

The first decade of Polish Independence Movement

“Independence and Democracy” activity.

Modern research perspective

“Polish Independence Movement “Independence and Democracy” (“NiD”) was established on February 19, 1945 in order ‘to carry out political activity with the goal to regain real independent Poland, in accordance with political, economic and social democratic mottos [...]’. When, after 45 years of communist regime, Poland regained its independence and established a democracy, “NiD” goals were achieved [...]”.

PAP announcement informing about suspending the Movement’s activity

Introduction

This article is a summary and conclusion of research on the activity of the Polish Independence Movement “Independence and Democracy (PPW “NiD”)¹, its socio-political, cultural, organizational and, most of all, publishing activity. It was the subject of a dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna” – organ prasowy Polskiego Ruchu Wolnościowego „Niepodległość i Demokracja” (PRW „NiD”) w latach 1945–1955*, (*London Tribune – the Polish Independence*

¹ In the reconstruction of the Movement’s history, the name of the movement was an issue itself. The acronym PRW “NiD” was not consistently used, even by Movement members. Interestingly, the quotations were used on part of the acronym as well as the full name and this issue was never finally resolved. In my book articles the name used was *Polski Ruch Wolnościowy “Niepodległość i Demokracja” i jego organ prasowy – „Trybuna”*. *Dzieje Ruchu, periodyku i innych czasopism wydawanych przez PRW „NiD”*, Warszawa 2009; *Myśl społeczno-polityczna Polskiego Ruchu Wolnościowego „Niepodległość i Demokracja” i publicystyka na łamach „Trybuny” w latach 1945–1955*, Warszawa (in print); A. Trudzik, *Rola i znaczenie londyńskiej „Trybuny” (1945–1955)*, “Zeszyty Prasoznawcze”, Kraków 2003, nr 3/4, p. 147–169; idem, „*Nidowiec*” – w zastępstwie londyńskiej „Trybuny”, “Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 2005, nr 3/4, p. 166–182; idem, *Bolesław Wierzbiański – działacz Polskiego Ruchu Wolnościowego „Niepodległość i Demokracja” oraz publicysta londyńskiej „Trybuny”*, [in:] *Polonijna panorama. Szkice poświęcone pamięci Bolesława Wierzbiańskiego*, ed. by W. Piątkowska-Stepaniak, M. Masnyk, Opole 2008, p. 15–40; *Paryska „Kultura” – londyńska „Trybuna” (1945–1955). Idee, programy, osobowości*, [in:] *Powrześniowa emigracja niepodległościowa na mapie nie tylko polskiej*, ed. by V. Wejs-Milewska, E. Rogalewska, Białystok, 2009, p. 58–81; *Wkład Tymona Terleckiego w redakcję „Trybuny” i działalność PRW „NiD”. Materiały z konferencji naukowej pt. „Tymon Terlecki – pamięć i sumienie emigracji”*, Przemysł (in print); A. Trudzik, *Londyńska „Trybuna” – organ prasowy Polskiego Ruchu Wolnościowego „Niepodległość i Demokracja (PRW „NiD”) w latach 1945–1955* [Ph. D. dissertation].

Movement's, "Independence and Democracy (PRW "NiD") press title between 1945–1955), defended at the Journalism and Political Science Department of University of Warsaw on June 27, 2007. The research carried out is part of interdisciplinary studies on the correlation between the London "Trybuna" and the PRW "NiD". First in order would be a general characteristic of the fields of studies in which the research was carried out.

The subject itself entails basic cognitive areas of interest, which include the role and influence of the II Great Emigration Wave². More specifically, there is the history of émigré press as part of press studies which are part of broader and dynamically developing media studies, communication and modern history in the context of exemplification of socio-political and cultural life of the Polish diaspora, a sub-discipline of political science.

