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TRADITION AND THE PAST IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (1928–1939)¹

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INTRODUCTION

Views of the National Party (1928–1939) merit special attention, given both the Party's prominent role in the political life of interwar Poland, and the interesting combination of various elements derived from diverse ideological trends within the Party's programme. The ideological legacy of the National Party reflected, to a large extent, the key constituents of the National Democracy's political thought, such as nationalism, representation of all social classes, national integrity, and the concept of the nation-state. The National Party underwent major evolution, and was subject to internal divisions, which makes the image of its political thought much more complex.

The National Party's ideological contribution to Nationalist political thought, and – broadly speaking – to Polish and European political thought, was significant. The National Party's political thought covered a wide range of ideological, political, systemic, historiosophical, philosophical, pedagogical, social, and economic issues. Its creators developed a vision of multiple categories referring, *inter alia*, to the nation, the state, political power, the

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economy, society, national education, the attitude to Catholicism, the status of national minorities, and foreign policy, as well as external and internal security.

The National Party's political thought was determined by diverse ideological, political, social and economic factors. The most significant ones included:

- 1) the authoritarian state model implemented by the pro-Piłsudski formation;
- 2) the development of anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary tendencies in Europe;
- 3) the development of totalitarian movements within many European countries;
- 4) the growing political and military potential of Germany; and
- 5) the huge economic crisis and its numerous social implications.

The principal objective of this article is to present selected elements of the National Party's views on the state's political system in the context of political science. Other objectives include outlining the ideological, conceptual and programme-related image of the National Party, along with the factors determining its ideas, concepts, and views, regarding the state's political system.

Analysis of the previous studies on this subject-matter has revealed that the scientific reflection on Polish nationalism is still incomplete, and calls for extensive verification. The subject matter dealt with in this article has filled in a major research gap.

Induction was the underlying research method employed by the author. Among the research techniques used in the study, the analysis of various pieces of evidence and traces of political thought became the most prevalent. Other research methods which proved useful in implementing the research objectives included the systematisation of political concepts and a description based on a *status-quo* analysis.

In the political thought of the National Party (NP), memory of the past constituted the primary source of the national identity and sense of belonging to the nation. For the NP ideologists, the nation's past was a source of priceless experience and inspiration. By fathoming its historical past, the nation could ensure its multi-faceted development in the future and deep understanding of the current reality. As claimed by Roman Rybarski, the leader of the National Party:

'any nationalism which would seek to deny the nation's history would be false nationalism' (Rybarski 1936: 131).

The view was expressed that the nation's past was the foundation for the nation's life. The past was seen as shaping the nation's future. For this reason, being familiar with the history of the fatherland was considered of utmost importance. Opinions were disseminated that, in order to consolidate the nation's existence and individual character, the past of the Polish nation and state should not only be fathomed but also accepted. As Ignacy Chrzanowski said in the "*Myśl Narodowa*" [*National Thought*] magazine:

'[...] The character of the nation was reflected in its history. So, a person willing to preserve the national individuality should not only be familiar with, but also love the past and ... abstain from breaking with it brutally. Instead, one should build the future in the spirit of the past, i.e. in line with the national character' (Chrzanowski 1939: 5).

Jędrzej Giertych reminded that:

'Every nation should know its historical truth precisely and accurately. [...]. A nation that does not want to learn the truth about its history, and which conveniently and easily contents itself with different forms of lies, is not a strong, fair and healthy nation' (Giertych 1968: 6).

Memory of the past called for upholding and cherishing national traditions (Koniński 1937: 706–708).

1. A 'NATIONAL' INTERPRETATION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

The past constituted a significant point of reference for the National Party (also known as the *Endecja*). The Party's ideologists tended to develop their own 'national' interpretation of historical events. The first voices regarding the existence of 'the national school of history' appeared in 'youth' *Endecja* circles in the second half of the 1930s. Its major direction was set by Roman Dmowski, and its followers included National Democracy (ND) historians, such as Władysław Konopczyński, Waław Sobieski, Waław Tokarz, Adam Skałkowski, Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Franciszek Gawroński-Rawita, Władysław Smoleński, Tadeusz Korzon, Ignacy Chrzanowski, Aleksander Jabłonowski, Aleksander Kraushar, Jan Karol Kochanowski, Stanisław Zakrzewski, Adam Szelągowski, Józef Siemieński, Kazimierz Marian Morawski, Jędrzej Giertych and Stanisław Kozicki. Historiography was meant to support or provide arguments arising from the history of the Polish nation and state.

