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*Realism and utopism in contemporary political thought
(The outline of problem issues)*

Realizm i utopizm we współczesnej myśli politycznej
(zarys zagadnień problemowych)

“[...] every clarity exists only in the element of non-clarity”.

Karl Mannheim

THESES AND ANTITHESES

Political thought, in all its manifestations and to a different degree and extent, influences the social reality. The degree and scope of influence of a specific form of political thought upon the social reality is recognized as the exponent of its efficacy. This efficacy, regarded as one of the main values of political thought, can manifest itself in the short term or in the near or as late as distant future. The type of political thought with short-term efficacy is usually called realistic thought, while the type of political thought with long-term efficacy is termed utopian thought. It is mainly the scientific task of political doctrines to determine the effectiveness of forms of political thought by establishing its realism or utopianism/utopism.

Of the known forms of political thought those of crucial importance to the present discussion are ideologies on the one hand and utopias on the other. Further considerations will be based upon challenging the fairly widespread thesis about the superiority of realism, and thereby of the efficacy of ideology over utopia, by substantiating the view about the confusion in all forms of political thought, thus also in ideologies and utopias, of realism with utopia-

ism/utopism. The starting point in our discussion will be the fundamental findings of Karl Mannheim concerning relations between ideology and utopia¹.

Before we proceed, however, to the search for realistic and utopian contents in contemporary utopian thought, we should first pause to focus on the description of the present state of this thought. This can best be served by yet another attempt to answer anew the question formulated at one time in the title of an essay by Ryszard Skarżyński, *Czy filozofia polityczna jest jeszcze możliwa?* (Is political philosophy still possible?)². It appears that the general tenor of Skarżyński's answer to this question should be re-examined. I shall treat the author's standpoint as theses while my own views as antitheses, both certainly analyzed with a synthesis in mind. While Skarżyński seems to suggest that there is a deep crisis of present-day political thought, in my perception the condition of this thought does not appear to be so critical.

Thesis One. An attempt to differentiate in the strictly scientific sense between political philosophy and political theory as two different forms of political thought, even if it were to succeed, which is impossible, is of little significance for the purpose of distinguishing realism from utopianism/utopism in ideologies and utopias as the object of our discussion.

Antithesis One. It would be difficult to prove that the main subject matter of political philosophy is political values while political theory first of all describes them. Nor can we fully accept the view that the former carries a greater load of arbitrariness and subjectivity than the latter. Either essentially contains both some descriptions of some values and their evaluations. If they do exist, then the fact itself of their existence appears to be a feature of realism, regardless of their actually possible ideological or utopian contents.

Thesis Two. Leo Strauss's view about the destruction of political philosophy by positivism, historicism and relativism could directly relate to the subject in question, if this thesis were true.

Antithesis Two. Strauss's view must be subject to dispute, for even the assumption of predominance of positivism, historicism and relativism in contemporary political philosophy does not deprive them of such character or contradict the possibilities of their development. Relativism even assumes the possibility of development of many trends in political thought, not only oriented towards the past, like historicism, or the present like positivism, but also towards the future. In all the three currents of political thought – positivism, historicism and relativism – one can, and should, also seek both realistic and utopian contents.

¹ K. Mannheim: *Ideologia i utopia (Ideology and Utopia)*, translated by Jan Miziński, Lublin 1992.

² *Historia. Idee. Polityka (History. Ideas. Politics)*, Festschrift dedicated to Professor Jan Baszkiewicz, Warsaw 1995, p. 296 et sqq.

Thesis Three. Pragmatism, dominant in contemporary political thought, is an enemy of political philosophy. As Skarżyński put it “Essentially, the sophisticated philosophical or ideological justification for the existing reality has lost its significance [...] its most important justification is in fact only practice”³.

Antithesis Three. The ubiquity of pragmatism in contemporary political thought does not entirely eliminate the development of philosophically or ideologically sophisticated justifications for the existing political reality; even pragmatic interpretations of philosophy or political ideology can have sophisticated forms. Moreover, we should also be reminded of the existence and development of highly sophisticated trends in contemporary political thought, especially those manifesting themselves under the banner of hermeneutics, modernism and postmodernism.

Thesis Four. Contemporary political philosophy “is highly nebulous precisely because it does not have any universal point of support [...] The place of God has not been taken by any absolute that would be able to survive a little longer [...] The absence of the absolute thus makes impossible political thinking in unequivocal terms of truth and falsity. The criteria of truth are determined by a specific existential situation”⁴.

Antithesis Four. If we treated seriously the confining of the absolute to the idea of God, there would be no secular political thought referring also to some absolutes. Moreover, the search for one absolute for many diverse and frequently opposing ideologies, philosophies or political theories evidently deviates from the political reality. It is common knowledge that any political ideology refers to another leading idea or political value of its own, which it adopts as its own specific absolute. However, even if we remained within the sphere of religious political thought, it would not be possible to find in it the idea of one God represented in similar ways.

Thesis Five. From pragmatism and the lack of the absolute, as the features of contemporary political philosophy, follows its special technicization. “The main objective of political thinking today is – as Skarżyński put it – political technology or a technology necessary during the struggle for state power and while exercising it, adjusted to the requirements of a given political system”⁵.

Antithesis Five. Certainly, owing to the rapid development of extraordinary technological achievements, there followed the great mobility of people, ideas and effects of events all over the world. This also applies to political thought and practice. At the same time we should remember that technology in politics has not ceased to be merely a means for the realization of given ends and values, only

³ Skarżyński: *ibidem*, p. 301.

⁴ Skarżyński: *ibidem*, p. 299, 300, 307.

⁵ Skarżyński: *ibidem*, p. 306.

one far more effective than it was. Therefore, the reduction of entire political thought and practice to technology evidently deviates from reality.

Thesis Six. The features in question, especially pragmatism and technicism, have contributed, as for example J. Habermas holds, to the running out of the utopian energy of Western societies – reflection on the possible prospects of building a better social order⁶.

Antithesis Six. “In fact, the thesis that there is no interest at present in the problem of a good social system or ideal state is not actually corroborated by the sources”⁷. As Mannheim observed, one cannot essentially write the history of consciousness until the most important stages in the transformation of the utopian element have been clarified⁸. Careful observation of the present day must induce one to take account of utopianism/utopism in political thought, as a three-dimensional phenomenon composed of utopias, utopian communities and considerations of social science, including political doctrines.

Thesis Seven. The victory of liberalism, almost on the worldwide scale, brought about the end of development of new ideologies. Therefore, as Skarżyński put it “There are no original, influential ideas, and not because it is impossible to create them. There are simply no recipients of new ideas. [...] no new, great political entities are emerging that would call for justification for their own positions [...] Former *-isms* no longer express the interests of today’s dominant social groups, small and focused on comparatively narrow problems”⁹.

Antithesis Seven. The repeatedly proposed theses about the collapse of political thought are certainly fallacious. For even such theses are a special kind of ideology. It would also be difficult to ignore the emergence of new *-isms*, however. For example, feminism or ecologism in recent decades. Furthermore, scientific literature devoted to political thought is constantly developing. The diversity of the real or utopian significance of particular ideologies is quite a different matter, but this has always been the case.

Thesis Eight. The evolution of contemporary thought consists, on the one hand, in its destruction by positivism, historicism and relativism, while on the other hand in driving out the axiological by the technological. In Mannheim’s view the total absence of ideology and utopia is, admittedly, basically possible in the world, which has come to terms with itself and is constantly reproduced, yet the total destruction of the transcendence of reality leads in our world to a reality by which human will is destroyed [...] and thereby insight into history.

⁶ See for example J. Habermas: *Technika i nauka jako „ideologia”* (*Technology and science as “ideology”*), [in:] *Czy kryzys socjologii? (A Crisis of Sociology?)*, Warsaw 1977, passim.

⁷ This is an apt remark of Skarżyński, referring to many contemporary political thinkers, *Historia. Idee. Polityka...*, p. 297.

⁸ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁹ Skarżyński: *Historia. Idee. Polityka...*, p. 304, 307.

Antithesis Eight. Positivism, historicism and relativism did not in the least bring about the destruction of contemporary political thought, they rather guided the development of some of its currents towards some other directions. The alleged driving out, however, of the axiological by the technological is only apparent. In each developed form of political thought a condition for its existence is the co-presence of both values and the means of their realization. Only, with the power of technology, its speed, efficiency and spectacularity seem to have eclipsed values. This power is distinctly blurred if we view the relations between values and the means of political thought in a longer time interval.

Thesis Nine. There are clear-cut boundaries between realistic contents and utopian contents in political thought. Moreover, in the evolution of political thought, downplaying of the significance of the latter is evident, with the simultaneous growth in importance of the former.

Antithesis Nine. In all forms of political thought, even the maturest ones, there is no clear-cut boundary between their realistic and utopian contents. If the utopian and the ideological are generally associated with the lack of realism, this has been previously noticed mostly in the thinking of a political opponent. Striving for objectivity must however induce one to see both the utopian and the ideological in one's own political thinking.

When trying to formulate a synthesis we should observe that in each case it is more important for political thinking to be aiming at the future than at the past, when one grasps the image of the epoch on the basis of its hopes, yearning, and future-oriented objectives. For it is according to these objectives and expectations that – in Mannheim's view – one shapes not only future events but also evaluates the past¹⁰. Contrary to some views, B. Baczko remarked, "There has been a steadily growing interest in utopias [...] in all manner of diverse works and actions – from arts to great social movements [...] to be concerned with utopia is some kind of an intellectual fashion"¹¹.

"What must be striking is negligible interest in Poland in utopianism/utopism in all its manifestations as compared with animated interest in this phenomenon outside our [Poland's] borders. In the United States, Canada and Israel, the communal movement is flourishing that directly relates to utopian thought. Utopianism/utopism there does not only constitute a rewarding matter for research, marked by a multitude of publications, but also the subject of academic teaching, enjoying undying interest of college students. The lively pulse of interest in utopianism/utopism can also be gauged by high activity of numerous research institutions and scholarly societies and by the great numbers of congresses, conferences, conventions, symposia and workshops, organized on different principles. In all those fields insufficient presence of Polish utopian thought is acutely felt"¹².