Justification of choice of subject matter

During communist time in Poland, the issue of war and post-war emigration was officially ignored or deprecated. Meanwhile, émigré journalists had one predominant goal in mind, to preserve Polish nation's achievements and heritage also through the émigrés' intellectual and cultural progress abroad. In the beginning, there were few publications on this chapter in history which they were co-creating. Additionally, publications from abroad very seldom reached the home country. It was in the 1960s when the first valuable publications on the history of émigrés were created. It should be noted that their authors were often people who were directly involved in the events reported, which obliges us to verify their objectivity³. A particular role in the preservation of "collective memory" the émigrés assigned to the press, due to its multifunctional character as well as the fact that it is so popular and generally available. Moreover, these periodicals often played the role of socio-political and cultural institutions; in place of "discussion clubs or literary anthologies", it was where disputes took place as well as historical arguments. In addition, it was where political programmes were created and where integration took place⁴. After 1989, the situation changed dramatically. Presently, there is advanced research on émigré circles and it brings notable effects,

² *Druga Wielka Emigracja 1945–1990*, ed. by A. Friszke, P. Machcewicz, R. Habielski, Warszawa 1999, vol. 1–3.

³ The first and for years the only study on émigré history was by B. Czaykowski and B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* (1961). On press history abroad, T. Terlecki, *Literatura polska na obczyźnie 1940–1960* (1965). In 1971, published was a book by the Association of Polish Veterans, the largest émigré organization, about its accomplishment. In 1975, published was an extensive work by T. Katelbach, *Zjednoczenie i legalizm. Ostatni akt życia publicznego Kazimierza Sosnkowskiego*, on the general's actions, initiated in 1951, to unite the émigrés. In 1985, took place a Congress on Polish Culture Abroad, as a result of which published was a 10 volume work of reports (1987). Shortly after that, J. Nowak-Jeziorański published two volumes of memoirs from his work for RWE. Noteworthy are also interviews by J. Wędrychowska (K. Kijowska) *Widzieć Polskę z oddalenia* (1988), and by L. Ciołkoszowa *Spojrzenie wstecz* (1995). See: A. Friszke, P. Machcewicz, R. Habielski, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Druga Wielka...*, Vol. 1: *Życie polityczne emigracji*, p. 5–12.

⁴ R. Habielski, *Niezlomni nieprzejednani. Emigracyjne „Wiadomości” i ich krąg 1940–1981*, Warszawa 1991, p. 5–10.

although there are still many issues waiting to have thorough write-ups⁵.

Sources used

Among the sources used for the paper were the complete 126 issues of “Trybuna” (published between 1945–1955, with a break between August 1949 and October 1951, and from 1969 to 1992) as well as other periodicals under the auspices of PRW “NiD”, including “Nidowiec” (initially printed from December 1949 to August 1951, then reactivated several times but not published regularly), “Nasza Droga” (1947) and “Biuletyn” (“Komunikat Informacyjny” US district), published from 1953 to 1957. There was also imperative information included in occasional issues, job-prints, bulletins, circular letters, leaflets, fliers, etc.

Equally significant were archives on „NiD” deposited at the Biblioteka Polska (Polish Library) and the Jozef Pilsudski Institute in London, the Main Library at the University of Opole, “Nowy Dziennik” archives (New York) and at the National Ossolinski Unit in Wroclaw. Valuable were also documents from private collections, ie. by Nina Taylor-Terlecka and Tymon Terlecki from Oxford. All the materials could be classified into three categories – documents, correspondence and periodicals. They include the Movement members’ addresses, personal data, surveys, notes, records, declarations, forms, faxes, instructions, announcements, correspondence between members, circles, Movement leaders and authorities, protocols, records of meetings, speeches, resolutions, reports, acts, etc.