Thorough historical justifications and traditions were sought, with the aim of building the national identity. Reference was made to the mission

of Rome, treated as the centre of the world, and Polishness was seen as connected with Catholicism and Roman culture. Dmowski himself was very fond of classical literature. As mentioned by Ignacy Chrzanowski:

‘having been granted a literary award by the City of Poznań in 1927, at a party held by Resursa Kupiecka (the Warsaw Merchants’ Association) in Warsaw [...], Dmowski improvised [...] a long Latin speech, imitating that of Cesar’ (The Jagiellonian Library).

Representatives of NP political thought were unfailingly convinced of the existence of two civilisations, i.e. eastern (Turanian) and western (Roman) (Dmowski 1927, Koneczny 1996, Skoczyński 2003). The Polish nation and state were placed within the ‘Roman civilisation’ circle (also referred to as Latin), and there was much appreciation for its positive impact on the development of both European nations and culture. It was stressed that Poland, by converting in 966 into Christianity brought from the West (i.e. Roman liturgy), through the Czechs, became part of the western, Latin, and Catholic culture (Frycz 1938: 185–186). A clear explanation was provided by Stanisław Kozicki, who wrote that:

‘The great attainment of Ancient Rome, seized and filled by the spirit of Catholicism, is the common core which has given rise to nations’ (Kozicki 1928: 461, Wasilewski 1929: 163, Koneczny 1937: 49–50, Jabłonowski 1939: 58).

Explorations of various sources of NP political thought led to the conclusion that Poland’s belonging to the Roman-civilisation circle was highlighted. Approval was expressed for the Latin bases of European civilisation, and strong emphasis was placed on the Christian character of Europe, and on the permanent relationship between Polishness and Latin traditions. The term ‘*Roman civilisation*’ unambiguously excluded Russia, and later the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Dmowski 1939: 132–133, Rymar 1939: 461).

Feliks Koneczny, who sided with the National Democracy, claimed that ‘Latin civilisation’ provided moral and cultural grounds of Europe. Its sources were seen as both Christian and Ancient Roman. According to Koneczny, the principle of morality pertaining not only to private life but also to politics was one of the bases of civilisation at that time. He further claimed that this civilisation was threatened by the influence of foreign civilisations on Europe’s life (Gawor 1995: 7).

Various historical epochs were assessed, and reference was made to the periods of the Piast and Jagiellonian Poland. The idea of Great Poland, as advocated by the ‘youth’ circles, would imply a mental return to the best

times in Poland's history. The most accurate presentation of this concept was developed by J. Giertych, who pointed to the most favourable events in the Polish history. He wrote:

'Our camp is fighting for Great Poland. Our efforts and attempts clearly relate to the traditions of former Poland, pre-partition and pre-Deluge, i.e. the Piast and Jagiellonian Poland, and the Poland of Mieszko and Bolesław, Łokietek and Casimir, Jagiełło and Jagiellończyk, Waza and Sobieski' (Giertych 1937: 3).

The issue of the Age of Enlightenment was raised by the National Party in different contexts. Ideas specific to Renaissance and Enlightenment were negated, and the eighteenth century, viewed as the Age of Enlightenment, was strongly criticised, with its philosophical bases comprising secularisation and materialism. The ideas put forward in the eighteenth century did not meet with the NP ideologists' enthusiasm.

While deliberating on the fatherland's history, recollections were also made of Poland's gentry. This period in Polish history was assessed with much criticism, and various policies of the gentry were clearly negated, including in particular the ideas of 'golden freedom', 'liberum veto', tolerance, and the rather 'exuberant' individualism. However, despite the prevalently critical opinions expressed in the press, certain positive views regarding that period could also be found. While focusing on the history of Poland, Karol Stefan Frycz, one of the *Endecja* journalists, appreciated the culture-shaping role of the gentry. He assured his readers that

'Polish gentlemen pursued their historic mission well' (Frycz 1934: 813–814).

Experience collected in the past was expected to add a new, creative, and constructive content to the present life of the nation. As clarified in the "*Głos Lubelski*" [*The Voice of Lublin*] magazine:

'Without tradition, one can hardly speak of any cultural nation. Tradition makes it possible to establish bonds with the past and to look forward along a clearly-visible line of attempts, desires and ideas' (Anon. 1930).