¹⁰ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 173.

¹¹ B. Baczko: *Utopia*, [in:] *Wyobrażenia społeczne. Szkice o nadziei i pamięci zbiorowej (Social Notions. Essays on Hope and Collective Remembrance)*, Warsaw 1994, p. 94 et sqq.

¹² R. A. Tokarczyk: *Polska myśl utopijna. Trzy eseje z dziejów (Polish Utopian Thought. Three Essays in Its History)*, Lublin 1995, p. 8.

THE PARADIGM OF REALISM

An important criterion for the assessment of the value of political thought remains its realism, enabling distinction between realistic political thought and utopian political thought. However, ascertaining of the realism of political thought, especially the thought oriented towards the future, encounters serious difficulties in the process. Before, however, we use the criterion of realism to evaluate political thought, we should elucidate the sense of realism itself.

Dictionary definitions of realism distinguish its three meanings: an attitude towards life, a view and a category in literature and arts¹³. All these meanings of realism correspond to a lesser or greater extent with the present subject matter.

Realism in the meaning of an attitude to life consists in the sober, objective and impartial assessment of the reality, based on experience and reasoning. Only such an assessment permits us to select the right measures of action, including political thought, that successfully lead to the intended goal.

Realism in the meaning of a view functions in the philosophical theory of cognition also called epistemology. It is based on recognition of the existence of objective reality as the source of cognition, outside of the human mind and independently of it. Owing to this cognition, depending on its accuracy, more or less realistic political thought is formulated.

Finally, realism in arts and literature, developed on the turn of the nineteenth century, consisted, by analogy to realistic political thought, in recreating in a literary work or a work of art, the significant features of the reality in a manner consistent with observation and the attained level of cognition. Direct political meaning, even in interactions with political thought, was acquired by socialist realism as “a creative method serving to distinguish significant, revolutionary and class conflicts of the epoch, and social and political phenomena in a manner conforming to historical materialism”¹⁴.

Realism in the sociologist's perception differs from the perception of a scholar studying political thought. Mannheim observes that ‘reality’ seen by the sociologist can be always expressed only as ‘existing in a specific form’, which means here – as an effective and in this sense actually definable order of life – definable through the specific character of its underlying economic system and the system of power; the order, however, also embraces all forms of human coexistence. Political thought, especially in the form of ideology and utopia, transcends the ‘specifically existing’ reality, whose forms do not converge with the operating order of life, but possibly with its order in the future¹⁵.

¹³ See for example *Słownik języka polskiego (Dictionary of Polish Language)*, vol. III, Warsaw 1985, p. 27.

¹⁴ *Ibidem, loc. cit.*

¹⁵ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 160 et sqq.

Despite considerable divergence of views we can nevertheless point to a set of criteria, serving to assess the practical significance of specific forms of political thought that make up the paradigm of realism. These include: 1) current relevance and usefulness in solving current socio-political and legal problems, 2) the intellectual content corresponding with the “spirit of the times”, 3) unequivocal decisions concerning fundamental social, political and legal institutions, 4) internal logical cohesion, 5) respect for social experience, yet free from orthodoxy and dogmatism, 6) conformity with accepted values, professed at least by the majority of society¹⁶.

THE PARADIGM OF UTOPIANISM/UTOPISM

Utopia is a vision of an idealized society, without chances of being realized at the time or place where it has been formulated. Those idealized places are precisely utopias while the idealized times are also called chiliasms or uchronies. Utopias encourage imaginary journeys to places that there are not, while chiliasms or uchronies – journeys to the times that already existed or are to come. If a utopia is an imaginary journey to a non-existent land, it is thereby devoid of any realism whatsoever. Chiliasms or uchronies are journeys in times that assume the possibility of being realized inasmuch as it is possible to restore the ideal social order of the past or to establish such an order in the future.

The history of humankind has hitherto associated the concept of utopia with its three main facets: utopian literature, utopian communities, and the theories of various social sciences whose subject matter is the former two. The study of utopian literature and utopian communities is called utopism whereas its theoretical interpretation is termed utopianism. Utopias, as a literary genre and ideologies, belong to forms of the political thought that in doctrinal studies acquires the features of utopianism. Incorporation of utopism into social theories expressed by doctrines, especially political, enables grasping and comprehending the essence of the phenomenon of utopianism in social changes¹⁷. Also social theories inspired the development of utopias – those of Fourier, Saint Simon, Enfantin, Considerant – which, owing to that fact, were able to be “scientifically justified [...] yet premature truths”¹⁸.

¹⁶ See R. A. Tokarczyk: *Praktyczne treści filozofii prawa (Practical content of philosophy of law)*, [in:] *Filozofia prawa a tworzenie i stosowanie prawa (Philosophy of Law versus Law Making and Application of Law)*, (ed.) B. Czech, Katowice 1992, p. 180.

¹⁷ The conception of utopianism was introduced by Lyman Tower Sargent, the American scholar of political thought, Editor-in-Chief of probably the most influential journal in the field, “Utopian Studies”; see also K. Kumar: *Utopianism*, University of Minnesota Press 1991.

¹⁸ B. Baczeko: *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Utopism as the subject matter of utopianism has two contexts – temporal and spatial – but they are set in the utopist’s consciousness. Therefore, Mannheim’s judgement is accurate when he contends that the utopian character undergoes, in our consciousness, formal and substantial transformations: the existing ‘reality’ is exploded at each stage by various factors transcendent of it. Of utopian nature is the consciousness that does not converge with its surrounding reality: in experiencing, thinking and acting it is oriented towards factors that are absent from that reality. Confining utopias to an orientation transcendent of the reality, which at the same time explodes the existing order, permits to discriminate between utopian and ideological consciousness¹⁹.

We know the distinction between relative utopia – unreal only from the viewpoint of a particular stage of social development – and strict or absolute utopia, unreal any time and everywhere. Relative utopia has a greater motivating force to act because it inspires a desire to so transform the real social existence that it would create opportunities for the realization of a utopia. Absolute utopia may however discourage such transformations. Absolute utopia exists outside real time and real space, which is why it assumes the features of everlasting order – metaphysical, philosophical and rationalist categories: those of nature, God, reason, laws of nature, freedom, equality, and justice²⁰.

While searching for the realistic content in political thought one should distinguish between its more or less idealized models and more or less utopian ones. Remaining faithful to the same models of politics permits one to speak of political ideals (from Latin *idealis* – ideal) in the sense of perfection that remains the ultimate goal of desires and aspirations of particular political movements, being expressed in their political manifestos. Dressing political thought in ornamented garments of political ideals is as much tempting as it is risky. Tempting, because it can constitute an important factor, mobilizing participants in political movements for intensified activity. It is risky, especially when a political ideal climbs the unreal levels of absolute political utopia, inevitably bringing pessimistic doubt and disillusionment to political movement participants²¹.

Idealized models of political thought are pure, exemplary types of utopian consciousness, distinguished from personal utopias found in the given consciousness of particular people. Personal utopias never fully agree with the models of utopian consciousness, despite the fact that they tend towards a specific model of this consciousness. Personal utopias are characterized by special realism while model utopias of the highest level – by utopism identical with realism. Personal

¹⁹ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 170, 159.

²⁰ The term “utopia of eternal order” was used inter alia by J. Szacki: *Spotkania z utopią (Encounters with Utopia)*, Warsaw 1980, p. 98 et sqq.

²¹ See R. Tokarczyk: *Współczesne doktryny polityczne (Contemporary Political Doctrines)*, Eleventh Edition, Zakamycze 2000, p. 23.

utopias are as much realistic as they play an important role in people's everyday life. They are imaginary conditions of the mind which a) goes beyond real states, b) breaks the bonds of the existing order, c) shows alternatives to the existing order, d) develops dialectical relations with the external world, e) relates to the unrealized contents of the future. Knowledge about personal utopias, emphasized in American education, most often comes from the descriptions and statements by pupils and students²².

Utopia is literary genre like satire because the two forms of expression of thought not only reject the present-day models of society but sometimes they also apply similar literary techniques (e.g. a journey or a foreigner's viewpoint). Satire confines itself, nevertheless, to criticizing the existing societies, in which it can be fully realistic, whereas utopia seeks a better alternative to them, whereby it enters the world that is unreal here and now. Also poetry is oriented towards utopian perspectives, replacing natural language with a 'translogical' one, iconic with absolute meaning, thus making it autotelic. Satirical works of special kind are negative utopias known as anti-utopias, dystopias and cacotopias, when they ridicule or parody the works of utopian writers²³.

The purpose of search for realistic contents in utopias can be served by their division into escapist – representing a special escape into dreams, and heroic ones that transform dreams into programs and commands to act in order to realize them. According to Szacki's classification heroic utopias comprise utopias of order – intended to create enclaves of good within the evil society, and utopias of politics – striving to entirely transform an evil society into a good one. The search for realistic contents in utopias can continue on the basis of utopia classifications employing chronological criteria (ancient, medieval, Renaissance, modern, Enlightenment and contemporary), content-related ones (moral, educational, communist, socialist, anarchist, urban, oculist, bureaucratic, technocratic etc.), social stratification criteria (classes, strata, professions, elites, whole societies), functional ones (educational and didactic, reactionary, revolutionary, conservative etc), and forms of expression (literary, political, philosophical, economic, social etc)²⁴.

It is a regularity of the historical development of utopias that they gradually approach the reality owing to social and technological progress that provides appropriate means for the purpose. When at its historical sources utopia was entirely transcendent of the social reality, as time went by it became increasingly

²² Inspiration to reflection on personal utopias was contributed by the Israeli scholar L. Hadomi: *Between Hope and Doubt. The Story of Utopia*, Tel Aviv 1989, who introduced the term "intopia" as a sub-genre of utopian literature.

²³ For more on negative utopias see for example *Utopia e Distopia, a cura di Arrigo Colombo*, Milano 1987.

