

Aneta Dawidowicz  
Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej  
w Lublinie

## THE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL EDUCATION. NATIONAL EDUCATION IN POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (1928–1939)<sup>1</sup>

### Preliminary remarks

Considered among the leading Polish parties of the interwar period, the National Party (NP) played a major role as both a political figure and an ideological vehicle. The way the NP's political thought was perceived by exile circles after the Second World War, as well as among the political opposition domestically, was proof of the significance of the NP. I took a research interest in the organisational and political mechanisms within the NP, and also in how political parties functioned in the political and party system of the Second Polish Republic. The NP had among its ranks many outstanding ideologues, thinkers, intellectuals, politicians, and experts in law, political systems, economics, finance, education and culture, etc., representing a whole range of beliefs, political programmes and ideas. This was the primary premise which inspired me to explore this subject in further detail. One of the major reasons was that the NP left behind a rich legacy of ideas, concepts and programmes, which was a product of broadly defined reflections on the political reality, coupled with an attempt to define an independent vision of the political order.

The NP's views merit attention because of their impact on the political life of the interwar Poland, as well as the interesting amalgamation of diverse conceptual components of various ideological provenances in its programmes. The legacy of the ideas of the NP largely reflected the key components of National Democracy's political thought – nationalism, the equality of estates, national integrity and the *nation state* concept. I have addressed

---

<sup>1</sup> This article was drawn up within the framework of the research project entitled "The National Party's Political Thought in 1928–1939", financed from the resources granted by the National Science Centre under decision No. DEC-2013/09/B/HS5/00016. Tekst został opracowany w ramach projektu badawczego „Myśl polityczna Stronnictwa Narodowego (1928–1939)”, finansowanego ze środków Narodowego Centrum Nauki na podstawie decyzji numer DEC-2013/09/B/HS5/00016.

these categories in my dissertation. My research did not provide a crystal-clear picture of the NP. Indeed, the party's history was one of dynamic evolution, marked by internal dissent, which made illustrating its political thought a very complex task.

In the period of the Second Polish Republic, educational issues constituted a subject-matter of interest to Polish political thinkers. Nonetheless, such issues were often perceived differently by the diverse ideological and political factions. According to such political entities, the interwar period was marked with the destabilisation of the previously-existing social, political and cultural order, giving rise to a new reality. Visions of creating a "new", "better," more moral and socialised man began to appear in the statements disseminated by almost all political circles. Such projections, however, entailed the rather disturbing perspective of far-reaching interference with the lives of all citizens, including their privacy. The postulate of changing the individual in order to meet the emerging "higher" objectives, social needs and "lofty" principles, was put forward<sup>2</sup>.

### 1. "National education"

Modern education formed part of the national pedagogy developed by members of National Democracy (ND). The issue of national education had appeared in ND's political thought since the establishing of this political grouping. The notion of *national education* comprised: elaborating on the educational process; and determining the education process objective based on the idea of "nation-oriented education". Clear-cut views on this issue were expressed by renowned National Democracy theorists, including, in particular, Zygmunt Balicki, Stanisław Głąbiński, Roman Rybarski, Bohdan Wasiutyński and Stanisław Grabski. Attempts were made to present the essence of the educational process, and to develop a specific role model. A major contribution to the creation of the national education concept was proffered by Zygmunt Balicki<sup>3</sup>. The "soldier-citizen" model, to which he frequently referred, left a permanent footprint in the work of the national ideologists. Regardless of many controversies surrounding Balicki's idea of "national egoism", his educational thought was widely appreciated among the membership of the Popular National Union and the National Party, with the "soldier-citizen" model appearing in their numerous publications, this being presented as variation upon the notion of "the brave man"<sup>4</sup>. In ND's political thought, the Polish "self-made man" model was also developed, reflecting the character

<sup>2</sup> More information regarding the issue of national education in the Second Polish Republic can be found in: Z. Łempicki, *Polskie tradycje wychowawcze*, Lwów 1936, passim; L. Zarzecki, *Wychowanie narodowe, Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1929; M. Ziennowicz, *Rodzina a wychowanie państwowe*, Warszawa 1932; M. Strzelecki, *Wizje wychowania społecznego w polskiej myśli politycznej lat 1918–1939*, Olsztyn 1998; K. Jakubiak, *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji*, Bydgoszcz 1994.

