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The Kingdom of Poland – The Postulate of Monarchy Restoration in the Political Thought of Polish Monarchists

Keywords: Kingdom of Poland, Polish monarchists, political thought

Słowa kluczowe: Królestwo Polskie, polscy monarchiści, myśl polityczna

Abstract

The author analyses the political thought of Polish monarchists in the Third Republic concerning the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland. The article focuses on such issues as the advantages of monarchy, the features of the monarchist system, the ways of achieving the goal, the king's competences in the new system, and the possibility of rebuilding the monarchy. According to the author, for 30 years, Polish monarchists have been working comprehensively to win supporters for the idea of rebuilding the monarchy and are preparing for the moment when the political transformation will be possible.

Streszczenie

Królestwo Polskie – postulat restauracji monarchii w myśli politycznej polskich monarchistów

Autor analizuje myśl polityczną polskich monarchistów w III Rzeczypospolitej, dotyczącą odbudowy Królestwa Polskiego. W artykule koncentruje się na takich zagadnieniach jak: zalety monarchii, cechy ustroju monarchistycznego, sposoby realizacji celu, kom-

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petencje króla w nowym ustroju oraz możliwość odbudowy monarchii. Zdaniem autora polscy monarchiści prowadzą od 30 lat wszechstronną pracę nad pozyskaniem zwolenników dla idei odbudowy monarchii i przygotowują się do momentu, gdy będzie możliwa transformacja ustrojowa.

The Kingdom of Poland as an independent state ended its existence due to the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. However, despite the lack of Polish statehood, for over 120 years, the idea of rebuilding Poland as a monarchy was presented in the programmes of some conservative political parties, such as the May 3 Monarchical Society (1839, commonly known as the Lambert Hotel), led by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, and the National Right Party (1907). Their leaders were Władysław Jaworski and Michał Bobrzyński. Also, after Poland regained independence, the postulates for the restoration of the monarchy in Poland found supporters in most conservative groups. This idea was represented by such groups as the Conservative Party (1922, its leaders were Stanisław Mackiewicz and Hieronim Tarnowski) and the Monarchist Organisation (1925, one of its leaders was Zdzisław Lubomirski)².

The period of World War II and Communist rule prevented the development of monarchist thought in Poland. The decline of the Polish People's Republic allowed for a revival of the idea of restoring the Polish monarchy. The idea of restoring the Polish Kingdom has been presented in contemporary Polish political thought for over 30 years. It is represented by conservative-traditionalist associations established in 1989: Organisation of Polish Monarchists (OMP), led by Adrian Nikiel, and the Conservative Club in Łódź (KK), headed by Jacek Bartyzel³. For several years (until 2005), the Conservative-Monarchist Club (KZM) represented the monarchist idea, founded in 1988 and

² J. Bartyzel, *Organizacje monarchistyczne*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/ebp-organizacje-monarchistyczne> (1.12.2020).

³ *Deklaracja ideowa Organizacji Monarchistów Polskich*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/deklaracja> (1.12.2020); *Polska ma własną drogę. Tezy ustrojowe*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/kk-polska-ma-wlasna-droge-tezy-ustrojowe> (1.12.2020).

led by Artur Górski⁴. Apart from them, there are political parties – the Polish Monarchist Movement (PRM), led by Leszek Wierzbowski (1991), and the Union of Polish Monarchist Groups (UPUM), headed by Aleksander Podolski (1997)⁵. The organizations developed a concept for the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland and its future political arrangements and, through their journalistic and organizational activities, they strive to convince society of the idea they promote.

The article analyses the political thought of Polish monarchists concerning the restoration of the Kingdom in Poland. It focuses on such issues as the role of the monarchy in the political, social, and economic life of the state, the methods of restoring the monarchy, the principles of the election of the king and the procedures of establishing his successors, as well as the functions and competences of the future ruler of Poland. It aims to answer the questions: 1) why should the monarchy be restored? 2) how should it be rebuilt? 3) what should the future monarchical system of Poland look like?

