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On Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's journalistic work prior to 1989

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Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, journalism, history of journalism, émigré journalism, Radio Free Europe

ABSTRACT

The article discusses Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's (1914–2005) journalistic work since his debut in secondary school, through his cooperation with clandestine press and partisan radio "Błyskawica", his first public speeches as lieutenant Jan Nowak, the Polish emissary in London during World War II, reprints of his commentaries for Polish section of Radio Free Europe (between 1952–1975) to his publications for émigré press prior to 1989.

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's journalist and writing activity encompasses over half a century (beginning with work for Polish section of BBC in 1948 to his death, on January 21, 2005). His work can be divided by two distinct turning points in history. The first was World War II, a time of heroic fight ending with the fall of the Warsaw Uprising and Poland's loss of independence which for Nowak was the beginning of life abroad¹. The second was the regaining of sovereignty by Poland in 1989. What this date meant to people born and raised in communist Poland he described in the article *Kryzys tożsamości (Identity crisis)*, published in "Tygodnik Powszechny" in 1992, "to me 45 years of the People's Republic was a gap in the history of sovereign Poland just the same as the 123 years during the Partition period. To me 1989 was the same breakthrough as 1918 for my parents"².

He visited Poland for the first time after 45 years of absence on August 29, 1989. From then on, he became a regular participant and commentator of Polish public life. Finally, on July 21, 2002, he moved back and ceased to be a political emigrant. Nowak's articles and

¹ "I remember V-Day in London – the day of victory over Germany. We were standing on Piccadilly Circus sad and bitter, lost among the dancing and singing crowds, intoxicated with happiness and joy. In the triumphant parade of victory walking the streets of London, among a dozen of nations, there weren't any Polish soldiers or flags. Before our eyes was a different kind of parade, that of the people we knew who sacrificed their lives so that this day could come" J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Kurier z Warszawy*, Kraków 2005, p. 435.

² Idem, *W poszukiwaniu nadziei*, Warszawa 1993, p. 320.

interviews with him often appeared in the press³. This is what he wrote about himself after his return, “Based on the stamps in my passport over the last 14 years, since 1989 **I’ve been back fifty times**⁴, even if for a short time”⁵.

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański is the author of three memoirs which will not be discussed in this article⁶ and eight journalistic works (including the monograph *Rosja wobec Powstania Warszawskiego* (*Russia and the Warsaw Uprising*) which include scripts from his radio addresses, articles from émigré and domestic press, interviews with him and texts of official speeches made on special occasions. Some of these were published separately, such as the brochure *63 days. The story of the Warsaw Rising*⁷ or his lecture from June 1995 at Jagiellonian University⁸. There was also a brochure *Zamach na papieża (Pope John Paul II assassination)* published by underground “Głos” in 1983, a re-print from the Parisien “Kultura” (No. 5, 1983)⁹.

Additionally, three volumes of his journalistic work were published in the West prior to 1989¹⁰. The beginnings of his journalist activity as well as his brochures and books published during the émigré period will be the subject of this article. Also, it will be supplemented by fragments from *W poszukiwaniu nadziei* (*In search of hope*), published in Poland in 1993, where the author added to texts published in domestic press his articles and addresses from 1980–1989.

Beginnings of journalistic activity

Zdzisław Jeziorański, a young man with journalistic aspirations, debuted at Adam Mickiewicz’s High School in Warsaw. He wrote a report from his scout trip to Prague and

³ First interview with J. Nowak-Jeziorański was printed by official press on May 23, 1989, “Gazeta Wyborcza” (Jacek Fedorowicz was the interviewer).

⁴ All writing in bold by the author.

⁵ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska z bliska*, Kraków 2005, p. 71.

⁶ These are discussed in other articles such as: *Nieheroiczny bohater w sytuacjach granicznych. O „Kurierze z Warszawy” Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego*, “Dyskursy o Kulturze” 1 (2009); *Polska z oddali w pisarstwie wspomnieniowym Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego*, “Archiwum Emigracji” Z. 2 (2009); *Między dziennikarstwem a działalnością polityczną. O „Wojnie w eterze” i „Polsce z oddali” Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego*, “Dyskursy o Kulturze” 2 (2010).

⁷ [J. Nowak-Jeziorański] J. Novak, *63 Days. The Story of the Warsaw Ring*, by One Who Fought in it; Foreword by R. Macaulay. Speech delivered at the Caxton Hall, Thursday, February 16th, 1945, by Jan Novak, Lieutenant, Polish Home Army, at a meeting arranged by The British League for European Freedom.

⁸ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska po komunizmie = Poland After Communism*, Kraków 1995.