²⁴ J. Szacki: *op. cit.*, p. 41–152; R. A. Tokarczyk: *Polska myśl utopijna...*, p. 17.

immanent in relation to the latter. It manifested itself successively in folk, religious, revolutionary and literary utopias as well as anti-utopias²⁵.

The modern utopia, especially in the eighteenth century, can be analyzed as radical *theodicy*, an extreme attempt to challenge the reality of evil. It was based on the optimistic conviction that human nature is good but it became corrupt by the evil of political and law institutions. Original good could be restored in the society founded on perfect law and institutions derived from the law of nature.

Since the mid-eighteenth century “*u-topia* evolved into *u-chrony*: a social *elsewhere*, a different society no longer set in imaginary *space* but in likewise imaginary time [...] utopia leaves the literary ghetto, from the French Revolution onwards it penetrates into politics”. “Utopias are presented as solutions that should *hic et nunc* be applied in practice, responding to the society-plaguing crisis”. At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries “political myths started to be open to utopias and utopias became deep-rooted in myths” – those of revolution, progress, and nation²⁶.

Striving to eliminate the gap between the state and society has been the main motif of utopian thought since the rise of the theory of modern state. Two proposals for the elimination of this gap appeared in nineteenth-century utopias. One was developed by Rousseau, Marx and utopian socialists, who proposed to abolish the state as a condition for establishing a harmonious, stateless society. The other was formulated by Hegel and proponents of the idea of abolishing the society through its absorption by the state. Both the proposals were utopian, a compromise having arrived only with the modern conception of the liberal pluralist state.

“In the twentieth century, starting from the interwar decades in particular, the situation was reversed: it is anti-utopia that wins, while the classic story showing the ideal society becomes more of an interesting anachronism”. In the contemporary decades, after the revival by utopian thought and practice produced by the New Left movements of the 1960s and 1970s, soon came the wave of criticism of utopism, and of accusations of totalitarianism aimed against it. However, “utopias are still the place of well-rooted hopes and fears, especially for some intellectual groups grappling with contradictions and dilemmas of their own epoch”²⁷.

Features that constitute the paradigm of utopism comprise: 1) the inclusion of utopias in the ‘paradise syndrome’ – longing for Paradise lost and dreams of restoring it on earth, 2) permanence of utopian thought – utopias in different cultures, manifested in various works of art, 3) utopias are products of

²⁵ Thus accurately A. Colombo: *L'utopia. Rifondazione di un'idea e di una storia*, Bari 1997, *passim*.

²⁶ B. Baczeko: *op. cit.*, p. 117, 118, 125.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 109 et sqq.; also R. Tokarczyk: *Utopia „Nowej Lewicy” amerykańskiej (The Utopia of the American New Left)*, Warsaw 1979.

intellectual speculation, which distinguishes them from myths as a form of mass consciousness, 4) the utopian convention assumes fully autonomous intellectual activity, aimed at a disinterested search for truth and deriving its validity from itself, 5) this activity is expressed in endeavors to answer the great question, specified in modern times: the possibility of thinking of a self-determining society, self-governing and autonomous – a community, 6) utopism shows the possibilities of the choice of models of social coexistence, 7) utopias have confused projections with retrospection, anticipation with ascertainment, praise with criticism, objection and acceptance), 8) utopias are attempts to control crisis situations – overcoming the dilemma between ideals and the reality, 9) in utopias that which is, is contrasted with that which should be, 10) the crucial matter of utopias in the context of their implementation is the question of means, 11) veracity of utopias can be confirmed only by the future not foreseeable in advance, 12) the most frequently desirable values of utopias are justice, society, the just state, brotherhood, happiness, development, and progress²⁸.

RELATIONS OF THE PARADIGMS

Consideration of the relations of realistic political thought, to which ideologies aspire, with utopian political thought, directly represented by utopias, assumes that it is possible not only to define the differences in their essence but also to establish the cognitive status of knowledge contained in the two types of thought. Either attempt encounters essential difficulties. In popular thinking, and even in many scholarly interpretations, the dividing line runs between ideologies associated with realism and between utopism associated with the lack of realism. In Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge it is even the reverse: it is utopias with their potential, both critical and constructive, that are possible to be realized in the future, whereas it is the future that reveals the apologetic function of ideology.

The essence of the political reality is questionable on account of differing interests of various political forces. In Mannheim's view all parties seek this

²⁸ The basis for constructing the paradigm of utopism is provided by already numerous theoretical studies, especially those by: B. Frankel: *The Post-Industrial Utopians: The Feasibility of Alternatives to Capitalist and Communist Societies*, Madison 1987; B. Baczkó: *Utopian Lights: The Evolution of the Idea of Social Progress*, Greenberg 1989; K. Kumar: *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times*, London 1991; P. Neville-Sington, D. Sington: *Paradise Dreamed: How Utopian Thinkers Have Changed the Modern World*, London. Bloomsbury 1993; G. Slusser, P. Alkon, R. Gaillard (eds.): *Transformations of Utopia: Changing Views of Perfect Society*, New York 1999; G. Claves, L. T. Sargent (eds.): *The Utopian Reader*, New York 1999; Ch. Ferns: *Narrating Utopia: Ideology, Gender, Form in Utopian Literature*, Liverpool 1999; R. C.S. Trahair: *Utopias and Utopians: An Historical Dictionary*, Westport 1999; L. Donskins: *The End of Ideology and Utopia?: Moral Imagination and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century*, New York 2000.

reality in their thinking and actions and no wonder that each of them finds it different²⁹. The currently existent political thought is evaluated both by the ruling forces and those deprived of power. The governing forces, uncritically approving of their political thought and the existent political order based upon it, regard the thought that disapproves of them as utopian. The forces deprived of power, on the other hand, include their political thought in the field of utopia while classifying the political thought approved by the ruling forces as ideology.

From the standpoint of an external observer, not involved in the conflict between the ruling forces and those deprived of power, one concerning the evaluation of their contemporary political thought, the distinction between ideology and utopia is fairly obvious. It is not obvious, however, to those forces interconnected by conflict, differently assessing and evaluating their contemporary political thought. Certainly, to assign a given form of political thought to ideology or utopia essentially also depends on at which stage of the reality of being one makes an assessment³⁰.

Mannheim maintains that a specific content is each time assigned to the order of utopia usually by the representatives of the earlier stage of reality. And conversely – the original ‘discovery’ of ideology as deceitful ideas incongruent with the reality is always made by the representatives of the reality that is yet to come. Ideas that turned out later to be merely hovering over the existing or developing order of life as camouflage images, were ideologies; that part of them which was adequately realized in the next stage of reality was a relative utopia. This realization comprises the temporally subsequent and assessing-the-past criterion for evaluation of conditions that still constitute, at the present moment, the object of dispute of the interested parties³¹.

The crux of the problem regarding the cognitive status of the forms of present-day political thought is the cognitive relation between knowledge in the meaning of a set of particular statements and the sphere of the objective reality. All forms of present-day political thought aspire to veracity – only ideologies do already today while utopias will not until tomorrow. It is only the future, however, that brings the knowledge whether a particular form of this thought was a true and therefore utopian or false and thus an ideological description of the reality.

Knowledge derived from realistic thought, especially scientific, is characterized by a cognitive status, therefore it is capable of describing the objective reality, verified by means of the true/false criteria. “Realistic thought adjusts itself pragmatically to existing needs and in this sense it is true and at the same time effective. Utopian thought has different ambitions: to systematize and

²⁹ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, *loc. cit.*

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 168 et sqq.

predict the data of experience in as simple, model-providing and comprehensive a way as possible. While the former emphasizes first of all the degree of accuracy in recognizing real features of the objective reality, the latter focuses on sensible presentation of a merely subjectively predicted reality [...]"

"Unlike realistic thought, utopian thought covers all social conceptions suspended in indeterminate time or oriented towards the likewise indeterminate future that have no chance of being implemented when and where they arise. Evaluation of utopian thought from the standpoint of realism sometimes leads to feebly justified depreciation of it, resulting from the conviction of the negligible practical value of unrealistic considerations"³².

Irena Pańków, discussing the realism of selected classical utopias in her serious study *Filozofia utopii* (Philosophy of Utopia), observed most aptly that the more utopian the conceptions were in the process of their origination, the greater attention their authors attached to chances of implementing them – future realism³³.

Plato, as a reflexive optimist, made the realization of his utopia conditional on five factors considered together: correctness of the theoretical construction of a utopia, adjustment of this construct to the features of practice, appropriate education of people, making the philosopher a ruler to combine wisdom with omnipotent political power, and reliance on the wisdom of the individual rather than that of the masses.

Unlike Plato, Thomas More was a rational skeptic, who remained ambivalent about the chances of implementing his utopian project. He did so for several reasons: the low eagerness of his contemporary Europeans to embrace innovation, their orientation towards the past, difficulties with the society's acceptance of utopia telling the people the bitter truth about themselves, the right education of the ruler, giving the ruler right advice, making all citizens philosophers or rather sages, despite the special mission of the ruler.

The recipe for the realization of Campanella's utopia includes: a vivid description of values resulting from the implementation of his utopia, interconnection of historical and contemporary premises in the justification for utopia, a combination of mild rational and emotional means of realization of a utopia, saturation of the utopia with scientific content and values, application of the objective criteria for evaluation of the societal life really existing and represented by utopia, the setting of utopia in a certain order – divine, natural, social and scientific.

Fourier, inspired by the revolutionary paradigm of direct usefulness of ideas, set the realization of his utopia in many mutually complementary theoretical spaces: that of history of philosophy, and in theological, anthropological, and

³² R. A. Tokarczyk: *Polska myśl utopijna...*, p. 123 et sqq.

³³ I. Pańków: *Filozofia utopii (Philosophy of Utopia)*, Warsaw 1990, *passim*.

sociological. Driven by the idea of giving credence to the postulate of realization, he elevated his utopia high above utopias that “do not show the means of realization”. He believed that for the realization of his conception of the system of global Harmony six years would be enough. The essence of the strategy of implementation of Harmony would be the establishment of a trial phalanstery, which would rapidly become widespread through imitation.

