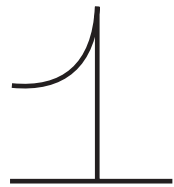




# His toria scholas tica



2024  
10

Mezinárodní časopis  
pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělání

International Review  
for History of Education

Národní pedagogické muzeum  
a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Technická univerzita  
v Liberci

Praha 2024

## Historia scholastica

Číslo 1, červen 2024, ročník 10

Number 1, June 2024, Volume 10

### Vedoucí redaktor *Editor-in-chief*

prof. PhDr. Tomáš Kasper, Ph.D. (tomas.kasper@tul.cz)

### Zástupkyně vedoucího redaktora *Deputy Editor*

PhDr. Markéta Pánková (pankova@nmpk.cz)

### Redakční rada *Editorial Board*

prof. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)  
doc. PhDr. Dana Kasperová, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)  
prof. PhDr. Jiří Knapík, Ph.D. (Slezská univerzita v Opavě)  
prof. PhDr. Milena Lenderová, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)  
prof. PhDr. Karel Rýdl, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)  
doc. Mgr. Jaroslav Šebek, Ph.D. (Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd ČR)  
doc. PhDr. Růžena Váňová, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze)  
Mgr. Magdaléna Šustová (Muzeum hlavního města Prahy)  
prof. Dr. Marta Brunelli, Ph.D. (Università di Macerata)  
prof. Dr. Antonella Cagnolati (Università di Foggia)  
prof. Dr. Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt Universität Berlin)  
prof. Dr. Lucien Criblez (Universität Zürich)  
prof. Andreas Fritsch (Deutsche Comenius Gesellschaft)  
prof. Dr. Gerald Grimm (Universität Klagenfurt)  
prof. Dr. Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich)  
prof. PhDr. Blanka Kudláčková, Ph.D. (Trnavská univerzita v Trnavě)  
prof. Dr. Eva Matthes (Universität Augsburg)  
prof. Dr. András Németh (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest)  
prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers (Emeritus Professor Universität Zürich)  
prof. PhDr. Jaroslav Pánek, DrSc., dr.h.c. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)  
prof. Dr. Simonetta Polenghi, Ph.D. (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano)  
prof. Dr. Edvard Protner (Univerza v Mariboru)  
prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. Ehrenhard Skiera (Univ. Prof. a.D. Europa-Universität Flensburg)

### Výkonná redaktorka *Executive Editor*

Mgr. Lucie Murár (murar@nmpk.cz)

### Vydavatelé *Publishers*

Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského  
Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, Česká republika, IČ 61387169, www.nmpk.cz  
Technická univerzita v Liberci, Fakulta přírodovědně-humanitní a pedagogická  
Studentská 1402/2, 461 17 Liberec 1, Česká republika, IČ 46747885, www.tul.cz

### Obálka a grafická úprava *Cover and Graphic Design*

Pavel Průša

### Sazba *Type Setting*

Mgr. Lucie Murár

### Tisk *Printed by*

Tiskárna PROTISK, s. r. o., Rudolfovska 617, 370 01 České Budějovice, Česká republika

Časopis *Historia scholastica* vychází 2× ročně. *Historia scholastica is published twice a year.*

### Indexováno v *Indexed in*

SCOPUS, ERIH+, DOAJ, EBSCO, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

ISSN 1804-4913 (print), ISSN 2336-680X (online)

Číslo registrace MK ČR E 22258

# Obsah

## Contents

- Úvodník** 7 — Tomáš Kasper & Markéta Pánková  
**Editorial**
- Studie** 13 Die Willensfreiheit des Kindes wertschätzen –  
**Studies** Prolegomena zu einer pädagogischen Ethik  
der Responsivität in nachmythischer Zeit  
*Valuing the Child's Freedom of Will – Prolegomena  
on a Pedagogical Ethics of Responsivity in Post-mythic Times*  
— Ehrenhard Skiera
- 37 “In a Very Real Sense Young Children Are Citizens  
of the World” – Kinder und Jugendliche als Kriegsopfer  
in der Pädagogik Minna Spechts  
*“In a Very Real Sense Young Children are Citizens of the World” –  
Children and Youths as Victims of War in Minna Specht's  
Educational Philosophy*  
— Sebastian Engelmann
- 55 Invisible Children: the Face and Reverse of Special  
Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1958–1990  
— Snježana Šušnjara
- 81 Educational Studies in Wartime: How War and  
Dictatorship influenced the Educational Theory  
of Philipp Abraham Kohnstamm (1875–1951)  
— John Exalto
- 97 From Scout Boy to Pioneer. An Example of Political Misuse  
of the Concept of a Youth Organization of Scout Boys  
in Slovakia  
— Blanka Kudláčová & Janette Gubricová
- 123 Subjectivation through Structural Coupling –  
The Emergence of School Laggards and Deficient Pupils  
— Daniel Töpper & Fanny Isensee