⁹ See: J. Kamińska [W. and W. Chojnacki], *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce 13 XII 1981 – VI 1986*, Paryż 1986, p. 313. Ibidem a list of Nowak’s reissues (*Kurier z Warszawy*, “Krağ” 1982, *Polska pozostała sobą*, NOWA 1981, CDN 1983, *Wojna w eterze*, “Krağ” 1985, “Przedświt” 1986). *Kurier z Warszawy* was published by NOWA in 1979.

¹⁰ [J. Nowak-Jeziorański] J. Zych [pseud.], *Rosja wobec Powstania Warszawskiego*, London 1947; idem, *Polska droga ku wolności 1952–1973*, London 1974; idem [J. Nowak], *Polska pozostała sobą*, London 1980.

Zaolzie which was printed by the illustrated weekly “Siedem Dni”. This is how he wrote about his beginnings in *Kurier z Warszawy* (*Courier from Warsaw*), “Encouraged after the first publication in relation to the “Zaolzie Operation” I sent a report, sensational in style, to Cracow’s »IKC« and then a serious article on Poles in Zaolzian Silesia to Warsaw’s »Tygodnik Ilustrowany«. Those were my journalist debuts”¹¹.

In underground press, he published his first article in early 1940. It was when he began cooperating with the underground organization Secret Polish Army, which also published “Znak”. As he recollects, he wrote an article in connection with the May-3rd-Constitution Day, “It was my underground debut”¹².

During the Warsaw Uprising, he was active in partisan radio “Błyskawica” where he edited, together with Adam Truszkowski, information in English for Western allies. The first, broadcasted on August 8th, included the news and short commentary. The heroic but short lived activity of the radio did not bring expected results, As Jan Nowak-Jeziorański wrote, “It was like a little buzzing bee. It had 100 W only. [...] we listened to London in vain that evening hoping there would be some commentary to our message. It was the same situation the next day and the day after that. No response”¹³.

One of his first public speeches as Polish emissary, and already on a high level, took place at the British House of Commons on February 10, 1944¹⁴ during his first courier trip to London. There he was invited, along with Jan Karski, by the Anglo-Polish Parliamentary Committee: As he wrote in *Kurier*, “Karski talked about Polish Underground structures and I – about the current situation in the country, about Home Army [Armia Krajowa – AK] military activity, growing Nazi terror and the need for support of our fight from the outside”¹⁵.

Some of his addresses and articles on the situation in occupied Poland (first by the Nazis, then by Soviets) were published by British press¹⁶ and broadcasted on British radio, first for the British¹⁷ and then for the BBC Polish Section¹⁸. The next chapter in his work as a

¹¹ Idem, *Kurier z Warszawy*, p. 17.

¹² Ibidem, p. 39.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 331.

¹⁴ The entire text, in Polish translation is in the annex of, *Kurier z Warszawy*, p. 495–497.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 233.

¹⁶ Including his address at Caxton Hall in London, February 16, 1945 which is discussed below and an article on the arrest of Polish leaders by the NKVD (*The Arrested Polish Leaders*, “Time and Tide”, London 26.06.1945).

¹⁷ In BBC’s programme from March 12, 1944, *Postscript after 9 o’clock news*, there was an anonymous chat by “an officer of the Polish underground movement” entitled *What friendship means in Poland*, later published by “The Listener”, March 16, 1944. One hour long programme, *Courier from Warsaw*, by Marjorie Banks was broadcasted by BBC on February 22, 1948. Nowak wrote later, “My role was played by an actor but the ending was mine. I stood in front of the microphone and dedicated the programme to my deceased friends [...]”. J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Kurier z Warszawy*, p. 140.

journalist and commentator was when he was the head of Voice of Free Poland (since 1960 the Polish Section) of Radio Free Europe (from May 3, 1952 to end of 1975) and when he published in émigré press, also after finishing work in Munich and moving to Washington in 1977.

Speech at Caxton Hall in London

Jan Nowak's speech at Caxton Hall took place on February 16, 1945¹⁹. It was later published as a brochure, 24 pages long, including also fragments of a speech made by Mrs. Nowak on February 21, 1945. The subject of the speeches made by AK officers (Jadwiga Nowak-Jeziorańska, nee Wolska, was a lieutenant) was the Warsaw Uprising. They discussed the Resistance as its participants and direct eye witnesses, with inevitable emotional notes as a result of personal narrative perspective. This was also what the audience at Caxton Hall expected.

Most probably, the brochure includes Nowak's entire speech (no abridgments are marked, all in all nearly 20 pages of small print). Undoubtedly, it shows the author's oratorical talent as well as his knowledge of rhetorical regulations regarding such speeches. First of all, Nowak was fully aware of who his audience was. He was speaking to inhabitants of the only capital in Europe (excluding Moscow) which was able to resist Nazi invasion. He began, "I am indeed grateful to you all for allowing me to give you an account of one of the most tragic events in this war – the battle of Warsaw. And I am proud to speak about Warsaw to you in London, the great city whose walls have withstood the savage impetus of would-be world conquerors"²⁰.