<sup>3</sup> A. Dawidowicz, *Zygmunt Balicki. Działacz i teoretyk polskiego nacjonalizmu*, Kraków 2006, p. 233–247.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Balicki, *Zasady wychowania narodowego*, Warszawa 1909, passim; Z. Balicki, *Charaktery a życie polityczne*, Lwów 1914, passim; Z. Balicki, *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*, Warszawa 1902, passim; S. Grabski, *Szkoła a obywatel państwa i jego rola społeczna*, Lwów 1938, passim; R. Rybarski, *Przeszłość gospodarcza Polski*, Warszawa 1933, passim; S. Głąbiński, *Nauka a dobrobyt*, Lwów 1916, passim; B. Wasiutyński, *Jak to będzie w wolnej Polsce*, Warszawa 1918, passim; M. Ryba, *Naród a polityka. Myśl społeczno-polityczna twórców ruchu narodowego w okresie międzywojennym*, Lublin 1999, p. 82.

of the modern economic entrepreneur whose core objective was to multiply the national economic wealth<sup>5</sup>.

The issues of national education were of significant importance to the National Party (1928–1939). The principles of national education, as many other notions, were subordinated to the national idea. According to National Party politicians, national education was extremely significant to the nation's development process as it moulds future generations to consolidate the national identity and strengthen the Polish State. As written by Stanisław Kozicki, "the present and future generation are responsible not only for maintaining and strengthening the Polish State, but also (and perhaps more importantly) for making efforts to create a definite Polish type on the popular background"<sup>6</sup>. The postulate of developing "the Polish type" constituted the leading motive of deliberations on the essence of national education.

By analysing various accounts of the National Democracy's political thought, a conclusion can be drawn that the ND ideologists expressed keen interest in individuals and their spirituality. The fact that inspiration was drawn from the Catholic personalism can be easily observed in the National Party's ideological works. According to national ideologists, people were not perfect beings, and their personality, attitudes and actions would require specific corrections. This "adjustment" process should begin by understanding the unique Polish national character. As written by Karol Stefan Frycz, one of the "young" journalists, "a man is a uniform being and any attempts to heal him should always begin with the spirit"<sup>7</sup>.

## 2. The national character

With the prevalence of negative opinions, deliberations on the psyche of the Polish nation were hardly optimistic. Polish people were said to display a range of defects and weaknesses, among which sensitivity, excessive sentimentalism, irritability, passiveness and impunity were dominant. Representatives of the national movement made extremely harsh assessments of the Polish nation and did not seek to idealise the national features. Quite to the contrary, they wanted to make Polish people aware of their defects and weaknesses. Karol Stojanowski, a national thinker, did not hesitate to state that the Polish nation suffered from "a severe moral disease" which, both then and previously, did not let Poles take constructive measures, and even rendered any clear-headed assessment of the political reality impossible. This alleged "disease" was seen as the cause of the loss of independence and the State's structural shortcomings<sup>8</sup>.

---

<sup>5</sup> E. Maj, *Droga ponad liberalizmem i socjalizmem w myśli ekonomicznej Narodowej Demokracji*, „Myśl Ludowa” 2014, no. 6, p. 67; E. Maj, *Powstaniec czy polski self-made man. Definiowanie drogi do niepodległości w myśli politycznej Narodowej Demokracji*, [in:] *“Piekło i niebo Polaków”. Powstania narodowe, bunty i rewolucje. Inspiracje – kontynuacje – spory – pamięć*, ed. T. Sikorski, M. Śliwa, A. Wątor, Kraków 2014, p. 149–158.

<sup>6</sup> S. Kozicki, *Ku źródłom*, „Myśl Narodowa”, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1933, no. 42, p. 621.

<sup>7</sup> K.S. Frycz, *Na widowni*, „Myśl Narodowa”, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1937, no. 37, p. 582.

<sup>8</sup> K. Stojanowski, *Chłop a państwo narodowe*, [in:] *Roman Dmowski. Przyczynki. Przemówienia*, Poznań 1936, p. 48; A. Wierzbicki, *Naród – państwo w polskiej myśli historycznej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Wrocław 1978, p. 112–132.

In the national press, attempts were made to recreate the image of the individual Pole and his / her national character. This was considered necessary because, as Roman Rybarski advocated, “we, Polish people, do not know well our own character. This is hardly surprising because assessing our own features, advantages and disadvantages is usually the most difficult”<sup>9</sup>. It is worth stressing that, by questioning the postulates of racism, the ideologists and journalists who discussed the issues of the national character, had no doubts that it constituted a psychological, rather than physical, phenomenon<sup>10</sup>.

