

SUMMARY

This PhD dissertation is an attempt to apply the category of "political imagination" in research on the pictorial-phantasmal aspect of ideological and political discourse based on the example of two nationalist groups: the pre-war, neo-pagan "Zadruga" (1937-1939) and one of the occupation-time-issued monthly "Sztuka i Naród" (1942-1944) which was the artistic press organ of the Konfederacja Narodu.

In previous research, this aspect of the ideological and political discourse was usually ignored, being considered secondary or unimportant.

Political discourses were studied mainly using instruments of political science, history of ideas and pragmatics of political life.

Meanwhile, the pictorial-phantasmal aspect of political discourse deserves serious treatment, at least for two reasons.

Firstly, it is necessary to study how the pictorial-phantasmal imagination guides people not only in the process of giving a specific linguistic form to a political message, but also how it participates in the very formation of the political ideas that are expressed in the message. Secondly, it is also necessary to examine how the pictorial-phantasmal side of a political message affects the consciousness and subconsciousness of the recipient of such a statement. The focus is therefore both on the question of the metaphorical expression of political ideas and on the question of their reception, primarily the question of the effectiveness of the "hidden" persuasive impact of these ideas through the phantasmal-pictorial form of political communication, appealing to the phantasmal-pictorial sensitivity of the recipient.

The problematic aspects of "political imagination" – even if such a term was not used – came to the fore in literary studies, but was usually not treated as a central issue. Most often, attention was focused on the political views of writers, examining how they presented themselves, what their genesis was, how they were revealed in the text and how they should be interpreted. In this approach, the piece of work was treated as a coded political statement by the writer, which had to be deciphered by reconstructing his political worldview. This aspect of political imagination should be described as "conceptual imagination", and much of the research focuses on it.

The direction of research on political imagination proposed in this PhD dissertation goes beyond the cognitive horizon outlined in the aforementioned way. In this work, an attempt has

been made to enrich the literary analysis of political discourse, which is focused on the reconstruction of "political views", with research approaches the methodological core of which is cognitive linguistics (including Lakoff's theory and practice and research on the "linguistic image of the world"), thematic criticism and phantasmal criticism, as its goals were defined, among others, by Maria Janion. Works on the language of politics by Michał Głowiński, Geller and Anderson were also an inspiration to this piece. This dissertation is an attempt to examine the political imagination of two groups of the Polish radical right from the first half of the 20th century in such a way as to combine the methodological perspectives outlined above.

The core of this dissertation consists of two analytical parts. They cover using the research category of "political imagination" on specific historical material of the political and ideological discourse of the Polish radical right, subjected to a thematic and hermeneutic reading, with full awareness of how methodologically risky of an undertaking this is. The aim of such a reading is to isolate and interpret the dominant imaginative impulses that determine the metaphorical and pictorial form of transmitting political ideas in the pages of "Sztuka i Naród" and "Zadruga", especially in such domains as the verbal formulation of political projects, the formation of a specific interpretation of history in discourse, the pictorial aspect of discourse, strengthening the persuasive power of political narrative.

The analytical part also involves examining the psychosomatic foundation of the worldview and attempting to reconstruct deep structures in which elementary feelings, subjective elements and phantasms determined and significantly strengthened the shape of the political narrative at the level of transmission and reception. Therefore, a research procedure is in question, the aim of which would be to determine how the phantasmatic-image antithesis of approval and disapproval – towards the phenomena of collective life, political projects, social groups or specific people – related to the crystallization of radical right-wing attitudes appears in right-wing discourses, when the rational argumentation of the ideological and political argument turned into a strategy of "subliminal" influence on the recipient through projected fear or revulsion (strategy of "abjective" influence), which was opposed to conceptual and phantasmal visions of a better, imagined future.

The work is an attempt to verify the validity of the analytical category of political imagination in relation to ideological and political texts of political party agendas, in three aspects: conceptual, historiosophical and metaphorical, which opens a perspective for further research on Polish political discourse, not only the right-wing one. The conclusion includes a comparative summary of the knowledge obtained in the course of the hermeneutical

interpretation of the political and ideological discourses analyzed in the work of two groups of the Polish radical right, along with a presentation of the challenges and difficulties associated with such focused research. The work is accompanied by an annex and a list of bibliography.