

Mikołaj Tyrchan

“Aneks” – post March émigré quarterly

Polish post-war political émigré societies have, for years, functioned on the political scene thanks to numerous socio-cultural, intellectual dailies and journals¹. The most important periodicals (post 1945) were, without doubt, Jerzy Giedroyc’s Parisian “Kultura” and London’s “Wiadomosci” edited by Mieczyslaw Grydzewski.

The March 1968 events created a new wave of émigrés from Poland, consisting predominantly of intellectuals and artists². They created their own periodicals of which the “Aneks” quarterly, created by brothers, Aleksander and Eugeniusz Smolar³, stands out. Aleksander Smolar was an activist during student March demonstrations. He emigrated to Vienna and later to Sweden⁴. Eventually, since 1973, he has lived in France, working as a political science expert.

In spring of 1973, Aleksander Smolar, together with his brother, Eugeniusz, his wife, Nina, Krzysztof Dorosz and Jan Gross established the “Aneks” political quarterly. The first issues were signed, ‘team’ and were officially published by Polish Academic Society at the Uppsala University. In reality, the quarterly was edited in Paris by Aleksander Smolar and his wife, Irena Grosfeld, supported by Eugeniusz and Nina living in London and heading, since 1974, “Aneks” publishing.

¹ R. Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, Warszawa 1999, p. 127–178.

² On March 1968 events see also M. Tarniewski [J. Karpiński], *Krótkie spięcie. Marzec 1968*, Paris 1977; A. Siwek, *Uniwersytet Warszawski w marcu '68*, Warszawa 1989; J. Eisler, *Marzec 1968. Geneza. Przebieg. Konsekwencje*, Warszawa 1991; A. Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945–1980*, London 1994, p. 239–251; *Marzec 1968. Trzydzieści lat później. Referaty*, vol. 1, ed. by M. Kula, P. Osęka, M. Zaremba, Warszawa 1998; J. Eisler, *Polski rok 1968*, Warszawa 2006; A. Friszke, *Ruch protestu w marcu 1968 (w świetle raportów MSW dla kierownictwa PZPR)*, “Więź” 1994, nr 3, p. 78–91.

³ The journal and its circle has so far not been analysed in depth. See also A. Paczkowski, “Aneks” 1973–89, “Res Publica” 1990, nr 9, p. 28–37; P. Smoleński, Z “Aneksem” bezpieczniej, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 17.12.1993; A. Paczkowski, O “Aneksie” po latach, “Zeszyty Literackie” 2003, nr 84, p. 136–142; N. Smolar, “Zapisowi” pomagał “Aneks”, “Gazeta Wyborcza” 24.02.2007.

⁴ Aleksander Smolar studied sociology and economy at Warsaw University (where he was active in the revisionist circle). See A. Friszke, *Nad genezą Marca 1968. Konflikt w PZPR na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim 1965–1967*, [in:] ibidem, *Przystosowanie i opór. Studia z dziejów PRL*, Warszawa 2007, p. 140–175; M. Bała, *Aleksander Smolar*, [in:] *Słownik dysydentów. Czołowe postacie ruchów opozycyjnych w krajach komunistycznych w latach 1956–1989*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2007, p. 692–694.

The people associated with the quarterly were open to democratic socialism ideals, revisionist ideas and liberal values. They wished to create an independent journalistic forum for the intelligentsia in Poland and outside of it, to establish a general debate on political, social and humanistic issues. The journal particularly targeted the newest, post-March émigrés, Polish opposition and post-revisionist circles, involved, since early 1970s, in critical assessment of Marxist thought and affiliated with so-called open Catholicism⁵. Intellectual leftist opposition was, at that time, focused on anti-totalitarianism, political democracy, social equality, self governing, egalitarian values, tolerance and sovereignty. In the economic sphere, the emphasis was on just division of national income and nationalizing property. Its another characteristic was firm opposition to any kind of nationalism.

The quarterly's first issue stressed the fact that it wished to make available, to both domestic and émigré readers, political, sociological, economic and philosophic texts published previously in Western periodicals and, if possible, original articles. "Aneks" authors declared their wish to confront Soviet ideas with the Western take on the soviet system as a complex entity. They stated that, they believe that, "there can be no post-modern political consciousness or rational thought about a country's imperative issues and events without comparing it to different traditions and ideologies". They also stressed their affiliation with other political émigrés activity, especially that of Polish socialists and "Kultura".

The connection with Giedroyc's "Kultura" is obvious, due to long time contacts between the Literary Institute and Polish left wing opposition, resulting in numerous political projects addressed to various anti-system circles in Poland⁶. Giedroyc himself, in his autobiography, mentioned that initially post-March émigrés distanced themselves from "Kultura" but this changed after closer cooperation, especially since the mid 1970s⁷. In Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski's assessment, it was Giedroyc who was Smolar's main adviser in planning and establishing "Aneks"⁸.

⁵ See A. Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna...*, p. 283–237; A. Michnik, J. Tischner, J. Żakowski, *Między Panem a Plebanem*, Kraków 1995, p. 192–237; J. Skórzyński, *Opozycja i socjalizm. Horyzonty programowe myśli niezależnej lat siedemdziesiątych*, [in:] ibidem, *Od "Solidarności" do wolności*, Warszawa 2005, p. 129–187.

