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A dispute between “the Younger” and “the Older” about the economic model of the national movement between 1928 and 1939 (arguments exchanged in the press)¹

KEY WORDS:*the national camp, economy, nationalism, political thought, Christian ethics*

Preliminary remarks

Nationalistic organisations played a prominent role in the political life of the Second Polish Republic. Two political parties – the Popular National Union (1919–1928) and the National Party (1928–1939) – were at the organisational core of National Democracy. The ideological contribution of the NP to the legacy of the political thought of the National Camp, and, more broadly, to the Polish and European political thought, was substantial. The NP’s political thought covered a broad spectrum of philosophical, economic, historiosophical, ideological, religious, cultural, paedagogical, political, social and systemic issues. The vision forged by the NP encompassed a multitude of political thought domains, including such key categories as internal security, external security, the economy, the nation, the State, society, the status of national minorities, the attitude to Catholicism, political authority and nationalistic upbringing.

Underlying the political thought of the National Party was a number of ideological, political, social and economic factors associated with the political developments of the 1920s and 1930s, both in Europe and Poland. At the same

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time, these factors determined the evolution of the NP's political thought. The authoritarian-State model advanced by Piłsudski's supporters was the point of reference. Other factors included:

- 1) the rise of anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary tendencies in Europe;
- 2) the rise of totalitarian movements within many European countries;
- 3) Germany's growing political and military potential;
- 4) the great economic crisis with its various social repercussions.

The NP's political thought drew heavily on the legacy of the Western European political thought, embracing in particular the tenets of nationalistic streams professed by their leading ideologues. The ideas promulgated within the NP were in accord with the enunciations developed within conservative and Catholic communities. This was especially true of how they perceived the "turning point", i.e. the modernising capitalist civilisation. The "young generation" saw the breakthrough in Europe as a consequence of the illegitimacy of the system of values founded on liberal and democratic ideas. Contrary to expectations, the transformation of the PNU into the NP did not lead to the consolidation of the entire National Democracy. The National Party failed to meet the primary objectives underlying its political thought. Most importantly, the NP failed to establish a nation state. Then again, it successfully spread nationalist ideas.

The establishment of the National Party in 1928 marked the beginning of dissension, secessions from the party, conflicts between generations, and political manoeuvring. As a result of ideological differences, there were internal frictions and changes in affiliations between party members. A clear divide opened up between two ideological factions. In primary sources and the literature on the subject there is a division which reflects the generation gap between "the Old" and "the Young". The Old, represented by the "rebellious" generation, former Popular National Union activists, advocates of parliamentary democracy, included Roman Rybarski, Zygmunt Berezowski, Stanisław Głąbiński, Joachim Bartoszewicz, Władysław Seyda, and Stanisław Rymar. The Young generation was inclined to support the single-party system and introduce a "strong government". Prominent representatives of this group included Tadeusz Bielecki, Jędrzej Giertych, Adam Doboszyński, Kazimierz Kowalski, Jan Małachowski, Stefan Sacha, Mieczysław Trajdos, and Wojciech Wasiutyński.

The term "Young" covered activists whose road to executive positions in the National Camp went through "Młodzież Wszechpolska – Związek Akademicki" (The All-Polish Youth – Academic Association), an organisation established in March 1922, and since April 1927 also through Ruch Młodych OWP (The Camp of Great Poland, Youth Branch), which was probably where the name came from. However, this distinction between "the Old" and "the Young" was not clear-cut. Indeed, the Old included the supporters of both liberal and

totalitarian views related to public life, and the Young varied in terms of their extremism².

In the early 1930s, during a time of severe economic crisis in Europe and worldwide, representatives of the National Camp were particularly interested in economic issues. Wojciech Wasiutyński, one of the representatives of the Young, presented the views shared by his generation as follows

*The great economic crisis has left its mark on all the people who grew up in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Young people of the 1930s took it for granted that capitalism would come to an end [...] The question was, what would come after capitalism?"*³.