Nowak introduced himself as a courier who was a liaison between Poland and Western capitals. He then discussed the different stages of fighting between the underground movement and the Nazis. He presented the "Burza" action plan which was to ensure cooperation between AK and the Red Army in liberating Warsaw and other Polish cities. He talked about that fact that the Soviet army was present during the Uprising and waiting on the other side of the Vistula river. He mentioned appeals to Warsaw's inhabitants to actively oppose occupants made by ZPP (Union of Polish Patriots) via Moscow's radio and radio "Kościuszko" made in the days preceding the Uprising.

¹⁸Nowak writes about his journalistic and documentary/historical output ("Witnesses of history") during the three year period of work for the Polish section of BBC in the first chapter of *War in ether*, Kraków 2000, p. 9–22.

¹⁹Idem, *63 Days...*

²⁰Ibidem, p. 5.

Following, he presented a day by day report from the course of the Resistance, providing facts supplemented by personal observations. The report included a whole spectrum of events, including a vivid picture of the fighting and its dynamics, growing Nazi military advantage mainly as a result of partisan lack of armaments and support from the outside. Impressive is how detailed the report was, additionally supplemented by eye witness accounts expressed from a participant's point of view, making it truly reliable and emotional.

Following are two fragments of Nowak's speech from Caxton Hall. The first is an eye witness account, "I saw paralytics dying from strokes one the way. I saw a woman, three days after childbirth, imploring the passers-by to carry her. I saw lost children crying for their parents. And not one of those people had the least idea what their fate was to be"²¹. The second is descriptive in character, with sacred elements (church, Christ, cross) contrasted with a picture of destruction which play on recipient sensitivity, additionally supplemented by an emotional personal output experience, "Passing through rows of mines, our glaze fell on a destroyed church. In the surrounding desolation, by some miracle stood on untouched statue of Christ. He was carrying His cross to Calvary. His hand was uplifted as though He was blessing Warsaw. This is my last memory of the Polish capital"²². This fragment could be the starting point to a more in dept analysis of Nowak's literary language, which is not the focus of this paper.

Russia and the Warsaw Uprising

Nowak's book debut is considered to be *Russia and the Warsaw Uprising*, published in 1947 in London by "Przegląd Polski". It was written under the Jan Zych pen name and included a preface by general Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski.

In the brief and matter-of-fact like preface written by the leader of the Resistance it says that, "history will give a just assessment of the Rising. Without putting forward any judgment, it seems fair to make people aware of the most important facts and documents which will allow them to make up their own mind on this matter. The brochure is written by one of the Rising participants who knew exactly what was happening and who had access to Underground movement's documents. It introduces to readers the most imperative events that took place and which influenced its downfall"²³.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 20.

²² Ibidem, p. 21.

²³ T. Bór-Komorowski, *Preface* [in:] [J. Nowak-Jeziorański] J. Zych [pseud.], *Rosja wobec...*, p. 3.

Nowak's narrative, despite writing about matters still current and painful for readers (it was requested for it to be written for the Uprising's first anniversary)²⁴ is also reserved and matter-of-fact like. He takes more of a historian's perspective rather than that of a participant of the events, even though he belonged to a narrow circle of people who witnessed the making of the decision to start the Uprising, both in London (seat of Polish government in exile) and in Warsaw (AK headquarters). Nowak returned to the capital from his courier mission five days before the outbreak of the Rising. This was when Stalin's stance on Warsaw was continuously being debated and speculated on. Its success or failure depended on whether or not the Red Army would enter to the relief of the city. Bór-Komorowski and his people knew this, just as did the President and the Prime Minister of Polish government in London as well as Winston Churchill and other British politicians.

In the first part, Nowak described Polish society's attitude toward the Nazi occupant as that of a fighting one²⁵ which was expressed by the creation of the Polish Underground State. He then went on to discuss the beginnings of Soviet political and propaganda offensive against the AK, the establishment of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) in 1942 and the following propaganda campaign against the Polish Underground State and the Polish government carried out by radio "Kosciuszko" at Berling's army and the Union of Polish Patriots broadcasting programmes from Moscow.

In February 1943, Stalin rejected AK's cooperation offer. In autumn of 1943, established was "action Burza" basing on cooperation with the Red Army which, at that time began its offensive and entered Polish territory. Nowak writes, "Initially Russians were willing to make use of our military aid and cooperation on the front line, acknowledging, just like in Wolyn, the fighting Polish squads as part of Polish armed forces. Later on, however, after they took over territory and no longer needed our help, they would arrest and/or shoot our commanders and induct the rest into Berling's army"²⁶.