Interesting reflections on “the Polish nation’s psyche” were formulated by Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski, a renowned biologist, pedagogue and anthropologist from the University of Poznań, the vice-chancellor of the underground University of the Western Lands, and a pioneer of the Polish experimental pedagogy. Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski was tied with the National Party and sympathised with the “youth” group.

While attempting at describing the Polish national character, Jaxa-Bykowski claimed that it was a chivalric nation. Referring to the notion of “a national soul”, he noted that the national character determined the essence of the nation, as well as its well-being, development conditions and future. “The national soul subconsciously governs our thoughts and behaviour”, he wrote<sup>11</sup>. According to Jaxa-Bykowski, the national soul determined the potential of a given national community, and constituted a significant national mobilisation factor. It was, therefore, extremely important to the shaping of the national character. The history of the Polish nation clearly proved that it was the national soul that provided the many incentives which had let Poles survive an over 100-year period of political captivity in order to eventually facilitate laying the foundations for an independent country.

Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski attempted at describing the Polish national character, recognising both its positive and negative features. In his opinion, the positives included: acting with courage, holding an audacious approach to challenges, having dedication, and displaying enthusiasm to work. In turn, the negatives were recklessness, idleness, rebelliousness, and factiousness. In his opinion, when compared to nations displaying higher levels of culture, Poles were distinguished by their “primitive advantages”, including cordiality and hospitality<sup>12</sup>.

The national character was viewed as a notion encompassing the spiritual, mental, and moral domains<sup>13</sup>, while its biological context was rejected. The assessment of Poles, as made by national journalists, was negative. Indeed, some representatives of the National Party were convinced of the numerous weaknesses and defects evident within Polish society. According to “the fathers of Polish nationalism” and leaders of the Popular National Union, the major drawbacks displayed by the Polish society included recklessness, inability to make

<sup>9</sup> R. Rybarski, *O naszym indywidualizmie*, “Myśl Narodowa”, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1931, no. 43, p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> R. Rybarski, *Sila i prawo*, Warszawa 1936, p. 145.

<sup>11</sup> L. Jaxa-Bykowski, *Nasz charakter narodowy*, „Polityka Narodowa” 1938, no. 3, p. 244–245.

<sup>12</sup> L. Jaxa-Bykowski, *Kultura uczuć w wychowaniu*, „Myśl Narodowa”, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1937, no. 33, p. 514–515;

L. Jaxa-Bykowski, *Nasz charakter narodowy*, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>13</sup> R. Rybarski, *Sila i prawo*, op. cit., p. 145.

clear-headed assessments of political reality, succumbing to one's own weaknesses, tendencies to waste the legacy of previous generations, idleness, diminishing sense of individual responsibility for the whole nation, and approval for "sentimental and lackadaisical patriotism".

### **3. Criticism of the Polish national character**

Passiveness and the egocentric indifference to public affairs, deeply rooted in Polish mentality, were the drawbacks that raised major concerns among national thinkers. In particular, the criticism of passiveness frequently provided the setting for discussions on educational issues, with this feature being viewed as the principal defect of the Polish nation, strongly influencing the overall characteristics of "the Polish type". The sources of "Polish passiveness", so deeply rooted in the Polish national mentality, were sought in the distant pre-partition times<sup>14</sup>. The stigmatised passiveness took various forms, including aversion to imposing one's will on other individuals, fears of taking measures to overcome any resistance, the lack of clear-headedness, "idle" sentimentalism, the lack of active affection for the motherland, fearfulness reflected in all domains of life, and idleness. The depreciated significance of work was considered a specific form of passiveness. Dmowski, who believed that the disrespect for work might eventually lead to the collapse of national culture, emphatically cautioned against such danger. He claimed that "civilisation means work. With the decreasing willingness to work, respect for work, and ambitions to create better and higher things, civilisation is doomed to end"<sup>15</sup>. A journalist of "Polityka Narodowa" ["National policy"], a magazine published by the end of the 1930s, expressed similar views, exploring the idleness of Polish people. "We are not zealous workers, especially when it comes to independent work and the courageous attainment of a certain position", he wrote<sup>16</sup>.