⁶ For more on "Kultura's" political thought see *Jerzy Giedroyc. Redaktor, polityk, człowiek*, collected by K. Pomian (with an introduction), Lublin 2001; R. Habieliski, *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc. Od „Buntu Młodych” do „Kultury”*, Warszawa 2006; J. Korek, *Paradoksy paryskiej „Kultury”. Styl i tradycje myślenia politycznego*, Katowice 2008; A.P. Kowalczyk, *Giedroyc i „Kultura”*, Wrocław 1999; „Kultura” paryska. *Twórcy, dzieło, recepcja*, ed. by I. Hofman, Lublin 2007; A. Mencwel, *Studium sukcesu. Program „Kultury” 1946–1956*, [in:] ibidem, *Przedwiośnie czy potop. Studium postaw polskich w XX w.*, Warszawa 1997; J. Mieroszewski, *Finał klasycznej Europy*, by R. Habieliski, Lublin 1997; K. Pomian, *W kręgu Giedroycia*, Warszawa 2000; B. Toruńczyk, *Rozmowy w Maisons-Laffitte, 1981*, Warszawa 2006.

⁷ J. Giedroyc, *Autobiografia na cztery ręce*, by K. Pomian, Warszawa 1996, p. 219.

⁸ *Od gulgadu do Neapolu. Rozmowa z Gustawem Herlingiem-Grudzińskim*, "Więź" 1994, nr 9, p. 19.

In the beginning, the quarterly predominantly published foreign texts, by Western political science and philosophy experts, Sovietologists, conservative liberals, representatives of anti-totalitarian thought and ex-communists (such as Samuel Huntington, Alain Besancon, Melvin Lasky, Hannah Arendt, Raymond Aron, or Arthur Koestler). These intellectuals were party affiliated with the influential circle of old Freedom of Culture Congress, an international association of anti-totalitarian activists⁹. Another group of authors were Eastern writers and dissidents such as Alexander Solzenicyn, Andriej Sacharov, Roj Miedviediev, Wasilij Grossman, Adriej Amalrik, Boris Levickij, Milovan Dzilas, Mihajlo Michajlov or Peter Kende. “Aneks” also included texts by Poles living abroad – Adam Tern, Adam Ulam, and Zbigniew Brzezinski as well as key representatives of post-March émigrés – Leszek Kolakowski, Zygmunt Bauman and Maria Hirsznowicz. Undoubtedly, Kolakowski turned out to be the most influential, later considered the quarterly’s spiritual patron and chief author¹⁰.

Additionally, the editors published supplements to quarterly’s issues which, with time, became its mark and pride. The second issue was supplemented with a block of articles on Marxism as a trend of utopian thought (*Left wing and utopia*)¹¹. Issue nr. 3 was devoted to the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia (*Hope and bitterness*), while issue nr. 4 focused on the discussion on coming out of sovietization, with a critical sociological stance (by Bauman) and an optimistic historical view (by Kolakowski and Aron)¹². Kolakowski, at that time, has redefined understanding of socialist ideas on the level of political democracy and national sovereignty, with an etatistic approach to the social-economic system¹³. In issue nr. 6, “Aneks” included a collection of essays by Orwell, and issue nr. 7/8 – a block of Russian dissidents’ essays (*Independent Thought Archipelago*, including a *Letter to Soviet Union Leaders* by Solzenicyn).

⁹ See also C. Madajczyk, *Klerk czy intelektualista zaangażowany? Świat polityki wobec twórców kultury i naukowców europejskich w pierwszej połowie XX wieku. Panorama*, Poznań 1999, p. 465–478; P. Gremion, *Konspiracja wolności. Kongres Wolności Kultury w Paryżu (1950–1975)*, Warszawa 2004; F. Bondy, *Intelektualna Europa*, “Przegląd Polityczny” 1998, nr 33/34 and C. Miłosz, *Liberalna konspiracja*, “Przegląd Polityczny” 1998, nr 36.

¹⁰ After leaving Poland in 1968, Kolakowski lectured in Montreal, Berkeley, Yale and Chicago. In 1970, he settled in Oxford at All Souls College where he focused on his monumental work on the history of Marxism, published several years later by Giedroyc’s Literary Institute. In the 1970s, he published in “Kultura” texts analyzing the situation in Poland regarding the possibility of developing opposition activity. See also W. Karpiński, *Leszek Kolakowski: szkic do portretu*, “Zeszyty Literackie” 1983, nr 3, p. 5–24; Z. Romek, *Droga Leszka Kołakowskiego ku antykomunistycznej opozycji. Od ortodoksyjnej ideologii ku wolności myślenia*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 1999, nr 4, p. 139–159.

¹¹ See also L. Kołakowski, *Sens ideowy pojęcia lewicy*, “Aneks” 1973, nr 2.

¹² Ibidem, *O duchu rewolucyjnym oraz Obrona rewolucji (odpowiedź Zygmuntowi Baumanowi)*, “Aneks” 1974, nr 4.

¹³ His stance was close to that of domestic leftist intelligentsia opposition, centred, in the mid 1970s, around a group of old “commandoes” and Jacek Kuron as well as old Socialist Party activists (ie. E. Lipiński or L. Cohn) and Jan Józef Lipski. Kolakowski was considered the main representative of the “post-revisionist” stance..

More imperative commentaries on the home front were published in “Aneks” in 1976, in connection with attempts to change the constitution, in order to make Poland more dependent on the Soviet Union¹⁴. According to Smolar, this kind of forced Soviet-Polish cooperation could lead to a deeper mental Sovietisation process of society¹⁵. Smolar pointed out that since 1945 the communists have been trying to create the illusion of Poland’s independence from Moscow. As a result, the authoritarian regime was to create a *surrealistic reality*, in which Poland was a *sovereign, independent and democratic country*. Paradoxically, in these circumstances, there was a base for the organization of legal opposition activity, most inconvenient to the authorities.

