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## РОЛЬ ХРИСТИАНСКИХ ЦЕННОСТЕЙ В ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ МЫСЛИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ПАРТИИ В ПОЛЬШЕ (1928–1939)

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Отмечается, что идеологическое наследие польской Национальной партии в значительной степени отражало такие ключевые составляющие политической мысли национальной демократии, как национализм, представительство различных социальных классов, единая нация и концепция национального государства. Указывается, что центральную роль в партии играли политики, которые по-разному понимали ключевые идеологические, социальные и политические явления, однако это не мешало им создавать новые идеологические установки партии, основанные среди прочего на христианских ценностях. Связанные с Национальной партией политические журналисты рассматривали польский национализм как средний путь, который имеет в своем составе элемент альтруизма и уважения к другим (как проявление христианских ценностей), в отличие от собственно национализма, который сосредоточен на эксплуатации других народов. Делается вывод о том, что, по мнению политиков Национальной партии, основанный на христианских ценностях польский национализм существенным образом отличался от национализма в других странах, в первую очередь протестантских.

**Ключевые слова:** Польша; политическая мысль; Национальная партия; национализм; политическая система; христианский национализм.

## РОЛЯ ХРЫСЦІЯНСКІХ КАШТОЎНАСЦЕЙ У ПАЛІТЫЧНАЙ ДУМЦЫ НАЦЫЯНАЛЬНАЙ ПАРТЫІ Ў ПОЛЬШЧЫ (1928–1939)

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Адзначана, што ідэалагічная спадчына польскай Нацыянальнай партыі ў значнай ступені адлюстроўвала такія ключавыя складаючыя палітычнай думкі нацыянальнай дэмакратыі, як нацыяналізм, прадстаўніцтва розных сацыяльных слаёў, адзінства нацыі і канцэпцыя нацыянальнай дзяржавы. Заўважана, што цэнтральную ролю ў партыі адыгрывалі палітыкі, якія па-рознаму разумелі ключавыя ідэалагічныя, сацыяльныя і палітычныя з'явы, аднак гэта не перашкаджала ім ствараць новыя ідэалагічныя пастулаты партыі, заснаваныя сярод іншага на хрысціянскіх каштоўнасцях. Звязаныя з Нацыянальнай партыяй палітычныя журналісты разглядалі польскі нацыяналізм як сярэдні шлях, які мае ў сваім складзе элемент альтруізму і павагі да іншага (як праяву хрысціянскіх каштоўнасцей), у адрозненне ад уласна нацыяналізму, які засяроджваецца на эксплуатацыі іншых народаў. Робіцца выснова аб тым, што, па меркаванні палітыкаў Нацыянальнай партыі, заснаваны на хрысціянскіх каштоўнасцях польскі нацыяналізм істотным чынам адрозніваўся ад нацыяналізму ў іншых краінах, у першую чаргу пратэстанцкіх.

**Ключавыя словы:** Польшча; палітычная думка; Нацыянальная партыя; нацыяналізм; палітычная сістэма; хрысціянскі нацыяналізм.

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## THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN VALUES IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN POLAND (1928–1939)<sup>1</sup>

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The author notes that the ideological legacy of the National Party in Poland 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 in Poland think-tank included politicians who had a different understanding of, and approach to, key ideological, social and political phenomena. However, this did not prevent them from creating new political ideas among other things based on Christian values. Political journalists associated with the National Party described Polish nationalism as a middle-of-the-road trend, which had an element of altruism and respect for others, unlike possessive nationalism, which focuses on the exploitation of other nations. The author came to the conclusion that according to the National Party in Poland politicians the nationalist ideology based on Christian values in Poland was different from the nationalism in other countries, especially the Protestant ones.

**Key words:** Poland; political thought; National Party; nationalism; political system; Christian nationalism.

Views of the National Party in Poland (NP) (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 NP'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, historiographical, 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 economy, society, national education, the attitude to Catholicism, the status of national minorities, and foreign policy, as well as external and internal security.

