

Marek Jabłonowski

Creation of the Polish Association of Newspapers and Magazines in 1928 in the light of the Archives of Modern Records

KEY WORDS

publishers, representation, periodic press, statute, union, Second Poland's Republic

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the creation and the first period of activity of the largest and most important publishing organization in Poland the inter-war period – the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines (PZWDiC). It was appointed to represent and defend the interests of Polish periodicals. In the period of 1929–1939 its work was widely expanded and further developed as representation of journalistic communities.

The research problem of this article is the establishment of the largest organisation of publishers in in the interwar period in 1918 – the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines (PZWDiC – Polski Związek Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism). The Association, active during the period contained in the caesuries of 1929-1939, represented the interests of periodic press publishers in contacts with state authorities, mediated in negotiations on, among others, press legislation, tax and customs matters, paper trading, printing equipment, advertising and advertisement acquisition. The article presents the existing arrangements with the prospect of deepening them in the future. Author of the text attempted to present genesis, statutory goals and the organisation's operation in the first period of its existence.

The source database of the article are primarily documents stored in the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw. Records produced by the Association's structures

did not reach AAN in a compact form. They came in several parties, between 1949 and 1970¹. At the beginning of the 1970s, they were organised, developed and merged, and the process was completed in 1975. The condition of the records is good – 75% of materials (in relation to the time the organisation finished its activity) have 9.5 running meters and have 522 units². The materials collected in AAN constitute an important element of the source database for explaining the history of publishing organisations and the Polish press of the first half of the 20th century. While reviewing entries in the PZWDiC files, it is worth noting that after a period of interest and source research in the last decades of the 20th century, which resulted in numerous studies devoted to the interwar press³, currently the issue of activity of the largest publishers' organisation of those years enjoys less interest of researchers⁴.

¹ Central Archives of Modern Records, Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in Warsaw (PZWDiC), see: *Wstęp do inwentarza Zespołu akt Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism z lat 1928–1939* [Introduction to the inventory of the files of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines from the years 1928-1939], pp. 8–9. Hereinafter - AAN, PZWDiC.

² AAN, PZWDiC, pp. 9–15.

³ See, among others: *Bibliography of the content of the "Kwartalnik Historia Prasy Polskiej"* (formerly "Rocznik Historii Czołopismienictwa Polskiego") for the years 1962–1981, ed. C. Gajkowska, "Kwartalnik Historii" "Prasy Polskiej", R. XX, no. 4; among compact forms, see among others: A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska 1918–1939* [Polish press in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa 1980 and *Prasa codzienna Warszawy w latach 1918–1939* [Warsaw daily press in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa 1983; W. Władyka, *Krew na pierwszej stronie. Dzienniki sensacyjne Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Krew na pierwszej stronie [Sensational journals of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1982; D. Nałęcz, *Zawód dziennikarza w Polsce 1918–1939* [Journalism in Poland in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa–Łódź 1982); A. Notkowski, *Prasa w systemie propagandy rządowej w Polsce 1926–1939* [Press in the government propaganda system in Poland in years 1926-1939], Warszawa–Łódź 1987.