The need to restore the monarchy is based on three factors: 1) religious, 2) historical, and 3) socio-political. According to the religious factor, Polish monarchists regard God in the Trinity as the highest value and the Roman Catholic Christian religion as the only true faith. For them, God is the Creator of the world and the Giver of life. He should be recognized as the Ruler of the world and the only Source of law, which should be based on such values as love, respect, goodness, justice, truth, and beauty⁶. Monarchy is the only political system that can implement God's law in the public sphere because it reflects God's order on Earth. According to monarchists, God is the supreme ruler of the temporal and eternal world, while the earthly monarch is the supreme ruler in a specific territory. All people on the Earth are obliged to obey God under threat of temporal and eternal punishment. All inhabitants of the kingdom are obliged to obey the king on the threat of temporal punishment. God answers to no one. The ruler answers only to God. The monarch's authority comes from the bestowal of God, who can withdraw His

⁴ *Deklaracja ideowa*, <https://kzm.org.pl/index.php/deklaracja-ideowa> (1.12.2020).

⁵ *Deklaracja ideowo-programowa Polskiego Ruchu Monarchistycznego*, <https://www.monarchia.org.pl/program.html> (1.12.2020); *Statut Unii Polskich Ugrupowań Monarchistycznych*, <http://regencja.cal24.pl/index.php/pl/dokumenty-upum/statut-upum> (1.12.2020).

⁶ *Deklaracja ideowa Organizacji...; Polska ma własną...; Deklaracja ideowa...*

grace if He finds that the king does not carry out His will and deprive him of the throne by stirring up resistance among his subjects or by the death of the ruler. The king may remove a subject from office if he finds that the subject is not implementing royal decisions. The monarch, as God's Governor in his state, must therefore implement God's law. The hierarchy existing in the monarchy, headed by the king, supported by God's authority, ensures perfect and effective realization of the values resulting from this law⁷.

Basing on the historical factor, monarchists claim that the period of the Polish Kingdom under the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was, for the most part, a time of the country's greatest political, military, and economic power. For many centuries of the monarchy's existence, Poland was one of the largest states in Europe and one of the main decision-makers in European politics. It also acted as a counterweight to the imperial political ambitions of various powers, defending the continent against anyone's hegemony. In domestic politics, monarchists emphasize the care taken by the former monarchs to develop good laws, support national culture and raise the economic level of the state and the standard of living of the population. Thanks to this, Poland was a role model for other states and pursued an effective policy of spreading Western civilization to the east and south of Europe. The restoration of the monarchy is intended to help the Polish state regain its former prestige on the continent⁸.

The socio-political factor stems from the previous two. The monarch is God's Governor in the State, and it is his duty to implement God's law. According to monarchists, this law guarantees governance based on honesty and justice, i.e., rewarding those who are moral, competent, and industrious and punishing those who act to the detriment of the state and society. God's law, implemented by the king, ensures internal stability, the harmonious interaction of individuals and social groups with each other, allows individu-

⁷ Ibidem; *Konserwatyzm a republikanizm i monarchizm*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/kk-konserwatyzm-republikanizm-monarchizm> (1.12.2020).

⁸ J. Bartyzel, *Rozważania o racji stanu*, "Pro Fide, Rege et Lege" 2003, No. 3, p. 13; A. Górski, *Podstawy absolutyzmu piastowskiego*, "Pro Fide, Rege et Lege" 1994, No. 3/4, p. 15; idem, *Idea jagiellońska*, "Pro Fide, Rege et Lege" 1997, No. 1, p. 26; *Leszek Wielki Książę Wierchowski: Polsce brakuje matki lub ojca narodu*, https://weekend.gazeta.pl/weekend/1,152121,16956273,leszek-wielki-ksiazke-wierchowski-polsce-brakuje-matki-lub.html?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=SM&utm_campaign=FB_Komentarze (1.12.2020).

al development and the raising of each person's social status, and contributes to national solidarity and unity. It also gives the subjects a chance to achieve salvation after death by convincing them, through the good governance of the king and his officials, that the only right religion is the Roman Catholic one, allowing them to achieve temporal and eternal benefits through God's mercy⁹.

According to the OMP, the KZM, and the KK, a true monarchy should be characterized by four features. It is to be catholic, sovereign, hereditary, and hierarchical. A catholic monarchy means that state law should be based on divine law, as represented by the Roman Catholic religion. The ruler and his subjects must recognize the primacy of the Catholic Church in public life as the institutional representation of God and submit to its teachings. They must also support the Church and its members materially and legally and protect it from threats from dissenters and non-believers. On the other hand, the Church is obliged to assist the king and his officials in their governance and submit to every decision that does not contradict divine law. Monarchists advocate an alliance between the Church and state power, in which the monarchy and the Church will support each other in governance that serves to strengthen faith in God and, consequently, the welfare of the whole of society¹⁰.