The NP'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;

5) the huge economic crisis and its numerous social implications.

The principal objective of this article is to present selected elements of the NP'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 in Poland.

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 proofs 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.

Faced with the fiasco of the May Coup d'État in 1926, National Democracy (ND) sought to improve the Camp through new forms of organisation. A new political party was planned to be established. The single ND party was to include the Popular National Union (ZLN), the Camp of Great Poland (OWP), a group of Stanisław Stroński's supporters from the Christian-National Party (SCHN), the National Organisation of Women (NOK), and social organisations which sympathised with ND. The devastating electoral defeat suffered by the Popular National Union in 1928 accelerated the decision by Roman Dmowski and top party leaders, including Roman Rybarski, on its dissolution and the establishment

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of a new political body. As stated by Roman Wapiński, a prominent expert in, and precursor of studies on, nationalism, from the time the NP was set up on 7 October 1928, the name «the National-Democratic Camp», or *Endecja*, was being replaced by a new term, namely «the Nationalist Camp», or the nationalists. Starting with that event, this terminology started to prevail in the body of evidence relating to the political thought of the NP, e. g., in the press, brochures and propaganda leaflets [1, p. 150].

The development of Polish political thought relied on generational replacement. In the 1930s, it could be clearly observed that thinkers and ideologues who formulated doctrines and political concepts behind the social movements that had developed over the previous two centuries were becoming less and less prolific in their idea-generation activities. Political thought was more and more often framed by groups of people, usually politicians, editors, or journalists. Rather than in treatises and dissertations by thinkers and ideologues, political thought manifested itself in the rich political journalism. Contrary to «the rebellious generation», influenced by scientific ideas, the Young shared messianic and irrational visions. The spirituality of entities such as the Nation was emphasised.

Following an analysis and assessment of the situation, it was deemed necessary to revise the previous political thought. As a result, the NP think-tank included politicians who had a different understanding of, and approach to, key ideological, social, and political phenomena. At the same time, those people showed considerable idea-generation potential. The NP can be perceived as a political circle which could never complain about being short of ideologues. Among the Young, the political thought of Jędrzej Giertych, a journalist and historian, was becoming more and more prominent. Adam Doboszyński, too, was rising to prominence as an NP ideologue. Another person who distinguished himself as a political journalist was Karol Stefan Frycz. In the last years of the NP, a leading figure was, without question, Tadeusz Bielecki, who, to all appearances, was groomed to step up as the successor to Dmowski, the well-established, undisputed, leader of the broadly defined nationalist camp. While Roman Dmowski was the main and undisputed leader of Polish nationalism, his personal influence over the direction of the revolution within the NP was considerable, but not dominant. It needs to be acknowledged that the decisive impact on the development and evolution of the political thought of the NP was exerted by social and economic factors, as well as the ideological climate prevailing in the interwar Poland.

The NP was a party which constantly underwent major ideological and organisational transformations. Between 1928 and 1939, as an opposition party, the NP did not have any real influence over the political reality. The party was not in a position to govern, or share

political power in, the State. The political ambitions of NP leaders could not be fulfilled. It seems that NP ideologues had the mental and intellectual potential necessary for taking over and wielding power in Poland, so it can be assumed that the level of frustration was high, particularly among the Young. Within the NP, as an opposition organisation, the recurring problem was how to come to power. The party was divided in its approach to this issue. The Old considered the Piłsudskiite camp as a stable and strong one. At the same time, they argued that the NP, as a political body, was too weak in organisational terms, and not prepared to take any radical action. The Young, on the other hand, preferred the approach dominated by pragmatism, and claimed that the Government was too weak, and the Nationalist Camp should take advantage of the growing social, economic and political problems, and take over.