It was believed that the numerous weaknesses and faults of the Polish nation were reinforced by unfavourable political, social and cultural phenomena. The National Party, as a group representing traditionalist and Catholic values, expressed fears that such phenomena as secularisation and the disappearance of "ever-lasting" norms and values would eventually lead to a moral crisis and an even more dangerous distortion of the Polish national character. Concerns were especially raised as regards "the triumph of materialistic thought", the disappearance of customary traditionalism and the expansion of an ideological enemy referred to as "the anonymous superpower"<sup>17</sup>. In numerous publications, it was claimed that

---

<sup>14</sup> Z. Wardejn, *Dmowski – wychowawca*, "Polityka Narodowa" 1939, no. 1–2, p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> R. Dmowski, *Przewrót*, Warszawa 1934, p. 51.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> G. Radomski, *Mit "mocarstwa anonimowego" w publicystyce obozu narodowego w XX wieku*, [in:] *Świat wokół Rzeczypospolitej. Problematyka zagraniczna w polskiej myśli politycznej w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, ed. W. Paruch, K. Trembicka, Lublin 2007, p. 333–345.

by straying away from the principles and values based on Catholic teachings, and by abandoning the Polish tradition and customs, grounds may be paved for destructive activities of Jews, Communists and Masonry<sup>18</sup>.

It was held that the tradition of the centuries-old rule of the gentry must have left a strong imprint on the character and mentality of the entire Polish society, providing the major cause of the national character's weakness. The dominating position of the gentry was, thus, reflected in the Polish nation's mentality as a whole. It can be inferred, therefore, that, according to the National Party, the gentry were the main cause of the weak character of the Polish nation. With regard to this, the Baroque period was considered the source of negative patterns and moral stance<sup>19</sup>. However, it should be noted that a different view was expressed by Karol Stefan Frycz, a talented journalist belonging to the "youth circle", who admired that epoch, viewing it as a period marked with the dominance of the praiseworthy Catholic-driven values.

Along with passiveness, the phenomenon referred to as "the national micro-mania" was also stigmatised. It was described in detail by Jan Rembieniński as "a phenomenon whereby some disparaging comment on the nation is always added when an outstanding personality is being praised"<sup>20</sup>. The sense of inferiority typical of Polish people, and the inherently low sense of meaning of the entire Polish nation, were considered the gist of the national micro-mania.

Despite the prevalence of dark shades in the image of the Polish society, national ideologists displayed far-reaching optimism as regards their national education plans. It was hoped that the condition of the Polish society would be improved by the youngest generation. Roman Dmowski wrote, "these generations must create new people who will follow new paths"<sup>21</sup>. Tadeusz Bielecki admitted that while "the older generation is characterised with mental, religious, moral and, thus, political anarchy, this is no longer true about the youth circles in with the spiritual and moral order has become to emerge quickly"<sup>22</sup>. The "youth" themselves positively assessed the direction of social changes, believing in changing the future. Values drawn from the Catholic tradition provided the basis for such optimistic conclusions. Therefore, the National Party's political thought was forward-looking. Hope for the desired direction of mental transitions within Polish society was reflected in the following statement made by Wojciech Wasiutyński: "We are no longer the individualists from the times of the collapse of the Republic of Poland. We strongly disapprove of the liberal approach expressed through the saying »Feel free to do as you wish«. We do not believe in the omnipotent system forms. We feel disgust to ideological heresy, and we go back to the medieval image of Poland - a vigorous, disciplined, orthodox and fighting country, looking

<sup>18</sup> K.S. Frycz, *Pozytywizm*, "Myśl Narodowa", 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1934, no. 41, p. 594–596.

<sup>19</sup> J. Zamorski, *Barokowa dusza*, "Myśl Narodowa", 4<sup>th</sup> August 1929, no. 34, p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> J. Rembieniński, *Świątek małych ideałów*, "Myśl Narodowa", 1<sup>st</sup> August 1927, no. 16, p. 281, 282; J. Rembieniński, *Na widowni*, "Myśl Narodowa", 24<sup>th</sup> March 1935, no. 12, p. 186.

<sup>21</sup> R. Dmowski, *Ludzie potrzebni*, "Myśl Narodowa", 24<sup>th</sup> December 1933, no. 54, p. 815.

<sup>22</sup> T. Bielecki, *W szkole Dmowskiego. Szkice i wspomnienia*, London 1968, p. 11.

to the west and willing to conquer<sup>23</sup>. The already introduced mental changes and social transitions prompted the conclusion that the idea of an active, self-reliant, hard-working and politically engaged person could actually be brought into effect<sup>24</sup>.