Deliberations on business and economic issues generally focused on ways of overcoming the crisis and mitigating its negative impact on Poland. The economic crisis contributed to the popularisation of a simplified, dichotomous vision of the world, firmly divided between "Us" and "Them". Capitalism was commonly criticised⁴. The intellectual atmosphere of that time provoked anxiety and encouraged people to seek new ways of both economic and spiritual growth. It was believed that the economic order within the State, similarly to its political system, should focus on the universal objectives and interests of the nation⁵.

² Among the fundamental works concerning the national movement, the following ones are worth noting: J. J. Terej, *Idee, mity, realia. Szkice do Dziejów Narodowej Demokracji* [*Ideas, myths and the reality. An outline of the National Democracy's history*], Warsaw 1971; J. J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka. Ze studiów nad dziejami najnowszymi Narodowej Demokracji* [*Reality vs. politics. Studies on the latest history of National Democracy*], Warsaw 1979; R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej* [*National Democracy 1893–1939. Studies on the history of nationalist thought*], Wrocław 1980; also a cross-sectional work by J. Holzer, *Mozaika polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [*The political mosaic of the Second Republic of Poland*], Warsaw 1974. J. Zieliński, *Narodowa Demokracja na cenzurowanym* [*National Democracy comes in for criticism*], «Dzieje Najnowsze» (Recent History) 1974, No. 3, p. 58–60; K. Kawalec, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec faszyzmu 1922–1939* [*National Democracy in the face of fascism in 1922–1939*], *Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli politycznej obozu narodowego* [*Studies on the political thought of the National Camp*], Warsaw 1989, p. 10, 11; J. M. Majchrowski, *Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku* [*Polish political thought in the 19th and 20th centuries*], Part III: *Nacjonalizm: myśl „potomstwa obozowego”* [*Nationalism – the thought of the young generation of the National Camp*], Kraków 1993, p. 5–36.

³ W. Wasiutyński, *Micewskiego szkice węglem* [*Micewski's charcoal drawings*], "Polemiki" ("Polemics") Book 5, 1966, p. 16.

⁴ K. Kawalec, *Wizje ustroju państwa w polskiej myśli politycznej lat 1918–1939* [*Visions of the national system in Polish political thought between 1918 and 1939*], Wrocław 1995, p. 166, 170.

⁵ J. Ziemiński, *Ingerencja państwa w życiu gospodarczym* [*Involvement of the State in economic life*], «Myśl Narodowa» No. 35, 13 August 1933, p. 511.

The idea of “the third path” of economic and social development

In the 1930s, the idea of “the Third Way” to economic and social development became popular with various political groups, such as the Peasant Movement, the National Camp, Christian Democracy, and the Socialist Camp. The concept of “the Third Way” built on Thomism and Catholic Social Teaching. Representatives of the National Camp appreciated the advantages of this “intermediate way”, which rejected both economic collectivism and liberalism. It was believed that a new solution would be developed, without building on communism or capitalism. A shift in the economic thought took place, especially in mid-1930s, when Roman Dmowski’s ruminations made people realise the downfall of the previous forms of management⁶. During the meeting of the National Party’s Chief Council, Dmowski argued that institutions such as “State and municipal companies” must be got rid of, because they are “an extravagance”⁷. His papers, with pessimistic economic scenarios, were welcomed with approval by the Young representatives of the National Camp. Dmowski evaluated the great economic crisis, wrongly anticipating the supposedly inevitable collapse of developed countries⁸.

The National Party did not have a consistent economic programme. Given the growing ideological divide between the Old and the Young, the discord in relation to the economic programme only broadened the gap. The dispute between the Young and Old generations concerned both their outlook on life and their preferred nation State model. The Young took a simplistic approach to economic issues. The press was the vehicle for the polemics between Adam Doboszyński, a representative of the Young, and Professor Roman Rybarski, a leading national academic and representative of the old political school. The Young, fascinated

⁶ R. Dmowski, *Przewrót [The Coup]*, Warsaw 1934; W.Ś., *Przebudowa ustroju gospodarczego [The redevelopment of the economic system]*, «Dziennik Kujawski» No. 158, 14 July 1938, p. 1; W. Tomczyk, *Rząd, PPS i SN wobec wielkiego kryzysu gospodarczego [The Government, the Polish Socialist Party and the National Party in the face of the economic crisis]*, «Zeszyty Naukowe WSP Rzeszów Historia» Book 7, 1988, p. 51–166.