In the second part, Nowak described in detail the military situation around Warsaw in late July 1944, that of the Red Army positioned ten kilometers outside the city and in possession of a "crushing military advantage"²⁷ over the German troops. He mentioned radio appeals to Warsaw's inhabitants to actively oppose the occupants, broadcasted since mid July

²⁴ "Przegląd Polski" informed about the brochure in November 1946 (See: *Eight missions by Courier from Warsaw* (by A.K. Kunert, Z. Kunert, in coop. with Z. Walkowski), Warszawa 2005, p. 68.

²⁵ [J. Nowak-Jeziorański] J. Zych [pseud.], *Rosja wobec...*, p. 11.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

from Moscow and by radio “Kosciuszko” as well as German radio broadcasts about Soviet preparations for an offensive on Warsaw.

He devoted a lot of attention to diplomatic efforts made by Polish Prime Minister Stanisław Mikołajczyk who was in Moscow in late July 1944 in vain asking for help to Warsaw during his two conversations with Stalin. Even appeals made to Stalin by Churchill and Roosevelt after Mikołajczyk’s return to London were of no consequence. Additionally, Stalin did not permit, until September 10, 1944, the landing of planes from London which were to bombard Germans in Warsaw. As Nowak commented, “At first glance, Soviet policy with regard to our Underground movement was full of contradictions. Today, however, when looking back and having knowledge of all facts, it seems that it was a series of consistent moves made to reach one goal – to introduce Communist rule in Poland to which the underground movement was an obstacle. It would cease to be an obstruction only in one case – if it severed ties with the government in London and subjected itself to the Communists”²⁸.

In his work, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański frequently returns to the subject of the Warsaw Uprising, which is also the focus of his memoir, *Courier from Warsaw*. Later on as well, he will use the conclusions he drew from this great casualty, the blood and suffering of so many people who died for their country in their hopeless fight, when forming his programme of fighting communism at Radio Free Europe (RFE).

On the Road to Freedom 1952–1973

On the Road to Freedom 1952–1973, the first of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański’s journalistic volumes, published in London in 1974. It is comprised of the radio speeches he made while working for the Polish Section of RFE and includes a preface by Adam Ciołkosz who emphasized RFE’s ancillary role to listeners at home. The work includes 33 texts, part of RFE programmes over the period of twenty years, from May 3, 1952 to May 3, 1972.

In the foreword, the author notes that his radio speeches were not frequent and mostly limited to commentary on key historical events taking place. He admits that his early addresses, “were somewhat lofty, so characteristic to the tone of RFE in the early days”²⁹. He was probably referring to his inaugural speech, *For the Opening of the Polish Section*, from May 3, 1952. It seems, however, that the solemn tone can be justified by the circumstances of the author and the entire staff in whose name he was speaking, “This group of Poles, here with me, has a momentous task to realize. We can now talk to our brothers behind the Iron

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 15.

²⁹ Idem, *Polska droga ku wolności 1952–1973*, London 1974, p. 11.

Curtain in our own, Polish name. From this moment on we cease to be refugees cut off from our homeland. We can now take active part in Polish public life. Our voices will be heard all over the country, independent and free”³⁰, as well as that of his listeners in Poland, under an oppressive, totalitarian regime.

This voice, penetrating the Iron Curtain, illustrates the situation of other societies in Central and Eastern Europe, forced into a system of “real socialism” not accepted by the large majority. It broke the authorities’ information monopoly and brought back the real meaning to words such as “freedom” and “imprisonment”, “truth” and “fallacy”. It reminded people once again of national tradition and the sense of words such as “independence” and “democracy”. It was a voice which brought back hope and dignity, which refreshed people’s memories, those which the Moscow’ governors attempted to destroy in order to build a new kind of man – the *homo sovieticus*³¹.

The speech included emotional notes, “Like you, we also feel insulted and humiliated when in the name of Poland speaks a gang of renegades and an old NKVD snooper by the name Bierut dares to present himself as the President”³². It did not, however, include any characteristic to propaganda or newspeak elements of manipulating meanings, which Michał Głowiński³³ called “loose semantics” or any peremptoriness in shaping meaning. His language is simple and clear, with plain distinctions between truth and fallacy, good and evil. It presents a dichotomous view of the world, without grey spheres. It gives a true picture of reality, corresponding with the views of the majority of Polish people then and in accordance with the truth, Bierut was an NKVD agent and as Stalin’s governor – a dictator in Poland, at the same time being the leader of the party which, based on decisions made outside the country nominated itself as the “leading force”. In a semantic sense, this is what Nowak meant in his radio speech and it was said even more clearly.

Emotional tone went hand in hand with pragmatic matter-of-fact reporting, which was the station’s lodestar during its functioning, “Enemy propaganda says that we are pushing you to active resistance, to organizing the underground, to armed confrontation. False! We know just as well as you that present day requires uttermost composure and restraint since any imprudent action can only be to the advantage of the Soviets, as is often provoked by their agents. [...] Even though the battle is not taking place in the woods, on the streets or

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 13.