By analysing the fatherland's history, guidelines were derived on how a powerful state could be built, and victorious wars fought. Examples of the heroic fights of Polish soldiers and tremendous victories were displayed. While analysing the major historical events, reference was made to the reign of Jan III Sobieski. As written by Giertych:

‘[Sobieski] was the last true Polish King – one who served Poland and no one else’ (Giertych 1936: 47, 48, 51).

Sobieski’s political achievements provided grounds for a dispute with the generation of ‘the founders of Polish nationalism’. Differences concerned the perception of King Jan III Sobieski’s military assistance and rescue of Vienna, which had been besieged by Turks. Zygmunt Balicki, the founder of the ideological and organisational bases of the *Endecja*, viewed the rescue of Vienna as a symptom of both Polish political weakness and altruism. A different view was expressed by Giertych, who greatly appreciated Sobieski’s political activities and formulated a positive opinion on the Battle of Vienna. He, thus, questioned the assessments found in the *Endecja* historiography, referring to the aimlessness of this undertaking and the reflection on the ‘political stupidity’ of its founders. Giertych claimed that

‘one must be completely unfamiliar with the history of Poland to say that the rescue of Vienna did not lie within Poland’s best interests’ (Giertych 1936: 47, 48, 51).

At this point, it should be noted that the inter-generation differences existing in the national camp stemmed not so much from the attitude to Poland’s past but rather from the attitude to both religion and the Roman Catholic Church.

2. CRITICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Reflections flowing from European thought constituted major points of reference for the National Party ideologists. Representatives of the NP political thought were convinced that a new epoch had begun in the cultural life of Europe at the outset of the nineteenth century. However, its ideological foundations were strongly criticised by the Party members. When discussing the issue of historical continuity, objections were made as regards the ideological heritage of the nineteenth century, with its prevailing ideas being treated as outdated. The values upheld in the nineteenth century, also referred to as the Age of Liberalism, together with the implementation of the principles stipulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, cast doubts among the national thinkers. In the NP’s political thought, criticism was expressed in respect of the attainments of the ‘unwise’ nineteenth century, which brought the flourishing of political liberalism, democratic thought, and humanitarism, as well as pacifistic and individualistic concepts (Zweig 1938: 7–8, Bielecki 1934: 3, 11). As these ideas were criticised

by the founders of the NP political thought, attempts at beating down the nineteenth century ideas became a significant postulate within National Party circles. It was claimed that

‘the age at the outset of which we are now living must (...) begin with fighting down the democratic mysticism arising from the materialistic perception of the world and the glorification of individuals’ (Viator 1929: 275).

The analysis of political journalistic writings leads to the conclusion that the founders of the National Party were very much absorbed by the ‘idea-shaping’ role of the nineteenth century. It was believed that certain destructive phenomena, such as the disastrous concepts of armed irredentism in the Polish land, were prompted by nineteenth century ideas, whereas the insurrectional concepts were seen as containing liberal elements. The nineteenth century was also blamed for the weak points of democracy, which, according to NP journalists, became fully apparent at the outset of the twentieth century (Frycz 1937: 429–430). The criticism of the nineteenth century coincided with a search for new values, ideas and social attitudes, with the ‘new Middle Ages’ epoch being potentially seen as a reflection of such attempts. As Stanisław Kozicki was right to note:

‘while searching for the right name for the beginning epoch, the term “new Middle Ages” was coined’ (Kozicki 1935: 749–750).

The inspiration derived from two great nineteenth century ideological trends, i.e. Romanticism and Positivism, was also important, though it was not limited to a mechanical repetition of their prevailing mantras. As noted by Stanisław Kozicki, Polish Nationalism constituted a synthesis of Romanticism and Positivism. It assumed the highest objectives – the same as those pursued by Romanticism, i.e. rebuilding the Polish State. Nonetheless, other methods, the principal ideas of which were centred on sober political realism, were employed for this purpose. According to the historian representing the national camp, the national-democratic movement took ‘many elements from Romanticism, evolved in the romantic spirit but, then, followed its own path’ (Kozicki 1964: 473). Kozicki’s findings were confirmed by Roman Wapiński, a prominent scholar and researcher of the National Democracy’s history and political thought. He wrote:

‘Rather than abandoning the romantic tradition, representatives of the *Endecja* sought to give it a suitable character and to simply shape the nationalistic tradition of Romanticism’ (Wapiński 1980: 18).