**Studie  
Studies**

- 157 Collections in the Jesuit Archbishop's Secondary Grammar School in Kalocsa (Hungary)  
— Magdolna Rébay
- 195 Kurikulárne ukotvenie predmetu občianska náuka a výchova v období prvej Československej republiky (1918–1938)  
*Curricular Background of the Subject Civics Education in the Period of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938)*  
— Marek Bubeník
- 239 Odborné školstvo a technické vzdelávanie dievčat na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945 (optikou štúdia dievčat na priemyselných školách)  
*Vocational Education and Technical Training of Girls in Slovakia from 1918 to 1945 (Through the Study of Girls in Industrial Schools)*  
— Mária Ďurkovská & Lucia Heldáková
- 259 Proměny profesní přípravy učitelů ve Finsku  
*Transformations in Teacher Training in Finland*  
— Veronika Bačová & Dana Kasperová
- 283 Slovo nebo posunek? Diskuse o užívání znakového jazyka v ústavech pro hluchoněmé v 1. polovině 20. století  
*Word or Sign? A Discussion on the Use of Sign Language in Institutes for the Deaf and Dumb in the First Half of the 20th Century*  
— Lenka Okrouhlíková

**Varia**

- 307 “Mały Przegląd” against Culture of War. Korczak's (Goldszmit's) Pacifism and its Cultural Background  
— Marta Rakoczy
- 325 Vychovateľna není trestní ústav. Činnost vychovateľa v Libni, Říčanech a na Vinohradech do roku 1918  
*Industrial School is not a Jail. Activities of the Industrial Schools in Libeň, Říčany and Vinohrady until 1918*  
— Magdaléna Šustová
- 343 Comenius Medal for PhDr. Markéta Pánková in Naarden  
— John Exalto

# Věnování

## *Dedication*

Toto číslo je s úctou věnováno prof. Tomáši Kasperovi, šéfredaktoru časopisu *Historia scholastica*, k jeho životnímu jubileu.

*Redakce časopisu *Historia scholastica**

This issue is respectfully dedicated to Prof. Tomáš Kasper, editor-in-chief of *Historia scholastica* Journal, on the occasion of his jubilee.

*The editors of *Historia scholastica**



# “Mały Przegląd” against Culture of War. Korczak’s (Goldszmit’s) Pacifism and its Cultural Background

**Marta Rakoczy**<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw; Korczakianum, Museum of Warsaw  
m.rakoczy@uw.edu.pl

DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2024-1-012

In 1938, twelve-year-old Jewish boy Jonatan Burak wrote a futurological story. The text was published in “Mały Przegląd” [“Little Review”], which was a supplement to the newspaper “Nasz Przegląd” [“Our Review”]. The journal was intended for children and young people from the Polish-Jewish

intelligentsia and published between 1926 and 1939. Its initiator was Janusz Korczak/Henryk Goldszmit: a Polish-Jewish pedagogue, doctor, writer, and social activist. The “Little Review” was read and edited mainly by Jewish children, but was also read by Polish, while it was intended to build a sense of essential for Korczak, dual Polish-Jewish identity in its readers (Wojnowska, 2023). Young authors, who wrote for “Mały Przegląd”, sent articles to the editorial office not only from Warsaw, where the editorial office was based, but also from other places (Landau-Czajka, 2018). Its journalists were recruited from Jewish backgrounds writing in Polish, but often from working class families with low cultural capital. Initially intended for young children, later, when Igor Newerly became the main editor, it became a magazine for youth. As calls for radical socio-political changes increasingly appeared in its pages, the magazine was subjected to systematic state censorship. It is difficult to say something about its audience, but it was certainly read by both individual children and by peer groups and school classes. Korczak intended it as a pretext for the formation of a wider community of writers and readers: a community of young people initiating not only

new insights into social life, but also new practices in the form of cultural and social initiatives.

Jonathan's story came from Równe, a small village in the vicinity of the capital. On the front page of the 1938 issue, Jonathan told of his great dream, which was a happy future in 1942. In this imagined year, Jonathan was to witness an extraordinary event: the universal reconciliation of mankind. As he wrote, "News reached us that after a general meeting of the presidents and kings of the whole of Europe, after the signing of the acts and after the solemn oath taken by them, the border posts were smashed, and all the people of all nationalities shook hands." (MP, 1938/34, p. 1). "We have had enough of wars, blood and hatred! We want reconciliation!" they shouted". "Joy was universal." (p. 1). History wrote, as one knows, a different script. In August, in the year 1942, dreamt up by Jonathan, the great liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto began. It was the year when Janusz Korczak [Henryk Goldszmit] died together with his children in the Nazi death camp in Treblinka.

Today Korczak is a well-known figure. As an educator working for the "humanistic-democratic approaches" in education, he occupies his rightful place in textbooks of academic pedagogy (Marhaim, 2017, p. 427). He can also be found in many texts on the history of children's rights. Korczak is a popular patron of public and non-public schools in Poland, and he is also the patron of numerous alternative education initiatives. This results in a frequent trivialization of his thought and a feeling that it is exclusively historical. Meanwhile, Korczak/Goldszmit was more than an outstanding representative of his time. His opposition to war was not a simple moral reflex. On the contrary, it had complex historical, biographical, and philosophical significance closely linked to the Polish and European historical context, which needs to be understood to reconstruct the significance of his unprecedented activity. In my article, I would like to look at the cultural, social, and political origins of Korczak's pacifism against the background of Polish and European culture at the time. I also would like to demonstrate that the war and the accompanying humanitarian crisis had a fundamental impact on Korczak's social philosophy. It also had an impact

on the “Mały Przegląd” he initiated – a newspaper created by children against the culture of violence. In my article, I want to not only deal with the Small Review project. I want to make a “thick description” of it (Geertz 1973) and thus situate it in the field of various discourses of interwar Poland, for without this context its radical character is not understandable.