⁴ The following can be examples: E. Kaszuba, *System propagandy państwowej obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926–1939* [State propaganda system of the ruling camp in Poland in the years 1926-1939], Toruń 2004; R. Habielski, *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność? Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej* [Freedom or responsibility? Press and politics in the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 2013, where it did not obtain much attention. PZWDiC's work and achievements were referenced more in the past. A. Kołodziejczak published an information note on the Association in the *Encyclopedia of the Second Polish Republic*, see *Encyclopedia of the history of the Second Polish Republic*, ed A. Garlicki et al., Warszawa 1999. In-depth materials devoted to the issues of activity outside the country and the announcement activities in the actions of the Association were prepared by: E. Rudziński, *Zagraniczna działalność Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism w latach 1929–1939* [Foreign activity of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in the years 1929-1939], "Rocznik Historii Czołopismienictwa Polskiego", R. XIII, no. 3 and *Sprawy ogłoszeniowe w działalności Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism w latach 1929–1939* [Advertisements in the activities of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in the years 1929-1939], "Rocznik Historii Czołopismienictwa Polskiego", R. XIV, no. 1; K. Badziak, *Zabiegi Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism o obniżki cen papierów wydawniczych w latach 1931–1939* [Fight of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines for price reductions of publishing paper in the years 1931-1939], "Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej", R. XXIV, no. 2. It should also be noted that many authors contributing to the study of the press of the Second Polish Republic mention PZWDiC and the contexts of the Association's activity, often when mentioning documents on the margins of research on other issues, for example: W. Władyka, *Prasa codzienna w Polsce (1918–1939)* [Daily press in Poland (1918-1939). *Charakterystyka statystyczna* [Daily press in Poland (1918-1939). Statistical characteristics], "Rocznik Historii Czołopismienictwa Polskiego", R. XIII, vol. 2; A. Rudziński, *O koncernach „prasy czerwonej” i „IKC” 1926–1939* [On the concerns of the "red press" and "IKC" 1926-1939], "Rocznik Historii Czołopismienictwa Polskiego", R. VII, vol. 1; A. Notkowski, *Państwowa polityka prasowa Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)* cz. 1. [State press policy in the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939) part 1] "Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej", R. XVII, no. 1; A. Paczkowski, *Polska prasa codzienna w latach 1918–1939. Niektóre kierunki przemian* [Polish

Socio-economic and political conditions for the establishment of PZWDiC

Looking from the perspective of the end of the 1930s on the conditions important for the establishment of the Association of Publishers, its director Stanisław Kauzik drew attention to the difficult situation of the press in the second half of the 1920s. It was caused, among others, by dynamic development of dailies, especially sensational ones, which started to supplant political and opinion-making press, economic difficulties of many editorial offices (increasing level of publishing production costs), as well as economic policy of state authorities (especially in transport and communication, as well as tax and customs matters), often disregarding publishers' needs and business⁵. Kauzik emphasised that lack of organisation representing the interests of the industry was particularly noticeable in the area of legislative issues, which was especially visible in the course of preparation of the regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland in 1927⁶.

However, the argumentation cited is not satisfying and does not exhaust the problem. Without denying its significance, one should perceive the business's decision to establish a trade union organisation not only through its internal difficulties, but also due to the socio-economic and political conditions that the business faced in 1927 and 1928, and which had to be challenged.

Dynamic development of the press and publishing houses, mentioned by Kauzik, had its roots in the improving and stabilising economic situation in Poland. After years of war-

daily press in the years 1918-1939. Selected change directions], "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej", T. XII-XIII; by the same author: *Prasa w życiu politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej [Press in the political life of the Second Polish Republic]*, "Dzieje Najnowsze" 1978, no. 3. An important study on publishers and editors, their powers, as well as the scope of obligations set out in the press law is the study by M. Pietrzak, *Reglamentacja wolności prasy w Polsce (1918-1939)* [Regulation of freedom of press in Poland (1918-1939)], Warszawa 1963. The author of this text received information about the creation of a master's thesis devoted to PZWDiC, prepared under the supervision of A. Notkowski at the Higher School of Journalism of A. Wańkowicz in Warsaw, however, despite his attempts, he failed to reach it.

⁵ S. Kauzik, *Wytyczne organizacji i działalności związku wydawców* [Guidelines for the organisation and activity of the publishers' association] [in:] *10 lat pracy Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism 1928-1938* [10 years of work of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines 1928-1938], Warszawa 1939, p. 5. This problem was discussed by F. Głowiński in the first release of "Prasa" (*O jednolitą organizację pracy* [For the universal work organisation], 1930 vol. 1, p. 3), stating that: "For many years, Polish publishing production, by not organising, has voluntarily deprived itself of everything that the organisation can give to increase the seriousness and professional level of the press and to improve its financial situation." K. Badziak (*Zabiegi polskiego...*, op. cit., p. 47) emphasises that the consumption of newspaper paper particularly increased in the period 1926-1928, and the record year was the last one.