If we place the goals of utopia in the sphere of values, then the opinion of philosopher Hartmann will have an interesting ring. Ascertaining the existence of axiological intuition, in which the world of values not realized in practice is situated, he defined utopian discourse as a statement about realizable values. In his view “the realization of values does not consist in transferring that which is ideal [...] into the real world in the literal sense, but only in shaping real human practice in the light of these imperatives..”.

“Consideration of the relation between the utopian system and social reality is frequently carried out”, argues Pańków, “with the use of knowledge of more general relationships, concerning the relations of social existence – social consciousness, material practice – spiritual practice, base – superstructure. It is obvious that utopia as a fragment of spiritual practice forms relations with material practice, that it is included in a concrete and historical whole”³⁴. These general relationships, in respect of the means of realization of utopias, were reduced in the European thought to the following proposals: 1) Divine intervention in the course of history, 2) philosopher – king or king – philosopher, 3) the council of saints or sages, 4) magic as a secret force for manipulating man and nature, 5) secret communities gradually winning followers of utopian ideas, 6) the vanguard of the enlightened.

The analysis of relations between the realistic utopian thought represented by ideologies and utopian thought contained in utopias shows “the actualization of an essentially new theme”³⁵. This theme embraces both an opposition between this realism and utopism, and their common features leading to the blurring of distinct boundaries between them. The most developed opposition between the two can be found in Marxism contrasting the ideology of scientific socialism with utopian socialism. However, evolution here was to consist in the transition from utopia to science identified with realism. As Baczko observed “Marx’s theory is to ‘fantasy’ of utopianists as chemistry to alchemy or astronomy to astrology”³⁶. However, more accurate seems to be Mannheim’s thesis about dialectical links between the social reality and utopia, that being breeds utopias, while these in

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 183 et sqq.

³⁵ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³⁶ B. Baczko: *op. cit.*, p. 96.

turn explode being creating another instance of it³⁷. While ideologies are motivationally dead, utopias are a motivationally irresistible force.

According to Mannheim the common and ultimately decisive element in ideological and utopian thought is that one experiences in it the possibility of false consciousness³⁸. With regard to utopia this is an experience of today while with regard to ideology this will be an experience of tomorrow. Yet ideologies and utopias alike tend towards a transformation of social reality where ailments of today will disappear. For that reason, in everyday consciousness, ideology and utopia not only converge but also merge into one. Therefore truly ideological and truly utopian mentalities must seek their own means of self-expression. In the final analysis, however, of both – ideology and utopia – what is at issue is reality – self-realization.

Further difficulty in defining what, at a specific stage of history, is ideological and what utopian, realistic and unrealistic, lies in the confusion of ideological content with utopian content in political thought, especially in ideologies and utopias. In living political thought the boundaries of both ideology and utopia are movable, therefore there is room between them for hybrid or mixed phenomena, for osmosis and interaction. The same statement can sometimes be interpreted by some as ideological and as utopian by others. On the one hand, new, increasingly sophisticated ideas move into the realms of utopia, while on the other hand, owing mainly to rapid social progress “utopias seem to be far closer to being realized than we have previously thought. [...] Life runs towards their direction”³⁹.

In view of those many-sided relations between ideologies and utopias, including equivocal identity, it is not at all paradoxical to consider the utopism of ideological realism on the one hand, and the realism of utopia on the other, only postponed in time.

We usually contrast reality with utopia, without asking what reality means. It is impossible to define reality without discussing unrealized possibilities associated with it. Therefore, it is in reality itself that utopian elements reside. Social practice is a matter of permanent mediation between reality and possibility. A utopian mentality in social practice is based on the conceptions that people cannot distinguish between situational realities and utopias that belong to the sphere of wishes.

The realism of utopia as a form of ideas lies from the sociological standpoint in their existence, in exercising functions that influence the whole of societal life rather than its political segments only. “Utopias become more ‘real’ and ‘realistic’ when they are imbedded in the field of expectations of a given epoch or

³⁷ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 165.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

³⁹ B. Baczkó: *op. cit.*, p. 115.

social group, especially when they start to play the role of leading ideas that steer and mobilize the society's hopes and release collective energy [...] utopias today have become more real than ever". It is in this sense that a historian finds *a posteriori* utopias that are historically successful and unsuccessful. In B. Baczko's estimate "our epoch is one of utopia 'in action'"⁴⁰.

Since in political thought or even in the whole of social thought there are no pure ideological and utopian forms, one should perhaps consider some third form called practopianism. The term "practopia" was defined by Alvin Toffler. According to his definition practopia is neither the best nor worst of the possible worlds, but it is both practical and the only one we have. Unlike utopia, practopia is not free from weaknesses, political unpleasantness and bad manners. On the contrary, practopia does not epitomize the evil of utopia. In short, practopia offers a useful or even revolutionary alternative, because it is within realistic reach⁴¹.

THE PHENOMENON OF COMMUNALISM

Among the known forms of organization of social life a separate position is occupied by communities. Communal ideas and practices have been present throughout the hitherto history of mankind, albeit with different intensity and to a varying extent. In most general terms, one can conclude that the durability, intensity and extent of community initiatives largely depend on the model of a socio-political system and the structures of the state's political order. Liberal systems and democratic structures are without doubt conducive to communities, whereas totalitarian systems and undemocratic structures strongly oppose them. It is in this sense that the current transformations going on in the world for liberalism and democratism open vast prospects to communities.

Without going into unnecessary details we can ascertain that a community is a form of the organization of social life that generally exists within a larger form of the latter, called the nationwide society. In a community people share common convictions consciously and voluntarily, adhere to shared models of life, sometimes live and work together, and jointly consume material goods and cultural values. The scope of the concept of community is understood in such large terms that it comprises even diversity of the aforementioned aspects of communal life if this diversity creates the essence of a given community. Communities have to contend, albeit on a proportionately smaller scale, with all typical problems characteristic of nationwide societies.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 156 et sqq.; see an interesting essay by J. Tazbir: *Wizje przyszłości, które się sprawdziły* (*Visions of the future that came true*), [in:] *Historia. Idee. Polityka...*, p. 192 et sqq.

⁴¹ This definition was taken from Alvin Toffler's letter to me. It was repeated in different versions in his repeatedly published works e.g. *The Future Shock* and *The Third Wave*.

There is no single, generally accepted model of communal life. There is a great diversification of community groups in respect of their goals, structures, size and lifetime. Therefore we encounter rural and urban communities, agricultural ones and those dealing with handicrafts or even industry, working communities and recreational ones, spiritual communities and pragmatic communities, communities fighting for lofty ideals and communities for physiological love, secular communities and religious ones, social communities and political communities etc. etc. Communities have developed organizational structures galore, in which they lead their lives. There are relatively large communities like a Polish *gmina* (administrative commune) and a Polish parish, and relatively small communities numbering several or a dozen-odd people. Some of them last very long, even for centuries, others are short-lived ephemera⁴².

Despite a great diversity of communities in all their dimensions, they generally impose similar requirements on their members. In order to be a member of any community, one should show the will to think and act in terms of the interest of a social group identified with the subjective scope of the community. Selfishness and egocentrism of a human individual belong to the community's mortal enemies. Sometimes an important demand a community makes on its members is tolerance of different opinions and openness to various points of view. One should also add the will to work and cooperate without conflicts, supported by the realistic faith in the possibility of success of the undertaken ventures. The community's goals are well served by enterprise, courage, dynamism, acceptance of changes, flexibility in decision-making processes and adaptability to changing environmental conditions. Membership of a community is based on love, friendship, and the desire to be with other people.

The rise of communities is most often associated with rejection of living models approved of in a larger society – a nationwide one. The long and rich history of the thought and practice of communities shows that it is reasonable to critically assess all the previous forms of the organization of social life. At the same time this cannot mean that they are all similar to one another. One can and certainly should distinguish between better forms and worse. The collapse of the socialist form of the political system, taking place at present, is one of the greatest failures of utopian thought, yet this does not mean in the least that capitalist forms are perfect. By analogy, the same can be said about communities that adduce either socialist or capitalist models. Supporters of communities believe that confrontations between capitalism and socialism proved too costly and

⁴² B. Metcalf: *Shared Visions, Shared Lives, Communal Living around the Globe*, Findhorn Press 1996; T. Miller: *The 60s Communes*, Syracuse University Press 1999.

unnecessary because the point lies not so much in the total annihilation of capitalist or socialist motifs as in the synthesis of the best elements of the two⁴³.

What is striking is the enormous number of communities existing in the present-day world. It would be difficult to describe all of them, even in concise terms. Which is why one should confine oneself to bringing closer at least the most interesting ones. Those deserving special attention are North American communities, Israeli kibbutzes, British communities and less numerous communities in other countries all over the world. For example, in 1991 in the US there were at least 304 communities, in Israel – 270 kibbutzes, 57 larger communities in Great Britain and about 60 interesting communities scattered all over the world⁴⁴.

To bring closer the communities in the contemporary world to the Polish reader seems by all means advisable. This advisability is not in the least confined to purely cognitive reasons only. It also covers practical reasons consisting in broadening the range of possibilities of the reviving local self-government in the Republic of Poland. In communities and through all manner of communities manifests itself the political potential of liberalism and democratism. As American and Canadian experience shows, the thought and practice of communities are a most rewarding subject matter of academic teaching (communal education), which enjoys wide recognition among the students⁴⁵. Finally, bringing closer the communities of the contemporary world to the Polish audience may lead to Polish communities establishing closer contacts with the communities outside this country.

⁴³ For more see R. Tokarczyk: *Szanse wspólnot ludzkich (Opportunities of human communities)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1991, no. 4; idem: *O uwarunkowaniach rozwoju wspólnot. Colloquium w Charleroi (On the conditions of community development. A Charleroi colloquy)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1992, no. 6; idem: *Konferencja w Lecce: Upadek komunizmu sowieckiego a myśl utopijna (A Conference in Lecce: The Collapse of Soviet Communism and Utopian Thought)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1993, no. 1; idem: *Kongres CIRGIS. Ku Europie ludzi szczęśliwych (A CIRGIS Congress: Towards a Europe of happy people)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1993, no. 2; idem: *Międzynarodowy Kongres CIRGIS (The International CIRGIS Congress)*, "Nauka Polska" 1993, no. 4; idem: *Konferencja w Danii. Meandry jednoczenia Europy (A Conference in Denmark: Meanderings of European Unification)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1993, no. 3; idem: *Konferencja w Nowej Harmonii: Kultura, myśl i życie we wspólnocie (A Conference in New Harmony: Culture, Thought and Living in a Community)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1993, No. 7.