⁷ R. Dmowski, *Pisma [Letters]*, Vol. 10: *Od Obozu Wielkiej Polski do Stronnictwa Narodowego (przemówienia, artykuły i rozprawy z lat 1925–1934 [From the Camp of Great Poland to the National Party – speeches, articles and dissertations from 1925–1934]*, Częstochowa 1939, p. 285; J. Zdzitowiecki, *Ku lepszemu przyszłości [Towards a better future]*, Poznań 1934, p. 8.

⁸ B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia: proces zespalania nacjonalizmu z katolicyzmem w jedną całość ideową w myśli Narodowej Demokracji 1926–1939 [Nationalism and religion – the unification of nationalism and Catholicism into one ideological whole in the thoughts of the National Democracy in 1926–1939]*, Kraków 1984, p. 82; B. Grott, *Dylematy polskiego nacjonalizmu. Powrót do tradycji czy przebudowa narodowego ducha [The dilemmas faced by Polish nationalism. The return to tradition or the remodelling of the national spirit]*, Warsaw 2014, p. 164–172.

with the idea of national revolution, which was to transform Poland into an authoritarian Catholic State of the Polish Nation, rejected the democratic-liberal system⁹.

The idea of "new Middle Ages"

The economic thought of the Young built on the idea of the "New Middle Ages", popular in this environment. Elements of Mediaevalism, were explicitly visible in the concept advocated by Adam Doboszyński, who clearly argued for the management and society models developed in Europe in the Middle Ages. Doboszyński went as far as to argue that the nations which "*have not significantly departed from their mediaeval role models over time*" found themselves in the best position¹⁰. Approval for the mediaeval economic order could be found in the views of the Young, who argued "*In the Middle Ages, human life was about the creation of superior quality products*"¹¹. For Doboszyński and other representatives of this generation, it was obvious that the socio-economic system of the time, which built on individualism and liberalism, was obsolete and bound to collapse¹². Other views were advocated by R. Rybarski, a representative of the Old, who rejected the idea of following mediaeval role models¹³.

For Doboszyński and other representatives of the Young, the economic system of the Middle Ages, characterised by "the unity of capital and work", appeared to be a viable alternative to the free market model of governance used at the time. Doboszyński believed that liberalism contradicted the rules proposed by Christian teaching. He postulated that liberalism be treated as an immoral system. Moreover, he questioned the liberal principle *laissez faire, laissez passer* (live and let live), arguing

*when everyone is free to do anything they please, when no moral rules apply, there is no freedom, and people form groups to oppress their fellow countrymen.*¹⁴

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ A. Doboszyński, *Gospodarka narodowa* [The national economy], Wrocław 2004, p. 8.

¹¹ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności – Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie (The Library of the Polish Academy of Learning – the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków), Józef Zieliński File, Ref. No. 7820, microfilm 1448, *Zadania gospodarcze Młodych Obozu Narodowego, Referat wstępny* [The economic objectives of the Young within the National Camp, A preliminary report], code 103.

¹² B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia...* [Nationalism and religion...], p. 96.

¹³ R. Rybarski, *Założenia programu gospodarczego* [A description of the economic programme], «Myśl Narodowa» No. 43, 18 October 1936, p. 669–672.

¹⁴ A. Doboszyński, *Gospodarka narodowa...* [The national economy...], p. 9.

In addition, the socio-economic model followed in the Middle Ages appeared to foster perfect social and economic harmony. The workshop, as the basic workplace in mediaeval towns, whose owner worked alongside his apprentices, who could achieve his status in the future, represented this rule in practice. The rule was challenged in the new economic system which was adopted on a broad scale in late-18th-century Europe. The Young found it imperative for economic relations to conform to moral norms. These concepts built on Catholic teaching, and in particular on the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas¹⁵.