### **Korczak’s Wartime Biography**

As is well known, Korczak’s times were closely linked to the turbulent history of Central and Eastern Europe. Even before the Second World War broke out, Korczak had lived through three wars and one revolution: the Japanese-Russian War, the Polish-Bolshevik War, the First World War and the October Revolution. On 8 March 1917, Korczak wrote about a boy he had decided to take care of. “His name is Stefan. His mother died when he was 7 – he can’t remember his mother’s name. His father was in the war, in captivity, or killed. He has a 17-year-old brother who is in Tarnopol. He lived with his brother, then with soldiers, for six months in a shelter. The shelters were opened by the association of cities, they are run by just anyone. The government allows teaching or forbids it. It’s not a boarding school, but a garbage dump, where they dump children, a wasteland of war, the sad waste of dysentery, spotted typhus, cholera, which sweeps away parents, especially mothers only, because fathers are fighting for a new division of the world. War is not a crime, it’s a triumphal procession, a feast of fiends crazed from the drunken wedding.” (Korczak, 2007a, p. 18).

Korczak met Stefan in Kiev. There he took care of children hurt by the revolution, war poverty, hunger, and orphanhood. He watched with anger the stupidity of the institutional representatives who sent children who were hungry and sick a “regional embroidery instructor”. Goldszmit wrote extremely provocatively about the blood sacrificed in the war. “Blood [...] is easy to give – they drill a hole; it flows by itself. Any scribe will make a whole pool – but it’s not enough to print papers. You must rebuild, build up, plough, forest, mine; you must [...] feed orphans, bring them up, you must do a lot!” (Korczak, 2008c, p. 10). There were many war orphans in Kiev at the time. Transported later to Poland, in



not much better conditions, malnourished and neglected, they often did not live to adulthood. For example, of the 40 children transported from the Vilnius area to the city's orphanage by the well-known Polish social activist Stefania Sempołowska, none survived. Sempołowska could not understand why the Legislative Parliament of the young Polish state enacted a budget that "allocated 45 million marks for prison and military purposes, but only 3 million for the care of two million abandoned and orphaned children" (Pęzińska, 2017, p. 39). It was in this context that Janusz Korczak's philosophy of education emerged as one of the most radical social thoughts of the 20th century (Mencwel, 2009). Korczak was not only a philosopher laying the foundations of children's rights, the impetus for which would be the humanitarian crisis caused by the First World War. As a scientist and practitioner, he sought to formulate the foundations of a future civil society for which war is the greatest threat.

Both Korczak and the "Mały Przegląd" he created operated in conditions that meant either war or the humanitarian crisis caused by it. This dimension of his reflection is generally overlooked. For example, in the UNICEF brochure on the rights of the child, one can read that in relation to them "the breakthrough came in the twentieth century and the events that permanently changed the fate of the world. But before the old continent plunged into war, the early years of this century saw the birth of the concept of childhood as we know it from the work of Janusz Korczak. Born in 1878 under the name Henryk Goldszmit – Janusz Korczak became a symbol of the struggle for children's rights. And although today's approach to children's rights differs somewhat from those presented by Korczak [...], undoubtedly his concepts and thinking about the child were innovative and revolutionary for the times in which they were born" (*Prawa dziecka. Edukacja o prawach dziecka*, p. 11). The narrative present in the UNICEF brochure is not entirely correct. The First World War, and later the Second, were not the first armed conflicts in Korczak's life. Moreover, between the wars, brutal violence against children was an everyday and common occurrence. "When one has lived a long time – Goldszmit wrote in 1930 – one has seen many terrible misfortunes: one's eyes are closed as far as

one can see, one's addiction is not to look, one's heart is compressed – and one would like to escape and not think about it. I have seen three wars. I have seen the mangled, who have had their arms torn off, their stomachs pierced so that their bowels come out. I have seen facial and head wounds – wounded soldiers, adults, and children. But I'm telling you: the worst thing you can see is a drunken man who beats a defenseless child, when the child drives his drunken father and asks "Daddy, Daddy, come home" (Korczak, 2011, p. 22).

### **Post-war Violence against the Most Vulnerable Ones**

At the beginning of the 20th century, many children lived in extreme poverty in Poland and, more broadly, in Central and Eastern Europe. They were deprived of proper care and necessities. The institutions of systematic, state-run social care were only just taking shape. After the First World War, the situation of children worsened dramatically. They were the least sighted victims of armed conflicts and the all-pervasive economic crisis at the time. Poverty, hunger, unemployment, abysmal sanitary and hygienic conditions resulted in high child mortality rates, especially for those from peasant and working-class backgrounds. Their rights to development and education were also not respected. The Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, formulated in 1923, focused on ensuring the basic protection of children's rights in order that they could be protected from incidents or from the misconduct of adults. The formulation of this important document, however, had a small influence on reality. For many communities, including indigent, war-affected, unemployed, or sick representatives of Jewish communities, the document had no meaning.