³¹ According to J. Tischner, “»homo sovieticus« is an enslaved by the communist system product of communism which fed to what communism offered him.” (J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności; Homo sovieticus*, Kraków 2005, p. 141).

³² J.Z. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska droga...*, p. 15.

³³ M. Głowiński, *Nowomowa (Rekonesans)*, [in:] *Nowomowa po polsku*, Warszawa 1990.

underground, we know that it is a different kind of fight today, upon which lies our future existence. **It is a fight that is present in Polish hearts and within the four walls of Polish households**". It is a struggle to save children growing up in Bolshevik schools, a fight with attempts to destroy our national legacy, a fight to defend faith, a fight with Eastern barbarianism which wants to poison our souls with hatred."³⁴ This is how, in a few words, Nowak delineated the main goals and tasks of RFE.

Somewhat more attention was devoted to Nowak's inaugural speech from May 3, 1952, being also the first address in his work, as it is so well constructed rhetorically, based on contrasting juxtapositions and a clear and hopeful message at the end, "Countrymen! Wherever you are – remember – Poland is alive, Poland is fighting, Poland will prevail!"³⁵. All in all, with emotional tones and information wealth, it was also a broadcaster's portrait, including their goals and programme plans.

Other texts published in this work are much different, more commentative and journalistic in character, with a focus on specific events. There are also many polemics, most often with adversaries in Poland.

Among the commentaries, there is Nowak's response to Stalin's death from March 5, 1953, on first signals of de-Stalinisation in the Soviet Union (*Khrushchev accuses*, March 25, 1956), on 1956 October and November events in Poland and Hungary (*Gomulka returns*, October 18th, *Polish October*, October 23rd and *Dangerous hour*, November 4th, *Polish road to freedom*, November 9th), on the so called elections (*Elections in Poland*, April 25, 1961), on agreements with Germany (*Polish–German agreement*, November 19, 1979), on bloody pacification of workers' protest in Gdansk and Gierek as the new Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) First Secretary (*Polish workers' rebellion*, December 29, 1970) and on renovation of the Royal Castle in Warsaw (*Society does not live on bread alone*, April 18, 1971).

Among the most interesting texts (regarding Nowak's political commentary) are those which were written in October and November 1956. The author would often discuss these events later on as well, more in-depth in his other memoir, *War in ether*, and, in broader international context with regard to the new political strategy by RFE's Hungarian Section. October 1956 was a turning point in information policy of the Munich radio. This work, aside from shorter commentaries on the subject, also includes a much longer text (taking into consideration radio standards for such speeches, it amounted to nine fine print pages!) entitled

³⁴ J. Z. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska droga...*, p. 16.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

Ten years later (October 19, 1966). In it, summarized were the most dramatic moments of “Polish October” with a culmination point when, “There was, in Belvedere, a striking confrontation between the Soviet and Polish authorities. In light of all the known facts, undoubtedly Soviets issued an ultimatum with the threat of using force and met with resistance. This is a completely new situation, a 180 degree reversal from all that we have experienced so far. For the first time, **people who were brought to Poland on Soviet bayonets [...] stood up and said ‘no!’**”³⁶.

Nowak goes on to discuss Gomulka and his people distancing themselves from their October promises and declarations as well as the growing gap between ruling authorities and society. In the end, he warned, “Be aware, as you do not know when and where as a result of some internal or external events society will awake from apathy and regain its lost strength. Then, the force with which you rule will fall apart like lump of sand”³⁷.

Another longer text in the discussed work is *In view of the attack on Czechoslovakia* (August 29, 1968), in character more like a written article than a radio speech. It includes an analysis of political consequences of the invasion, Czech and Slovak self defense means, including the pluses of “passive resistance” as “defense of the defenseless”³⁸. This is how he concludes this text, “Thwarting attempts of reform by force does not mean that they were under false premises. This is what Polish authorities should take into account”³⁹.

In this work, aside from commentaries and longer journalistic articles, there are many polemics, mostly with adversaries in Poland, sometimes mentioned by name such as Stanislaw Stomma (*Open letter to S. Stomma*, June 24, 1970) or Wiesław Górnicki (*Straw Men*, August 31, 1971 in relation to Polish people’s national vices) but mostly anonymous (*Letter from Poland and response*, March 17, 1963, *Warning*, October 2, 1963 – in answer to a listener’s comment regarding RFE’s policy toward Mieczysław Moczar in which he said that Moczar’s main goal is to make Poland even more dependent on the USSR, *Yalta Anniversary*, February 10, 1970 – a polemic with Polish press and television which considered the 25th anniversary as a joyful event, the beginning of a blissful epoch, and *Do not defend Ukrainians*, July 30, 1970 – in answer to a letter from Poland).