Used were also various write-ups on émigrés and émigré press by both domestic writers and those living abroad. As a result of studying over two hundred works and articles, it was possible to present the background of Polish émigré history. With very few exceptions, the majority of these were published after 1989. Particularly valuable were works by Andrzej Friszke, Rafał Habielski, Tadeusz Wolsza, Tadeusz Radzik, Anna Siwik, Krzysztof Tarka, Paweł Machcewicz, Marian Wolański, Paweł Ziętara, as well as the three volumes of *Druga Wielka Emigracja 1945–1990*⁶ (II Great Emigration Wave). As far as works published abroad noteworthy is the two volume *Literatura polska na Obczyźnie 1940–1960* edited by Terlecki, including a chapter by Jan Kowalik on émigré press⁷, as well as a series, *Materiały do Dziejów Polskiego Uchodźstwa Niepodległościowego*⁸, published by Polish Academic Society Abroad in London.

Another group of texts included journalist work by Movement members such as memoirs and journals by, among others, Włodzimierz Drzewieniecki, Józef Garliński, Stanisław Grocholski,

⁵ T. Wolsza points out a lack of studies on party and political press abroad. See: Review by T. Wolsza of the author’s dissertation paper.

⁶ *Druga Wielka...*, *op. cit.*

⁷ *Literatura polska na Obczyźnie 1940–1960*, ed. by T. Terlecki, London 1965.

⁸ *Mobilizacja uchodźstwa do walki politycznej 1945–1990*, ed. by L. Kliszewicz, London 1995.

Jan and Jerzy Jankowski, Zbigniew Jordan, Stanisław Jordanowski, Jan Krok-Paszkowski, Jerzy Lerski, Bolesław Łaszewski, Zygmunt Nagórski Jun., Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Tadeusz Nowakowski, Tadeusz Pawłowicz, Rowmund Piłsudski, Andrzej Pomian, Jan Radomyski, Zbigniew Rapacki, Adam Rudzki, Zygmunt Szempliński, Tymon Terlecki, Bolesław Wierzbiański and Piotr Wandycz.

In order to write up biograms of nearly two hundred people, “Trybuna” editors, co-creators as well as key leaders of PRW “NiD”, valuable was information from numerous dictionaries, encyclopedias, lexicons and biographical notes from various memoirs and journals. In some cases, somewhat useful was also information from electronic sources.

In the end, especially inspiring were personal contacts with “NiD” members, “Trybuna” creators and people directly involved with the Movement. These included personal contacts (Nina Taylor-Terlecka), interviews (Edward Głowacki), telephone conversations (A. Pomian, J. Radomyski, Z. Rapacki) and correspondence (Ada Dziewanowska, Zbigniew Małecki, P. Wandycz, Z. Nagórski jr, Janusz Cywiński and others).

Main goals and theses, research methodology

The basis goal of the paper (and this article) was to discuss the genesis, the history and direction of development of London’s “Trybuna”, a key socio-political periodical of Polish émigrés and its programme line, based on media and press studies research. Another goal was to study the first ten years of “NiD” activity. The dissertation was to shed light on the role and impact of the Movement on émigré life as well as the specificity of the London periodical, via, among other sources, “NiD” member biographies and journal co-creators.

The author’s goal was to expand the knowledge on post war emigration and to outline new planes for future research in this area.

In this context outlined were the following theses:

1. To this date, the history of the Movement does not possess an in-depth monograph even though “NiD” activity was an imperative element of Polish émigré history. This niche deserves to be filled⁹.
2. “Trybuna”, as well as other “NiD” publications were not widely popular or accessible, previous researchers so far only used select Movement journals and articles. There has not been a comprehensive study on all the periodicals’ history and content.
3. PRW “NiD”, based in London, presented its own, original stance (at times contrary) to other

⁹ About PRW “NiD” and its press, wrote also J. Radomyski, *Polski Ruch Wolnościowy „Niepodległość i Demokracja*, [in:] *Warszawa nad Tamizą*, ed. by A. Friszke, Warszawa 1994; J. Radomyski, *Polski Ruch Wolnościowy „Niepodległość i Demokracja*, [in:] *Kierownictwo obozu niepodległościowego na obczyźnie 1945–1990*, ed. A. Szkuta, London 1996; S. Grocholski, *Nowe środowisko koncepcyjne*, [in:] *Literatura polska na Obczyźnie 1940–1960*, ed. by T. Terlecki, vol. 2; S. Grocholski, *Pierwsze dziesięciolecie*, London 1955.

