2020/ September 2020 – 30,000.00
29. Assistance plan “Students School Tuition” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ March 2020 – 70,000.00
30. Assistance plan “Secondary Care Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ September 2020 – 250,000.00
31. Assistance plan “Primary Care Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ September 2020 – 80,000.00
32. Assistance plan to enable Syrian refugees to remain in Lebanon – October 2019/ September 2020 – 36 000.00

33. Assistance plan “Mazout for heating” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ March 2020 – 80,800.00
34. Assistance plan “Diapers” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ September 2020 – 10,700.00
35. Assistance plan “Rent Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ September 2020 – 80,800.00
36. Assistance plan “Hygiene Kits” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019/ September 2020 – 120,000.00
37. Assistance plan “Food Packages” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – October 2019 – September 2020 – 96,000.00
38. Assistance plan “Children Summer Camp” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 27,000.00
39. Assistance plan “Students School Tuition” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 71 000.00
40. Assistance plan “Secondary Care Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 200,000.00
41. Assistance plan “Primary Care Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 80,400.00
42. Assistance plan to enable Syrian refugees to remain in Lebanon – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 89,000.00
43. Assistance plan “Mazout for heating” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 107,200.00
44. Assistance plan “Diapers” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 10,720.00
45. Assistance plan “Rent Assistance” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 80,400.00
46. Assistance plan “Hygiene Kits” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 160 800.00

47. Assistance plan “Food Packages” for Syrian refugees in Zahle – 2019 (continuation from 2018) – 128,640.00
48. Distribution of 2000 books catechism “Our Way to God” in the parishes of Bekaa Valley (Arabic version) – 3,200.00
49. “Saint John the Merciful Table” for Syrian refugees and others in Zahle area and Bekaa Valley (03/2019 – 02/2020) – 880,000.00.

2.2.2. South Sudan

The political conflict that has been going on for years, as well as the wildfires and floods ravaging the country, not only cause suffering but also lack of development prospects. ACN aid projects in South Sudan are primarily related to pastoral aid. Pastoral assistance is understood here as a wide-range of help to organize parish life and evangelization. The organizational structure of the church’s life is based mainly on one archdiocese and 6 suffragan dioceses with a couple of smaller structures of Eastern Churches consisting mainly of immigrants from the neighbouring African countries. As usual, aid provided to parish communities which is aimed at pastoral care is consequently developmental and humanitarian.¹⁷ The impact of parishes on society, especially in the poor countries of Africa, is evidence of this.

In 2019, fourteen projects were carried out in this African country for a total amount of almost EUR 500,000.¹⁸ The main aid project in 2019 was the construction of a pastoral house

¹⁷ Basically, contacts with representatives of the local partner of projects or local Church on the part of ACN takes place through bishops and senior religious superiors without whose approval it is impossible to obtain help. Every project must be accepted by the Church authorities.

¹⁸ The Data from ACN Archive in Warsaw.

in the Diocese of Tombura - Yambio. The cost of this project amounted to EUR 119,130. The project was realized at the request of Fr. Sungerukauri who represents Bishop Edward Hiiboro Kussal. Bishop Kussal has been bishop of this diocese since 2008. The second largest financial aid project was a contribution to the construction of a monastery and a multi-purpose hall at the congregation premises of the Daughters of St. Paul in the Archdiocese of Juba. The cost of this project amounted to EUR 80,000. Also the amount of EUR 30,000 was donated for emergency assistance to the victims of floods in the parish of St. Peter and St. Paul in the Diocese of Malak; the amount of EUR 25,000 was given for the formation of priests in the Diocese of Rumbek and EUR 30,000 for the renovation of the catechetical centre. The amount of EUR 30,000 was donated through a Polish missionary working in the Diocese of Rumbek for medical and food aid to refugees; The diocese of Rumbek also received funds for the purchase of a car for pastoral work. The car was financed together with MIVA Poland. The amount of EUR 70,000 was donated by the Diocese of Tombura-Yambio to Father Diko to build a pastoral and catechetical complex and a shelter for the homeless; the amount of EUR 40,000 was allocated in the Diocese of Diko for renovation of the house and chapel of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the Diocese of El Obeid, two projects were carried out. The first one, costing EUR 32,000, was dedicated to the support of priests and sisters in this diocese. The second project amounts to EUR

24,000 for the reconstruction of a chapel and parish house near the military base in the Nubian Mountains.

Conclusion

The chosen mission and activities carried out by Aid to the Church in Need illustrate how a developing sector organization can contribute to development aid by conducting various humanitarian aid projects. The actions referring to religious axiology and means of pastoral influence appropriate for religions turn out to be very effective tools for helping and for the development of communities, especially local ones, previously affected by various crises. The description of ACN's mission and the activities of this international aid organization contributes to further research into the state of aid, aid needs and aid effectiveness in various regions of the world. The presented data undoubtedly give a picture of the needs, but also show that behind each of the projects there are specific stories of the aggrieved and gifted. Reflecting on the activities and specific projects of the Aid to the Church in Need Foundation it should be stated that a single organization, even with an international outreach, is not able to solve all the world's problems, but it can certainly show the world a picture of needs and can inspire even greater solidarity between nations in mutual humanitarian and development aid.

Bibliography

1. Cisło W. (2014), *Przedmowa do wydania polskiego*, in: *Prześladowani i zapomniani. Przemoc wobec Chrześcijan*, ed. P. Marshall, L. Gilbert, N. Shea, Poznań.
2. Cisło W., Paś A., Boguszewski M. (2018), *Wstęp arcybiskupa Issam Johana Darwisha, greko-melchickiego arcybiskupa Zahle i Furzol, Liban*, in: *Prześladowani i Zapomniani. Raport dotyczący Chrześcijan prześladowanych za wiarę w latach 2015 - 2017*, ed. W. Cisło, A. Paś, M. Boguszewski, Warszawa.
3. Gołąb T. (2006), *Tam, gdzie trzeba*, "Gość Niedzielny", 05/2006.
4. Kolmann E.-M. (2005), *Danke, Pater Werenfried! Ein Brief an den Speckpater*, München.
5. Van Straaten W. (1965), *They Call Me The Bacon Priest*, Belgium.
6. *Pomoc Kościołowi w Potrzebie* (2020), ACN Yearly Report 2019, Warszawa.
7. *ACN Worldwide*, URL = <https://www.acninternational.org/about-us/acn-worldwide/> - [access: 21.07.2019].
8. *Cicha i wierna obecność – Wesprzyj siostry klauzurowe wraz z PKWP*, URL = <https://misericors.org/cicha-i-wierna-obecnosc-wesprzyj-siostry-klauzurowe-wraz-z-pkwp/> [access: 20.7.2019].
9. Ogonowska M. (2006), *Kirche in Not - Church in Need*, URL = https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/D/DI/pkwp_kircheinnot.html [access: 22.07.2019].
10. *Our History*, URL = <https://www.acninternational.org/our-history/> [access: 20.7.2019].
11. *Unicef Sudan Południowy*, URL = <https://www.unicef.pl/O-nas/Gdzie-pomagamy/UNICEF-SUDAN-POLUDNIOWY> [access: 23.7.2019].