Criticism of capitalism

In the 1930s, nearly all the ideological/political groups operating at the time, from the Peasant Movement to Christian-Democrats and the National Camp, criticised capitalism¹⁶. However, the term “capitalism” was understood and construed in different ways. The Young within the National Party also started to derogate the principles underlying the capitalist system. Doboszyński argued that the capitalist system focused on amassing property in the hands of the few. By criticising capitalism, he showed sensitivity to the problems of the poor and the unemployed. He argued that in each society there was a group of people who struggled with poverty. Building on Catholic ethics, he went on to argue that the poor should be provided with support and the unemployed should be provided with job opportunities. In order to reduce unemployment, he advocated that working hours be shortened. He argued that the primary factor responsible for unemployment was the excessive mechanisation of manufacturing. He wrote

*the cold calculations which lead to the replacement of people with machines is usually based on the fact that the cost of machine operation, propulsion and depreciation is lower than the pay for workers who could manually perform the same work.*¹⁷

Dobroszyński argued that in order to reduce unemployment it was crucial to 1) reduce the scope of economic development, 2) limit the involvement of women and children in work. Other measures he mentioned for addressing unemployment included the organisation of society into class and corporate forms¹⁸. The author of

¹⁵ B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia...* [*Nationalism and religion...*], p. 90.

¹⁶ K. Kawalec, *Spadkobiercy niepokornych. Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej 1918–1939* [*Heirs of the rebellious. A history of Polish political thought in 1918–1939*], Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków 2000, p. 213.

¹⁷ A. Doboszyński, *Gospodarka narodowa...* [*The national economy...*], p. 233.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 234.

The national economy" wrote "corporations will connect employers and employees. They will join together to make up higher order organisations which cover similar fields of manufacturing. At the top, this hierarchy will join the authorities of the Nation State.¹⁹

This was his idea of the "vertical model of the economic organism". At the "horizontal level", Doboszyński advocated that individual corporations encompass classes, which would include people working in different professions, but belonging to the same social stratum.

The State's function in the economic system

In the economic system advocated by the Young, the State was to play a certain role in the economic life. National institutions were to take care of the projects considered necessary for society as a whole and required considerable resources, e.g., armaments and river engineering. Other sectors of manufacturing were to be left in private hands²⁰. It was believed that economic life should be based on private initiatives. The Young from the National Camp argued that the outcomes of work had to be closely connected with private ownership. In their propaganda brochure entitled simply *Nasz program gospodarczy (Our Economic Programme)*, they wrote "*Rich individuals – rich nation*"²¹. In addition, national ideologists were convinced that, under some circumstances, the efforts of individuals might not be enough, especially in situations such as river engineering and the construction of railway lines. They believed that in some industries, it was essential for the State to take the initiative²².

The "Christian State" system

They advocated a "Christian System", based on considerable economic freedom. In his paper entitled *Gospodarka narodowa (National Economy)*, Doboszyński distinguished between private ownership and social ownership²³. He associated the development of technology with the col-

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 142.

²⁰ B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia... [Nationalism and religion...]*, p. 95.

²¹ BN PAU-PAN, Kraków, Zieliński, Ref. No. 7825, microfilm 1453, *Nasz program gospodarczy [Our economic programme]*, code 228.

²² Ibidem, *Popularne wskazania dla działacza narodowego [Popular recommendations for nationalist activists]*, p. 50.

²³ A. Doboszyński, *Gospodarka narodowa... [The national economy...]*, p. 76, 77.

lapse of the traditional social order, family crisis and the collapse of man. He wrote

It has been repeated to us over and over again that machines operate in a specific way, and humanity must conform to it. The 'technology people' would use the inexorable logic that machines determine the size of manufacturing. Yesterday a turbine had 100 horse power, today it has 100,000 HP, and tomorrow it will have 1,000,000 HP. It has to have 1,000,000. Once again, machines will eradicate thousands of people, create thousands of urban pariahs, destroy thousands of independent workshops, causing thousands of families and independent lives to be shattered. But it has to have 1,000,000 HP. The day after tomorrow, it will be 100,000,000 HP, and each nation will have one machine that will manufacture and distribute everything.²⁴