“indomitables”, including the Parisian “Kultura”. It is worthwhile to become familiar with “NiD” points of view and confront them with the opinions of other opinion-forming Polish émigrés circles¹⁰.

4. Since 1947, “NiD” has been active on the international arena, implementing various actions for Poland and fighting for its sovereignty and independence. Most of the initiatives were discussed in “Trybuna”. For the periodical worked or cooperated the majority of renown journalists and international studies experts which is why it would be valuable to present the issues discussed there.

5. “Trybuna” advocated the Movement’s ideas and opinion on federal issues. It devoted a lot of space to the concept of the World State, the federation of Central-Eastern European countries, as well as integration processes taking place in Western Europe. The Movement focused on the issue of Federalism, and it was via “Trybuna” where cooperation was tightened between Iron Curtain émigrés who supported the idea. The concept’s originality and its proper interpretation prove that “NiD” members soon after the war had plans for uniting Europe into a shape that it possesses today. This is another reason why their plans should be studied.

6. “Trybuna” was a source of information on the situation in Poland and the consequences of its geopolitical position, in between two powerful countries with imperial policies, and not just toward Poland. “Trybuna” included a great deal of innovative proposals and assessments on normalizing the relations between Poland, Germany and Russia, provided that Germany abandon its revisionist ideals and the Soviets stop enslaving our nation. If such conditions were met, a concrete resolution could be adopted, which was criticized by many then but today it could seem particularly rational and innovative¹¹.

In view of the paper’s goals, extensive “NiD” activity and initiatives as well as a wide spectrum of issues discussed by “Trybuna”, a systematic study of the research materials required the use of various methods from different fields of study (political sciences, history, sociology, philology, biography). Methodologically, the paper was put together in stages. The need for objectivity and optimization of research required the used of classic deduction and induction diagrams. Due to the complexity of analysed issues, it was necessary to use (aside from analysis and synthesis) comparative methods. In order to obtain clarity and lucidity, used were also statistical (quantitative and qualitative) analyses.

Structure and content

The paper is comprised of five chapters which include sub-sections in which analysed are different aspects and issues, in chronological order between 1945 and 1955. The first date was

¹⁰ See also: A. Trudzik, *Paryska „Kultura” – londyńska „Trybuna”...*

¹¹ A. Trudzik, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

dictated by history – the end of the war, withdrawal of recognition for the London government, growing Sovietization of the country, the establishment of PRW “NiD” and the onset of its activity (including publishing). The year 1955, on the other hand, marks the last issue of the periodical. There are, however, three exceptions to the rule. First, regarding the analysis of “Biuletyn Informacyjny” from the US district as it was printed until 1957, in order to discuss the entire history of the publication. Second, regarding the issue of the Warsaw Uprising, a particularly imperative subject for “Trybuna” (since some “Trybuna” and NiD” members took part in it). Third, as a result of the necessity to present (at least as a short synthesis) the history of émigré press, including the period from before the end of World War II.

The first subsection of Chapter I includes a short synthesis of the history of émigré press. The second subsection discusses the relations between the creation of “NiD” and the establishment of “Trybuna”, including its early days. The third subsection is an organizational chronicle of the Movement (also a title of one of “Trybuna’s” sections) based on the available archives and periodicals. The next subsection characterizes the journal, particularly in the context of its polemic character. The rest of Chapter I also deals with press issues. The publishing of “Trybuna” could be treated as a basis for comparison with other press titles by “NiD”.