The constitution events and workers’ riots in the summer of 1976 lead to a socio-political crisis¹⁶. For Smolar, another clash between the party and the working class regarding economic issues indicated a state crisis¹⁷. In a communist system, every economic crisis automatically also became a political one. This situation resulted in the working class imposing some limitations on the, so far, unlimited party rule. The government, however, was not ready to compensate for the lack of basic economic goods by giving people more political power. This could result in further unrest. Smolar also analysed the possibility of opposition supporting workers’ requests, earlier appealed for in “Kultura” by Juliusz Mieroszewski and Leszek Kołakowski¹⁸. In “Aneks”, Włodzimierz Brutus criticized “authorities’ inability to see the increasing social tensions or to take any action different than forceful”¹⁹. Stanisław Gomułka was the one to point out the symptoms of approaching general economic crisis in Poland²⁰.

In issue nr. 12, printed was Edward Lipiński’s famous open letter to Edward Gierek demanding political and economic reforms²¹. This letter was particularly motivating to domestic non-conformist circles. Lipiński, in his letter, openly stated that Poland’s complete lack of sovereignty and its anachronistic state model are the reasons for the socio-political

¹⁴ See also A. Friszke, *Protesty przeciwko poprawkom do konstytucji w 1976*, “Więź” 1994, nr 10, p. 212–228; ibidem, *Opozycja polityczna...*, p. 324–332; J. Karpiński, *Wykres gorączki. Polska pod rządami komunistycznymi*, Lublin 2001, p. 359–368.

¹⁵ A. Smolar, *Przeciwko legalizacji bezprawia*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 11.

¹⁶ See also K. Dubiński, *Rewolta Radomska. Czerwiec 76*, Warszawa 1991; *Radomski Czerwiec 1976. Doniesienie o przestępstwie*, ed. by W. Mizerski, Lublin 1991; *Radomski Czerwiec. Dwadzieścia lat później*, Warszawa 1996; *Czerwiec 1976. Spory i refleksje po 25 latach*, ed. by P. Sasanka, R. Spałek, Warszawa 2003; P. Sasanka, *Czerwiec 1976. Geneza, przebieg, konsekwencje*, Warszawa 2006.

¹⁷ A. Smolar, *Komentarz do wydarzeń czerwcowych*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12.

¹⁸ L. Kołakowski, *Tezy o nadziei i beznadziejności*, “Kultura” 1971, nr 6, p. 3–21; ibidem, *Sprawa polska*, “Kultura” 1973, nr 4, p. 3–13.

¹⁹ W. Brus, *W związku z wydarzeniami czerwcowymi*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12.

²⁰ P. Gomułka, *Ekonomiczne motywy czerwcowego buntu*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12.

²¹ E. Lipiński, *List Otwarty do tow. E. Gierka*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12.

crisis in the country. He postulated for better relations with USSR by eliminating “servility elements”, enabling the existence of legal political opposition, limiting censorship, reforming the ineffective economic system and limiting elite party privileges.

Since 1976, “Aneks” editorial team devoted a lot of attention to the analysis of the process of creation and development of domestic democratic opposition, influencing the functioning of the existing political system in Poland²². They were interested in the creation of a new anti-totalitarian “coalition”, made up of leftist intelligentsia and progressive Catholic movement centered around Warsaw’s “Więź” and “Tygodnik Powszechny”. About this potential cooperation between such two different circles, based on respect of independence and fight for human and citizen rights, wrote Adam Michnik in his famous essay, *Church, left wing, dialogue*²³, published by Giedroys’s Literary Institute.

Issues nr. 12 and nr. 13/14 included blocks of articles entitled *Domestic voices on Christianity, socialism, Church and politics*, prepared by Teresa Bogucka and rev. Bronisław Dembowski²⁴. According to Kolakowski, the Catholic Church in Poland has remained, “the only entity, non-nationalized and unassimilated to the governing system wishing to nationalize everything, not just production means but also people, thoughts, word and all other forms of social communication”²⁵. Another writer discussed the Church’s influence on abolishing the party’s totalitarian monopoly on ruling social life and its ability to sustain Polish people’s historic traditions²⁶.

In relation to the above, another important article was written by Antoni Macierewicz, later widely discussed by domestic opposition²⁷. He postulated for abandoning dissident projects in cooperation with the party’s liberal fractions or based on the functioning of

²² For more on political opposition between 1976-1980 see: *Myśl programowa opozycji demokratycznej w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej 1976–1980*, by E. Orlof, A. Pasternak, R. Pawlikowski, Rzeszów 1993; Z. Hemmerling, M. Nadolski, *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976–1980. Wybór dokumentów*, Warszawa 1994; A. Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna...*, p. 338–582; *Co nam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976–1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, ed. by J. Eisler, Warszawa 2003; A. Krajewski, *Między współpracą a oporem. Twórcy kultury wobec systemu politycznego PRL (1975–1980)*, Warszawa 2004; M. Śliwa, *Idee polityczne opozycji antykomunistycznej w Polsce (1976–1989)*, “Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny” 2000, nr 9; Ł. Kamiński, *Władza wobec opozycji 1976–1989*, “Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość” 2003, nr 2, p. 9–32; *Opozycja demokratyczna w działaniach władz PRL – dyskusja*, “Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość” 2003, nr 2, p. 33–68; M. Tyrchan, *Początki opozycji demokratycznej w Polsce na łamach „Kultury”*, “Zeszyty Historyczne” 2007, nr 160, p. 104–130.

²³ A. Michnik, *Kościół, lewica, dialog*, Paris 1977, and *Kłopot i błazen*, “Aneks” 1988, nr 51/52.

²⁴ *Głosy z kraju o chrześcijaństwie, socjalizmie, kościele i polityce*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12, p. 60–195; 1977, nr 13/14, p. 124–166.

²⁵ L. Kolakowski, *Słowo wstępne do dyskusji o chrześcijaństwie, socjalizmie, kościele i polityce*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12. and also *O tak zwanym kryzysie chrześcijaństwa*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12, p. 74–91.