Although the postulated traits of character and personality types were real, their materialisation was expected at some unidentified point in the future. Criticism of the Polish national character was tightly connected with the postulate of its indispensable reconstruction. National Party journalists repeatedly affirmed that shaping the young Polish nation was still feasible, given especially that, when compared to such old nations as the English or the French, the Polish nation was not mature enough and was in a state of continuous evolution. As written by Jan Zamorski, "we are all mindful that our civilisation is young. It is actually the youngest from among the nations that emerged from the western Roman civilisation"<sup>25</sup>.

The postulated process of social awareness transition was meant to take place on several plains. Therefore, the founders of the National Party's political thought referred to utterances made by "the fathers of Polish nationalism". The postulate of making the national character more modern, treated as the prerequisite to rebuilding the power of an independent country, was already made by Roman Dmowski in *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* [*Thoughts of a modern Pole*], dated 1903. The feasibility of such reconstruction was compounded by the view, which had consolidated in the National Party's political thought, that the character of the Polish nation was not permanent and unchangeable, but was still developing.

Attempts were made, therefore, to reconstruct the nation's psyche. National Democrats advocated thorough and permanent transitions of the national character. Due to the fact that the nation was viewed as a mental community, it was extremely important to highlight specific role models, as well as to shape the desirable attitudes and behaviours which could strengthen the national structure. Attempts were also made to develop perfect ideological and moral patterns, with appropriate role models being promoted in ideological publications and the diversified press. The educational process was, hence, meant to lead to shaping personalities free from national defects. The widely understood activity, resulting in the desirable changes in both individual people and their surroundings, invariably served as a determinant to all educational ideas.

Tendencies to accentuate the cult of authority, and to emphasise the absolute and unquestionable truths, also appeared in the National Party's political thought, along with criticism of the phenomena typical of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as democracy and liberalism. Such tendencies were reflected in the preferred educational idea<sup>26</sup>. The role model of a Catholic-Pole, which had emerged back in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, appeared in the works by the National Party ideologists.

---

<sup>23</sup> W. Wasiutyński, *Najmłodsze pokolenie przez pryzmat "Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka"*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1931, no. 40, p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> W. Zaleski, *Ideologia biurokracji*, "Myśl Narodowa", 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1933, no. 32, p. 461.

<sup>25</sup> J. Zamorski, *Kurczenie ojczyzny*, "Myśl Narodowa", 21<sup>st</sup> July 1929, no. 32, p. 43, 44.

<sup>26</sup> S. Kozicki, *Likwidacja XIX wieku*, "Gazeta Warszawska" 1932, no. 252–255, 257–259, 261.

As already mentioned, Roman Dmowski, in his famous book *Kościół, naród i państwo* [*The Church, the nation and the State*], dated 1927, proved that the issues related to Catholicism could not be perceived separately from those related to the nation<sup>27</sup>. Young representatives adopted this statement as their political axiom, viewing moral education, consistent with Catholic ethics, as absolutely necessary<sup>28</sup>. The postulated role model also comprised the “Catholic-Pole” type. As already mentioned, the National Party represented the so-called Christian nationalism, expressing views in favour of the axiological system based on Catholic ideas. The concept of Christian nationalism imposed the propagation of education in the Catholic and national spirit<sup>29</sup>. Respect for Christian principles was recommended, both in the public and private domain. Postulates were, therefore, made in favour of education in the religious spirit, along with obligatory religion lessons at school<sup>30</sup>. Readers of “Podlasiak”, a weekly paper published in the Lublin Region, were strongly reminded “that [...] the principles of Catholic teachings require that all students go to the Church every Sunday and confess their sins at least once a year”<sup>31</sup>. Views were expressed that the Catholic faith provided people with the sense of existence, made them ethically stronger, shaped their “moral backbone” and determined the optimal direction of their activities. Wojciech Wasiutyński, a leader of the “youth” circle, had no doubt that “national education is hardly possible without the spiritual armour provided by religion [...]”<sup>32</sup>. Departure from Catholic teachings entailed a risk of moral collapse and chaos, both in the public and private domain.

A significant revision of values can be seen in the National Party’s political thought. Whereas the leaders of the early National Democracy (commonly referred to as the *Endecja*) perceived the preponderance of the national idea as the underlying determinant of national education, the National Party ideologists saw the national education priorities as arising from ethical instructions based on Catholicism.