When “Trybuna” (for financial reasons) was not printed for nearly two years, its duties were taken over by “Nidowiec”, a bulletin of the British district, which largely aided the re-activation of “Trybuna”, through the establishment of the Press Fund. Since 1947, simultaneously with “Trybuna”, edited by J. Szyszko-Bohusz, published was also “Nasza Droga”, a socio-professional monthly addressed to post-war émigrés. Initially, many émigrés felt alienated in the new world, had problems assimilating to new reality and accepting a new way of life and work in Western Europe. The chapter also attempts to justify the reasons behind a large and representative group of “NiD” members moving in the 1950s over the Atlantic, via an analysis of the New York “Biuletyn Informacyjny” of the PRW “NiD” US district¹².

Chapter II is entirely devoted to emigration issues. In the first three subsections, the author explains the Movement and “Trybuna’s” stances on émigré socio-political reality during the first post-war decade and its co-relations with Polish society which, after 1945, became divided. One of the first decisions which Poles abroad had to make after the end of war was whether to return home or to stay in the democratic world. The Movement, as early as 1945, was looking for answers to this dilemma (also in the brochure *Come back?*)¹³, stating that this decision should not be made emotionally. It was emphasized, at the same time, that those people choosing to live in communist Poland (who spent the war years abroad) definitely weakened the argumentation coming from the

¹² A. Trudzik, Chapter I of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

¹³ *Czy wracać?*, London, July, 1945.

free world demanding sovereignty for Poland. “Trybuna’s” stance was that although Poles at home and abroad were tied spiritually, the émigrés could not accept the regime in Warsaw, which deprived Poles of fundamental rights and was doing all it could to deprecate those Poles who were living abroad. The émigrés identified themselves with their countrymen, but they were not about to stand back and be silent when there were wrongs done to those who opposed the system. PRW “NiD”, as a political but also public organization, wished that “average émigrés” issues were not ignored by émigré authorities and often reminded people that membership and activity in various organizations or the public sphere should be separated from the sphere of politics¹⁴.

Chapter III focuses on international relations and geo-political situation during the first post war decade. The world then was experiencing great changes, on the one hand everyone wished for peace, while on the other, more and more people were fearful of the world divided between the democratic West and the communist East. The public opinion was focused on the arms race, increasing spending on armaments, proliferation of nuclear arms and other issues related to nuclear energy and atomic weapons. “Trybuna” also discussed these problems, especially since among its contributors were many experts in this field. Existence in an uncertain world and permanent fear for the future as a result of the existence of weapons of mass destruction able to detonate the whole globe required drawing up of alternative plans for life in this new reality. Movement members prepared an original and universal concept for relations around the world and popularized it through “Trybuna”. The theory of a World State was created in late 1940s but if we compare it to what is happening present day we can say that this was predicted over sixty years earlier by “NiD” members and authorities. The antinomy is that according to “Trybuna” and other “NiD” publications, the world in the future could have a chance to be peaceful, according to the slogans of the French Revolution – independence, equality and brotherhood. This would be possible via a World State, the creation of a global federation of equal countries, with continental sub-federations made up of regional sub sub-federations. The London periodical was of the opinion that international conferences are one of the worst and most ineffective instruments of diplomacy. This opinion was probably largely influenced by what happened in Teheran and Yalta, when the fate of the Polish nation was decided without our presence and consent. However, also earlier and latter conferences, especially ones including the superpowers, during which the fate of many smaller nations was determined, were particularly criticized by the periodical¹⁵.

Chapter IV is complimentary to the previous chapter. It further discusses the project prepared by “NiD” and popularized by “Trybuna” in the 1940s of a federation of independent countries from Central-Eastern Europe, part of a European federation which, with other similar

¹⁴ A. Trudzik, Chapter II of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

¹⁵ Idem, Chapter III of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

formations, would make up the “World State”. It was “NiD” members who were, back then, world class federalists and who could today be considered the precursors of a united Europe. “NiD” members came up with various federation character initiatives and established contacts with émigrés from other countries. As a result, “Trybuna” became a place open to other Iron Curtain émigrés fighting for independence from Soviet oppression. The periodical printed articles and interviews with renowned political activists from, among others, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, the Ukraine and Hungary. Their presence only proved that although this part of Europe was under foreign control, citizens of those nations living in a free world, were also of the opinion that sooner or later sovereignty and independence of their nations could be regained. Additionally, there was also integration westward. From today’s perspective, it can be said that “Trybuna” had a matter-of-fact and objective attitude to the processes taking place. At the same time, its editors wished that Poland and other Eastern European nations draw conclusions from unification processes in the West. United countries of Western Europe and the created sub-federation of Central-Eastern countries were perceived as “two lungs” of one European organism¹⁶.