²⁶ J. Walecki, *O niebezpieczeństwie politycznej neutralizacji dewocyjnych katolików w Polsce*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12.

²⁷ M. Korybut [A. Macierewicz], *Refleksje o opozycji*, “Aneks” 1976, nr 12, p. 65–82. See also M. Mikołajczyk, *Jak się pisało o historii... Problemy polityczne powojennej Polski w publikacjach drugiego obiegu lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych*, Kraków 1998, p. 228.

Catholic church structures. In his assessment, opposition activity cannot exclude secret or illegal activities. He also stated that, “institutions acting legally should be servile to the opposition and not vice versa”.

A key event at that time was the creation of Komitet Obrony Robotników (The Workers’ Defence Committee) or KOR, in September 1976, which was to entirely change the present functioning of anti-system opposition and begin a new stage in its functioning²⁸. Most émigré circles (including “Aneks” and “Kultura”) were very enthusiastic of the new initiative, seeing a chance for the cooperation of two different social groups, the workers and the intelligentsia, fighting for citizen rights. This time the intellectuals were quick to react to the repressive measures taken against workers (in 1976). Thus, this group was no longer alienated, as was so visible in 1968 and 1970.

Smolar’s team, just like “Kultura”, quickly became KOR’s representative to democratic countries’ public opinion. Smolar was KOR’s spokesman (later KSS KOR) abroad. In his meetings with Western intellectuals and politicians, time and again he presented Polish democratic opposition’s ideas. He also aided political émigrés in France. Smolar supported the development of independent movements in the country by organizing the smuggling of émigré literature and printing equipment into Poland. “Zapis” is one journal which was greatly aided by “Aneks” people’s help²⁹.

Also in 1976, “Aneks” team took part in a seminar in Paris, organized by Peter Kende and Krzysztof Pomian, for the 20th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution and Polish October. This was an event which accelerated the process of French intellectuals changing their attitudes toward liberal anti-communism and supporting the opposition in Poland and other Eastern block countries³⁰. In the meeting present were, among others, Raymond Aron, Alain Besancon, Jean-Marie Domenach, Francois Furet, Pierre Hassner, Paul Thibaud, as well as numerous Eastern European émigrés – Francois Fejto, Bronislaw Baczko, Włodzimierz

²⁸ For more on KOR and its activity see: P. Kawalec, *Demokratyczna opozycja w Polsce. Wydarzenia czerwcowe i rok działalności Komitetu Obrony Robotników*, Warszawa 1979; W. Wolski [A. Friszke], *KOR. Ludzie, działania, idee*, Warszawa 1983; A. Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna...*, p. 338–451; *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej „KOR”*, by A. Jastrzębski, Warszawa–Londyn 1994; R. Zuzowski, *Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej KOR. Studium dysydemizmu i opozycji politycznej w Polsce*, Wrocław 1996; J.J. Lipski, *KOR. Komitet Obrony Robotników. Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej*, Warszawa 2006, *Czym był KOR?*, “Więź” 1989, nr 7/8, p. 138–152; A. Friszke, *Przeciw systemowi, w obronie robotników. Powstanie Komitetu Obrony Robotników*, “Więź” 2006, nr 9, p. 94–104; G. Waligóra, *KOR – geneza*, “Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 2007, nr 5/6, p. 14–23.

²⁹ L. Szaruga, *„Zapis” – zarys monograficzny, bibliografia zawartości*, Szczecin 1996. See also P. Barańczak, *Dlaczego „Zapis”?*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 15.

³⁰ P. Gremion, *Konspiracja wolności...*, p. 331–334. See also M. Ostrowska, *Kolokwium „1956”*, “Kultura” 1976, nr 11, p. 3–10; *1956 – w dwadzieścia lat później. Z myślą o przyszłości*, Londyn 1978; A. Friszke, *Nauki Października w myśli politycznej środowisk opozycyjnych 1956–1980*, “Więź” 1992, nr 2, p. 107–109.

Brus, Leszek Kolakowski, Aleksander Smolar, Pavel Tigrid, Adriej Amalrik, Natalia Gorbaniewska (many people directly cooperating with “Aneks”). Additionally, sensational was the presence of KOR’s domestic representative – Adam Michnik.

“Aneks” London editor, Eugeniusz Smolar initiated in 1976 a special *Appeal for Polish workers*, signed by many outstanding Polish and Western intellectuals – Leszek Kolakowski, Czesław Miłosz, Daniel Bell and Golo Mann. Eugeniusz and Aleksander were in constant telephone contact with KOR activists and were up to date with opposition information or repressions used by the state. This information was then distributed to radio stations (such as Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC) and to Western press³¹.

In 1977, Aleksander Smolar took part in a European biennale in Venice on independent and dissident movements, including those Eastern European³². He was also invited, after KOR’s transformation into KSS KOR, to a group of émigré authorities (including Adam Ciolkosz, Jerzy Giedroyc, Leszek Kolakowski and Edward Raczyński) which, in 1977, attempted to create a Solidarity Committee with the Democratic Movement. It was to be an entity independent of any émigré institutions, organizing aid for new opposition initiatives in the country³³. In 1979, its activists nominated Smolar (and Kolakowski) to represent them in international contacts with the Socialist International³⁴.