⁶ Ordinance published on 10.05.1927 (Journal of Laws no. 45 item 398) was repealed by the resolution of the Sejm dated 19.09.1927, however, due to the lack of publication, it was valid until February 1930 (see: *Ordinance of the President of the Republic of Poland of 28 February 1930 regarding the announcement of a resolution of the Sejm repealing the Ordinance of the President of the Republic of Poland of 10 May 1927. D.U.R.P. no. NR 45, item 398 i 399*, published: Journal of Laws 1930 no. 14 item 92), in this regard: *Czy dekret prasowy obowiązuje?* [Is the press decree in force?], "Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny" 1928, no. 1, pp. 98-116 and S. Kauzik, *Wytyczne organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 5.

oriented economy and post-war economic chaos⁷, a time of deep reforms has come⁸. Inflation was stopped and the budget stabilised, which saved the country not only from economic, but also political difficulties⁹. The period after 1926 was the time of recovery visible in various sectors of the economy. It is the time of short-term development, economic and financial stability, obviously also affecting the publishing industry. This favoured the Sanation, making it easier to use the fruits of reforms initiated by Władysław Grabski¹⁰.

For the publishing industry, political conditions were also important. The coup of Józef Piłsudski opened a new stage in the history of numerous circles¹¹. Internal situation and calls for broadly understood healing – the sanation of the system, had decisive influence on their development. In the press policy of the state, the consequence was increasing restrictiveness¹². Events from May constituted a strong impulse for public activity. Victory of the Sanation camp somehow forced quicker process of searching for new organisational forms and methods of operation¹³.

The time of consolidation for the circles associated with the authorities came in the autumn of 1927. It was connected with the expiring term of the Sejm, setting the date of the parliamentary elections and preparations for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of

⁷ Read more: Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej 1918–1939*, [The economy of interwar Poland of 1918-1939] Vol. I *W dobie inflacji 1918–1923*, [In the era of inflation 1918-1923] Warszawa 1967; thereout, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918–1939* [Outline of Polish economic history 1918-1939], Warszawa 1971, p. 61 et seq.; W Zaleski, *Dorobek gospodarczy odrodzonej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1918–1939)* [Economic achievements of the reborn Polish Republic (1918-1939)], London 1975, p. 11 et seq.

⁸ This issue has extensive literature. See, among others: Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej 1918–1939* [The economy of interwar Poland of 1918-1939], Vol. II *Okres kryzysu poinflacyjnego i ożywienia koniunktury (1924–1929)* [The period of a post-inflation crisis and recovery (1924-1929)], Warszawa 1971; Z. Karpiński, *Bank Polski 1924–1939* [Bank of Poland in 1924-1939], Warszawa 1958; W. Morawski, *Od marki do złotego. Historia finansów Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [From Mark to Zloty. History of finances of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 2008, pp. 87–120; A. Fronczek-Kwarty, *Polityka finansowa i gospodarcza rządu Władysława Grabskiego w okresie reformy walutowo-skarbowej (1923–1924)* [The financial and economic policy of Władysław Grabski's government during the currency and treasury reform (1923-1924)], Poznań 2014.

⁹ M. Jabłonowski, *Z dziejów gospodarczych Polski lat 1918–1939* [From the economic history of Poland in 1918-1939], Warszawa 1992, p. 92 et seq., also W. Morawski, *Od marki...*, op. cit., pp. 121–156.

¹⁰ M. Jabłonowski, *Z dziejów...*, op. cit., pp. 97–98.

¹¹ Read more: M. Jabłonowski, *Budowa zaplecza politycznego obozu władzy po 1926 roku (na przykładzie ruchu byłych wojskowych)* [Construction of the political base of the power camp after 1926 (exemplified by the former military movement)] [in:] *Józef Piłsudski. Dziedzictwo epoki – wyzwania dla współczesności* [Józef Piłsudski. Heritage of the epoch - challenges for the modern times], ed. A. Kosecki, J. Cymerski, Pułtusk 2015, pp. 97–121.