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 45.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 53.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 127. Nowak’s deliberations correspond well with an essay by Vaclav Havel (written 10 years later), *Sila bezsilnych*.

³⁹ J. Z. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska droga...*, p. 129.

On radio, Nowak also polemicized with Stefan Kisielewski⁴⁰, in the form of an interview with X, with a non-party journalist who expressed doubts regarding the effectiveness or positive outcomes of the Station's activity on society, including possible harm to Poland's economic development. Nowak answered, "In your opinion on economic matters, man's role is reduced to just a factor in production. You know that some animals have flaps put on over their eyes since this way they are calmer and pull better. Applying such methods to people, especially one's society, does not seem like a good idea to me"⁴¹. This polemic is long and it encompasses many matters, all in all an interesting document created as a result of comparing different points of view, even though both critical of the communist system.

Finally, included in this work is a series of programmes for the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, from between September 29 and November 10, 1957, entitled *Chinese Story*. In contrast to other texts part of this work, these speeches are short, to the point (taking up no more than five minutes of radio time) and light in form, somewhat similar in style to radio chats.

The following is an example, "I once read a Chinese story about a traveler heading somewhere in a magnificent carriage pulled by four fleet horses. »Where are you going?« – asked a by passer. »To Czu kingdom.« – answered the traveler. »But Czu kingdom is in the opposite direction.« It doesn't matter, I have such magnificent horses. »Sir« – said the by passer – »the faster you go, the further away you are from your destination. Turn around immediately.« »Don't worry, I have good horses and carriage, and lots of money in the trunk.« And he continued on. The faster he went, the further away from his goal. The Soviet Union, with its satellite states, reminds me of this traveler who had a sturdy carriage and fast horses but was only moving away from his goal"⁴².

In other talks in this series Nowak delineates the reasons for the communist economy disaster. The key he found at the source, "Marx formulated his theories one hundred years ago, in the steam engine era. His reasoning is static. He did not take into account future technological development in methods of production"⁴³. Nowak continued his analyses in other programmes of this type like *The two world's race*, *The end of utopia*, *Revisionism*, *Evolution or revolution*, pointing out the gradually diminishing power of communism. Like

⁴⁰ Broadcasted by RFE on June 18, 1963 entitled Dialogue with an adversary. It was a text from a discussion between RFE journalists and Stefan Kisielewski which took place in Munich in 1963. See: J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Wojna w eterze*, p. 464–469 for longer fragments of the text.

⁴¹ Idem, *Polska droga...*, p. 91.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 54.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 55.

an educated economist, he concludes by stating, “Let’s just analyse the tendencies which we can observe today, let’s not prophesy the future”⁴⁴.

Poland Remains True to Itself

The following collection of Nowak’s journalistic texts was published by London’s “Polonia” in 1980. As the author indicates in the foreword, this work is a continuation of *On the Road to Freedom 1952–1973* (published by “Gryf”) and “comprise articles, speeches and radio chats broadcasted by RFE or previously published by »Kultura«, »Wiadomości«, London’s »Tygodnik Polski« and other émigré press”⁴⁵.

The leading quote for this book were Józef Piłsudski’s words from *Can Poles become independent?*, “**A nation which demands independence, first needs to have trust its own strength**”⁴⁶. He further developed this thought, “The will to be free and to regain state sovereignty cannot be maintained without the feeling of **national pride** and the nation’s faith in itself. Especially taking into consideration experiences over the last two centuries and the last war, the indisputable conclusion is that we cannot count on alliances or aid from the outside. **In more favourable moments in our history, it was not our allies who helped us but unforeseen and unplanned by them events**”⁴⁷. Further on, Nowak states that the Polish nation, “in the worst and most desperate times, it has not lost hope, the will to resist and faith for a better tomorrow. [...]. Piłsudski’s words have come true, »To be beaten and not give in – that is victory [...]«”⁴⁸.

Texts published in this book are divided into two sections – *Political essays* and *Profiles*, based on the subject matter discussed. Nowak-Jeziorański, similarly to other people writing for RFE and émigré press, did not pay much attention to genre rules in his writing and, as a result, he often mixed together different journalist writing forms such as commentary, essay, column, chat or review⁴⁹.

Hence, in the *Political essays* section only some texts can be considered professional essays. On the other hand, some of the articles part of the *Profiles* section are definitely essay like in character, such as the reprint from “Wiadomości” (December 5, 1976) *Sienkiewicz’s last days* (Nowak’s favourite author).

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 65.

⁴⁵ Idem [Z. Jeziorański], *Polska pozostała...*, p. 9.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 8.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ This is pointed out in the book *Literatura i pisarze w programie Rozgłośni Polskiej Radio Wolna Europa*, Kraków 2005, p. 228–235.