Representatives of the Young continuously expressed their bitterness associated with their political defeat and unfulfilled ambitions. The Young generation sought alternative places, other than Parliament, to satisfy their political aspirations. They allowed the possibility of using violence in politics, often considering it as something natural, or sanctionable. The opposition on the part of the Government, i. e., Piłsudski's followers, could take the form of an insurgent operation, as had been the case with Doboszyński's march to Myślenice. Similarly to other opposition groups which were against Józef Piłsudski, the National Party constantly wrestled with factional divisions, a crisis of its own ideological identity, and fights with the ruling party.

The National Party can be considered to have been an «intellectual organisation», whose views fully reflected the intellectual life of those times. The analysis of the evidence concerning the political thought of the NP shows that its range and diversity of styles, concepts, and approaches, made it an interesting subject of research. The thought of the NP can be considered as a selective synthesis of 1) Catholic ideas, 2) traditionalist ideas, 3) ideas advocated by the late XIX – early XX – century nationalism; and 4) nationalist ideas from the times of the Popular National Union (ZLN).

Polish nationalism arose in the late XIX century. Its fathers included Jan Ludwik Popławski (1854–1908), Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916) and Roman Dmowski (1864–1939). During its early development stage, it emerged as a set of ideas influenced by «the spirit of positivism». Therefore, according to the typology presented above, it was a secular nationalism, which did not question the Church or its teaching, but did not build its concepts on the foundation of the values preached by the Church, either.

The diversification of nationalism seems to be obvious, since individual forms of nationalism differed considerably. What seems open to debate, on the other

hand, is the extent of those differences. Nationalism can be categorised in various ways. The political science of religion, a sub-discipline of political science, identifies three major forms of nationalism, taking into account the types of relationship between nationalism and religion, namely:

- 1) secular nationalism;
- 2) Christian nationalism;
- 3) neo-pagan nationalism.

Secular, or lay, nationalism builds on secular values, treating religions and the Church as real members of the social, cultural and political spheres of life. In its ideas and objectives, secular nationalism did not take into account any requirements imposed by the religions or institutions associated with them. In Poland, the primary creator and representative of secular nationalism was Zygmunt Balicki. However, unlike in the neighbouring States, such as Ukraine or Germany, in Poland, secular nationalism did not achieve continued popularity [2, p. 18–23; 3, p. 77–82; 4, 191–232].

An important event was the 1927 publication of a brochure entitled «The Church, the Nation and the State» by Roman Dmowski. From then on, the Nationalist Camp emphasised the great role that had been, and should have continued to be, played by the Church in social life. There is a popular and commonly quoted statement by Dmowski, expressing his views on the importance of Catholicism to the Polish nation. In «The Church, the Nation, the State», Dmowski wrote «Catholicism is not ancillary to Polish identity <...>, but it makes up its core <...>. Efforts to separate Catholicism from the Polish identity, to detach the nation from religion and the Church, act to the detriment of the nation at its very core» [5, p. 13]. Dmowski noted the culture-producing role of religion, in its full, philosophical meaning (science, art, morality). He accurately remarked that the backbone of Poland's cultural heritage, and, consequently, of Poles' national identity, was Catholicism, which had contributed to, and united the production of, culture over the centuries. Dmowski even went as far as to claim that without the establishment of moral standards, as facilitated by the Church, contemporary nations could not have developed. In Dmowski's opinion, the strength of Catholicism in Poland was what gave the Polish nation an advantage over other nations [6, p. 10, 11; 7, p. 391; 8, p. 20–25; 9, p. 103].

The fight for the preservation of morality and the national spirit encouraged nationalists to acknowledge the Church as a great moral authority and spiritual leader. In its programme, the Popular National Union (ZLN) guaranteed the freedom of religious practice for various religions, but entrusted the Catholic Church with special objectives. The Church was to provide the nation with moral leadership. Over time, Catholicism came to be recognised not only as a supplement to Polish identity, but as its essence. The «Pole = Catholic» equivalence was considered true. Therefore, fighting

Catholicism was believed to be against the core of Polish identity and cultural tradition as a whole. To challenge religion was to subvert the nation from within [5, p. 40–45; 10, p. 199–200; 11, p. 3].