⁴⁴ Detailed information on communities in the present-day world together with their addresses can be found in the "Bulletin of the International Communal Studies Association", Yad Tabenkin Ramat-Efal 52960, Israel. Information on American communes is to be found, inter alia, in the 1990/91 *Directory of International Communities, A Guide to Cooperative Living*, Evansville, Indiana 1990, updated and published in the next years; for British communes see *Diggers and Dreamers. The Guide to Communal Living*, London 2000; Eurotopia, e-mail: eurotopia (a)gmx.de,www.eurotopia.de.

⁴⁵ For more on this subject see for example *Communal Education Misunderstood, a more-than-book-report* of A. I. Rabin and B. Beit-Hallahami, "Scientia Paedagogica Experimentalis", XXIII, 1, Gent., Henri-Dunan-laan 1986.

UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES

The phenomenon of communalism introduces us to the tangle of less known problems, starting with terminological abundance that changes depending on the time and place. The following names appear and disappear: the alternative way of life, alternative community, a collective, communards, communes, communities, cooperatives, counterculture, crazies, freaks, gaians, hamlet development, hippies, intentional communities, intentional style of living, multiple occupancies, new age communities, new settlers, pagans, rural retreaters, survivalists, sustainable communities), utopists, village settlement and many, many others⁴⁶.

Since there is no agreement about terminology, many scholars introduce their own definitions while others use what can be called participant self-definition. This self-definition has a value of simplicity in covering the phenomenological reality of participants in the world of images, without any externally imposed interpretation, but it can complicate or make difficult communication and objective social analyses.

The terms 'alternative' and 'intentional' are often used interchangeably as qualifiers of the community of lifestyle. Communities offer alternative lifestyles as compared with nationwide models of living. The 'alternative' actually means that which it is not, to which it is an alternative. The 'intentional', on the other hand, emphasizes conscious creation of the social reality. The term 'utopia' is used correctly when it refers to the intention of achieving an ideal society but not to what will actually come out of it. The qualification 'utopian' is perfectly justified as an analytical term, which must not be identified with the meaning of 'naively idealistic'. On the whole, the term 'intentional' should be preferred.

The term 'intentional', but only for ethnographic purposes, applies to a body of people who recognize one another in community life according to an intentional or alternative lifestyle. For comparative studies, however, international or alternative lifestyles of a group can be defined as five or more people coming from more than one family or kinship group, who voluntarily joined together in order to improve bothersome and improper social problems. Striving for that goal they are prepared to share the significant aspects of their life. The participants are characterized by the specific consciousness of a lasting group.

Not all participants in the intentional lifestyles are members of the group, but they can regard themselves as part of a social movement. Intentional groups can be divided into communes and intentional communities (often also called

⁴⁶ For details see B. Metcalf: *Definition of key terms. A modest contribution from a long-term researcher*, "Bulletin of the International Communal Studies Association", No. 14, Fall 1993, p. 2 et sqq.; A. A. Butcher: *On terminology. The continuation of discussion between Allen Butcher and Bill Metcalf*, "Bulletin of the International Communal Studies Association", No. 15, Spring 1994, p. 5 et sqq.

alternative lifestyles of communities or cooperatives) differentiated depending on the intensity of social interactions in the group. This differentiation resembles the classic distinction between original and derivative groups.

Commune members put their group before a nuclear family unit. They usually share both the running of their household and intimate relations resulting from the group's decision. Within the commune the dual division into the personal and the public puts most decisions on the personal side. By intentionally and intimately sharing everyday community life, the commune resembles idealized family life, thus becoming a family of special kind. The commune consists of individuals whose emotional bonds create something more than a social collective only.

Unlike the commune, members of intentional communities or cooperatives, despite regarding themselves as a distinct group, live in separate houses and their decisions relating to the functioning of their household are private. The intentional community is not a form of family but it can include nuclear families in it, despite the fact that it does not run joint household. On account of less intimate interactions intentional communities are of secondary rather than primary importance, therefore they are based on less emotional and not so deep group ties. Nevertheless, they play a far-reaching role in mediation between individuals and the external world.

Intentional communities, being secondary groups, can be very large. One Australian group *Turntable Falls* numbered 300 members in 1993, while the American group *The Farm* – 1,200 members and the Israeli kibbutz *Givnat Bremer* – 1,800 members. Subgroups into which this large intentional community is subdivided can be of a commune type or associations of individuals and families.

The commune, as a primary group, is far smaller, generally not exceeding twenty people. Sometimes far larger groups are capable of operating as communes but only due to charismatic leadership and faith in the system, which gives precedence to the group's values over individual values and actively rewards members for communality. For a large group, to maintain a communal lifestyle depends on the social structure that provides clear answers to everyday issues.

A commune is a community of people who consciously and voluntarily share social intercourse and the use of material goods. According to one of many classifications of communes, jointly called communalism, there are four main kinds of them: quasi-communes, family communes, intentional (goal-oriented) communes, and utopian communes.

Quasi-communes are an informal manifestation of communalism, chiefly of the hippie period. They are short-lived as living for the moment, and are distinguished by a large turnover of their members – joining and leaving the commune.

Family communes are communities concerned about their own safety. They treat the commune as a way of institutionalizing friendship. They are 'a community of friends'.

Intentional or goal-oriented communes are subordinate to religious faith, to various physical, philosophical and psychological therapies or to striving towards full external and internal liberation.

Utopian communes, unlike quasi communities, are lasting, institutionalized, with clearly defined social and geographical boundaries. They strive to establish and strengthen a new social order. Members are entirely subordinated to the goals of the commune. These communes often derive from religious and political sects, for example heretical sects, which broke off with the Catholic Church during the Reformation. They usually live isolated from the society at large. They believe in the power of example, leading to the spread of a new, utopian social order.

Between the extremes of quasi-communes and utopian communes there are communes as such. They are more durable than quasi-communes but less than utopian ones. Members of communes are more disciplined and better-organized than members of utopian communes. Two commune types are distinguished: family communes and intentional or goal-oriented ones.

All communes, especially the utopian ones, are generally inspired by utopian visions of a better world, pervaded with belles-lettres, philosophy and political thought. They contradict popular convictions that utopias lack reality. By the fact itself of their existence they confirm the reality of utopianism in everyday life. Communes played an important role in the history of societies: they inspired actions and social changes. Although only a tiny percentage of population live in communities, they nevertheless have a positive contribution to culture, proportionately greater than their numbers. Balancing the need for individuality with the need for community, they demonstrate, by their practice, the superiority of voluntary submission to utopian ideals over subordination to ideology, aspiring to reality.

Each community is, to some extent, a utopian experiment, an attempt to create more perfect bonds between people. All communities that have developed since antiquity have at least three features in common: voluntary membership, economic community, and a social contract as a condition for membership. Moreover, in the post-industrial world, communities have to revive the dynamics of self-development and deepen the justifications for the sense of their mission, giving the members their *raison d'être*. They do so owing to five items of practical advice: 1) simplification of matters, 2) looking for priorities, 3) willingness to help, 4) being informed, and 5) creativity.

In the developing communal studies, chiefly in the United States, different features of communalism have been defined. They can be reduced to ten aspects of the utopian vision: 1) the mutual will to transform a man, society, humankind,

2) cooperation of the community sharing efforts and their results with simultaneous rejection of competition and being 'out for number one', 3) deep respect for the natural environment, 4) the spirit of experimenting in mutual relations and work, 5) the economics of community of work and distribution of its products, 6) common sense in solving problems instead of theoretical speculation, 7) a holistic attitude to tasks, 8) building positive visions, 9) self-government through a consensus, 10) developing worldwide networks of communities.

Communities, reacting to overstructuring of the society, yield in turn to the tyranny of structurelessness, which is in fact impossible. For it is not possible for something like a structureless group to exist, less so for a community. To give themselves efficiency, communities based on democratic structures prefer the following principles: 1) flexibility of structure, 2) delegating appropriate power to the right individuals, 3) maximal separation of powers, 4) rotation of tasks among individuals, 5) assigning of tasks on the basis of the criteria of possibility, interests and responsibility, 6) the fast flow of complete information, 7) access to resources needed, 8) decision-making processes based on the principle of consensus, 9) maintaining the priority of human rights over property rights, 10) professing the conviction that the less ideology the better.

There are four forms of intentional communities: collective community, cooperative community, communal community, and mixed economics community. From the legal standpoint, every community can be theoretically organized according to four models: a partnership, a for-profit corporation, a cooperative, and a non-for profit corporation. In fact, however, there are most often mixed economics communities that combine different features of legal models. In many American communities the conception of community land trusts is promoted, based on the equitable but unequal participation of community members in profits from natural land resources with their simultaneous legal accountability for a common ecological legacy.

It should be noted that around 1976 the Federation of Egalitarian Communities was established in the United States. The Emissary Foundation International also operates there as an organization that provides financial assistance to communities associated in the Emissary International Communities organization. There are also numerous communitarian regional organizations, for example the Inter Communities of Virginia. There is already highly developed global networking of communities with American and Israeli leadership. Rich databanks are accessible on the Internet, relating to communities scattered almost all over the contemporary world.

The comparison between utopian notions and practices was the object of the 1990 world conference in Israel, titled "Utopia: notions and reality"⁴⁷. It was

⁴⁷ See R. Tokarczyk: *Międzynarodowa Konferencja Uniwersytetu w Haifie na temat "Utopia. Wyobrażenia i rzeczywistość (A Haifa University International Conference: Utopia – Ideas and Reality)*, "Nauka Polska" 1990, no. 1–2.

a fairly large venue for those interested in utopia and, more broadly, in contemporary political thought, which was highly appreciated from various points of view. On account of its cognitive content the conference once again emphasized the lasting vitality of utopian thought and its close connections with communal practices. It also confirmed the great revival of interest in utopian thought and practice, growing rapidly since the 1970s. Research centers for utopism and communalism successfully operate in the US, England, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Israel and in other countries.