The oft-repeated visions of the pre-war activities of Korczak and his pupils as an undisturbed activity for the emancipation of childhood, brutally destroyed by the Second World War and the Holocaust, had little to do with his professional maturation. Korczak wrote the first part of his work *How to Love a Child*, published a year after Poland regained its independence, in a military hospital. His pupils were usually children who had experienced war, the painful refugee wandering and all its consequences. Their histories were published in *Wspomnienia*

*z maleńkości Dzieci Naszego Domu w Pruszkowie* [*Memories of Littleness from Nasz Dom' Children in Pruszków*] written down after World War I and compiled by Maria (Maryna) née Rogowska Falska, who collaborated with Korczak. The mobilization of fathers, their disability, the illness of family members caused by malnutrition, lack of work and dire living conditions are constant themes in children's memoirs. For example, little Wacek recounted how he was sent alone to the countryside for a year by his family because of the war. The farmers he worked for beat and starved him. Wacek did not want to complain to his mother so as not to worry her. When he heard her promise that "after the war" he would return home, he ran away to his family. When he returned, his mother let him stay in Warsaw (Ciesielska & Puszkina, 2007, pp. 97–102).

Due to the war, Stasiek P.'s family also emigrated. The mother and her three children went to the countryside and looked for any work there. The family was robbed and soon lost all means of livelihood (Ibid., pp. 102–104). Another of Falska's interlocutors, Henio, recounted how in Warsaw, during the German occupation of the city during the First World War, his family "ate potatoes from the rubbish heap" meant for pigs. Moving in with extended family was not a good solution. Henio boasted that he sometimes got noodles laced with oil and paraffin, but he complained that he was beaten there. Another Falska's interlocutor, little Olesia told that "When the Germans were about to enter" (p. 114), she fled with her mother to the east. The wandering lasted a very long time, as the railways were periodically out of service because of the war effort. After some time, the family returned to Warsaw, but soon afterwards "daddy was taken to the war, and daddy caught a cold. And he went to hospital. And he got sick with lung disease. And they couldn't cure daddy, they brought him home. And daddy still lived at home for a year, and he died" (p. 119).

Józio told how "one day war broke out" (p. 120). To the family's relief, his father turned out to be too old to move to the warfront. As the Germans approached Warsaw, "airplanes and zeppelins began to fly over Warsaw". As Józio recounts, "And I, at that time was in the backyard. I saw that an airplane was coming over our house, and I rushed

into the hallway. I managed to cross the threshold and there was a terrible bang. Behind the fence a cloud of smoke rose and all the panes in the windows blew out. I rushed into the flat out of fear, I look around and my mum is shaking with fear, because my mum thought that the bomb had fallen on our house. And next to that tenement house there was our farmer's factory [...] and this German airplane wanted to drop a bomb on that factory, but it didn't make it, and the bomb fell on the signboard of the garden, because there was a garden with a signboard right there. At that moment a girl was walking by, and a piece of the bomb hit her in the arm, and she fell. A man jumped up, squeezed her hand tightly and the shrapnel came out of her hand, and he took her to the emergency room". "Because of this scare", Józio finished the story, "my mother lost the power in her hand" (p. 121).

The reborn Polish state struggled for a long time with the effects of the war and the poverty that accompanied it. Numerous contemporary intellectuals commented on the dire economic and social state of the young Polish state. As Władysław Jenner, a Polish economist, wrote: "The cataclysm of the World War, turning vast areas of Poland's lands into lands of ruins, ruins and graves, tore up and ultimately disturbed the balance of our economy, sustained by the heaviest sacrifices, in a way that then demanded hecatomb sacrifices of society and the state under construction" (Jenner, 2017, pp. 161–162). Added to this catastrophe were the "infantile diseases of a young democracy". These diseases were not few. Jenner included among them: "the predominance of the revolutionary spirit over the organizational spirit, class hatreds and blunders, rampant factionalism, diverting attention from economic matters and absorbing social forces and resources, social recklessness, premature and misguided reforms, blindly followed but ruining production, public treasury, currency and social morality" (p. 162).

The mood of interwar optimism in young Polish state was accompanied by gloomy diagnoses and dramatic appeals from those involved in monitoring the current social situation. For example, as Tomasz Janiszewski, Minister of Health of the Second Republic, involved in building the foundations of social hygiene, noted in 1924: "It must be trusted that times will come when mankind will mature and see clearly

enough to direct all its forces, endeavors, abilities and work in the direction indicated above, instead of wasting its strength on destroying hitherto achievements of culture and exterminating each other in humiliating and insulting bloody wars against humanity” (Janiszewski, 1924, p. 5). In the same year in which Korczak published *How to Love the Child* [*Jak kochać dziecko*] Janiszewski drew attention in his article *Najpilniejsze zadania administracji publicznej w obecnej dobie* [*The Most Urgent Tasks of the Civil Administration in the Present Era*] to the epidemics of tuberculosis, spotted fever and typhus, especially among children (Janiszewski, 1919, pp. 1–32). Janiszewski put the blame on “the tragic devastation of the population of villages and towns as a result of warfare and the ruthless victualling policy of foreign armies fighting on Polish soil” and described scale of poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and dwellings, malnutrition, lack of warm clothing and means of heating, shortage of medical aid and medical supplies (p. 10).