Economic issues were believed to be closely connected with the presence of Jews in Poland²⁵. Therefore, economic growth was thought to be conditional on removing Jews from trade and craftsmanship. It was presumed that when Jews were removed from the economy, there would be no unemployment. Economic issues were believed to be connected with the presence of Jews in Poland²⁶. The economic activities by the Jewish minority were considered a threat to the development of the Polish manufacturing. The nationalisation of the economy was hampered by the large number of Jews, who dominated trade, industry and services. The National Democratic Party accused them of hostility towards Poland and efforts to undermine the financial well-being of the Polish nation²⁷. As argued by one journalist

small manufacturing has been controlled by Jews. As many as 56% of workshops are controlled by Jews. [...] In Warsaw, major wholesalers sell gloves produced by Jewish manufacturers. At rural fairs, you can only buy a hat from a Jew. In up-country towns, corset-making and hat-making are almost exclusively done by Jews. The unemployed, poor women, should receive professional training, and the whole current demand should be directed their way – there is enough revenue for many.²⁸

There were demands to give priority in job opportunities to Poles “over foreigners and other parasitic migrants”²⁹. “Głos Lubelski”, a daily newspaper, in its article

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 83, 84.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 78–82.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ T. Gluziński, *Bezrobocie jako sprawa cywilizacji i ustroju* [Unemployment as a developmental and systemic issue], «Myśl Narodowa» (“National Thought”) No. 17, 22 April 1934, p. 243.

²⁸ M. Sucheni-Rutkowska, *Praca zarobkowa kobiet* [Gainful work for women], ibidem, No. 9, 25 February 1934, p. 116.

²⁹ T. Gluziński, *Bezrobocie...* [Unemployment...], p. 243–245.

with the distinctive title *Trzeba pamiętać o większości polskiej* [*Keep in mind the Polish majority*], reminded readers about "the overriding need to strengthen the Polish economic potential in the city"³⁰.

Anti-industrialism as a means of overcoming the economic crisis

As new ways were being sought to create economic growth, anti-industrialisation was establishing itself as one of the ways to overcome the crisis. The assessment of the economic reality of the time led to the conclusion that it was the industrialised countries that were particularly severely affected by the crisis. Capitalism was expected to be overthrown permanently and replaced by a new economic order, based on autarky. R. Dmowski argued that the greatest danger for the European civilisation was the extremely rapid technological development, which was "*not followed by moral and political growth*"³¹. Based on this assumption, the main objective was to prepare Poland for those "new times". This was to be achieved through 1. a comprehensive development of the native manufacturing capacity; and 2. a reduction in the influx of foreign capital.

Anti-industrialisation, as advocated by the Young, was a crucial component of the presented concepts. The criticism of industrialisation was combined with the opposition to "the support for development". A. Doboszyński was convinced that industrialisation was to blame for the crisis in developed countries. He postulated that the conviction about the constant need for technological advancement had to be eradicated from the human mentality. Doboszyński acknowledged the advantages of manually crafted products, which he believed to be the opposite of "machine-made rubbish".

As the opponent of industrialisation, A. Doboszyński had a peculiar view of the role of manufacturing machines in the national system. He viewed their role as purely ancillary. He argued

*in the national system, machines will not be at the core of manufacturing; quite the contrary, they will be auxiliary measure in small and medium-sized manufacturing plants, a tool for the enfranchisement of the masses, if you will.*³²

³⁰ *Trzeba pamiętać o większości polskiej* [*Keep in mind the Polish majority*], «Głos Lubelski» No. 171, 25 June 1929, p. 2.

³¹ R. Dmowski, *Świat powojenny i Polska* [*The post-War world and Poland*], Warsaw 1931, p. 19.

³² *Adam Doboszyński o ustroju Polski* [*Adam Doboszyński about the Polish system*], introduction, selection and analysis B. Grott, Warsaw 1996, p. 50, 51.