A sovereign monarch must have supreme and indivisible power. It means that he is the only legislator, executor of the law, controller of its observance, and supreme judge. He thus decides on the state's entire domestic and foreign policy, issuing normative acts, holding officials accountable, and finally settling legal disputes. The other state institutions – parliament, government, courts – have only advisory and administrative functions, acting exclusively on behalf of the king and within the scope of the powers established by him, which the king can change at any time. The monarch stands above state law because he is the source of law so that no institution can judge or dismiss him. As God's Governor in his kingdom, the monarch is answerable only to God, so an attack on his authority amounts to sacrilege. The only exception may be the destruction of God's law by the king. In such a situation, it is permis-

⁹ *Deklaracja ideowa Organizacji...; Polska ma własną...; Deklaracja ideowa...; Program polityczny, społeczny i gospodarczy Polskiego Ruchu Monarchistycznego*, <https://www.monarchia.org.pl/program.html> (1.12.2020); *Program Unii Polskich Ugrupowań Monarchistycznych*, <http://regencja.cal24.pl/index.php/pl/dokumenty-upum/program-upum> (1.12.2020).

¹⁰ *Deklaracja ideowa Organizacji...; Polska ma własną...; Deklaracja ideowa...*

sible for the subjects to declare obedience to the king if the Church considers that he has lost the grace of God¹¹.

Hereditary monarchy means that power always passes from the father to one of his children according to a legally defined line of succession. It usually is the eldest son who takes over spiritual and legal powers on his father's death. In this way, the continuity of the dynasty is maintained, which allows for stability in the state and the continuation of the good rule of the predecessor. According to monarchists, the king personifies the state. Therefore, his duty is to take care of the kingdom entrusted to him by God as his own property and to prevent anarchy and the destruction of the kingdom by his enemies. The principle of the lifelong rule makes it possible to develop a detailed plan for governing the state and to implement particular ideas, while the principle of succession makes it possible for the king to prepare his successor to replace the ruler and, at the time of his death, continue his policies. That method of succession safeguards against chaos and the resulting negative effects¹².

In a hierarchical monarchy, there is a definite social structure. At its top stands the king as the supreme sovereign. Individuals occupy the lower levels according to their abilities and character. Monarchists believe that the national elite should occupy the social level immediately below the monarch. These are the most dignified people, honestly performing the duties imposed on them and honestly exercising their rights. They would form part of the various political institutions to help the ruler implement his policies – parliament, government, the judiciary. They would be an aristocracy of the spirit, understanding their vocation as working to realize divine law in public life by wisely advising the king and carrying out his instructions. A hierarchical system in which everyone would take their natural place would guard against demagoguery and the assumption of responsibility for running the state by the wrong people¹³.

¹¹ Polska ma własną...; Konserwatyzm a republikanizm..., Program polityczny...; W hołdzie Najjaśniejszemu Panu, Królowi Polski, <http://www.legitymizm.org/hold> (1.12.2020).

¹² A. Nikiel, *Monarchia lekiem na całe zło?*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/monarchia-lekiem-na-cale-zlo> (1.12.2020); J. Bartyzel, *Legitymizacja władzy w monarchii tradycyjnej*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/tradycyjna-legitymizacja> (1.12.2020); A. Górski, *Król w demokracji czy demokracja w monarchii?*, "Pro Fide, Rege et Lege" 1992, No. 3–4, p. 12; *Leszek Wielki...*

¹³ *Deklaracja ideowa Organizacji...*; *Program Unii...*; A. Nikiel, *Monarchia...*; *Leszek Wielki...*

The primary task of any monarchist organization in Poland is to create a large social movement propagating monarchist ideas and aiming to convince as many citizens as possible of restoring the kingdom. According to J. Bartyzel, the most important allies of monarchists should be professional soldiers and the Catholic clergy, two groups that are the basis of every monarchist and hierarchical political system. The support of the military cadre, active and retired, should provide armed support for the monarchists when the political system changes. The clergy must convince the Catholic faithful that the kingdom's restoration is the realization of God's will¹⁴. Gaining the support of the whole society should be done through ideological and propaganda influence. Monarchists postulate publishing, educational, social, economic, and popularisation activities among citizens. It means publishing their media in which positive values of the monarchy are promoted, and the current activities of individual groups are presented, establishing schools, social foundations, and associations based on monarchist ideals, providing financial support, and creating conditions for the material development of society. This activity is intended to show citizens that the best solution for creating a great and strong Poland and a prosperous and united nation should be the restoration of the monarchy¹⁵.