Therefore, Korczak’s and his pupils were children whose lives were permanently experienced by trauma. Its cause was the war or its direct and indirect consequences. In the 1930s, due to the ongoing economic crisis, the living conditions of children deteriorated drastically. This was particularly true in the countryside and in the large industrial cities, where unemployment levels were high. The economic background of Jewish childhoods was shown, among other things, by the biographies collected by the Vilnius JIWO research centre. In the light of these testimonies, Jewish youth often suffered from hunger, were victims of anti-Semitic riots and domestic violence. They dreamt unsuccessfully of education, social advancement, and a world in which they could be full participants. Their political and social radicalisation stemmed from a sense of powerlessness and being invisible (Cała, 2004).

### **European Apologia for War**

To understand Korczak’s thought properly and to embed it properly in the discourses of the period, it is necessary to consider the fact that the 1920s and 1930s were an ambivalent time in Poland. On the one hand, it was a time of great hope due to the regaining of independence. On the other hand, it was a time of growing class, worldview, ethnic, religious,

and national conflicts. The social unrest was not something unprecedented on a European scale. Inter-war Europe was an era in which, as Modris Eksteins wrote in his book *Solar Dance*, “murder, extremism and intolerance were everywhere” (Eksteins, 2012: 78). They resulted in a growing parliamentary crisis in most European countries, a civil war in Spain, a wave of strikes caused by recession and unemployment, many anti-Semitic unrests as well as the high-profile political murders: President Gabriel Narutowicz (Brywczyński, 2017) in Poland and the leading representatives of the KPD Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the first finance minister, centrist Matthias Erzberger, and the liberal, foreign minister – Walter Rathenau in Weimar Republic (Müller, 2014).

At this time a children’s and youth journalism, unprecedented in the world, developed on the forum of the “Mały Przegląd” initiated and directed by Korczak. The young journalists of the magazine were eager to speak out on political and social issues. They wrote about poverty, co-operatives, pervasive violence in the public space, and the cult of violence that worried them. They also wondered how the social world could be improved to eliminate war from it. This discourse became dominant in the “Mały Przegląd” in the 1930s. As the young reporter Kuba H. wrote: “We already know how it is done and where it is going. Shirts, rifles, maneuvers, the right talk and reading until the young people’s skin thickens, their souls turn grey, and their hands become calloused. Then you can let off the leash the hosts of youth arranged to hunt their own country and – hunt down the dictatorship” (MP, 1935/38).

Interestingly, Kuba H. stigmatized narratives that were quite common at the time. The cult of the healthy, athletic national or class body was popular in fascist European narratives. Just as popular was the cult of technical progress serving to administer the human ‘mass’ as a new historical subject. The fascination with war as a supposed source of power and as a tool for constructive revisions of the social world was present in the narratives of the radical left and right. It also accompanied interwar art in the broadest sense, regardless of the political convictions of its creators. In the art of the time, war was clearly aestheticized. It was not infrequently understood not only as a “challenge to

culture”, but as “true culture”. It was assumed that war, as a new culture, was meant to reveal the real potential of man. It was to be an act of transgression, an instrument for abandoning compromised social, cultural, and political structures.

Nationalist expressions of these views are well known today. In 1936, Oswald Spengler considered the technique of the armed hand as the origin of culture. He also accepted that the predatory Faustian culture, created for permanent struggle and creativity, epitomized, by Germany represented the apogee of the civilizational development of the West (Spengler, 1976). This discourse was by no means the monopoly of a nationalizing Germany. In Poland in 1939, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, Marian Reutt wrote in the booklet *The Military Education of the Nation* that “Humanity consists of nations fighting each other. This struggle is an eternal phenomenon”. In the same pamphlet, Reutt attacked the pacifists and the League of Nations for irrationality and utopianism. He also criticized them for working against the “dynamism of modern man” (p. 3) and his creative *ergo* conquering impulses. “The Europe of today, and more, the world as a whole”, as he noted, “is the image of a reality shaped by chiefs and militarily organized nations. Consequently, the intensity of the will to war is increasing. The nations feel the whiff of a historical storm. They are preparing for it. They are militarizing themselves spiritually, politically, socially, and economically. We are undoubtedly witnessing the emergence of a military culture. Categories of military thinking are making their way into science, bringing in new and invigorating elements. In a word, the world is becoming an arena for some kind of outsized unleashing of the powers of war” (pp. 2–3). This discourse was also like Ernst Jünger’s one. In his work *Die totale Mobilmachung* (*On Total Mobilisation*), Jünger wrote of war as a “universal mobilization for action”, an “intensification of life” forcing hitherto passive people into “supreme activity”. Similar discourses also appeared on the left, especially among academics and artists including the Surrealists, Futurists and Dadaists.