In the “youth” circles, a tendency towards an increasingly dogmatic perception of religion was observed. Such a standpoint was represented, *inter alia*, by Jędrzej Giertych. In 1929, he wrote: “Who is a Catholic must be fully a Catholic [...]]. He or she must accept all the Church’s orders, arrangements and dogmas without any reservation and self-elaboration, as well as recognise the authority of the Church hierarchy”<sup>33</sup>. The utilitarian approach

<sup>27</sup> R. Dmowski, *Kościół, naród i państwo*, Warszawa 1927, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> K.S. Frycz, *Katolicyzm doktorów*, “Prosto z Mostu”, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1935, no. 46, p. 3; S. Rymar, *Wyjątkowa chwila*, “Myśl Narodowa”, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1937, no. 27, p. 413; W. Wojdyło, *Wychowanie jako forma działania politycznego w myśli społeczno-politycznej obozu narodowego w latach 1926–1939*, [in:] *Wychowanie a polityka. Między wychowaniem narodowym a państwowym*, ed. W. Wojdyło, Toruń 1999, p. 60.

<sup>29</sup> *The National Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków, Józef Ziełiński, file no. 7820, mf. 1448, Pamphlet, 4 Lista Narodowa staje do wyborów, aby wywalczyć Narodowi Polskiemu prawo gospodarza we własnym państwie*.

<sup>30</sup> S. Rymar, *Wyjątkowa chwila*, op. cit., p. 413; R. Dmowski, *Oblicza dwudziestego wieku. V. Komunizm*, “Gazeta Warszawska”, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1933, no. 96, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Zetef., *Kościół i państwo*, “Podlasiak”, 20<sup>th</sup> January 1932, no. 2, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> W. Wasiutyński, *Najmłodsze pokolenie przez pryzmat...*, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>33</sup> J. Giertych, *My – nowe pokolenie*, Krzeszowice 2000, p. 24.



to religion began to gradually disappear from the utterances made by the “young” representatives of National Democracy, whereas Catholicism became an integral element of the national ideology. In 1933, one of the ND journalists wrote: “We, Catholics and Poles, shall not let anyone tear off our Catholic ideas for some alleged national interest, or our national ideas for some alleged Catholic interest. We shall not let anyone persuade us that, by breaking our heart into two pieces, we will make any of these ideas stronger”<sup>34</sup>. The worldview based on Catholic teachings influenced the perception of the reality, with the attitude of National Democrats to public life institutions being an accurate example. As it was believed that the Commission of National Education sought to introduce secular education, its activities were criticised<sup>35</sup>.

### **Concluding remarks**

The National Party developed a comprehensive educational programme. The aim of national education was to build a strong nation, and to prepare the society for an independent nation and State’s functioning. The principal categories of the National Party’s political thought included work, creation and action. The condition of the Polish society was also thoroughly analysed, with the ideal Pole being depicted as a hard-working, thrifty, conscientious and diligent person, dedicated to nation and State’s affairs. Active and constructive attitudes were widely promoted, along with social responsibility, readiness to make sacrifices, self-determination and subordination to the individuals responsible for the implemented goals. National education was expected to give rise to “a definite Polish type” that would embody the truly Polish character and indigenous values cultivated from generation to generation by the natively Polish population. Its emergence would be possible by imposing the adequate discipline and hierarchy.

### **Bibliography**

- Balicki Z., *Charaktery a życie polityczne*, Lwów 1914.  
Balicki Z., *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*, Warszawa 1902.  
Balicki Z., *Zasady wychowania narodowego*, Warszawa 1909.  
Bielecki T., *W szkole Dmowskiego. Szkice i wspomnienia*, London 1968.  
Dawidowicz A., *Zygmunt Balicki. Działacz i teoretyk polskiego nacjonalizmu*, Kraków 2006.  
Dmowski R., *Kościół, naród i państwo*, Warszawa 1927.  
Dmowski R., *Ludzie potrzebni*, “Myśl Narodowa”, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1933, no. 54.  
Dmowski R., *Oblicza dwudziestego wieku. V. Komunizm*, “Gazeta Warszawska”, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1933, no. 96.

---

<sup>34</sup> P. Ponisz, *Solidarność ideałów*, “Myśl Narodowa”, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1933, no. 54, p. 817.