The period when the Popular National Union operated, i.e., between 1918 and 1928, can be considered transitional from early National Democracy to a subsequent stage, when in the 1930s, the National Party, the next organisational form of National Democracy, promoted the idea of the Catholic State of the Polish Nation, which was to meet all the demands put forward by the Catholic Church. This is when the Young took the stage. Criticism of the Popular National Union was voiced by Dmowski himself, and the Young who supported him, and did not accept the liberal-parliamentary characteristics of this party, which was considered incapable of taking over power.

The famous brochure «The Church, the Nation, the State» has been republished ever since. Its publication took on symbolic significance, foreshadowing the development of an ideological nationalist-Catholic organisation in Poland, which would represent a whole new quality, compared to the nationalistic characteristic of early National Democracy, which had been often referred to as «positivist» [5, p. 32].

The National Party represented Christian nationalism, i. e., had a programme guided by the principles of Catholic ethics and the teaching of the Church in general. This encouraged the idea of the Catholic State of the Polish Nation, put forward at the end of the inter-War period. It was to help Poland establish itself as a confessional State. The continuity of liberalism was also undermined by the great economic crisis between 1929 and 1933, which shook economic liberalism to its foundations, questioning its viability and practicality, and suggesting the need to seek new solutions, not only in relation to the political system, but also to the socio-economic one. Wojciech Wasiutyński, a young nationalist journalist of the time, wrote «The great economic crisis has left its mark on all the people who grew up in the late 1920s and 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» [12, p. 16]. Dmowski, too, expected capitalism to collapse, arguing that the industrial era would come to an end, and considered the underdevelopment of Poland in this area as something that would protect it against a sudden economic downturn and the associated social unrest. Moreover, the *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical, published in 1931, so during the economic crisis, put forward its own suggestions concerning corporatism, extending significant influence over the socio-economic, and, indirectly, political, thought among Polish right-wingers [6, p. 10, 11].

Catholicism was the axiological backbone of the National Party. The nationalism represented by the NP built its ideas and concepts on the religious



values and teachings of the Catholic Church. It was a typical example of Christian nationalism. The term «Christian nationalism» regularly appeared in the NP's programme pronouncements. As written by Zofia Żółtowska-Dąbrowska, a journalist, people found in it (i.e. in Christian nationalism – A. D.) «harmony between freedom and responsibility, which is ultimately at the core of Catholic moral teaching» [13, p. 389; 14, p.76]. Rejecting the values and the cultural setting created in the XIX century as unfavourable from the point of view of the type of nationalism represented by Young National Democrats, they turned to Catholicism. Catholicism was approached as an ideology and a set of social and moral norms. Under the influence of Catholic values, the concept consisting of two types of ethics, i. e., nationalist and Christian, was abandoned. The nation was no longer perceived as an absolute [15, p. 177–191].

Christian ethics was expected to govern relationships between people, between people and nations, and between nations. Values such as nation and homeland became sanctioned by religion and incorporated into the Christian outlook on life, and they were no longer considered self-sufficient, as was the case with secular nationalism.

In terms of its ideology, the National Party did not consider the nation as an absolute. In line with the title of a publication by Jędrzej Giertych, the NP represented Christian, or Catholic, nationalism. Consequently, the party distanced itself from non-Christian nationalism, thus denouncing any efforts to establish the nation as an absolute. The perception of the nation as an ultimate value was considered a view characteristic of pagan nationalism. J. Giertych argued that «when the nation is considered as the ultimate good, which is given precedence over justice, law, and morality, and the pursuit of which justifies any sin, or crime, as is advocated by some extreme nationalists, this represents an evidently pagan view» [16, p. 37]. The journalist explicitly argued that the good of the nation must not constitute the ultimate goal. In Giertych's opinion, only God could be such an ultimate good. Although important, the good of the nation must be subordinated to divine law. Giertych was firmly convinced that the nation constituted a temporal good: «Similarly to the good of an individual family, the good of the nation must be subordinated to moral law» [16, p. 48].