Romantic culture was a significant factor contributing to the development of European Nationalism (Bartyzel 2010: 29–30). The influence of Romanticism on the views expressed by ideologists of Polish Nationalism seems unquestionable. Romanticism, with its typical symbolism, historicism and exposition of folk culture, was a factor enriching Polish nationalist concepts. The shaping of the National Democracy's political thought was based on the criticism of 'political Romanticism' dating back to the times of the insurrections. Although negative opinions on Romanticism were clearly expressed in articles written by the leading National Democracy ideologists, this source was by no means neglected (Bartyzel 2010: 29–30).

In the National Democracy political thought, the attitude towards nineteenth century concepts and national-liberation movements became a measure of political maturity, reflecting the understanding, or the lack of understanding, of the nature of the historical process (Kamiński 1980: 69). The founders of ND political thought viewed as detrimental the Messianic ideologies of Romanticism which idealised the Polish weaknesses and defeats, and highlighting the idea of 'Poland's being crucified' for the sake and salvation of other nations. The utopian concept of political universalism and romantic belief in the unity and brotherhood of free and subjugated nations was abandoned. While in the romantic historical and philosophical concepts the history of various nations constituted a common whole, and elements or fragments of the general mankind development scheme, in the historical and philosophical model developed by the *Endecja* this option was no longer considered valid.

In the NP's political thought, the relevance of military uprisings was questioned as part of negating the Romantic ideology. The "*Gazeta Warszawska*" [*Warsaw Paper*] magazine recalled that

'our nineteenth century insurrectional attempts were made at the least-opportune moment, almost always with no financial or moral preparation. Did their failure really come as a surprise? Despite the desired liberation from captivity, they caused the destruction of our country and clapped the nation in even heavier irons, depriving it of any independent existence' (R.N. 1935: 4).

The idea of overcoming the romantic model of patriotism was supported, along with rejecting the cult of suffering and sacrifice (Wasiutyński 1931: 111). Following the May *coup d'état*, the criticism of Romanticism became a form of fighting against the Piłsudski's adherents' circle. The attitude towards Romantic tradition became a real bone of contention for the National Democracy and Piłsudski's adherents (Kamiński 1980: 66, 67).

The criticism of Romanticism hardly implied a complete negation of this ideology. The National Democracy's political thought gave rise to several ideas which could be considered typically romantic. As can be inferred from the literature on the subject-matter, the impact of Romanticism became visible in the concept of the nation formulated by the ND followers. By referring to Romanticism, representatives of the *Endecja* searched for 'the nation's soul' or 'the nation's spirit'. A major reflection of the inspiration drawn from the Romantic ideology was the fact that National Democrats emphasised the role and significance of various population strata. This problem was frequently touched upon in historiography (Wapiński 1989: 345). Similarly to the followers of Romanticism, National Democrats stressed the significance of the nation's distinctive features, which was a typically romantic idea. As noted by a contemporary researcher, Romanticism has 'always been more interested in distinctive features than in universal phenomena' (Wapiński 1989: 345), accentuating the peculiar character and diversity of national cultures. In the National Democracy's political thought, the element of presenting the Polish nation within a wide West European cultural context was also romantic. National ideologists agreed that the Polish nation belonged to western civilisation. It is also worth noting that the National Democracy appreciated the role of Slavonic solidarity in the struggle against 'the German world'.

The National Democracy made frequent references to the ideological achievements of Polish Positivism. As noted by Kozicki:

'this was not the Positivism *sensu stricto*, as defined by Comte in France, but a certain Polish trend related to the state of intellectual culture in the country, and the historical development of Polish thought. In the religious domain, this corresponded to free-thinking, in the philosophical domain to empiricism, and in the social domain to democracy'.

In positivist thought, the nation was treated as a living body, with its own internal structure. At the same time, national ideologists objected to the positivist concepts of fully detaching from politics. At the turn of the twentieth century, the official rejection of any independence-related aspirations was viewed as the major weakness of the 'apolitical' Positivism. The definite rejection of the concept of the equality of Jews was another reflection of the opposition to positivist ideology.