Monarchist organizations differ in the manner of political transformation. The first way involves the restoration of the kingdom by the decision of elected bodies. The second way promotes a coup d'état. The PRM and UPUM advocate active involvement in elections to state and local government bodies so that their representatives and supporters can gain the greatest possible influence in the public sphere. According to their leaders, this is the only way to gain legitimacy for restoring the monarchy, which would be a permanent political system supported by the majority of citizens. L. Wierzychowski wants the restoration to be decided by: society by referendum, National Assembly

¹⁴ J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo Polskie*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/trzecie-krolestwo-polskie> (1.12.2020).

¹⁵ *Statut Polskiego Ruchu Monarchistycznego*, <https://www.monarchia.org.pl/statut.html> (1.12.2020); *Statut Unii...*; *Deklaracja ideowo-programowa*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/kk-deklaracja-ideowo-programowa> (1.12.2020); *Statut Organizacji Monarchistów Polskich*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/statut> (1.12.2020); *Statut Klubu Zachowawczo-Monarchistycznego*, <http://kzm.org.pl/index.php/statut> (1.12.2020).

by a 2/3 majority, or the president by decree. OMP, KK, and KZM do not want to engage in direct electoral activity, but they do not deny the role of elected authorities in the transformation process. Their leaders consider it advisable to establish close contacts with strong right-wing political parties and bring their members into them so that internally they conduct a campaign to win supporters for the monarchy. The victory of these parties in parliamentary and presidential elections would mean greater opportunities to realize the idea of the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland. According to A. Górski, the restoration should be decided by parliament. A. Nikiel would like it to be a decision of parliament or the president. However, OMP and KK also recognize the coup d'état as a method of achieving the goal of restoring the kingdom. According to J. Bartyzel, the coup d'état should be carried out by the army, supported by the clergy and the majority of society. It would be carried out at the moment of crisis of democratic institutions, and the leaders of monarchist organizations would choose this moment¹⁶.

Once the monarchy is established, a regency should be established until the king is elected, whose duty will be to draft the rules of the future political system. The PRM and UPUM have already appointed regents – they are the leaders: L. Wierzbowski and A. Podolski. Both believe that their task is to replace the Polish king until he is elected¹⁷. The leaders of the OMP, KZM, and KK think that only after establishing the monarchy will there be time to appoint suitable persons as regents. According to A. Nikiel, the regent should be the last president who will be a Catholic. The task of the regent is to prepare for the election of the king of Poland. According to A. Górski, a Regency Council must be created, which would initially include the last president – a Catholic – and the Primate of Poland, whose task would be to work out the method of the royal election. J. Bartyzel postulated the establishment of the Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland as a temporary supreme authority. Confederation would appoint the Regency Council as Poland's representative in international relations,

¹⁶ *Statut Polskiego...*; *Statut Unii...*; *Deklaracja ideowo-programowa...*; *Statut Organizacji...*; *Statut Klubu...*; *Leszek Wielki...*; *Unia Polskich Ugrupowań Monarchistycznych*, <http://regencja.cal24.pl/index.php/pl/o-nas> (1.12.2020); A. Górski, *Zasada „konía trojańskiego” (przez parlament do monarchii)*, „Pro Fide, Rege et Lege” 1993, No. 2, p. 13; A. Nikiel, *Monarchia...*; J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo...*

¹⁷ *Leszek Wielki...*; *Unia...*

the body preparing the election, and the government conducting current policy. The Council would consist of the Primate of Poland, the First President of the Supreme Court, and the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Confederation would be made up of civilian leaders of the monarchist movement, supreme military commanders, Catholic archbishops, and bishops¹⁸.