After 1976, “Aneks” continued to publish domestic activists’ and journalists’ texts analyzing possibilities of developing anti-system citizen activity. In issue nr. 13/14, presented were essays by key KOR representatives, Michnik and Kuron. In his essay, *New evolutionism*, Michnik questioned the present opposition concepts of revisionism and ‘neo-positivism’ by lay Catholics. He claimed that the only effective political strategy for dissidents is a “grass root” evolution, gradually expanding the scope of citizen freedoms³⁵. This project targeted, not like previously the governing elites, but broad public opinion (including the workers’ class) and the Catholic church. Kuron, in his essay, *Thoughts on action plan*, summarized his experiences with early KOR days, its functioning and defined the goals of democratic opposition³⁶. He postulated for a sovereign country, a parliamentary democracy with private ownership of production means and a self-governing, free market economic system. Dissident activity should be based on active support of social movements, especially those of big

³¹ See also J. Hajdasz, *Szczekaczka, czyli Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Europa*, Poznań 2006, p. 64, 151; J.J. Lipski, *KOR...*, p. 62, 222, 534.

³² A. Krajewski, *Między współpracą a oporem...*, p. 437. Smolar represented the Polish opposition together with Kołakowski, Herling-Grudziński, Brus and Mrozek.

³³ A. Friszke, *Życie polityczne emigracji*, Warszawa 1999, p. 407–408.

³⁴ J.J. Lipski, *KOR...*, p. 468.

³⁵ A. Michnik, *Nowy ewolucjonizm*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 13/14, p. 33–48.

³⁶ J. Kuroń, *Myśli o programie działania*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 13/14.

industry working class. Karol Modzelewski polemicised with these ideas, in “Aneks”, opting for dialogue between the governing authorities and the increasingly revolutionary society³⁷.

“Aneks” also published texts by émigré journalists. Antoni Pospieszalski urged domestic dissidents to put on increasing pressure, stronger than previous persuasion attempts, requiring greater human resources³⁸. Jan Gross, on the other hand, focused on the importance of an alliance between the intellectuals and the working class, symbolically and factually supported by the Church³⁹. Solidarity of these social groups was particularly imperative during repressions of KOR activists and their associates by authorities⁴⁰.

Stanisław Krasnopolski, on the other hand, indicated permissible opposition activity boundaries, in view of Soviet Union superpower interests, unable to accept Polish nation’s sovereignty⁴¹. He postulated for the attainment of “partial” goals enabling gradual liberalisation of the communist system. He opted for a socialist system of national economy management, assuming that Polish society would not accept institution restitution attempts typical to capitalist economies. He was for a decentralization of economic reforms and free development of the private sector in farming, crafts and services.

Another discussion in “Aneks” (nr. 15) on the economic situation in Poland was initiated by Włodzimierz Brus’ book, *Uspołecznienie a ustrój polityczny. Na tle doświadczeń socjalizmu wschodnioeuropejskiego (Socialisation and political system. Based on experiences of Eastern European socialism)*, also published by “Aneks” in 1975. Maria Hirsznowicz spoke against Brus’ approval of nationalization policy (forced by communists after 1945 in the entire Eastern block), focusing on the significance of other alternative economic policy solutions such as Western social-democratic reform concepts. Kolakowski was of the opinion that the only way to a rational socialist system is on the condition of factual political democracy, regardless of the degree of production means socialization.

Up until 1980, “Aneks” presented other interesting thematic blocks: on the legacy of Polish October 1956 (nr. 13/14 with texts by Adam Wazyk, Zbigniew Kubiak and Wiktor Woroszyński), on Euro-communism (nr. 16/17), on issues of Poland’s economic dependence on USSR (nr.1), national economy perspectives (nr. 20), totalitarian language (nr. 21), Russian Slavophilism (nr. 22), Socialist thought crisis (nr. 23). The quarterly published texts

³⁷ K. Modzelewski, *List otwarty do E. Gierka*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 13/14.

³⁸ A. Pospieszalski, *Mysli o opozycji*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 13/14

³⁹ J. Gross, *Opozycja polityczna we współczesnej Polsce*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 15.

⁴⁰ A. Smolar, *Nowy etap kryzysu*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 15.

⁴¹ M. Turbacz [P. Krasnowolski], *Możliwości działania opozycji w Polsce*, “Aneks” 1977, nr 16/17.

by new emigration authors – Włodzimierz Brus, Józef Lewandowski, Jan Drewnowski, Irena Grudzińska-Gross, Stanisław Gomułka and Jan Kott.

In late 1970s, the “Aneks” circle was, next to Giedroyc’s Literary Institute, London government institutions, political parties and other socio-political periodicals, a key component of Polish independence emigration scene. It maintained contacts with influential French newspapers such as “Le Monde” or “Liberation” and other Eastern émigré journals – by Peter Kende, Pavl Tigrid or Wladimir Maksimov. As a result of this cooperation, created was a joint *Declaration regarding the Ukrainian issue*, on the condition that Central and Eastern national independence movements participate with opposition movements within the USSR itself⁴². “Aneks” texts on Polish issues influenced the direction of debate in clandestine circulation journals (such as “Krytyka” or “Res Publica”) and émigré periodicals and represented the opinions of democratic opposition on a wider international forum⁴³.

The year 1980 and the creation of “Solidarity” meant an imperative change in the role played by political émigré circles regarding Poland⁴⁴. Quick expansion of the trade union movement and other independent citizen initiatives definitely shifted the burden of fighting the regime toward the home country, lessening the role of émigré activity. The émigrés themselves emphasized their ancillary role and did not intend to impose any specific political opposition means or projects, limiting themselves to organizing aid and representing Polish interests abroad. They continued to analyse trends in international politics and to evaluate the chances of the Polish independence movement on the international arena.

For the “Aneks” circle, the “Solidarity” movement was the crowning achievement in the process of Poland’s de-Sovietisation process, taking place “with various intensity, ups and

⁴² “Aneks” 1977, nr 15. Document was signed by Smolar, Giedroyc, Herling-Grudziński, Tigrid, Maksimow, Amalrik, Gorbaniewska and Władimir Bukowski.