In particular, Positivist ideas shaped the views of 'the early *Endecja*', i.e. the generation of 'the founders of Polish Nationalism', including Jan Ludwik Popławski, Zygmunt Balicki, and Roman Dmowski. On the other hand, the NP ideologists began to express critical opinions on nineteenth century Positivism, (Frycz 1936: 445, 446) the criticism based on the ideological convergence of

the philosophies of the Enlightenment and Positivism. A journalist of “*Mysł Narodowa*”, in an article entitled ‘*The insufficiency of Positivism*’, claimed that

‘[...] Positivism is not sufficient for a complete man who cannot be satisfied with education itself, coupled with objective knowledge. In order to act effectively and move forward, and in order not to yield to misfortune, and to really be someone – a man needs to believe in something’ (Inquirer 1933: 169).

Jędrzej Giertych, the leader of the ‘youth’ generation, clearly identified Positivism with the rationalistic and irreligious ‘spirit of the Enlightenment’. He stated:

‘the eighteenth century and nineteenth century brought the emergence [...] of a strong intellectual non-Catholic trend in our upper strata, reflected in particular in the rationalism typical of the Stanisław II Augustus times, the Jacobin policies typical of the Kościuszko times and the nineteenth century, the revolutionary movement, and – last but not least – the post-insurrectional Positivism’ (Giertych 1948: 51).

Due to the anti-metaphysical nature of Positivism and the postulate of empirical knowledge, the NP ideologists sceptically assessed this ideological trend, mainly referring to the irreligious and non-Catholic character of Positivism. Representatives of the ‘youth’ circles objected to Positivism on the grounds that it treated experience as the only measure of social phenomena, thus rejecting any religion-driven values. According to the Party’s ideologists, Positivism was, therefore, too superficial, and did not fully account for either the essence of social phenomena or man’s place within them (Frycz 1934: 595).

Satisfactory arguments and justifications were sought in historiography. In line with a rather peculiar interpretation of historical events, a specific role in the world’s history was ‘assigned’ to Masonry and Jews. The *Endecja* ideologists were invariably convinced that Masonry and Jews, who were well organised on a global scale, acted as ‘drivers’ of historical processes. The conspiracy theory of history can be considered one of the most-characteristic and gradually-developed elements of the National Democracy’s political thought. This finds reflection in works by the following ND theorists: Roman Dmowski, Zygmunt Wasilewski, Tadeusz Gluziński, Bohdan Wasiutyński, Adam Doboszyński, Jędrzej Giertych and Adolf Nowaczyński, to name but a few.

Following an analysis of accounts of the NP’s political thought, an inference was made that Masonry had been mainly treated as a vehicle for exerting foreign influence, which was hostile to Poland, and as a factor destructive to the Polish nation, identity, development and future (Viator 1931: 51–52). Masonry was reproached for its moral collapse and, thus, its improper attitude

to the Catholic Church. The significance of the Jewish nation in the Masonic movement was highlighted, and any tragic events in the history of the Polish nation and state were viewed as resulting from vicious Masonic activities. The NP journalists were convinced of the disastrous role of Masonry which had been clearly evidenced in Poland mainly in the previous two centuries. Such views were expressed by the NP journalists and ideologists in numerous journalistic writings and ideological brochures. While assessing the history of the First Republic of Poland, the Masonic impact on various domains of public and political life was identified. In this context, the elective monarchs of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. Augustus II, Augustus III and Stanisław Poniatowski, were considered representatives of Masonry and their activities were assessed with much criticism. Also Catholic Church officials and numerous people serving public functions did not avoid accusations of belonging to the Masonic movement. Such views can easily be found in publications by the young generation, including in particular Adam Doboszyński and Jędrzej Giertych, as well as many other authors. Giertych claimed that

‘Augustus II took no care of Poland. He cared for his own dynasty and Saxony, which he wished to transform into his great country by expanding its territory through seizing a large part of Polish land’ (Doboszyński 1939: 2, 3).

3. ASSESSMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH NATION AND STATE

With much appreciation being expressed for the past, great inspiration was derived from the history of the Polish nation and state. The founders of the NP political thought were convinced that by understanding its own historical past the nation could ensure its multi-faceted development. This was expressly stated by Giertych. He wrote:

‘Every nation should know its historical truth precisely and accurately. This truth needs to be learned for principal reasons. Namely, the victory of the truth over the lie forms part of the victory of good over evil [...]. A nation which does not want to learn the truth about its history, and which conveniently and easily contents itself with various forms of lies, is not a strong, fair and healthy nation’ (Giertych 1968: 6).