Monarchist leaders believe that the future king of Poland must be a man of the Roman Catholic faith. According to the OMP and KK, he should additionally be a Catholic traditionalist, i.e., he should not recognize the provisions of the Second Vatican Council, which their leaders consider to be contrary to Catholicism, and work for their rejection by the Church. The Catholic confession is the most important condition for being considered for election as a monarch. The other conditions vary from group to group. A. Nikiel believes that a candidate for a king should come from a legitimate Catholic marriage and should have the charisma and strength to meet the responsibilities of a ruler. According to J. Bartyzel, the monarch must live according to Catholic morality, be physically and mentally healthy, be of appropriate age (between 35 and 55–60 years), have higher education, and completed military service. According to A. Górski, the future king should be born and raised in Poland under Polish national values and be a legitimate descendant of one of the royal dynasties currently reigning or removed, but with a right to the throne. Nikiel and Bartyzel do not require candidates to be of noble, aristocratic, or royal descent. However, they believe that descendants of former ruling families (Giedymínovichs, Rurikovichs, Piasts) and important aristocratic families (for example, the Radziwiłłs and Lubomirskis) would be considered first. L. Wierzbowski and A. Podolski represent specific candidates but do not wish to talk about them before establishing the monarchy¹⁹.

J. Bartyzel presented the procedure for electing the king of Poland. In his opinion, all candidates who met the conditions to be an elector could submit their candidatures to the Regency Council. The Regency Council has the fi-

¹⁸ A. Górski, *Zasada...*, p. 13; A. Nikiel, *Monarchia...*; *O królu Korwinie, rojalizmie i UPR z Adrianem Niklem*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/nikiel-wywiad-najwyzszy-czas> (1.12.2020); J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo...*

¹⁹ A. Górski, *Zasada...*, p. 12; A. Nikiel, *Zew znad Wisły*, <http://www.legitymizm.org/zew-znad-wisly> (1.12.2020); *O królu Korwinie...*; J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo...*; *Leszek Wielki...*

nal decision in approving a candidacy and establishing the number of people who will have the right to be elected monarch. Once the nominations have been approved, it should order a public presentation of all the persons by their supporters. The Regency Council will also make the appointment of the Electoral College, consisting of about 70 persons. It should comprise: 1) members of the Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland and the Regency Council and also 2) heads of the Polish Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches, 3) rectors of universities established before 1939, 4) the presidents of the Supreme Administrative Court and the Constitutional Tribunal, 5) the marshals of the voivodship assemblies, 6) the president of the Supreme Audit Office, 7) the presidents of the Supreme Bar Council and the National Notary Council, and 8) representatives of employers' organizations, trade unions, artistic circles, farmers' circles, and craftsmen's circles. The College would elect the king by secret voting, and the winner would be the candidate who would win a minimum of 2/3 of the votes. The election of the king would be announced by the Primate of Poland, who would crown the monarch in Wawel Cathedral. Through the coronation, the king would assume sovereign power in the state. His first duties would include declaring Poland the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, making the Catholic religion the ruling one, and drawing up a constitution for the Kingdom of Poland. OMP supported this plan²⁰.

KZM did not develop an electoral procedure. A. Górski postulated that the parents of the future king should first be chosen. The father should be a Catholic prince from one of the European dynasties ruling now or in the past, positively disposed towards Poland, its history and culture, the mother – representative of one of the Polish aristocratic families. The child from this marriage would become a king. Until he came of age, power would be exercised by the Regency Council, in which, besides the last President and Primate of Poland, the father of the little king would sit. The Council's task would be to prepare the ruler for the exercise of sovereign power. Upon coming of age, the king would be crowned in Wawel Cathedral by the Primate and assume full royal rights. His first duties would be to establish a new constitution and to make Catholicism the state religion²¹.

²⁰ J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo...*; A. Nikiel, *Zew...*

²¹ A. Górski, *Zasada...*, p. 12; idem, *Król...*, p. 13.

All monarchist groups created projects or general principles for the future political system of the Kingdom of Poland and the position of the king in the state. The PRM and UPUM programmes are characterized by the greatest generality. Both postulate that the Kingdom of Poland should be a hereditary constitutional monarchy based on the regulations of the Constitution of 1791. UPUM does not discuss the rights and duties of the monarch in detail in its declarations. According to the PRM, the king should be the supreme sovereign and stand above social divisions. His role would be to represent the Polish state and nation in the international environment and control internal and foreign policy. The PRM wanted to give the king the right to appoint the Prime Minister and approve ministers and reject government and parliamentary decisions that the ruler would consider harmful. The king would have the competences of the highest judge and supreme head of the Polish army²².