⁴³ See also W. Mart [J. Kofman], *Pochwała „Aneksu”*, “Krytyka” 1980, nr 7; J. Andrzejewski [A. Paczkowski], *O poprzednim wcieleniu „Res Publiki”, czyli – klerk i polityka w socjalizmie*, “Res Publica” 1988, nr 8, p. 9–17.

⁴⁴ On the political crisis between 1980–1981 and the creation of Solidarity and its activity see: J. Staniszkis, *Poland’s Self-limiting Revolution*, New Jersey 1984; A. Touraine, J. Strzelecki, F. Dubet, M. Wiewiorka, „Solidarność”. *Analiza ruchu społecznego 1980–1981*, Warszawa 1989; J. Holzer, „Solidarność” 1980–1981. *Geneza i historia*, Warszawa 1990; T.G. Ash, *Polska rewolucja. „Solidarność” 1980–1981*, Warszawa 1990; P. Kowalski, *Krytyka solidarnościowego rozumu. Studium z socjologii myślenia potocznego*, Warszawa 1990; J. Weydental, B. Porter, K. Devlin, *Polski dramat 1980–1982*, Warszawa 1991; I. Krzemiński, „Solidarność”. *Projekt polskiej demokracji*, Warszawa 1997; „Solidarność” XX lat historii, ed. by M. Łątkowskiej, Warszawa 2000; L. Mażewski, *W objęciach utopii. Polityczno-ideowa analiza dziejów „Solidarności” 1980–2000*, Toruń 2001; A. Paczkowski, *Droga do „mniejszego zła”. Strategia i taktyka obozu władzy, lipiec 1980–styczeń 1982*, Kraków 2002; A. Friszke, „Solidarność” 1980–1981, [in:] J. Jankowska, *Portrety niedokończone. Rozmowy z twórcami „Solidarności” 1980–1981*, Warszawa 2003; K. Łabędź, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ „Solidarność” w latach 1980–1981*, Toruń 2004; L. Mażewski, *Niszczący dualizm. Polityka NSZZ „Solidarność” w latach 1980–1982*, Toruń 2004; A. Dudek, *Dzieje dziesięcioletniej „Solidarności” (1980–1981)*, [in:] *Droga do niepodległości. „Solidarność” 1980–2005*, Warszawa 2005; J. Sielezin, *Płaszczyzna konfrontacji politycznej między „Solidarnością” a władzą w latach 1980–1981*, Wrocław 2005.

downs, since 1956”⁴⁵. The victory of August strikes proved the disparity between the political system imposed on Poles and their factual independence and pro-democracy aspirations. In A. Smolar’s assessment, the workers’ revolution was the beginning of the possibility for major system changes, both in the political and economic spheres. There were new rules to the game and the authorities as well as all other political institutions had to adjust. Smolar forecasted a long term period of “limited” crisis, tolerated by Soviet authorities. He stated that there are existing geo-political conditions which will not allow for the complete elimination of communist rule in Poland, meaning the possibility of Soviet military intervention.

Jerzy Jedlicki in his text stated that the severe economic crisis was the reason and basically the only way to initiate desired change within the communist system⁴⁶. He emphasized the need and ability of self-limiting the union activists’ demands, being aware that they are setting precedence for the entire Eastern block. Jedlicki also hoped for the creation of a liberal fraction within the governing party which would soften the shock effect by negotiations.

Stanisław Gomułka postulated in “Aneks” regarding the implementation of economic reform in Poland, combined with the country obtaining new Western loans⁴⁷. Leszek Kolakowski, on the other hand, compared “Solidarity” to other revolutionary movements and stated that it differed from others in that it was ready to clearly delineate the boundaries of its political activity⁴⁸. Despite that, he considered it the first workers’ revolution in history which was directed against a socialist country and acting in connection with the Church. According to him, the compromise between the party and its people could stand the test of time provided that there is continuous pressure put on the regime, which was not ready to limit its scope of power.

The implementation of martial law in Poland, in December of 1981 changed the entire situation dramatically. There was no more faith that political life could be more democratic with active cooperation of the authorities and opposition⁴⁹. “Aneks” issue nr. 27 from 1982,

⁴⁵ A. Smolar, *Paradoksy liberalizacji i rewolucja*, “Aneks” 1981, nr 24/25.

⁴⁶ J. Jedlicki, *Forma i treść umowy społecznej*, “Aneks” 1981, nr 24/25.

⁴⁷ P. Gomułka, *Zachód zwleka z decyzją*, “Aneks” 1981, nr 24/25.

⁴⁸ L. Kołakowski, *Próba zrozumienia*, “Aneks” 1981, nr 26, p. 3–14.

⁴⁹ For more on events during martial law and underground Solidarity activity see: K. Łabędź, *Opozycja polityczna w Polsce w okresie stanu wojennego*, Wrocław 1989; J. Holzer, K. Leski, „Solidarność” w podziemiu, Łódź 1990; J. Karpiński, *Dziwna wojna*, Paryż 1991; K. Łabędź, *Spory wokół zagadnień programowych w publikacjach opozycji politycznej w Polsce w latach 1981–1989*, Kraków 1997; *Stan wojenny w Polsce. Stan badań*, ed. by A. Dudek, K. Madej, Warszawa 2001; *Stan wojenny w Polsce 1981–1983*, ed. by A. Dudek, Warszawa 2003; G. Majchrzak, *Obóz władzy w stanie wojennym*, H. Głębocki, *Dzieje „Solidarności” w podziemiu (1981–1989)*, J. Szarek, *Zachód wobec stanu wojennego*, R. Terlecki, *Wojenna codzienność*, [in:] *Droga do niepodległości...*, p. 107–273, 337–373; A. Paczkowski, *Wojna polsko-jaruzelska. Stan wojenny w*

included texts by two key Polish dissidents on the opposition's reaction to outlawing "Solidarity". Jacek Kuron in his article, published also by "Kultura" and by the underground press, urged activists to create a well-organized national resistance movement centered around one central head office⁵⁰. The predominant method of activity would be numerous demonstrations, including a general strike. If the governing party does not make concessions, the opposition should prepare society "to eliminate occupation via organized mass riots" and which would "simultaneously target all governing party centers as well as the media in the entire country". Adam Michnik, on the other hand, considered the introduction of martial law a symptom of irresolvable conflict between the governing party subjected to Moscow's dictatorship and the society's growing political aspirations⁵¹. He assessed gen. Jaruzelski's activity an "anti-workers' counter-revolution" defending party nomenclature's authority.