In other words, pacifist attitudes, so close to Korczak and his pupils, were rare at the time. Both in Poland, in Polish and Jewish circles, and

in Europe, they were often regarded as ridiculous or unrealistic. For example, Roger Caillois, associated after the war with the anti-fascist movement, stated in *Man and the Sacred*, also published in 1939, that total war was one of the cultural universals like a “festival”. Caillois described war positively as “a unique moment of concentration” and “a period of vigorous socialization” when people “share instruments, resources, and powers in common. They interrupt the time during which individuals separately occupy themselves in very many different domains” (Caillois, 1959, p. 166). In other words, conflict, and war as a necessary engine of development since Hegel inculcated in the imagination of both right and left thinkers determined the political thinking of the first half of the twentieth century.

### **Korczak against War**

In the difficult times between the wars, Korczak wrote a text entitled, like Eksteins’ later book *The Rites of Spring*. It was, however, an ironic title. Korczak was arguing against the apologia of brutal vitalism made in Stravinsky’s work. He also opposed the idea of breaking with the fetters of civilization, so popular at the time, which was accused of repressing human instincts. The subject of Korczak’s article was war as “mud”, “filth” and more broadly the crash of the civilizational order. As he noted: “History is an unprincipled teacher that teaches badly, educates badly, deceives inspection with the semblance of order and progress. But it also has a task! To direct an unruly band of nations unpunished, stubborn, greedy, and malicious. Everyone has a full mouth of merits and advantages; every lecher wants to be a primate” (Korczak, 2008c, p. 9). The image of nations as immature students is worth comparing with another passage also from Korczak’s writings. It is a short report from Żyrardów of 1918 and concerns the end of the First World War. „In the factory halls, the great halls, on all floors stretchers with the wounded. Children distribute tea to them, crawling or leaping over the wounded and the dead. In the hospital – they die of cholera. Death there and here.” (p. 7).

This image is based on a poetics of inversion. Here are nations, although living longer than their citizens, are immature students. As



such, they bear the responsibility for their own mistakes through their children as the youngest. The deconstruction of the dichotomy of the rational, mature adult versus the irrational, immature child was a frequent theme in many of Korczak's statements. "Researchers have ruled," he wrote, "that the mature man is guided by motives, the child by drives, the adult logical, the child narrated in a deluded imagination; the adult has character, a fixed moral countenance, the child entangled in a chaos of instincts and wants. They study the child not as different but as a lower, weaker, poorer mental organization. Ostensibly: adults all – learned professors. And adult bigotry, parochial views and beliefs, herd psychology, superstitions and habits, the reckless acts of fathers and mothers, the whole from the bottom-up inadequate adult life. Carelessness, laziness, dull stubbornness, thoughtlessness, adult absurdities, follies [...]." (Korczak 2007b, pp. 13–14).

The child in the evoked picture from wartime Żyrardów was not only a victim of warfare. It was a paradoxically active subject. Firstly, it was an instantiation of justice and responsibility. It was the child who ordered adults to come to their senses. Secondly, it was agent also in the sense that it was capable of sacrifice and caring practices. Korczak referred to caring activities as the ultimate, everyday heroism. Attributing caring skills to the child in relation to the irresponsibility of adults was at the time an intellectually daring provocation. So was Korczak's formulation of contemporary upbringing. "Modern upbringing is permeated by the principle that the educator is responsible for children before society. We wish to base upbringing on principles where the educator would be responsible to the children for society" (Korczak, 2008b, p. 196).

Korczak, like Maria (Maryna) Falska who collaborated with him, saw numerous examples of children's responsibility. He also tirelessly documented them, which was an unprecedented practice at the time. For example, the solidarity participation of children in family concerns was noted by Korczak in one of his reports. Under the ironic title *Beautiful Film*, he wrote: "Saturday morning. On the field of the House of Orphans, a hundred children – little ones, middle-aged, youngsters: girls and boys – so many different, and together they play in many

groups, gently giving way, kindly supporting, exchanging a friendly word, a favor, a warning, a smile. [...]A moment of cheerful faith in the future. Alas (Experimentally stated). When you call one out of the amused bunch, and throw in a question ‘What’s going on at home? How’s your health? Sister, brother? How’s the job, earning, living?’ the child becomes quiet, lowers his head, his face becomes serious, his mouth contorts in a painful spasm, his eyebrows cloud together – and tears well up in his eyes. One must ask neither them nor oneself. For a burden of sorrow will roll down. Right next to the festive merriment – grim, everyday pain” (Korczak 2008a, pp. 174–175). In his journalism, Korczak also repeatedly returned to the subject of war. In the text *Spring and the Child*, he stated: “It seemed: after this war, no adult would ever again dare to hit a child for breaking a glass or interrupting the serious mood of a school lecture. It seemed that, with head bowed and eyes fixed on the ground, we would walk past the children – we – responsible for this unleashed madness” (Korczak 2017, p. 17). In Korczak’s view, it was the children who embodied the conscience of humanity, and it was they, not the war, who could be the perpetrators of civilizational revision.