The National Party distanced itself from the concept of national egoism, as formulated in the early XX century by Zygmunt Balicki. It criticised its dual ethical system and the primacy of national ethics. In his policy work entitled «Nacjonalizm chrześcijański» (Christian nationalism), Jędrzej Giertych pointedly noted «at a certain point, there was a real danger of

the movement's (National Democracy's – A. D.) following in the footsteps of the French and Italian nationalist movements, i. e., towards the pagan approach, which considers the nation as the absolute good, and waives any ethical requirements in relation to the individual; this danger was manifested the most clearly in «Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki» (National egoism and ethics), a book written by Zygmunt Balicki nearly half a century ago. But this danger has passed without a trace» [17, p. 46]. A similar view was shared by Adam Doboszyński, a representative of the Young, who treated national egoism as an outdated idea which was no longer valid. As a representative of the Young generation, Doboszyński argued «our generation has become mature enough to realise that nationalistic sentiments, if they are to drive an improvement in, rather than the destruction of, the world, must be supplemented with universalist sympathies. One cannot be a complete man when he does not love his nation – yet this love must not be blind to the right of other people to love other nations»<sup>2</sup>. Roman Dmowski, too, admitted that before 1918 national egoism had constituted an important means of encouraging nationalistic sentiments, but in the 1930s, along with the growing support for Catholic ideology within the Nationalist Camp, it lost its appeal.

Without question, the National Party was undergoing the process of «uniting nationalism with Catholicism into a single ideological whole». This process was reflected in papers by young authors, published in the rich ND press, and especially the articles published in «Myśl Narodowa», the leading periodical produced by the National Party. They were greatly inspired by the recommendations found in Christian and Catholic thought. They emphasised the belief that the Polish identity was integrally connected with Catholicism. Stanisław Rymar argued that «it is not without reason that all the reasonable Polish statesmen associate Polish identity with Catholicism, and the Roman culture»<sup>3</sup>. The affiliation of the Polish nation with the Roman civilisation was emphasised in many policy documents. One of such documents reads «Moral principles which are consistent with our ancient civilisation, built on the unshakeable foundations of the Roman-Catholic faith and Western culture, must be commonly acknowledged and followed in public life»<sup>4</sup>. Rooted in these principles, the political thought of the NP did not reject any universal Christian ideas. In defence of the Church, the role of religion in the life of the nation was appreciated.

Catholic heritage provided the National Party with motivation to adopt various views. The party was particularly inspired by «Rerum Novarum», the famous encyclical by Pope Leo XIII, and especially its demands for the active involvement of the Church in public life.

<sup>2</sup>Żółtowska-Dąbrowska Z. Polityka narodowa a społeczne wskazania encyklik // Myśl Narodowa. 1938. 6 marzec. No. 10. S. 6–7.

<sup>3</sup>Kozicki S. Petrarca i polityka współczesna // Myśl Narodowa. 1928. 15 grudzień. No. 28. S. 461.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Inspiration was also derived from 1) the books of the Gospel; 2) the works of leading Christian figures, such as St. Thomas Aquinas; 3) solutions produced by Catholicism in the Middle Ages (resolutions of mediaeval synods and mediaeval customs). Thomas Aquinas gained special popularity in the NP, since he was the leading author of mediaeval political thought. Aquinas maintained that common good was more important than individual good. His views expressed the conviction that individual interests had to be subordinated to those of the community [18, p. 26–28; 5 p. 145–147].

In its efforts to forge national identity, the party sought compelling historical evidence and traditions. Polish identity was associated with Catholicism and the Roman culture. In its political thought, the NP was firmly convinced that there were two civilisations, the Eastern (Turanian) one and the Western (Roman) one. Recognising its positive contribution to the development of European nations and culture, the Polish nation and State were considered as belonging to the Roman, or Latin, civilisation. It was emphasised that Poland, which received Christianity from the West (the Roman order) in 966 through the Czech state, became part of the Western, Latin, and Catholic culture. This was pithily expressed by Stanisław Kozicki, who wrote «the common root, which gave rise to nations, is the rich heritage of ancient Rome, brought into line and penetrated by the spirit of Catholicism»<sup>5</sup>.