The final chapter presents Poland’s and its two neighbors’, Germany and the Soviet Union, relations as seen from the perspective of our countrymen living abroad. “Trybuna” illustrated Polish reality of the 1950s by showing the contradictions between the heroic life of an oppressed nation and its citizens and the policy of enslavement and indoctrination by the communist authorities, carrying out Moscow’s orders. The German issues, among the most controversial after the war, were dealt with on several levels. “Trybuna” fought against German revisionism, especially regarding the Oder/Nysa border line, justifying the right to repossess Western Lands, based not only on historical reasons but also justice, tradition and politics, not to mention the role of these lands in Poland’s future economic development as part of a future federation of Central-Eastern Europe, independent of both Russia and Germany, which without these lands would be impossible. The other issue was that of the division of the country into two, communist East Germany and democratic West, on opposite sides of the Curtain. Another issue analysed by “Trybuna” was Soviet domestic policy and its policy toward Central-Eastern countries. In this case, the periodical criticized Soviet way and methods as well as its expansive tendencies toward countries which were in their sphere of influence after World War II¹⁷.

Addenda make up the last section of the paper, without which the study would be all that much more impoverished since, according to researchers, it is these sources, especially regarding press studies, that determine the value of the study and prove its usefulness, authenticity, credibility and entail the necessity to popularize it. It should be noted that despite the study’s time

¹⁶ Idem, Chapter IV of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

¹⁷ Idem, Chapter V of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”...*

ramifications, 1945–1955, the annexes include the entire period of the Movement’s activity (1945–1994). Among the 28 appendices, included are archive source materials: PRW “NiD” statute, Movement Programme Regulations, British district regulations, US district statute draft, memorandum to the UN, declaration on Democratic Concentration, flier “*Sad*”, “*wyrok*”, “*rzad*”, PRW “NiD” flier on the Movement’s early days, information bulletin, declaration to the Policy Council, “Trybuna” supplements, Movement act from 1989, the 1989 survey on the future of “NiD”, announcement on “NiD’s” last convention, results from the vote on dissolving “NiD”, membership application, statement for PAP on terminating activity, resolution from 1991, US District greetings on the 25th anniversary of the Movement, R. Pilsudski’s book draft, published in slightly different form, *Pisma zebrane*. The other group of documents are author annexes, enabling the reader easier understanding of the paper, statistical analysis of the periodical’s content and direct works cited and information: “Trybuna” editor and co-creator as well as “NiD” member biograms, “Trybna” authors and their contributions (in numbers), most important Movement and periodical’s members, “Trybuna” Press Fund contributors, bibliography of the periodical’s different issues, tribute to passed away Movement members and a brief chronicle of “NiD” and “Trybuna” events¹⁸.

Research results and conclusions

The years between 1945–1955 can be considered most significant for PRW “NiD” as it is when key events in its history took place – establishment of the Movement, determination of its goals and creation a membership base (1944–1946), becoming part of socio-political émigré life, international activity (1947–1951), expansion of organization structures (1949–1951) and its main achievements (1952–1955). It should be noted that the role of “Trybuna” was also essential to the Movement, it integrated NiD members and established for itself a leading place among émigré journals. It was where various émigré journalists and writers could publish their texts and where different, also contradicting, opinions and concepts were presented. The periodical is an invaluable source of information on the history of the Movement, enabling its reconstruction.