### **“Mały Przegląd” against Violence**

“Mały Przegląd” was Korczak’s response to rape and violence directly or indirectly provoked by war or by a situation of systematic exclusion of specific social groups. Created with children, the newspaper was an attempt at moral education, which is, as Sara E. Efron notes, not done “through books or direct teaching, but through living and engaging authentically with moral values” (See Efron, 2015, pp. 43–44). The basis of this project was the conviction that aggression, which is dangerous for social life, does not come from a pure desire for violence. Rather, its cause is the institutionalization of aggression. Violence is born out of a systematically constructed sense of moral superiority. This causes the victim of violence to begin to be treated as an object of ethically legitimate intervention. Effective counter-violence is therefore not about opposing the situation when it occurs. Violence begins earlier, at the point when one side of an argument stereotypes the other and causes

a group of people who are ethnically, religiously, or philosophically different to be treated as alien and not requiring any effort of understanding from the rest of society.

Korczak understood much earlier the mechanism analyzed in relation to the causes of the Holocaust by Zygmunt Bauman. Bauman described the spiral of unleashing anti-Semitic violence through three stages. The first stage involves the systematical stereotyping of the Other. The Other begins to be presented through mass propaganda not as a neighbor, a friend, but as a distant, depersonalized representative of an alien species with whom it is impossible to establish any valuable social ties. The second stage is that the Other is reduced in the social imagination to a generalized figure of the “alien”. Consequently, he or she begins to be legally and physically separated from the dominant society. This stage makes the subsequent extermination possible because it renders it invisible and does not violate anyone’s moral feelings. The third stage is based on the physical extermination of people who have previously been discursively and then institutionally excluded from the human order, which is governed by ethical duties (Bauman, 1989, pp. 22–30).

Korczak had already noticed in the interwar period that violence does not only happen in the final stage of wartime extermination. He also noticed that its basis is not only national, ethnic, or religious differences. Violence begins in the first stage: when people use stereotypes of others in the public space to justify their moral superiority, indifference to their needs, disregard, hatred, or contempt. “Mały Przegląd” fought against these very mechanisms. It therefore exposed all the stereotypes by which children could order and value the world of their own experience and divide it into Jews and Christians, poor and rich, boys and girls, teachers, and pupils. Thus, for example, its pages published texts by young Jewish reporters who had emigrated to Palestine. On the one hand, the young authors described the realization of the dream of a country of their own. On the other, however, they tried to understand the Arab population (Landau-Czajka, 2018, pp. 323–359).

Although the Little Review had a discreetly Zionist orientation, it devoted a good deal of attention to Europe and its geopolitical order.

In its pages appeared such childish discussions of such concepts as the Panuropa project created by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. It was about this diplomat that one little journalist wrote that “he has no time. He has to travel around many countries, persuading people to agree to a Pan-Europa. So that there would be a united Europe without borders and wars” (MP, No. 283, 1926, p. 4). The young journalist emphasized with approval the fact that Coudenhove had a dual identity, for his mother was Japanese, and that he not only “met many nations”, but “loves” both Europe and Asia (Ibidem).

As Korczak wrote in the “Mały Przegląd”, “The most difficult thing to explain, which is, after all, so simple, is that all people are equal, that all are brothers. Often readers write about this in their letters, often surprised that adults, rational and experienced, cannot arrange things in such a way that there are no wars, that there are no quarrels, that things are good. They do not know how difficult it is to reconcile black, yellow, and white people, how even whites are divided into nations, nations into classes, Fighting and anger everywhere. The rich grieve against the poor, the poor against the rich. Even schoolmates quarrel, the older classes disrespect the little ones, the little ones envy the older ones, boys accost girls, even brothers and sisters, parents and children do not always live in harmony. It is better than it was. One must hope that it will be even better, better, and better” (Korczak, 1927, p. 1). Korczak’s pacifist appeal invoked the duty of hope as an important virtue of public life, in which violence and hatred were becoming rampant. However, this duty was to be based on the systematic building of a new basis for public communication and a radical expansion of the forum of its participants.

Children were to be invited to the space for the exchange of opinions and thoughts. However, this invitation was a difficult and risky experiment. For it involved confronting children with social and political life as primarily a domain of differences, tensions, and conflicts. “Mały Przegląd” was intended to educate children to a public sphere based on a systematic effort of mutual understanding in a world defined primarily by violence, antagonism, and conflict. Korczak did not believe that aggression and war could be permanently removed from political

and social life through moralistic appeals for its cessation. To build a society free from rape and persecution, it was necessary, in his view, to work systematically towards a space of communication friendly to human differences. This space was to neutralize disputes and tensions by systematically revealing, exploring, taming, and defusing them. In other words, contrary to stereotypical interpretations, “Mały Przegląd” was not a domain for more, or less spontaneous children’s expressions. From the outset, it was a radically normative project. It was to serve not only the mutual coexistence of expressions by Polish and Jewish children, from large and small towns, poor and wealthy. Above all, it was to be a stimulus for reflection on what divides and what unites people and why the differences and similarities between them evoke such different emotions, attitudes, and perceptions.