On the other hand, during the 1993 conference in Pennsylvania, organized to celebrate three hundred years of the operation of Amish communities, it was indicated that there is and probably will not be a single, generally accepted model of communal life⁴⁸. Communities are in fact always seriously diversified in respect of their goals, structure, size and lifetime. Despite this diversity, communities generally make similar demands on their members. They demand that their members act and think in terms of group interest, sharply contrasted with egocentrism and selfishness. They often reinforce their realistic faith in the success of their endeavors with religious faith. They highly value pro-society-minded, enterprising, courageous, dynamic people, easily adaptable to changing living conditions. The most serious difficulties that communities encounter is overcoming prejudice on the part of larger communities and the society as a whole. Supporters of communalism believe that the synthesis of socialist and capitalist motifs could lead to the best social system.

KIBBUTZES AND MOSHAV

The kibbutz movement is the greatest community movement in the world and is one of the peculiarities of Israel's societal life. Each kibbutz is a separate autonomous socio-economic whole based chiefly on agriculture, sometimes on small industries and tourism. Kibbutzes resemble some kind of well-organized villages. The kibbutzniks vehemently protest, however, against being compared to Soviet collective farms (kolkhoz). This comparison is somewhat justified nevertheless on account of the binding principles of production and consumption that vividly resemble similar rules in the kolkhoz. The whole of the kibbutz's property is based on joint ownership. Joint work is conducted by periodic rotation of assignments, without any remuneration in the form of wages. The kibbutz provides kibbutzniks with food in common canteens, childcare in

⁴⁸ See R. Tokarczyk: *Konferencja w Pensylwanii. Wspólnota na tle wspólnot (A Conference in Pennsylvania: A Community against the Background of Communities)*, "Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie" 1993, No. 7.

kindergartens and schools, and supplies houses and clothing to its members. At the close of 1988 there were 270 kibbutzes with 126,100 kibbutzniks in Israel⁴⁹.

Beside the kibbutzes, well-known all over the world as forms of cooperation and settlement, the so-called *moshav* now enjoys great popularity. Unlike kibbutzes, *moshavim* combine elements of collective property with elements of private ownership in agriculture. Members of the *moshav* can first of all decide by themselves about the way and purpose of spending the money they earn, which they receive as wages. A special variety of the *moshav* is the so-called *nahalal*, in which elements of private property prevail over elements of joint ownership. In early 1990 there were ca. 400 *moshavim* in their different varieties. The principles of the *moshav* are adopted in some poorly developed countries, where combinations of the communal and individualist content are found particularly attractive.

In Israel itself kibbutzes receive recognition first of all on the part of young people, less of the middle-aged generation, while the old entirely leave them as a rule. This happens not only because standards of living are highly diversified in particular kibbutzes but also, and possibly first of all, on account of the forms of social intercourse binding in them. Older people appreciate more their full privacy and freedom to decide about their own matters. Despite this, the Israeli government subsidizes the kibbutz movement with substantial, multi-billion sums of money for several reasons. Kibbutzes are the tried way of settlement, especially for immigrants, they enable the development of farmland, show the world the Jewish predisposition to working on the land also, despite the well-established conviction that the Jews prefer all kinds of non-agricultural activities. Almost in every kibbutz one can encounter young foreigners, not necessarily Jews, seeking new life experience there.

The kibbutz movement assembles a small part of Israel's total population, which now numbers four million people (including 3.33 million Jews, 525 thousand Muslims, 95 thousand Christians and 53 thousand Druze). This population is an extreme mixture of cultural traditions, if we take into consideration the fact that it is composed of immigrants from literally all continents, who settled in the Promised Land after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. These people seem to live on two parallel levels: that of deeply impressed culture in their minds of the country they emigrated from not too long ago and that of the still forming culture of their Israeli nation. They are generally well-educated people, speaking at least two languages – Hebrew and English, and earning their living in industry, trade, tourism and agriculture. Israel's main

⁴⁹ There is abundant scholarly literature on kibbutzes and *moshavim* developed mainly by Yad Tabenkin. The Research Institute of the United Kibbutz Movement in Ramat-Efal and University of Haifa the Kibbutz Center. The Institute for Study and Research of the Kibbutz and the Cooperative Idea. Yad Tabenkin publishes scientific periodicals of kibbutzism, especially the "Kibbutz Studies", subsequently changed into the "Kibbutz Trends" and "Kibbutz Currents".

exports are diamonds, citrus fruit, agricultural products and household appliances.

Kibbutzes and *moshavim*, jointly called kibbutzism, strive to build a new, morally healthy society based on freedom, equality, mutual aid, tolerance and brotherhood. They strongly oppose the idea of drawing conclusions about social inequality from the natural diversification of people. The kibbutz and the *moshav* are meant to serve perfect models of coexistence of the people, a model for urbanization and spatial development. Kibbutzes and *moshavim* are changing topias in respect of solving difficult problems of communality.

PRESENT-DAY UTOPIAS

Among many breakthrough dates the years 1789 and 1989 occupy permanent positions. However, the year 1789, as the date of euphoric heyday of revolutionary outbursts, kindled and fueled utopian thought, whereas the year 1989, as the date of the alleged end of history sealed by global predominance of liberalism, seemed to herald the demise of utopian ideas. If 1789 confirmed the arguments of utopian dreamers, then 1989 – on the contrary – demonstrated plainly and irrefutably that they had made a tragic mistake. If therefore the modern times, counted from the beginning of the Great French Revolution, opened with utopian enthusiasm pervaded with uncertainty, then the present times, starting from the collapse of the socialist bloc, were born in disillusionment resulting from the conviction that the further, persistent, brave and often disinterested development of utopia might end in a huge failure, nightmare or tragedy.

The question arises whether in the present times, born so ill-omened for utopia, there is still room for something other than the monotonous persistence of that which exists and which is called liberalism? Is there still room for dreams, political, economic and social imagination? Is there still room for hope that would be something more than the other face of our fears? Has utopia been driven out forever in the present day? My answer is no, no, no! – three times. Even today and also tomorrow, we have and will still have the right, and we, political thinkers, also a duty to dream, to imagine an increasingly better world, thereby specifically expressing the conviction that our present-day world and our society do not belong to the best that we could build. To be a realist does not mean capitulating before the reality, and if so, not giving up a utopia. What utopia for the present day, then?

It is time to restore the reputation of radical social utopias at the time of abysmal wretchedness of the ruling ideologies that promote spiritual poverty and stupefaction, and ruin human will by the loss of hope for a better world. Every student of political thought knows that a civilization condemns itself to self-destruction if it is incapable of “devising ideal conceptions and myths that

mobilize human energy and join souls together” for creating the vision of the future as a basis of projects and program to be real sometime. A social formation can in the course of its history be apprehended by ideology and utopia, as two products of the same social world of ideas. At present, since the ideology of liberalism is not doing this, frozen in its overconfidence, it is imperative that utopia should do so.

Ideology, while representing the social reality, adduces the process of ‘distortion’ and dissimulation’, mainly so as to legitimize the ruling political order, to affirm that that which is has to be what it is and cannot be anything else. It tries, at all costs, to maintain hopes that it will implement the promised society, if only to give the time some time, if only to leave the monotony of political routine alone. Everything will go very well in this best of all worlds, but no sooner than after two, three or perhaps four generations have passed – this is what both Lenin promised in 1921 and Keynes did in 1930. Certainly, those who wish to secure their dominant position, will only like this exhortation to be patient. Albert Camus once said that the future was the only kind of property willingly given to slaves by their masters.

Worth noting is the difference between an ideologist and an utopist: a utopist criticizes the reality but does not transform it, he finds it so revolting. He flees from it to find shelter for his sensitivity in some imaginary “nowhere” – where life seems to follow rules contrary to those governing the world “here and now”. On the one hand, he rejects the “wailing chronicles” of official history, and on the other counter-utopias prophesying the dramatic future. In defiance of the rules of the course of time, which appears to favor only the powerful and wealthy, a utopianist imagines a providential collapse of history – setting in the different space-time continuum – which would, in progress, development and power, finally give a chance to those ever-rejected.

Today, the knowledge of long-lasting experiences commands us to give precedence not to wishful thinking but to concrete and realizable utopias. They are utopias that combine the fairly common feeling of rebellion against the existing order with a real wish, just as widespread, to apply appropriate measures to eliminate this order and replace it with the world of hope, where people would be able to read their humanity. Thus understood, the realization of utopia removes in time the threat of totalitarianism and unreality of paternalist utopias, while it chooses and supports praxis. Praxis, in turn, is the dynamics of an autonomous social movement whose goal is to abolish the current condition of society, rather than the charisma of some leader with better or worse intentions.

A concrete and real utopia appears in such a thinking perspective as something foreign to eschatology – mainly of the kind of Marxist utopia foreboding the inevitable moment of the collapse of objective conditions of utopian impotence. On the contrary, in a realistic utopia there is not only a sense of the need for urgent changes, but also the conviction of their material, technical

immediacy. This kind of conception of realistic utopia shifts the issue of social changes from the area of material difficulties to the realm of ideological constraints. Herbert Marcuse formulated a thesis in 1967 that if material and intellectual forces capable of contributing to the realization of free society exist but do not act, this is because of overmobilization of the established society against the possibility of their own liberation⁵⁰. Today, thirty years later, Marcuse's remark is as valid as it has never been: ideological pseudo-corrections generated over a quarter-century of social crises have even strengthened its import.