In the first section, there are four texts that can be considered essays, previously printed in émigré press. One of them, *The greatest feat in Polish history*, (“Tydzień Polski”, December 20, 1976) is about the first five years after Poland regained its sovereignty and it includes descriptions of the three great personas from that time: Józef Piłsudski, Ignacy Paderewski and Roman Dmowski. Nowak indicated that they all greatly differed in opinions and that, “the resulting personal and political antagonisms were so strong that they still influence the political divisions today. However, he concluded optimistically, according to the motto “judge them by their actions”, they differed in everything except one – undying love for their country and its goals”⁵⁰.

Erudite in character are also texts: *Resurrected city* (“Tydzień Polski”, January 29, 1979) and the in-depth political essay *Three years of the underground movement* (“Kultura”, Paris, March 1979). In it, Nowak talks about Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as the “father figure” of the dissident movement in Central and Eastern Europe and the idea of civic resistance without using force against the Communist authorities. He discusses different forms of resistance, as a result of breaking the fear barrier, in various circles and social groups, noting its effectiveness and the growing disparities between the authorities and society. He repeats, once again, his theory broadcasted over the radio; everyday fight for small gains does not mean resignation from the main sovereignty goal”⁵¹.

The issue of Poland’s independence from a historical point of view is the subject of the essay entitled *Could Poland’s sovereignty have been saved and how to regain it?* (“Tydzień Polski”, April 1–7, 1979). In it, Nowak discusses British World War II documents made available to historians. He comes to the conclusion that Western powers could have saved Poland and Eastern Europe from Soviet expansion, “**if they had the will to do it and were ready to take the risk involved**”⁵². He also devotes a lot of attention to the second question, without coming up with a magical solution, except for hope, “resulting from relentless will and infinite strength in the nation’s spirit”⁵³.

The first part of the book includes, aside from the above mentioned essays, several radio speeches from the period between September 17, 1974 and January 1, 1976 – the day on which *Goodbye to listeners* of RFE was aired. These are, most often, commentaries or historical features (*Clock from the castle tower*, September 17, 1974). The other texts in the first part are problem essays, published in émigré press, most often by London’s “Tydzień

⁵⁰ J. Nowak [Z. Jeziorański], *Polska pozostała...*, p. 33.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 79.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 85.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 88.

Polski”. They deal with issues such as persecutions of AK soldiers in PRL, fate of Poles in Russia or the socio-political situation in Poland.

In the second part of the book, aside from the essay on Sienkiewicz, there are profiles of Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, primate Stefan Wyszyński, Adam Michnik (*Brave Man's Portrait* including the speech about one of the founders of KOR aired by RFE on July 20, 1977), Zbigniew Brzeziński, Adam Ciołkosz and Zbigniew Stypułkowski.

In Search of Hope

The first volume of Nowak's journalistic work, officially published in Poland in 1993, includes several texts previously printed in the works discussed above (including Nowak's RFE inaugural speech). The majority, however, are new texts and there were many of them, considering that thirteen years have passed since the publishing of his previous book.

Some of these texts were printed by domestic underground press (“Arka” 1986) as well as official press (“Przegląd Powszechny”, “Tygodnik Powszechny”). One text was first broadcasted on TV (*Ignacy Paderewski – posthumous meeting with Sienkiewicz*, TVP, May 28, 1991). Many articles from the early 1990s are polemics with people with whom Nowak shared opinions on the current situation in Poland, including Adam Michnik. Discussing these, however, would take us beyond our analysis boundaries, hence the focus will be on reprints from émigré press prior to 1989.

In the third part of the book, there are interviews with Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, also included in his further publications. There are reprints of his interviews published by Paris' “Kontakt” (*Life makes sense*, with Daniel Palewski, 1978 and *There are others who replace us*, with Zofia Różankowska, 1982) and Toronto's “Pielgrzym” of February 1988 (*Can politics be an art not subjected to moral judgment*, with Alicja Manterys and Zbigniew Pieciul).

Aside from the above mentioned, included in this work were texts previously printed in Parisien “Kultura” (*To fight or not to fight*, No. 7/8, 1980), in “Zeszyty Historyczne” – *Did Światło tell the truth*, No. 71, 1985 and *On the trial of Boleslaw Bierut and his associates* – No. 88, 1989, in London's “Wiadomości” (*Did Warsaw save Berlin and Vienna?*, No. 3, 1981), in “Tygodnik Polski” (*Pilsudski or Dmowski?*, December 5, 1981 and *Poland's Millenium Primate*, June 1981). The latter was previously broadcasted by RFE on the day of Primate Stefan Wyszyński's funeral, June 13, 1981. Several other shorter articles were from London's “Dziennik Polski and Dziennik Żołnierza” (about Jerzy Giedroyc and John Paul II)

and Chicago's "Dziennik Związkowy" (discussion of *Brzezinski's Memoir*, February 25/26, 1983).