He went on to claim

*a machine must be used by a shoemaker for the manufacturing of cheap shoes, not by a shoe factory for making shoe makers go bankrupt. When their role is restricted in such a way, machines will become a very useful tool.*³³

This approach to technological advancements and innovations met with strong objections from R. Rybarski, who explained

*some people have a romantic view of poverty. They approach contemporary technology, and the speed at which other nations advance, with contempt. They think we can organise our country the way we like, that we can turn our backs on modern industrialisation, and peacefully cultivate Polish poverty, which saves us from materialism in life and from the nerve-racking contemporary progress.*³⁴

Zygmunt Raczkowski, a journalist, in his article with the distinctive title *Od teo do technokracji* [*From theocracy to technocracy*], published in “Myśl Narodowa” (“National Thought”) in 1935, asked

*However, is the fact that the majority of people are involved in the production of redundant things really to be considered as progress?*³⁵

Instead of technological advancement, Raczkowski supported the development of the relationship between man and nature. He considered modern technological inventions unnecessary. He wrote

*[...] rail-roads, steamboats, balloons and airplanes, telegraphs and radio, cinemas and record players. These are all valuable things, but generally not indispensable.*³⁶

Instead of “mindless” technological advancement, the journalist recommended that people cultivate spiritual values. He warned that technological advancement had brought a spiritual crisis on people. Raczkowski bitterly wrote “*we moved from theocracy [...] to technocracy*”³⁷. He went on to recommend careful thought about the direction in which humanity strived. Marian Sarzyński, another journalist writing for “Myśl Narodowa”, expressed similar views on the subject, warning

³³ Ibidem, p. 51.

³⁴ R. Rybarski, *Założenia programu gospodarczego* [*A description of the economic programme*], «Myśl Narodowa» No. 43, 18 October 1936, p. 671.

³⁵ Z. Raczkowski, *Od teo do technokracji* (From theocracy to technocracy), ibidem, No. 1, 6 January 1935, p. 2.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 1.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 2.

*we are living in times when money is more important than man [...] In addition to this supremacy of capital over people, another major defect of the contemporary financial system is the instability of money.*³⁸

As new ways were being sought for overcoming the economic crisis, anti-industrialisation appeared to be an effective solution. The assessment of the economic reality of the time led to the conclusion that it was the industrialised countries that were particularly severely affected by the crisis. The Young reiterated Dmowski's arguments that economic underdevelopment could be constructive, making it possible for Poland to overcome the crisis. Capitalism was expected to be overthrown permanently and replaced by a new economic order, based on autarky. A. Doboszyński focused a lot on criticising liberalism. He recognised the opposition between the ideas advocated by liberalism and the values proposed by Christian thought. He regarded systems based on the liberal order as immoral and corrupt, explaining

*when everyone is free to do anything they please, when no moral rules apply, there is no freedom, and people form groups to oppress their fellow countrymen. Whoever is stronger seizes as much as possible and subjugates their immediate environment; demands that the fruit of other people's labour be given to them, deprives them of freedom, and monopolises power and tangible goods.*³⁹

This view was echoed by Jan Dobraczyński, who emphasised the unethical character of liberalism.

*The purpose of liberalism was to lift all the restrictions which could affect people. In other words, to free people of all the responsibility for the motives for their actions.*⁴⁰

While R. Dmowski and A. Doboszyński expressed their conviction that capitalism was bound to collapse shortly, R. Rybarski advocated a different view, expecting no downfall of the system based on the free market. Rybarski did not build on the principles of the social teaching of the Catholic Church. The Young in the National Camp accused R. Rybarski of relativism and of divesting himself of absolute values⁴¹.

³⁸ M. Sarzyński, *Chory pieniądz i chory kredyt* (Ill money and ill loans), «Myśl Narodowa» No. 45, 3 November 1935, p. 687.

³⁹ Adam Doboszyński o ustroju... [Adam Doboszyński about the Polish system], p. 31.

⁴⁰ J. Dobraczyński, *Najaktualniejsze hasła* [Recent buzzwords], «Myśl Narodowa» No. 5, 30 January 1938, p. 66.