No one today would probably dare obey only the principle of enjoyment propounded by the New Left, without taking note of ecological, economic, social and geopolitical constraints that the reality imposes on one's life and that of nations. These constraints, however, are sometimes a convenient pretext for subordinating to strict rules governing the present-day world the promises to emancipate people, which are laid on the altar of necessity by those not always playing fair. At the same time, some intellectuals come to the aid of those political players and justify the allegedly loyal submission of the world's wealthy and powerful to the order of which they are makers. For example, Hans Jonas fights against Ernst Bloch's rehabilitation of utopia and his "principle of hope", and proposes to replace it, even at the cost of "benevolent tyranny" by "the principle of responsibility".

An economic utopia, tailored to the demands of the present day, was proposed by Philippe Van Parijs. He wrote: "I firmly support the introduction of – on the European scale, as soon and as high as possible – a guaranteed minimum income provided in the form of a universal benefit. By which I understand the income, to which every citizen or someone registered for permanent residence is absolutely entitled. To have the right to it, no job seniority or payment of social security premiums, or being registered in a job center is needed. Moreover, the amount of this income would be the same for everybody (at a given age or degree of disability), regardless of the income obtained from another source, or whether one lives alone or with someone else. I support it for reasons of concern about putting a stop to poverty, favoring emancipation in general and women's emancipation in particular, and connected with fighting unemployment". The author finds it absurd to believe that poverty is a matter of financial revenue and cannot be stopped. This can be remedied by a universal benefit simultaneously treated as a means of neutralizing the effects of mass unemployment at the time when full employment landed on the junk heap of history. The conception of a universal benefit would be reinforced by proportionate reduction of working hours, without subsidizing the employer and laying off employees.

⁵⁰ Quoted after *Utopies économiques*, "Agone", 1999, no. 21; see the review of this study by R. Tokarczyk: "Utopian Studies", vol. 12, No. 2, 2001.

Philippe Van Parijs asks and answers: “Why is the prospect of a universal benefit becoming so topical in the age of transformations that are taking place today – both in the East and in the West – and which give Europe a new face? [...] A potential revolution worth fighting for is precisely the introduction of a universal benefit based on the achievements of the welfare state in order to realize, for the true freedom of citizens, that which subjection and slavery realized for formal freedom. This revolution is fully compatible with market economics. It constitutes a certain kind of ‘capitalist road to communism’, a way of remaining faithful to the ideal of emancipation concealed in the communist ‘reign of freedom’ with the rejection of the institutional framework of ‘communist’ societies as the wrong way towards achieving this goal”.

“In the nearest future one should think first of all about the gradual introduction of a universal benefit on the national level. However, as the single European market extends, the introduction, at least partial, of the universal benefit on the European level will slowly go beyond the stage of fiction. The heightened flow of persons and capital, and increased general competition make it necessary and urgent to introduce an elementary form of social security on a European scale [...] This European benefit certainly would not replace welfare-state benefits (pensions, unemployment benefits, student grants, disability pensions, or existing forms of minimum income etc.); they would only be reduced by the net sum equal to the European benefit [...] over the debates on the introduction of the universal benefit on the national level – which are going on in many countries – it is important to take seriously, analyze, calculate, and assess different variants of this European utopia”⁵¹.

This type of economic utopia was critically evaluated by, inter alia, Michel Barrilon and Jacques Luzi: “If an economic utopia, a pragmatic utopia granting precedence to the optimal use of means, thereby occupies the area of economic rationality, without trying to remove it, granting it an exclusively instrumental function – the means permitting to achieve not only non-economic but also anti-economic goals – then one can wager that it condemns itself to remain a prisoner of economic ideology and to strengthen the social order it intends to transform. We believe that consideration of the question of utopia solely in economic terms maintains the illusion about the truly utopian character of these projects, which do not extend beyond their own instruments and keep silent on the question of power, whereas it is this very question that radical utopists place in the center of discussion [...]. That is why it is necessary that after the dilemma of economic utopia – economic ideology, one should take up the issue of changing life and society in its purely political dimension”⁵².

⁵¹ P. Van Parijs: *Utopie pour le Temps présent*, [in:] *Utopies économiques*, op. cit., p. 91–104.

⁵² M. Barrilon, J. Luzi: *Utopie économique vs idéologie économique*, [in:] *Ibidem*, p. 9–14.

UTOPIASM OF IDEOLOGY

Both utopias and ideologies oriented towards the future cannot, at the moment of their inception, yet know their practical efficacy, that is the degree and scope of realism. When, however, after some time one can assess their realism, it happens that realism-aspiring ideologies turn out to be saturated with utopism while professed utopias appear to have assumed features of ideology. We shall try therefore to indicate the utopian content residing in selected examples of ideologies.

Liberalism, the present-day dominant ideology, arose as a utopia of struggle against the theological and church image of the world, this utopia having subsequently become the ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie. Today, when liberalism has taken roots in the reality, "we know exactly to what extent the then idea of freedom contained not only utopian elements but also ideological"⁵³. What became the reality was legally formal freedom, while actual universal, material freedom still resides in utopia's great beyond. In dystopias, however, even legally formal freedom is totally destroyed. Robert Nozick, in his well-known book *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, maintains that on the basis of liberalism nothing more than the minimum state as the best achievement of utopian aspirations can be morally justified, the rest is still utopia⁵⁴.

The example of liberalism shows how an originally non-conformist and destructive utopia can sometimes turn out, nevertheless, to be a ruling ideology following vicissitudes of history. That is the way economic liberalism, an intellectual fiction, which toppled the order of the *ancien régime* in the eighteenth century, has today become the expression of realism of thought. Today's realism of once utopian liberalism has become, in the eyes of anarcho-capitalists professing the market to be everything and the state nought, the germ of lamenting damage done to the sacred principles defined by Adam Smith. Anarcho-capitalists plan to heal liberalism in an utopian fashion by establishing the "catalactic cosmos" inspired by von Hayek's conception, that is a social harmony of the self-regulating market – on some Pacific island called, naturally, New Utopia.

In the area of the ideology of conservatism there is no problem of the utopism of ideology because conservatism exhausts itself in realism. For that reason "all the contemporary search for transcendence on the basis of the political philosophy of conservatism have also been unsuccessful"⁵⁵. Conservative Hegel confined the meaning of utopism to destruction of outdated forms of social life, at the same time denying its possibilities to positively influence the historical

⁵³ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁵⁴ R. Nozick: *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Oxford 1974, p. 297 et sqq.

⁵⁵ Skarżyński: *Historia. Idee. Polityka...*, p. 300.

process on account of narrowing down the cognitive horizons to an uncertain future, deforming the viewing of the present and disregarding the past. Mannheim wrote that conservative consciousness as such knows no utopia since, in an ideal instance, it entirely agrees, in accordance with its structure, with the reality it has captured⁵⁶.

According to the German thinker, this mode of thinking and viewing the world evaluates time in a different way, entirely unlike liberalism. If for a liberal the future was everything and the present nothing, then a conservative saw the most important confirmation of the veracity of a condition in discovering the meaning of the past, the value-bearing time. If for a chiliast the process of being/lifetime never existed, while for a liberal it existed inasmuch as it bred progress from a given moment, then for a conservative everything that exists is the fruit and is positive because it arose slowly and gradually⁵⁷.

In the area of the ideology of socialism and its more highly developed form – communism, especially in the Marxist interpretation, both the utopism of ideology and the realism of utopism were marked. There is no need here to remind in detail that in the whole of previous development of utopian thought communist ideas occupy a highly significant if not central position. In the states that styled themselves socialist “the communist utopia, as a constitutive element of the ruling ideology and thus functioning as a real factor of oppression, belongs to the instruments, used by the authorities, of symbolic violence and violence as such”⁵⁸. Socialism and Marxist communism, remaining utopias, refused to notice this: they aspired to a scientific status while unmasking other utopias as ideologies. The reality of socialist countries, relativizing Marxist hypostasizing and absolutizations, increasingly placed them in the sphere of false consciousness manifesting itself in ineffective ideology today, while tomorrow, the day after tomorrow and most probably even later – in unreal utopia.

The utopism of the ideology of communism can be understood more easily by contrasting it threefold with its ideological opponents. Communism is characterized by the Janus face: on the one hand it has to combat freedom recipes of anarchism while on the other it has to deepen liberalism’s imperfect freedom, and still on the third hand it has to restrict revisionist freedom. In Mannheim’s view this is balancing but also creating the new on the basis of an internal synthesis of the so far operating different forms of utopia, fighting each other in the social space⁵⁹. The realm of the communist utopia of freedom and equality was to manifest itself at a very distinct and specific moment – the collapse of capitalism. When this did not take place, the Soviet Union invented the conception of socialist realism as an interim substitute for the communist utopia. In the final

⁵⁶ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 190 et sqq.

⁵⁸ B. Baczkó: *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁵⁹ K. Mannheim: *op. cit.*, p. 193.

analysis, however, classical Marxism rejected both utopia as unrealistic and ideology as false consciousness, thus trying to endow its idea of communism with scientific features that were ridiculed, as we know, on the intellectual level and in social practice. One should agree with the view, however, that no utopia has yet emerged that could match Marxism in any respect⁶⁰.

Contrary to the anarchist aversion to utopian planning regarded as the imposition, running counter freedom, of views of present generations upon future generations, all trends of anarchism are pervaded with different degrees of utopism. The greatest saturation with utopism occurs in individualist anarchism while the smallest probably in syndicalist anarchism⁶¹. The ideology of pacifism has come to occupy an important place in political thought owing, inter alia, to Kant's utopia of eternal peace⁶². The ideology of feminism creates, time after a time, new versions of utopism, chiefly based on the assumption of total separation of the men's world from the world of women⁶³. The ecologist ideology is pervaded with numerous utopian motifs, especially when it represents a harmonious coexistence of all species of living beings. In reality, the collision of the artificial with the natural is inevitable: therefore only in ecological utopias does *natura artificata* maintain harmony with *natura naturata*⁶⁴.

