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SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

The subject of my doctoral dissertation is the Zdzisław Stahl's Political and Legal Thought. The doctoral dissertation was prepared under the guidance of dr hab. Tomasz Scheffler. The research considerations presented in this dissertation constitutes the result of long-standing research conducted within the Department of Political and Legal Doctrines at the Faculty of Law, Administration and Economics of the University of Wrocław.

Dedicated to Professor Zdzisław Stahl's (1901-1987) the political and legal thought, this doctoral dissertation presents Zdzisław Stahl's comprehensive considerations in the field of political, ideological, social and economic aspects throughout the 20th century, as well in Poland and internationally. The dissertation presents the process of cultivation political and legal concepts in Stahl's thought as a result of the structural, legal, social and economic transformations taking place contemporary on Polish grounds, resulting from the eventful historical and martial processes at that time. The content of the work presents, in particular, the dynamic process of forming Stahl's beliefs on the reconstruction of the Polish state after regaining independence in 1918 and the formation and sustainment of appropriate political power in Poland in the interwar period. Successive chapters of the dissertation presents the process of creating Stahl's thought, ultimately developed as a synthesis of the concepts of two politicians who instituted the methods of national liberation struggles on Polish grounds - Roman Dmowski and Józef Piłsudski. The dissertation attempts to present Zdzisław Stahl as faithful to the concepts of national liberation throughout his life and, for this purpose, systematizes the entirety of the political and legal thought that he presented.

The work also presents Stahl's way of political and legal insight at the historical processes of the Polish state as a result of the outbreak of World War II and the imposition of communist power in Poland.

The dissertation divides the issues of consideration into four main chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. The dissertation refers to the historical and descriptive method.

The first chapter, filled with a historical description of Stahl's life, presents in chronological order the various stages of his political, journalistic and scientific activity, starting from the fight for the independence of the homeland at the beginning of the 20th century and the years of rebuilding Polish statehood while the interwar period, through the time of World War II and the period of living in exile in Great Britain.

The following chapters were written according to the subject criterion.

Chapter II includes an analysis of Stahl's extensive considerations about the proper nature of the state, in respect of political, economic and social conditions. This chapter refers to the process of formation of his political views on the concept of the state, starting from the early period of activity within the National Democracy, through turning to the political environment concentrated around Józef Piłsudski and the final approval for the idea of building a strong state and persistent executive power in order to rebuild and sustain the independence of Polish grounds. Chapter II presents Stahl's final concept of the state, founded on the term (said by himself) of "national-state constructivism", based on the synthesis of national democratic thought and Piłsudski's environment concept. Furthermore Chapter II also presents Stahl's vast analyzes relating to the issues of state economic policy, perceived from the perspective of the historical school in economics..

Chapter III is devoted to a description of Stahl's reflection on contemporary foreign political and social processes related to the increasing influence of given ideological currents. Stahl focused on the characteristic of Italian fascism and Russian Bolshevism. This chapter also presents Stahl's mode of insight at the impact of the ideological model on political and social life in countries with liberal systems. Furthermore chapter III also points out the Stahl's deliberating concerning Polish situation and ideological depiction of the international situation during the Cold War associated with the danger of Soviet policy towards the Western World.

Chapter IV refers in the first part to the constitutional issues raised by Stahl, including its legal and political assessments of the March Constitution of 1921 and the April Constitution of 1935. Stahl's reflections on political - systemic issues were intended to answer the question about the most favorable political model of the state, principally while the reconstruction of the state after regaining independence. As well, in this field of Stahl's considerations, his endorsement for the concept of strengthening the authority of the state and the position of the executive power was particularly visible, what was articulated in the provisions of the April Constitution which constituted the most appropriate political foundation for Polish political

conditions according to Stahl. For this purpose, the dissertation attempts to convey the April Constitution as an optimal means of implementing Stahl's concepts of protecting the restored Polish state against threats to the continuity of constitutional borders and building state independence.

This part of the dissertation also includes Stahl's comments relating to the consequences of presidential crisis in the political environment of the Polish post-war emigration in London, referring to the retention of the office of president by August Zaleski. The effects of the political conflict in the Polish emigration environment raised by Stahl were to contribute to the weakening of its coherence and destabilization of the independence fight. In the next part chapter IV covers issues related to the circumstances and the legal qualification of the crime committed against Poles in Katyn in 1940 as the crime of genocide discussed by Stahl.

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