#### Bibliography

- BAUMAN, Zygmunt, 1989. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BRYKCYŃSKI, Piotr, 2017. *Gotowi na przemoc. Mord, antysemityzm i demokracja w międzywojennej Polsce*. Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna. ISBN 978-83-65853-20-2.
- BURAK, Jonatan, 1938. *Rok 1942, “Mały Przegląd”*.
- CAILLOIS, Roger, 1959. *Man and the Sacred*. Transl. Meyer Barash. Illinois: The Free Press Glencoe.
- CIESIELSKA, Marta & PUSZKIN, Barbara, 2007. Wspomnienia z małości dzieci z Naszego Domu w Pruszkowie. In: CIESIELSKA, Marta & PUSZKIN, Barbara (eds.). *Nasz Dom. Zrozumieć, porozumieć się, poznać*. Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Badań Korczakianum. ISBN 9788361552215.
- EFRON, Sara E., 2015. *Moral Education Between Hope and Hopelessness: The Legacy of Janusz Korczak*. Curriculum Inquiry, 2008, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp.39–62. ISSN 03626784.
- EKSTEINS, Modris, 2012. *Solar Dance. Van Gogh, Forgery and the Eclipse of Certainty*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. ISBN 987-0674283985.
- EKSTEINS, Modris, 1989. *Rites of Spring. The Great War and the Birth of Modernity*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- ENGEL, Liba H., 2008. Experiments in Democratic Education: Dewey’s Lab School and Korczak’s Children Republic. *The Social Studies*. No. 99 (3), pp. 117–121. ISSN 0037-7996.

- GEERTZ, Clifford, 1973. "Thick Description: Toward and Interpretive Theory of Culture". *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 3–30. ISBN 9780465097197.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 1927. *Wojna*, „*Mały Przegląd*”. No. 14, p. 1.
- H. KUBA, 1935. „*Mały Przegląd*”. No. 38.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 1993. Momenty wychowawcze. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 7. Ed. A. Lewin. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo „Latona”.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2008. Piękny film. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 14/1 (*Pisma rozproszone, listy*). Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, pp. 174–175. ISBN 9788361552130.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2008b. [Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa „Nasz Dom za okres 24. XI. 1921 – 30. X. 1923]. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 14/1 (*Pisma rozproszone, listy*). Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, pp. 195–202. ISBN 9788361552130.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2008c. Święto wiosny. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 14/1, (*Pisma rozproszone, listy*). Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, pp. 9–12. ISBN 9788361552130.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2011. Prawidła życia. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 11. Ed. A. Lewin. Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich. ISBN 8387456985.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2007. Prawo dziecka do szacunku. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 7. Ed. A. Lewin. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo „Latona”. ISBN 8385449094.
- KORCZAK, Janusz, 2017. Wiosna i dziecko. In: KORCZAK, Janusz. *Dzieła*, t. 13 (*Teoria a praktyka, Artykuły pedagogiczne*). Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, pp. 16–34. ISBN 9788365832139.
- JENNER, Władysław, 2017. Spółdzielczość w programie gospodarczym Polski. In: *Spółdzielczość jako organizacja gospodarcza II RP*. Ed. F. K. Leszczyński. Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa. ISBN 9788364363818.
- JANISZEWSKI, Tomasz, 1924. *Stan nauczania higieny w wyższych zakładach naukowych w Polsce w 1922–23 r.* Warsaw: Książnica Polska: skład główny.
- JANISZEWSKI, Tomasz, 1919. Najpilniejsze zadania administracji cywilnej w dobie obecnej. *Gazeta lekarska*. No. 1–2, Warsaw, pp. 1–32.
- LANDAU-CZAJKA, Anna, 2008. *Wielki „Mały Przegląd”. Społeczeństwo II Rzeczypospolitej w oczach korespondentów „Małego Przeglądu”*. Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny. ISBN 9788365254795.
- MARHEIM, Tsipi, 2017. Characteristics of Democracy and Humanism in Janusz Korczak’s Legacy. *Studia Edukacyjne*. No. 46, pp. 425–438. ISSN 12336688.
- MENCWEL, Andrzej, 2009. *Etos lewicy. O narodzinach kulturalizmu polskiego*. Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna. ISBN 9788361006664.

- MÜLLER, Jan-Werner, 2014. *Contesting Democracy. Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Place: Yale University Press. ISBN 9780300194128.
- PEŹZIŃSKA, Magdalena, 2019. Jak każdy inny dom rodzinny prowadzony według dobrych zasad. In: GOŁĄB, Marcin, RAKOCZY, Marta & Zuzanna SĘKOWSKA (eds.). *Nasz Dom 1919–2019. Pedagogiki społeczne, miasto, dzieciństwo w praktyce Naszego Domu*. Warsaw: Bęc Zmiana. ISBN 97866082069.
- REUTT Marian, 1939. *Wychowanie militarne narodu*. Warsaw: by the author.
- SPENGLER, Oswald, 1976. *Man and Technics. A Contribution to a Philosophy of Life*. Transl. Charles Francis Atkinson. Westport: Greenwood Pub Group.
- Prawa dziecka i edukacja o prawach dziecka. Historia, teoria, praktyka, UNICEF. [2023-11-12]. Available at: <https://unicef.pl/wspolpraca/wspolpraca-z-placownikami-edukacyjnymi/materialy-edukacyjne/o-prawach-dziecka>.
- WOJNOWSKA, Bożena, 2023. *Inna twarz Korczaka. Szkice o dwoistej tożsamości (i nie tylko)*. Kraków: Austeria. ISBN 9788378665151.