<sup>35</sup> J. Giertych, *Tragizm losów Polski*, Pelplin 1936, p. 83; *O komunizmie i bezbożnictwie*, “Myśl Narodowa”, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1937, no. 28, p. 441.

- Dmowski R., *Przewrót*, Warszawa 1934.
- Frycz K.S., *Katolicyzm doktorów*, "Prosto z Mostu", 10<sup>th</sup> November 1935, no. 46.
- Frycz K.S., *Na widowni*, "Myśl Narodowa", 12<sup>th</sup> September 1937, no. 37.
- Frycz K.S., *Pozytywizm*, "Myśl Narodowa", 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1934, no. 41.
- Giertych J., *My – nowe pokolenie*, Krzeszowice 2000.
- Giertych J., *Tragizm losów Polski*, Pelplin 1936.
- Głąbiński S., *Nauka a dobrobyt*, Lwów 1916.
- Grabski S., *Szkoła a obywatel państwa i jego rola społeczna*, Lwów 1938.
- Jakubiak K., *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji*, Bydgoszcz 1994.
- Jaxa-Bykowski L., *Nasz charakter narodowy*, „Polityka Narodowa” 1938, no. 3.
- Jaxa-Bykowski L., *Kultura uczuć w wychowaniu*, „Myśl Narodowa”, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1937.
- Kozicki S., *Ku źródłom*, "Myśl Narodowa", 1<sup>st</sup> October 1933, no. 42.
- Kozicki S., *Likwidacja XIX wieku*, "Gazeta Warszawska" 1932, no. 252–255, 257–259, 261.
- Łempicki Z., *Polskie tradycje wychowawcze*, Lwów 1936.
- Maj E., *Droga ponad liberalizmem i socjalizmem w myśli ekonomicznej Narodowej Demokracji*, „Myśl Ludowa” 2014, no. 6
- Maj E., *Powstaniec czy polski self-made man. Definiowanie drogi do niepodległości w myśli politycznej Narodowej Demokracji*, [in:] "Piekło i niebo Polaków". *Powstania narodowe, bunty i rewolucje. Inspiracje – kontynuacje – spory – pamięć*, ed. T. Sikorski, M. Śliwa, A. Wątor, Kraków 2014.
- O komunizmie i bezbożnictwie*, "Myśl Narodowa", 11<sup>th</sup> July 1937, no. 28.
- Ponisz P., *Solidarność ideałów*, "Myśl Narodowa", 24<sup>th</sup> December 1933, no. 54.
- Radomski G. Radoski, *Mit "mocarstwa anonimowego" w publicystyce obozu narodowego w XX wieku*, [in:] *Świat wokół Rzeczypospolitej. Problematyka zagraniczna w polskiej myśli politycznej w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, ed. W. Paruch, K. Trembicka, Lublin 2007.
- J. Rembieniński, *Na widowni*, "Myśl Narodowa", 24<sup>th</sup> March 1935, no. 12.
- Rembieniński J., *Świątek małych ideałów*, "Myśl Narodowa", 1<sup>st</sup> August 1927, no. 16.
- Ryba M., *Naród a polityka. Myśl społeczno-polityczna twórców ruchu narodowego w okresie międzywojennym*, Lublin 1999.
- Rybarski R., *O naszym indywidualizmie*, "Myśl Narodowa", 6<sup>nd</sup> September 1931, no. 43.
- Rybarski R., *Siła i prawo*, Warszawa 1936.
- Rybarski R., *Przeszłość gospodarcza Polski*, Warszawa 1933.
- Rymar S., *Wyjątkowa chwila*, "Myśl Narodowa", 4<sup>th</sup> July 1937, no. 27.
- Stojanowski K., *Chłop a państwo narodowe*, [in:] *Roman Dmowski. Przyczynki. Przemówienia*, Poznań 1936.
- Strzelecki M., *Wizje wychowania społecznego w polskiej myśli politycznej lat 1918–1939*, Olsztyn 1998.
- The National Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences*, Kraków, Józef Zieliński, file no. 7820, mf. 1448, Pamphlet, 4 Lista Narodowa

*staje do wyborów, aby wywalczyć Narodowi Polskiemu prawo gospodarza we własnym państwie, b.p.*

Wardejn Z., *Dmowski – wychowawca*, "Polityka Narodowa" 1939, no. 1–2.

Wasiutyński B., *Jak to będzie w wolnej Polsce*, Warszawa 1918.