Other organizations described the political system of the Kingdom of Poland in detail. J. Bartyzel and A. Górski elaborated the constitutional theses, in which they included the rights and duties of the monarch and his competences in the legislative, executive, and judicial spheres. According to the KK's project, the king should have supreme power over all state organs, regulating the principles of their operation and controlling their functioning. In foreign policy, he would be the only representative of Poland to other states and the head of the armed forces. In the legislative sphere, he could issue decrees and ordinances with the force of law during the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies (the lower chamber of parliament). The king would decide whether to sign a particular law passed by a parliament or reject it. The monarch's influence on parliament would also consist in the fact that he would appoint 1/3 of the members of the Senate (the upper house of parliament), and his adult sons would by law become members of this chamber. In the executive sphere, the king would supervise the government, appointing and dismissing the prime minister, ministers, and senior civil servants and presiding over government meetings. In the judicial sphere, all judgments would be made in the name of the king. He would have the right of grace and amnesty and would appoint independent and irremovable judges²³. In the project of KZM, the position

²² *Program polityczny...; Program Unii...; Leszek Wielki...; Unia...*

²³ *Polska ma własną...*

of the monarch was stronger. He would additionally have the right of final veto and the right to initiate legislation and appoint Marshals of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies (legislative sphere), defining the scope of power of the prime minister and ministers, issuing executive acts countersigned by the relevant minister and the ability to put members of the government on trial for breaking the law and harming the state (executive sphere) as well as the right to appoint presidents of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Administrative Court, and the Constitutional Tribunal²⁴. The strongest position of the king can be found in the statements of A. Nikiel. According to the president of the OMP, the king of Poland should issue legal acts on his own, while the parliament would only have an advisory character. Instead of the government, ministers should exercise executive functions, chosen and supervised by the ruler and accountable only to him²⁵.

Polish monarchists know that the restoration of the monarchy is difficult to achieve and may even prove impossible. An extreme example of the weakness of faith in the kingdom's restoration turned out to be the KZM, which, in 2005, officially abandoned this aim. Leaders of KZM decided that the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland is a utopia because there are no monarchist traditions in Poland, and there is no suitable candidate for the Polish throne²⁶. Although they still cultivate royal traditions, the other groups believe that in the coming decades, there will still be a democratic republic in Poland due to the low public support for the idea of restoration. That is why the constitutional theses of the KK of 1992 mention the president as the head of state, although there is a provision that the king should have identical powers if the monarchy was to be rebuilt. Pragmatism can also be seen in the PRM and UPUM, which officially postulate the introduction of a limited monarchy, modeled on the existing European monarchies, to gain support for the idea of monarchism. However, the reference to the Constitution of 1791 allows us to conclude that the king would have greater powers than the monarchs ruling in Europe²⁷. The only hope for introducing a sovereign

²⁴ A. Górski, *Król...*, pp. 12–16.

²⁵ A. Nikiel, *Monarchia...; O królu Korwinie...*

²⁶ *Kontrrewolucja XXI wieku. Idee fundamentalne*, <https://kzm.org.pl/index.php/manifest> (1.12.2020).

²⁷ *Polska ma własną...; Program polityczny...; Program Unii...*

and hereditary monarchy is seen by the leaders of the KK and the OMP in the abolition of the European Union and in the discouragement of European societies from democracy, which would be an opportune time for the desired political changes²⁸.

The restoration of the monarchy in Poland today remains only in the utopian dreams of various organizations. The liquidation of most European monarchies in the 20th century, the limiting of the rights of the current rulers to representative functions, and the rejection by the majority of European societies of the principles of the Catholic religion indicate that the views of Polish monarchists are impossible to realize. They do not believe that restoration will take place in the coming decades. Nevertheless, most of them are preparing for the moment when efforts can be made to establish the Kingdom of Poland. They popularise and educate, are active in economic and social spheres, try to influence public authorities, and draft constitutions and laws for the future monarchy. In their opinion, the prevailing political, social, and economic crises resulting from the republican and democratic rule will lead to chaos in the future and cause the return of European nations to the monarchical system, which guarantees stability and comprehensive development. They believe that even if they do not live long enough to see this, they will leave a testament to the next generation, which they should carry out for their own good.

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²⁸ J. Bartyzel, *Trzecie Królestwo...*; A. Nikiel, *Monarchia...*

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