When reflecting on specific events in Polish history, the Party’s ideologists were reluctant to make references, for instance, to the establishment of the

Commission of National Education, the debates of the Four-Year Sejm, the adoption of the 3rd of May Constitution, or the national uprisings organised in the nineteenth century. This reluctance stemmed from the conviction that these events had been ‘soaked with the spirit’ of rationalism and the Enlightenment, reflecting the Masonic influence that was both unfamiliar and hostile to the Polish people (Doboszyński 1939: 2).

A discussion on the causes behind the fall of the First Republic of Poland was held. As Jerzy Jedlicki was right to note:

‘the most serious Polish disputes concerned the image of the national past, and in particular the causes behind the unparalleled collapse of the Polish state’ (Jedlicki 1991: 37).

It is worth noting that the causes of the partitions formed an important debate topic for the National Party. While deliberating on the sources of the national defeat, the origins of all three partitions were sought in external, foreign and hostile factors, which were detrimental to the Polish nation. In particular, the under-cover, secret and hostile activities of the ubiquitous Masonry were viewed as the reasons for this national tragedy, whereas other causes were apparently overlooked (Morawski 1935). Notably, the views formulated by the Kraków historical school were rejected (Wasilewski 1931: 49–51). The reasons for the failure of any armed attempts at regaining independence were also attributed to the Masonic presence. According to the *Endecja* journalists, Masonry was responsible for encouraging military actions, and, then for taking measures aimed at putting down any national insurrections. These observations mainly related to the two largest Polish uprisings which had taken place in the nineteenth century, i.e. the November Uprising and the January Uprising. At the same time, the heroic attitude of those who had fought for the State’s sovereignty was appreciated. Jan Rembéliński wrote:

‘There is one value flowing from the insurrectional tradition which will never be spoiled, i.e. the heroism manifested in fights for the Fatherland’ (Rembéliński 1929: 273).

Nonetheless, the founders of the NP political thought did not share a common view regarding the causes behind the collapse of the Polish state. A distinct opinion on this issue was expressed by Roman Rybarski, a professor of economics and a member of the chief authorities of the National Party. According to one of his collaborators, Rybarski was ‘a true liberal when it came to economic affairs’ [...] and ‘a hundred-percent Democrat who believed

in an effective parliamentary struggle' (Kozicki 2001: 563). Rybarski claimed that economic underdevelopment was a significant factor contributing to the collapse of the Polish state. In his opinion, the economic factor became particularly apparent when Poland's position was compared with that of its closest neighbours (Rybarski 1936: 669–672).

By analysing the available literature on the subject, the conclusion can be drawn that the conspiracy theory of Polish history constituted a significant element in the National Democracy's political thought. The Masonic existence was, therefore, perceived in terms of the previous and current political reality. Opinions were expressed that Masonry had political life in reborn Poland under control. Conspiracy thinking was a factor which clearly distinguished Dmowski's works. In his ideological and political writings, he warned against carrying out the will – which was frequently done unintentionally – of entities hostile to the Polish nation, which were conspirational and difficult to uncover. Dmowski claimed that it was Masonry which had inspired, and then taken an active part in, the *May coup d'état* in 1926 (Dmowski 1934: 482). A similar view was expressed by the leading *Endecja* journalist and historian, Stanisław Kozicki, who claimed in 1938 that the principal roles in the public life of the Second Republic of Poland had been played by Józef Piłsudski, Masonry, and Jews (Kozicki 1938: 284–295). As mentioned, representatives of nationalistic thought negated the concepts of freedom and equality. The opinion that freedom constituted a 'fetish of the past generations' was already expressed by Zygmunt Balicki. In the NP's political thought, the Masonic programme was viewed as tantamount to the expressly criticised postulates of freedom, democracy and progress.

CONCLUSION

Representatives of the NP political thought became convinced that the Polish nation was characterised by significant cultural and civilisation achievements, and rich traditions. The widely-understood Polish culture, including its literature (fiction), constituted an abundant source of inspiration. The views of the National Party were deeply rooted in the reality of the 1930s. The Party's political thought was developed on the basis of experiences arising from the past of the Polish nation and state, contemporary political conditions, and the traditions of the national camp. While formulating conclusions, the interests of the Polish nation were used as the driving force. The National Party issued generally positive opinions on the national past,

invariably stressing the need to establish bonds with the fatherland's history and the traditions of the Polish nation. Polish culture was a domain within which permanent and imperishable values were observed. The heritage of the past was meant to serve as an impulse to construct the nation-state.