Wasiutyński W., *Najmłodsze pokolenie przez pryzmat "Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka"*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1931, no. 40.

Wierzbicki A., *Naród – państwo w polskiej myśli historycznej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Wrocław 1978.

Wojdyło W., *Wychowanie jako forma działania politycznego w myśli społeczno-politycznej obozu narodowego w latach 1926–1939*, [in:] *Wychowanie a polityka. Między wychowaniem narodowym a państwowym*, ed. W. Wojdyło, Toruń 1999.

Zaleski W., *Ideologia biurokracji*, "Myśl Narodowa", 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1933, no. 32.

Zamorski J., *Barokowa dusza*, "Myśl Narodowa", 4<sup>th</sup> August 1929, no. 34.

Zamorski J., *Kurczenie ojczyzny*, "Myśl Narodowa", 21<sup>st</sup> July 1929, no. 32.

Zarzecki L., *Wychowanie narodowe, Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1929.

Zetef., *Kościół i państwo*, "Podlasiak", 20<sup>th</sup> January 1932, no. 2.

Ziemnowicz M., *Rodzina a wychowanie państwowe*, Warszawa 1932.

Aneta Dawidowicz

### **The principles of national education. National education in political thought of the National Party (1928–1939)**

In the period of the Second Polish Republic, educational issues constituted a subject-matter of interest to Polish political thinkers. Nonetheless, such issues were often perceived differently by the diverse ideological and political factions. According to such political entities, the interwar period was marked with the destabilisation of the previously-existing social, political and cultural order, giving rise to a new reality. Visions of creating a “new”, “better”, more moral and socialised man began to appear in the statements disseminated by almost all political circles. Such projections, however, entailed the rather disturbing perspective of far-reaching interference with the lives of all citizens, including their privacy. The postulate of changing the individual in order to meet the emerging “higher” objectives, social needs and “lofty” principles, was put forward. The National Party developed a comprehensive educational programme. The aim of national education was to build a strong nation, and to prepare the society for an independent nation and State’s functioning. The principal categories of the National Party’s political thought included work, creation and action. The condition of the Polish society was also thoroughly analysed, with the ideal Pole being depicted as a hard-working, thrifty, conscientious and diligent person, dedicated to nation and State’s affairs. Active and constructive attitudes were widely promoted, along with social responsibility, readiness to make sacrifices, self-determination and subordination to the individuals responsible for the implemented goals. National education was expected to give rise to “a definite Polish type” that would embody the truly Polish character and indigenous values cultivated from generation to generation by the natively Polish population.

**Keywords:** political thought; National Party; nationalism.

### **Zasady narodowej edukacji. Edukacja narodowa w myśli politycznej Stronnictwa Narodowego (1928–1939)**

W okresie II Rzeczypospolitej zagadnienia wychowawcze i edukacyjne stanowiły przedmiot zainteresowania polskiej myśli politycznej. Kwestie te były zazwyczaj rozmaicie rozumiane w obrębie różnych opcji ideowo-politycznych. W opinii licznych podmiotów politycznych lata międzywojenne stanowiły okres destabilizacji zastanych stosunków społecznych, politycznych i kulturalnych, a nawet pewien początek nowej rzeczywistości. Rozwijano wówczas programy formowania „nowego człowieka”, „lepszego”, bardziej moralnego, uspołecznionego. Tego rodzaju zapowiedzi pojawiały się w enuncjacjach niemal wszystkich środowisk politycznych. Stronnictwo Narodowe dysponowało rozbudowanym programem wychowawczym. Celem wychowania narodowego była budowa silnego narodu, przygotowanie społeczeństwa do samodzielnego życia narodowego i państwowego. Centralnymi kategoriami myśli wychowawczej SN stały się praca, twórczość, czyn. Nieustannie zachęcano do postawy aktywnej, konstruktywnej. Promowano odpowiedzialność społeczną, gotowość do wyrzeczeń, samozaparcia, podporządkowania się woli jednostek odpowiedzialnych za realizowane cele. Wychowanie narodowe miało doprowadzić do wytworzenia „definitywnego typu polskiego”, który byłby uosobieniem polskości, rodzimych wartości przechowywanych od pokoleń przez rdzennie polskie masy ludowe.

**Słowa kluczowe:** myśl polityczna; Stronnictwo Narodowe; nacjonalizm.

*Translated by Aneta Dawidowicz*