Many utopian themes can be found in numerous mutations of the ideology of nationalism⁶⁵. The greatest gap, however, between impatient, short-term realism and patience-requiring utopism, by nature uncertain about the time of its realization, appears to have formed in Jewish nationalism, identified today with Zionism basing on diverse arguments, also abundantly drawn from Judaism. Impatient Zionists, in their proposals as to how to solve the Gordian knot of the Jewish-Arab conflict, prefer the term 'utopian realism' rather than the realism of utopia in order to emphasize that which is realistic rather than utopian. Inseparably intertwined with nationalism is the once powerful, mortally and

⁶⁰ Thus aptly A. Walicki: *Marxizm i skok do królestwa wolności. Dzieje komunistycznej utopii (Marxism and the Leap into the Realm of Freedom. A History of Communist Utopia)*, Warsaw 1996, *passim*; also V. Geaghegan: *Utopianism and Marxism*, London 1988.

⁶¹ Against the background of languid, by nature, and numerous monographs revealing the utopism of anarchism, freshness of approach distinguishes publications in Italian scientific journals and in those devoted to relations between utopia and anarchism: "Libertarian. IL peachier dell'utopia", "Volonta. Laboratorio di ricerche anarchiche", "Revista Anarchica".

⁶² Current information on publications and communities acting for peace can be found in Planetary Posts, Long Term Resource Cent c/o VIA, Pesthislaan 25 10 54 RH Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

⁶³ See for example F. Bartowski: *Feminist Utopias*, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press 1989; C. A. Kolmerten: *Women in Utopia: Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communities*, Bloomington 1990.

⁶⁴ See for example M. Gens de: *Ecological Utopias – Envisioning the Sustainable Society*, Utrecht 1998.

⁶⁵ See for example P. M. Mammen: *Gandhian Utopia: Its Relevance and Justification*, Minerva, India 1988; R. G. Fox: *Gandhian Utopia: Experiments with Culture*, Beacon Press 1989.

painfully realistic ideology of fascism, made of the fabric of appealing promises to the nation of masters, which ultimately proved a tragic utopia. It is in fascism that the feature of totalitarianism and totalism appeared most markedly, at the same time attributed too hastily to all utopias as overall transformations of the architecture and goals of society⁶⁶. Also the ideology of populism, as for example in its version of Russian *Narodnikism*, but also in some other later versions, turned out to be utopian, illusory, unrealistic yesterday, today and most probably tomorrow⁶⁷.

Ideologies based on religious assumptions, especially of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, frequently avoid realism as a matter of program, placing their promises of eternal happiness in the beyond, which does not ever and everywhere lend itself to any realistic verification. It would be difficult to count studies presenting the utopian character of excerpts from the Bible, Talmud or Koran⁶⁸. Also secular utopias, especially the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century topias, eagerly made use of the inspiration of the holy books while describing imaginary journeys to New Eden, the Promised Land, New Jerusalem, under the leadership of New Moses – the legislator making perfect laws. The whole history of Jewish mysticism shows tendencies to stimulate and develop visions of utopian existence on the individual, national and cosmic level. Of original character was the messianic teaching of Rabbi Nachman of Wrocław (1772–1811): spiritual perfection not only enables an individual realization of future universal perfection even today but already today it brings future perfection closer. Judaic utopism was developed by contemporary Jewish philosophers – M. Buber and G. Landauer⁶⁹.

CONTEMPORARY UTOPIANISM

Utopian yearnings, assuming different forms, especially those known in political thought, have always accompanied people. A desire to eliminate chaos, conflict, injustice, captivity and discomfort from social life in order to create a perfect community, in which people would coexist in harmony, is a dream more powerful than the awareness of impossibility to implement it. Even if utopias were realized only sometimes and only partially, the ideas of a harmonious community of people have a great impact on the realization of the possible.

⁶⁶ Thus formulated by B. Baczk o: *op. cit.*, p. 135 et sqq. And literature on the subject quoted therein.

⁶⁷ See for example the special issue of the “Russian History”, vol. 11, Nos. 2-3, Summer – Fall 1984.

⁶⁸ See for example G. Winter: *Community and Spiritual Transformation: Religion and Politics in a Communal Age*, New York 1990; K. Gay: *Communes and Cults*, New York 1997.

⁶⁹ See *Utopia: Imagination and Reality. Abstracts*, Oranim University of Haifa 1990, *passim*.

The real meaning of utopias is important enough for them to have become the object of deeper scholarly studies and academic teaching. Utopian literature, practices of utopian communities and the reflection thereof in the results of scientific investigations are collectively termed “utopianism”. Utopian literature expresses dreams of perfecting all forms of human activity, which is why it is the object of study by many social sciences and even natural sciences, for example utopias of garden-cities, and by technical sciences as for example numerous utopias and dystopias of micro- and macro-polis. Utopias have been and are part of every crucial movement – a revolutionary social one and sometimes no less important – reformist. Without being fully attainable, they nevertheless change the reality, showing new routes of social development that enable the survival of humankind and the human planet by restraining aggression of a man with a rifle and a man with money in excess.

After the Second World War the development of utopian communities stimulated a growing scholarly interest in both utopian literature and utopian practices. The number of books, articles and dissertations in the field of utopianism multiplied⁷⁰. Numerous scientific institutions for utopian studies were established, scientific journals, information directories and guidebooks devoted to this field began to appear, and global contacts between scholars interested in utopianism intensified⁷¹. In the United States alone in the 1950s seventeen doctoral dissertations were defended, in the 1960s – twenty-seven, and in 1970–1975 as many as thirty-six. In the subsequent years these numbers steadily grew.

First in the United States and then in other countries, programs of academic teaching started to incorporate the subject called ‘utopian studies’. As early as the US elementary and high schools the American teachers train pupils’ imagination by giving them assignments to create specific utopias: to propose better living conditions than their own. Utopianism is not only an extremely interesting subject of study and teaching. It is also: one of the most powerful factors of optimistic and enterprising vitality; a fundamental ethical principle of inner generosity; a source of disinterested nobleness and cordial warmth; a treasure of experiences connected with better places and times; a most tempting theme for study, especially for young scholars⁷².

⁷⁰ As an example of a model but fragmentary bibliography of the subject of utopianism, difficult to present comprehensively, see the study by L. T. Sargent: *British and American Literature 1516–1985. An Annotated Chronological Bibliography*, New York 1988; For information on centers for utopian studies see “Notiziario dell’Associazione Internazionale per gli Studi sulle Utopie”, No. 1, 1992.

⁷¹ Information on studies of utopianism can be found in the “Bulletin of the International Communal Studies Association”, see also: A. O. Lewis: *Directory of Utopian Scholars*, The Pennsylvania State University, May 1986; For information on students of Thomas More’s *Utopia*, especially members of the Amici Thomae Mori Association, see journal “Moreana”, about its German section, see “Mitgliederliste”, Bensberg 2000.

⁷² See “Notiziario dell’Associazione Internazionale per gli Studi sulle Utopie”, No. 2, 1992, p. 3 et sqq.

At present, at the time of predominance by realistic, pragmatic and calculating liberalism, it is difficult to be a utopist, but precisely because of that it is growing even more significant and meaningful. The capitalists claim that their utopia has ultimately won and the collapse of communist hopes gave them the right to do with our world whatever they like. For that reason we can hear some speak, here and there, of the demise and end of utopia. I strongly assert, however, that just as the ideological monopoly of liberalism is of seeming character, so too the thesis about the end of utopia is false. There is no end of utopia, nor can there be. Utopianism is still alive and doing well in many countries. It is indispensable for changes, development and social progress, which is why it will never end. Therefore, let utopianism, by studies, teaching, evaluation, representation, planning and dreams, all relating to the transformation and creation of a new social reality, show the ways of living in this world already today, the ways the next generations would like to follow tomorrow.

STRESZCZENIE

Myśl polityczna, we wszystkich przejawach, w różnym stopniu i zakresie wpływa na rzeczywistość społeczną. Stopień i zakres oddziaływania określonej formy myśli politycznej na rzeczywistość społeczną przyjmowane są za wyraz jej skuteczności. Owa skuteczność, uznawana za jedną z głównych wartości myśli politycznej, może objawiać się doraźnie albo w bliższej lub dopiero dalszej przyszłości. Myśl polityczna skuteczna doraźnie nazywana bywa myślą realistyczną, zaś myśl polityczna o odroczonej w czasie skuteczności myślą utopijną. Naukowe zadanie określania skuteczności form myśli politycznej poprzez stwierdzenie jej realizmu albo utopizmu przypada głównie doktrynom politycznym.

Spośród znanych form myśli politycznej dla naszego tematu najważniejszą rolę odgrywają z jednej strony ideologie, z drugiej zaś utopie. Dalsze rozważania będą osnute wokół zaprzeczania dość rozpowszechnionej tezie o wyższym stopniu realizmu, a więc i skuteczności ideologii niż utopii, poprzez uzasadnienie poglądu o pomieszaniu we wszystkich formach myśli politycznej, a więc w ideologiach i utopiach, realizmu z utopizmem. Za punkt wyjścia i odniesienia naszych rozważań przyjmuję fundamentalne ustalenia Karola Mannheim'a na temat relacji ideologii oraz utopii.

Obecnie, w czasach predominacji realistycznego, pragmatycznego i wyrachowanego liberalizmu, trudno być utopistą, ale przez to właśnie staje się to nawet bardziej istotne i znaczące. Kapitałiści twierdzą, że ich utopia zwyciężyła ostatecznie, a upadek nadziei komunistycznych dał im prawo do czynienia z naszym światem tego, czego tylko zapragną. Z tego powodu słyszemy nawet, tu i ówdzie, o śmierci i końcu utopii. Twierdzą jednak stanowczo, że tak jak ideologiczny monopol liberalizmu jest pozorny, tak również fałszywa jest teza o kresie utopii. Nie ma końca utopii i nie może być końca utopii. Utopianizm jest nadal żywy i ma się dobrze w wielu krajach świata. Jest niezbędny dla zmian, rozwoju i postępu społecznego, toteż nigdy nie może się skończyć. Niechże więc utopianizm – poprzez badanie, nauczanie, ocenianie, wyobrażanie, planowanie, marzenie, dotyczące przekształcenia i tworzenia nowej rzeczywistości społecznej – już dzisiaj ukazuje drogi życia na tej ziemi, którymi jutro chciałyby kroczyć następne pokolenia.