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TRADITION AND THE PAST IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (1928–1939)

Abstract

The National Party issued generally positive opinions on the national past, invariably stressing the need to establish bonds with the fatherland’s history and the traditions of the Polish nation. Polish culture was a domain within which permanent and imperishable values were observed. The heritage of the past was meant to serve as an impulse to construct the nation-state. The principal objective of this article is to present selected elements of the National Party’s views on the state’s political system in the context of political science. Other objectives include outlining the ideological, conceptual and programme-related image of the National Party, along with the factors determining its ideas, concepts, and views, regarding the state’s political system. Analysis of the previous studies on this subject-matter has revealed that the scientific reflection on Polish nationalism is still incomplete, and calls for extensive verification. The subject matter dealt with in this article has filled in a major research gap. Induction was the underlying research method employed by the author. Among the research techniques used in the study, the analysis of various pieces of evidence and traces of political thought became the most prevalent. Other research methods which proved useful in implementing the research objectives included the systematisation of political concepts and a description based on a *status-quo* analysis.

Key words: political thought, National Party, nationalism

TRADYCJA I PRZESZŁOŚĆ W MYŚLI POLITYCZNEJ STRONNICTWA NARODOWEGO (1928–1939)

Streszczenie

Partia Narodowa generalnie pozytywnie oceniała przeszłość narodową, podkreślając niezmiennie potrzebę nawiązania więzi z historią ojczyzny i tradycjami narodu polskiego. Kultura polska była tą domeną, w której znajdowano trwałe i niezniszczalne wartości. Dziedzictwo przeszłości miało służyć jako impuls do budowy państwa narodowego. Głównym celem tego artykułu jest przedstawienie wybranych elementów poglądów Partii Narodowej na system polityczny państwa w kontekście nauk politycznych. Inne cele obejmują nakreślenie ideologicznego, conceptualnego i programowego wizerunku Partii Narodowej, wraz z czynnikami determinującymi jej idee, koncepcje i poglądy dotyczące systemu politycznego państwa. Analiza poprzednich badań na ten temat ujawniła, że refleksja naukowa na temat polskiego nacjonalizmu jest wciąż niepełna i wymaga weryfikacji. Temat poruszony w tym artykule wypełnił poważną lukę badawczą. Indukcja była podstawową metodą badawczą zastosowaną przez autorkę. Wśród technik badawczych wykorzystanych w badaniu najczęściej wykorzystywana była analiza różnych dowodów i śladów myśli politycznej. Inne metody badawcze, które okazały się przydatne w realizacji celów badawczych, obejmowały systematyzację pojęć politycznych oraz opis wynikający z analizy rzeczywistości.

Słowa kluczowe: myśl polityczna, Stronnictwo Narodowe, nacjonalizm

ТРАДИЦИИ И ПРОШЛОЕ В ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ МЫСЛИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ПАРТИИ (1928–1939)

Резюме

Национальная партия в целом положительно оценивала национальное прошлое, постоянно подчеркивая необходимость установления связей с историей страны и традициями польского народа. Польская культура была той областью, в которой содержались постоянные и нерушимые ценности. Наследие прошлого должно было послужить импульсом для создания национального государства. Ключевой целью данной статьи является

представление отдельных составляющих взглядов Национальной партии на политическую систему государства в контексте политических исследований. Другие цели содержат определение идеологического, концептуального и программного образа Национальной партии, а также факторов, детерминирующих ее идеи, концепции и взгляды относительно политической системы государства. Анализ предыдущих исследований на эту тему показывает, что научные рассуждения о польском национализме еще не завершены и требуют верификации. Тема, затронутая в настоящей статье, позволяет заполнить серьёзный исследовательский пробел. Основным исследовательским методом, использованным автором статьи, был метод индукции. Среди стратегий исследования, использованных в статье, наиболее частотным был анализ различных доказательств и примеров политической мысли. Остальные методы исследования, которые оказались необходимыми для достижения его целей, включали в себя систематизацию политических концепций и описание, основанное на анализе реальности.

Ключевые слова: политическая мысль, Национальная партия, национализм

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