In "Aneks", Kolakowski, protested against some Western politicians' statements defending the activity of Polish authorities⁵². Gomulka wondered whether the possibility of an armed solution of the conflict in Poland would not repeat itself in other Eastern/Central European countries, as a model which should be copied⁵³. Instead of a more democratic political life in the Eastern block, what would take place would be *partial re-Stalinisation*. A. Smolar pointed to the Church's mediatory role in the country, aiming to avoid open terror or sharp confrontation between authorities and society⁵⁴. He also warned against the possibility of the authorities establishing new "Solidarity", focused only on trade union activity and subjected to legal political institutions.

After martial law was introduced, the "Aneks" circle actively aided the new Solidarity wave of émigrés and supported underground structures in Poland. A. Smolar advised Seweryn Blumsztajn and Mirosław Chojecki in establishing in Paris, in December 1981, a western representative of "Solidarity" Coordination Committee⁵⁵. E. Smolar developed his own contacts with various cultural and publishing centres as well as with Radio "Solidarity", illegally functioning in some Polish cities. In spring of 1984, together with Kolakowski, he became a plenipotentiary for Solidarity's independent initiatives team in the sphere of culture, education and science in the West (Education – Culture – Science or OKN). Wiktor Kulerski put forward an initiative to establish a special Fund, together with A. Smolar, to collect

Polsce 13 XII 1981 – 22 VII 1983, Warszawa 2006; „Solidarność” *podziemna 1981–1989*, ed. by A. Friszke, Warszawa 2006.

⁵⁰ J. Kuroń, *Tezy o wyjściu z sytuacji bez wyjścia*, "Aneks" 1982, nr 27.

⁵¹ A. Michnik, *Polska wojna*, "Aneks" 1982, nr 27.

⁵² L. Kołakowski, *Ja będę łagodniejszym katem*, "Aneks" 1982, nr 27, p. 56–59.

⁵³ P. Gomułka, *Patologie i reakcje obronne systemu radzieckiego*, "Aneks" 1982, nr 27.

⁵⁴ A. Smolar, *Między ugodą a powstaniem*, "Aneks" 1982, nr 28.

⁵⁵ „Solidarność” *podziemna...*, p. 62–63, 121.

finances for purposes of Solidarity activity in connection with development of education and academic institutions⁵⁶.

“Aneks” cooperated with leading Solidarity émigré periodicals in the West, with Parisian “Zeszyty Literackie”, Berlin’s “Kontakt” and “Archipelag” and London’s “Pulse”. It continued its cooperation with “Kultura”, publishing in the quarterly various texts on the activity of the Literary Institute⁵⁷. In December 1982, A. Smolar took part in a special conference organized by “Kultura”, during which present were Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Mirosław Chojecki, Wojciech Karpiński, Czesław Miłosz, Leszek Kołakowski, Krzysztof Pomian, Wojciech Skalmowski and Konstanty Jeleński as well as Western intellectuals - Raymond Aron, François Furet and Paul Thibaud. The meeting was devoted to an analysis of the Solidarity movement phenomenon and the possibilities of continuing its activity under martial law⁵⁸. Smolar presented his thesis for “Solidarity’s” new strategy taking advantage of the present involvement of intelligentsia opposition and workers’ anti-system attitudes. In 1983, Smolar polemicised with Giedroyc’s idea for émigré’s role in inspiring the development of Polish independence thought in the country⁵⁹.

In the 1980s, “Aneks” was undoubtedly one of the most influential émigré journals available in Poland and shaping public opposition debate. Since 1981, its texts (or entire issues) were reprinted by independent publishers such as “NOWa”, “Krag”, “Biblioteka Tygodnika Wojennego”, “Słowo” and “Most”.

“Aneks” with its authors and texts presented a high quality level of journalism. In A. Smolar’s journal published key Polish émigré journalists (other than Kołakowski and other authors cooperating prior to 1980) such as Stanisław Barańczak, Bronisław Baczko, Ewa Bieńkowska, Waldemar Kuczyński, Andrzej Walicki, Krzysztof Pomian, Jakub and Wojciech Karpiński, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński and Konstanty Jeleński. Moreover, “Aneks” published a large number of materials on current domestic issues written by Adam Michnik (including essays written in prison), Jacek Kuroń, Stefan Kisielewski, Jan Józef Lipski, Marcin Król, Ernest Skalski, Jerzy Holzer, Jerzy Surdykowski, Roman Zimand, Dawid Warszawski, Ireneusz Krzemiński, Jadwiga Staniszkis and Andrzej Paczkowski. The quarterly also devoted

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 138, 474, 582–583, 613.