⁴¹ K. Rogaczewska, *Myśl ekonomiczna Narodowej Demokracji w kontekście konfliktu liberalizmu i socjalizmu* [The economic thought of the National Democracy in the context of the conflict between liberalism and socialism] [in:] T. Sikorski, A. Wątor (eds.), *Narodowa*

The views advocated by Doboszyński were also challenged by Stanisław Grabski, a representative of the Old, who wrote

*great scientific and artistic works are not created in cramped, low cottages with thatched roofs, in front of a bowl of potatoes sloppily topped with fat.*⁴²

He went on to deplore the fact that, in Poland, such terms as *nouveau riche* or *careerist* were still deprecatory in nature⁴³.

Concluding remarks

R. Rybarski considered the major economic objective to be the need for increased capitalisation and an increase in the national wealth. He deplored the economic condition of Poland, writing

*Poland has been a poor country since at least the mid-17th century. After the partitions, some districts in Poland were relatively well-off, but it was because of special reasons, and was largely connected with the infiltration of foreign capital into Poland.*⁴⁴

He acknowledged small manufacturing workshops, but not as primary manufacturers, as advocated by the Young, but as a necessity, due to the difficult situation in the country, where the available workforce exceeded the available capital and machines. Moreover, Rybarski advocated the existence of heavy industry. He rejected the claim about the collapse of capitalism.

In the days of the economic crisis, Polish national thought sought solutions to economic problems. The purpose of such efforts was to develop a national economy system. The people were opposed the advancement of industrialisation. It was considered necessary to build on small farms and workshops as the most appropriate and offering the greatest financial benefits for the growth of the nation. The economic thought of the Young in the National Camp provided for the revision of both liberal and socialist orders. Capitalism was thought to “have become outdated”, and simple forms of management were to be considered promising. Building on Christian teaching, it was believed that economic and social orders were not to be created at the cost of human suffering. Economic relations were to be governed by social justice. It was argued that economic life

Demokracja XIX–XXI wiek, Koncepcje – ludzie – działalność (National Democracy in the 19th to 21st centuries, Concepts-People-Activities), Szczecin 2008, p. 95.

⁴² S. Grabski, *Ku lepszemu Polsce* (Towards a better Poland), Warsaw 1938, p. 20.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁴⁴ R. Rybarski, *Nasze ubóstwo* (Our poverty), «Myśl Narodowa» No. 44, 25 October 1936, p. 687.

was to be based on ethics and Christian culture. This was because the solutions to economic problems, as proposed by the Young in the National Camp, were founded on spiritual, moral and ethical, rather than financial, values.

As an opposition party in the years 1928–1939, the NP did not have a real influence over the political reality. The party was not in a position to rule or co-rule Poland. So, the NP's leaders could not fulfil their ambitions. Given that, seemingly, the NP's ideologues were mentally and intellectually capable of rising to and exercising power in Poland, frustration must have been rampant among the "young generation". For the NP, as an oppositional organisation, the issue of the means by which they could rise to power was as relevant as ever. The party became divided over this issue. The "old generation" considered Piłsudski's party stable and strong. At the same time, they expressed the view that the NP as a political organism was too weak organisation-wise and ill-prepared to engage in radical action. Conversely, the "young generation", whose thinking was largely pragmatic, believed that the ruling party was weak, so the National Camp should take advantage of the mounting social, economic and political problems to seize power.

RÉSUMÉ

In times of economic crisis Polish national thought was focussed on searching for solutions to economic problems. Its objective was to create a national economic system. In pursuit of a new "third path" for economic development, the young generation of the national camp was distinguished by the formulation of highly-original solutions. It opposed the development of industrialisation. It was thought to be essential to base the system on the model of the small farm and workshop as most appropriate and indicative of the highest financial profits in the development of the nation. The economic thought of 'youth' aimed at revising both the liberal and socialist order. It claimed that capitalism had had its day, whereas simple forms of management should be judged as promising. In drawing on Christian thought it was considered that that economic and social order could not be built on the pain of the people. Economic relations were supposed to be regulated in accordance with the principles of social justice. It was argued that economic life should be based on Christian ethics and culture. Economic issues presented by the 'youth' of the national camp were not based on material values, but spiritual, moral and ethical.

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