Primate Wyszynski was a particularly important figure to Nowak-Jeziorański predominantly because, "For a long time, society was in apathy, discouraged and intimidated, while he was the one **who alone broke the fear barrier**, he was an example which others followed"⁵⁴. Nowak was full of admiration for the primate, which he illustrated earlier in radio commentary *Primate's Strategy* from January 9, 1966 and in the article *Indomitable Prince* (reprinted from *Poland Remains True to Itself*). The solemn speech from the day of his funeral broadcasted by RFE presented a picture of this indomitable leader of the Catholic Church in Poland, defender of national values and a skilled diplomat who made agreements with Communists even against the Vatican.

Nowak wrote, "facing a real threat of a forced destruction of the Church organization, he did not hesitate to make the first in history agreement with a Communist government [...]. This was just a year after Pius XII excommunicated the Communists and Catholics cooperating with them"⁵⁵. [...] He was facing opposition from four bishops and two administrators from the Episcopate. »Do not make deals with the devil « – he was told. »With the devil – no but with people – yes. « **He was able to differentiate people from the methods they used.** »I fight for and defend what belongs to the Church. But wherever I can, I try to reach agreement with words «"⁵⁶. When it turned out that the authorities had one goal in mind – to destroy the Church as the main obstacle to creating *homo sovieticus* – he said, "»The state does not exist just for itself but to serve others. Sacred rules have to be followed. «. Shortly before his arrest, he said firmly, »The teaching is, what is Caesar's is Caesar's, what is Holy is God's. **But when Caesar sits on the altar, we say – you may not**"⁵⁷.

Nowak continued that primate Wyszynski, "Like no one else could **combine religion which was his whole life with love for his homeland**"⁵⁸. He discussed the issue of reconciliation with Germany and "the famous Episcopate"⁵⁹ letter in which he asked for forgiveness and was ready to forgive their faults. The letter first initiated a wave of attacks

⁵⁴ Idem, *W poszukiwaniu...*, p. 203.

⁵⁵ It was a Holy decree from July 13, 1949 on expelling communist party members from the Church.

⁵⁶ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *W poszukiwaniu...*, p. 200–201.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 200.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 202.

⁵⁹ This is the Polish Episcopate Letter to German bishops which included the famous sentence, we forgive and we ask for forgiveness, announced by its addressees on November 30, 1965.

which were to destroy him in the eyes of society but in the end paved the way for Germany to acknowledge the borderline of the Oder/Nysa rivers two years later”⁶⁰.

Worth noting, particularly from interwar historians’ point of view, is the monograph, *American policy toward Poland during the Cold War*, previously published by Polish Scientific Society in Exile in London 1987. As Nowak noted, it is largely based on American government’s confidential documents, recently made available to the public, as well as U.S National Security Council documents up to 1954 and the U.S. Department of State documents up to 1951⁶¹. This text is an extended (including the world political situation directly after the war) and a more detailed version of chapter *Containment or liberation policy?* from *War in Ether*⁶². He places the “Polish issue” in view of American-Soviet relations, including a hypothetical scenario for Poland in case of an armed conflict between the US and the Soviet Union in the late 1940s. He points out the successes of American *policy of containment*, starting with saving Greece from Communist rule, the introduction of the Marshall Plan, creation of NATO and the beginnings of European Community as well as inconsistencies in “policy of liberation”, particularly in case of Hungary in October and November 1956.

Interesting and fresh are Nowak’s comments on Polish émigré circles’ stances regarding Poland’s key interests. “Within the early post war years up to 1956 events, it turns out that **émigré quarrels were only seeming**. With regard to crucial issues, including Poland’s vital interests such as the stance regarding policy of liberation, the issue of the Western boarder and state aid, all factions, without any prior agreements, would take the same stance, in unison with public feeling at home.”⁶³

Conclusion

After 1989, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański published four more journalistic volumes⁶⁴, consisting of articles printed by domestic press. These works can be considered his final stage of writing. They include numerous insightful analyses and assessments of the situation in Poland (and Poland’s situation) from a historic and political science perspective, including European, American and Russian policies. There are articles on World War II history as well as polemics, predominantly with Adam Michnik and the “Gazeta Wyborcza” circles in which he refers to his own life and axiological arguments. The assessments he makes are often

⁶⁰ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *W poszukiwaniu...*, p. 203.

⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 117.

⁶² Idem, *Wojna w eterze*, p. 89–106.

⁶³ Idem, *W poszukiwaniu...*, p. 132.

⁶⁴ Idem, *Rozmowy o Polsce*, Warszawa 1995; idem, *Polska wczoraj, dziś i jutro*, Warszawa 1999; idem, *Fakty, wydarzenia, opinie*, Warszawa 2001; idem, *Polska z bliska*.

personalized as he refers them to his own experiences which makes them all that more credible. However, that is a subject for another analysis.