⁵⁷ See also K. Jeleński, „Kultura”: *Polska na wygnaniu*, “Aneks” 1981, nr 24–25, p. 236–254; *Rozmowa z Jerzym Giedroyciem sprzed dwunastu lat*, “Aneks” 1986, nr 44, p. 23–54; T. Łubieński, *Lekcja „Kultury”*, “Aneks” 1986, nr 44, p. 55–57; K. Jeleński, *O „Kulturze” raz jeszcze*, “Aneks” 1987, nr 46/47, p. 156–170.

⁵⁸ See K.A.J. [K. Jeleński], *Polska: Sierpień 1980 – Grudzień 1982*, “Kultura” 1983, nr 1/2, p. 42–49.

⁵⁹ J. Giedroyc, G. Herling-Grudziński, *Emigracja jest sposobem walki politycznej*, “Kontakt” 1983, nr 3/4, p. 64–67. See also A. Michnik, *Kilka uwag o polityce Zachodu i roli emigracji*, “Aneks” 1985, nr 39, p. 39–47.

a lot of attention to Poland's modern history, including difficult subjects such as II Rzeczpospolita's history, first years of Communist Poland and Polish-Russian relations⁶⁰.

As far as international subject matter, in the 1980's "Aneks" predominantly focused on Soviet Union issues, totalitarian system ideologies and the development of political movements, especially in Central/Eastern Europe. Its editors were also interested in cultural and religious issues. Characteristic of many texts was the adoption of a pro-European attitude with strong opposition to any ethnocentric or nationalist stances. Among the most important Western authors in "Aneks" (other than intellectuals and political scientists cooperating with the quarterly in the 1970s) were Timothy Garton Ash, Daniel Bell, Paul Thibaud, Isaiah Berlin, Norberto Bobbio, François Bondy, François Furet, Jürgen Habermas, Martin Malia, Pierre Manent, Friedrich von Hayek and André Glucksmann.

After 1989, "Aneks" continued to publish monographs on issues such as: party nomenclature (nr 26), relations between culture and politics (nr 29/30, 37, 50), the Hungarian socialist experience (nr. 31), modern political thought (nr. 32 and 44), liberalist tradition (nr. 45), East-West confrontation (nr. 35, 37 and 39), G. Orwell's work (nr. 36), Polish-Jewish relations (nr. 41/42), German World War II settlements (nr. 46/47) and European heritage (nr. 43 and 49). Moreover, issues nr. 35, 36, 37 included various texts on the condition of Polish intelligentsia as part of broader debate entitled *Intelligentsia – Solidarity - power*⁶¹.

In the latter part of the 1980s, "Aneks" authors analysed the changing political situation in Poland as well as Soviet Union liberal tendencies influence on different Eastern block countries. According to Michnik, the key dilemma of Polish opposition was the choice of desired political activity – something in between ideas "integrally independent" and projects taking into consideration the possibility of reaching a compromise with the governing authorities⁶². Michnik opted for the latter option, considering future dialogue between the party and society. He rejected classical divisions of left and right wing and stated that, "at a time of totalitarian dictatorships, dominant is another type of division – that into open and closer societies. The first type is based on self government and collective agreements, the second – on order regulated by repression and discipline". Other journalists emphasized the

⁶⁰ See also M. Mikołajczyk, *Jak się pisało...*, p. 21.

⁶¹ See also A. Walicki, *Myśli o sytuacji politycznej i moralno-psychologicznej w Polsce*, "Aneks" 1984, nr 35; L. Kołakowski, *Winni („Solidarność”) i niewinni (PZPR)*, "Aneks" 1985, nr 37; A. Michnik, *My, ludzie „Solidarności”*, "Aneks" 1985, nr 37.

⁶² A. Michnik, *List z Kurkowej*, "Aneks" 1985, nr 38.

need to widen the sphere of independent citizen initiatives to put pressure on authorities to implement real system reforms⁶³.

The 1989 turnover meant the end of the role which émigré intellectual centres played so far. A. Smolar returned to Poland in 1990 and became an adviser in Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Hanna Suchocka's governments, managed the Stefan Batory Foundation and continued his work as an independent journalist .

“Aneks”'s last issue was printed in 1989. In a special good-bye text to readers it was emphasized that the end of the mission so far carried out by political émigrés did not mean the end of the circle's intellectual activity whose functions could *now be taken up, on a wide scale, by new journals in the country*⁶⁴. It was also said that the periodical accompanied the building of independent life in Poland, aiding in many ways in creation of freedom. The journal's people, despite their modest means, organized technical and material aid, popularized knowledge about Poland in the West, transmitted information into Poland about what was going on there and around the world, helped to build connections between Polish opposition and Western democratic forces – intellectual centres, political parties, trade unions, human and citizen rights associations. Initiatives like “Aneks” and all its activity do not take place anymore.

In assessing “Aneks”'s and its people's lifetime achievements, it can be said that, next to “Kultura”, it was the second most important periodical of Polish 1970s and 1980s independence émigrés. It greatly influenced the development of domestic opposition, the Solidarity movement and other independent citizen initiatives. It made available to readers at home and abroad imperative texts by key Western and domestic writers, it illustrated Polish intellectual life and brought it nearer European thought standards.

As far as the circle's achievements in sustaining anti-totalitarian resistance and independent cultural life in Poland, we cannot forget the long term London “Aneks” publishing, offering supplementary to the journal monographs⁶⁵. The publisher printed many texts by domestic journalists, writers and poets, various critical literary and historic essays, sociological analyses and collections of documents depicting opposition activity. Its key authors are considered to be Leszek Kolakowski, Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron.

⁶³ J. Kuroń, *Krajobraz po bitwie*, “Aneks” 1987, nr 48.

⁶⁴ *Do czytelników kwartalnika „Aneks”*, “Res Publica” 1990, nr 9, p. 37.

⁶⁵ Z. Florczak, *Wydawnictwo „Aneks”*, “Nowe Książki” 1994, nr 4.