¹² On this matter, read more: M. Pietrzak, *Reglamentacja wolności...*, op. cit., or lately E. Kaszuba, *System propagandy...*, op. cit., pp. 96–97.

¹³ The veteran communities became active as one of the first, creating the Association for the Repair of the Republic of Poland “Naprawa”, read more P. Waingertner, “Naprawa” 1926–1939. *Z dziejów obozu pomajowego* [Repair of 1926-1939. From the history of the post-May camp], Warszawa 1999. We can find interesting information on the subject of dilemmas and particularly active activists of the Silesian Insurgent League in this period in E. Długajczyk, *Sanacja śląska 1926–1939. Zarys dziejów politycznych* [Silesian sanation. The outline of political history], Katowice 1983, p. 42 et seq.

independence. Fundamental moves in this respect took place in the first weeks of 1928. In January, the Committees for Cooperation with the Government began to form, and they consisted of representatives of numerous circles of Sanation who supported strengthening of the executive power. After the election, the parliamentary club called the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government was created and the process of building the party's field structures began¹⁴ – the president of the bloc was Walery Sławek¹⁵. In the same month, Presidium of the Democratic Women's Election Committee announced the *Ideological Declaration*. The Committee was an agreement of women's associations approving Piłsudski's ideology and leadership. After the election, the Union of Women's Civic Work was created, and Zofia Moraczewska¹⁶ became the chairwoman. This Union has become the largest women's organisation associated with the ruling camp¹⁷. A few weeks later, a union of veterans was formed under the name of the Federation of Polish Associations of Homeland Defenders. Its president was Roman Górecki, and it consisted of pro-government veterans' organisations, with the Polish Legionaries Union in the lead¹⁸. Federation became the largest veteran organisation cooperating with the Sanation camp¹⁹. The indicated process has a rich literature, for example, we can refer to the classic works of Jerzy Halbersztadt²⁰ and Andrzej

¹⁴ See, among others: A. Chojnowski, *Piłsudczycy u władzy. Dzieje Bezpartyjnego Bloku Współpracy z Rządem* [Piłsudski followers in power. The history of a non-party block of cooperation with the government], Wrocław–Warszawa 1986 and by the same author: *Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem* [Non-party block of cooperation with the government] [in:] *Encyklopedia Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Encyclopedia of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1999, also K. Dziuda, *Dzieje...*, op. cit. or P. Olstowski, *Obóz...*, op. cit., particularly chapter 3.

¹⁵ More, among others, in J.M. Nowakowski, *Walery Sławek (1879–1939). Zarys biografii politycznej* [Walery Sławek (1879–1939). Outline of a political biography], Warszawa 1988; *Czy wiesz, kto to jest?* [Do you know who it is?], ed. S. Łoza, Warszawa 1938; *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Who was whom in the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1994; L. Malinowski, *Politycy II Rzeczypospolitej* [Politicians of the Polish Republic], vol. II, Toruń 1995; *Słownik biograficzny Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej XX wieku* [Biographical dictionary of Central and Eastern Europe of the 20th century], Warszawa 2004.

¹⁶ I. Florczak, *Z. Moraczewska (1873–1958). Kobieta – polityk II Rzeczypospolitej* [Z. Moraczewska (1873–1958). Woman politician in the Second Polish Republic] [in:] “Acta Universitatis Lodiensis. Folia historica” 2003, vol. 77; see also: *Kobiety i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1917–1939* [Women and the world of politics in independent Poland in 1917–1939], ed. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc, Warszawa 1996.

¹⁷ More: J. Dufurat, *W służbie obozu marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego: Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (1928–1939)* [In the service of the camp of Marshal Józef Piłsudski: Union of Women's Civic Work (1928–1939)], Kraków 2013.