The author’s goal was to fill the gap existing in Polish literature on this subject. In our press and media studies there has, so far, not been a synthesis of émigré press and media although press, as a aspect of socio-political post war émigré life, has been discussed in papers from different fields of study. All in all, rare are analytical studies of émigré press (with the exception of monographs on London’s “*Wiadomosci*” by Rafal Habielski and New York’s “*Nowy Dziennik*” by Wiesława Piątkowska-Stepaniak). Let us hope that in the near future this situation will change and that created will be works on Poles who decided to stay abroad after the war but who did not disavow their roots, traditions, history, language, etc and fought, through writing, for an independent and

¹⁸ Idem, Addenda of the dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”*...

sovereign homeland.

The high level of “Trybuna’s” journalism is a result of several factors. First and foremost, it attracted a number of extraordinarily talented politicians, journalists, writers, academics, poets and activists of various ages (predominantly young) who were entirely devoted to the fight for Poland’s freedom and who did so not for their own interests and gains. “Trybuna” was also open to average immigrants whose opinions were just as valued, no less than those of renowned writers and researchers.

The journal predominantly focused on socio-political and cultural issues in Poland and around the world as well as on the Movement’s programme, ideals and activity. Polish émigrés all around the world were naturally interested in émigré life abroad and “Trybuna” met those needs by including articles on émigré life, key events and so on. A lot of attention was devoted to political issues and the émigré divisions in this sphere. Both “NiD” and “Trybuna” did what they could, by organizing various actions, to unite and democratize the politically fragmented émigré society.

Aside from strictly political issues, “NiD” assigned its press a mission. “Trybuna”, but also other Movement publications (“Nidowiec”, “Nasza Droga”) were to be of service to the public, the émigrés. They devoted a lot of room to émigré social issues, by printing reports from the activity of public organizations and by supporting the idea of creation of a Public Association, to complement the Political Association, which would together be something of a Parliament of Independent Poles Abroad. Most of all, under the circumstances of living in a foreign country, some émigrés needed additional support. “Trybuna” included a special section, a socio-professional guide, aiding assimilation to new reality. “Nasza Droga”, on the other hand, was almost entirely focused on labour issues, its content today is an invaluable source of knowledge about the British post-war labour market, in the context of Polish émigrés.

“NiD” was open to all, even those with differing opinions, as long as they were supportive of its general ideals. That is why “Trybuna”, which printed a lot of Movement member articles, was able to present a diverse subject base, with observations from different points of view. Correspondents and those cooperating sent in articles from all around Western Europe, the US, Australia, etc, analyzing current international relations.

“Trybuna” supported the idea and plan of, after freeing Eastern European nations from Soviet sphere of influence, a Central-Eastern European Federation. This concept was consulted and coordinated with outstanding representatives of émigrés from our side of the continent. Despite some ideological differences, the Polish idea was supported by émigrés from other countries under Soviet control. There was also a section allotted to interviews with émigrés from other nations, by Piotr Wandycz, a federalism theoretician and activist. The journal also commented on progress of Western European integration, thanks to which reconstructed could be public opinion and the

Movement's attitude toward this matter.

Another group of articles were those in which discussed were the conditions and way of life in Poland, with authorities enslaving society, subordinating its intellectual, physical and moral potential to Kremlin directives. The Movement passed resolutions, memorandums and acts condemning the Warsaw regime and its methods of exercising power (at the time of cardinal Wyszynski's arrest) which were circulated in democratic countries.

Last but not least, it should be noted that "Trybuna" had competent chief editors, such as Z. Szemplinski (who prepared one-off issues before the first issue), Stefan Konrad Gacki, Jerzy Prądyński, R. Piłsudski and J. Radomyski, who did all they could to obtain the necessary funds to publish and to gain extraordinary journalists, writers and renowned university professors to contribute.

Diverse subject matter and numerous excellent contributors attracted readers who supported the journal by subscribing it and who also regularly made donations to "Trybuna's" Press Fund. Thanks to them the periodical continued to be published at the highest possible level¹⁹.

¹⁹ Idem, dissertation paper, *Londyńska „Trybuna”*...