The assessment of the sources of the NP's political thought shows that the issue of Poland's affiliation with Roman civilisation was given great prominence. «Latin» attitudes within European civilisation were firmly endorsed. The Christian character of Europe and the lasting relationship between Polish identity and the Latin tradition were strongly emphasised. The term «Roman civilisation» explicitly excluded Russia, and later the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Christian nationalism achieved massive popularity, and the Nationalist Camp, in its broad sense, became its representative. The term «Christian nationalism» was coined in 1924 in France. Roman Dmowski's policy brochure with the distinctive title «The Church, the Nation, the State» introduced this term to Poles. In his brochure, Dmowski wrote «Catholicism is not ancillary to the Polish identity, nor does it merely lend colour to that identity, but makes up its core» [5, p. 53]. Dmowski considered nationalism a trend which emerged across Catholic nations in response to their stagnation in the context of the observed heyday of Protestant nations. This way he sought to colligate the origin of this ideology with Catholicism.

The Young showed growing support for Catholic ideology. Giertych, the leader of the Young, wrote we are a new movement. This novelty referred to the subordination of nationalist thoughts to the require-

ments imposed by the Christian outlook on life. The attitude of the NP to religion and the Catholic Church stemmed from the belief that political systems should rest on moral foundations, such as Christian values. By rejecting the values and the cultural setting created in the XIX century as unfavourable from the point of view of the development of the nation and Polish nationalist movement, the Young emphasised the importance of Catholicism, which was perceived not only as an ideology, but also as a set of social norms opposed to the criticised «ideology of the 19<sup>th</sup> century». In one of its policy brochures, the party argued: «Our State must <...> rest on Christian ethics and the love of one's neighbour, and the rights of the Catholic Church, of which the overwhelming majority of the Polish nation are members, should be protected by law»<sup>6</sup>. During the last years before the outbreak of WWII, the idea of the Catholic State of the Polish Nation emerged.

J. Giertych suggested that the principles of Christian ethics be adopted to guide all areas of life. He stressed the importance of modesty, honesty and reliability, as the values of key importance for the functioning of the nation and for the existence of the family.

Faced with a crisis of democratic and liberal values, the party drew inspiration from Catholic thought, including the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine. The anti-Semitism characteristic of National Democracy was supported by the recommendations of St. Thomas Aquinas and mediaeval Catholic practices. NP journalists appreciated the figure and political thought of St. Augustine, and especially his views about how society and State should be organised. The validity and usefulness of St. Augustine's anthropology were recognised by Jan Rembéliński, who accentuated the positive impact of his philosophy on the development of the European civilisation. He wrote «next year will see the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the death of this great bishop of Hippo Regius. For fifteen hundred years his genius has exerted a huge impact on the development of some fundamental religious and moral concepts across all Western-European nations. Today, at the turn of the century, when the whole of Western civilisation is facing a particularly dangerous crisis, to refer back to the political views of St. Augustine might be something more than merely a reminder of a dim and distant past»<sup>7</sup>.

Political journalists associated with the NP tried to differentiate between nationalism in Poland and in other countries, especially the Protestant ones. Polish nationalism was described as a middle-of-the-road trend, which had an element of altruism and respect for others, unlike possessive nationalism, which focused on the exploitation of other nations. In the light of the views of NP ideologues, Christian nationalism respected «the legitimate rights of others».

<sup>5</sup>Rymar S. Nabrzmięte zagadnienie // *Myśl Narodowa*. 1939. 23 Lipiec. No. 31. S. 461.

<sup>6</sup>Zjazd Przedstawicieli Pracy Narodowej na wsi. Przebieg-referaty-uchwały. Warszawa, 1937. P. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Rembéliński J. Humanitaryzm i rzeczy ważniejsze // *Myśl Narodowa*. 1930. No. 1. P. 4.

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