¹⁸ M. Jabłonowski, *Sen...*, op. cit., p. 61 et seq.; *Czy wiesz kto...*, op. cit., pp. 220–221; *Słownik biograficzny...*, op. cit., pp. 391–392; see also: Z. Landau, *Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego* [Polish national development bank], Warszawa 1993.

¹⁹ See: M. Jabłonowski, *Sen...*, op. cit., and A. Niewęglowska, *Federacja...*, op. cit., p. 84 et seq.

²⁰ J. Halbersztadt J., *Józef Piłsudski i jego współpracownicy wobec problemu wyborów parlamentarnych w Polsce w latach 1926–1928. Z badań nad genezą BBWR*, [Józef Piłsudski and his associates on the problem of parliamentary elections in Poland in 1926–1928. Research on the genesis of BBWR] “Dzieje Najnowsze” 1984, vol. 1.

Chojnowski²¹, or to the recently published monograph of Joanna Dufurat²². It was also an important element of a wider project of consolidation and extension of the social base of the Sanation camp in accordance with the slogan “Everything for the state, its development, security and the supreme position in the world²³”.

The press publishers’ environment was also perceived as part of the project. Elżbieta Kaszuba rightly noticed that the Sanation camp as the administrator of the basic tools of power – means of coercion, financial resources or education in the state spirit – could on the one hand be a press patron, and on the other – exert pressure²⁴. The strategic goals of the Sanation camp were to gain influence in the most popular newspapers, both in metropolitan and provincial centres, and to create a nationwide network of magazines related to the ruling camp, capable of creating real support for its activities and active fight against openly opposing publishers²⁵. Press policy was aimed at broadly understood subordination and control over publishers. The latter in the present situation had only weak support in their native capital, who barely fulfilled the role of media protector²⁶.

The authorities, as Andrzej Notkowski once pointed out, just as Rafał Habielski currently, used various ways to exert pressure on press, especially opposing titles, both political pressure (organised polemics and press campaigns) and economic pressure (confiscation of circulation, fines, suspension of publications or disorganisation of their technical facilities and distribution)²⁷. Wiesław Władyka pointed out that the acceptance of the opposition or even the reluctant attitude towards the Sanation camp was, in a literal sense, very expensive, because these exerted pressures could have destroyed economically strong publications or publications whose owners were willing to bear such a sacrifice for the sake of greater good²⁸.

²¹ A. Chojnowski, *Piłsudczycy u władzy. Dzieje Bezpartyjnego Bloku Współpracy z Rządem [Piłsudski followers in power. The history of a non-party block of cooperation with the government]*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1986, particularly chapter I on the party’s genesis.

²² J. Dufurat, *W służbie...*, op. cit.

²³ M. Jabłonowski, *Budowa zaplecza politycznego...*, op. cit.

²⁴ E. Kaszuba, *System propagandy...*, op. cit., p.91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91. In this context, R. Habielski (*Wolność i odpowiedzialność...*, op. cit., p. 98) rightly points out that since then, the criteria for what is allowed and what cannot be written in the press will not depend so much on legal provisions, but on the goals of the power camp.

²⁶ E. Rudziński, *O koncernach...*, op. cit., pp. 147–148.

²⁷ A. Notkowski, *Państwowa polityka prasowa...*, op. cit., p. 74 and R. Habielski, *Wolność i odpowiedzialność...*, op. cit., p. 97 et seq.; read more: W. Władyka (*Krew...*, op. cit., p. 165), who quotes, among others, M. Krzepkowski, editor of “Ostatnie Wiadomości”: “At first we insisted on apoliticalism (...) However, the moment came (...) when we were forced to publish BBWR numbers. They sent us a building commission.”

²⁸ W. Władyka, *Krew...*, op. cit., pp. 157–158.

These activities disturbed the publishers, the more so because in the ruling camp in the second half of 1926 there appeared, among others, the idea of creating an institution that could play the role of a centre gathering publishers and collaborators of local magazines²⁹. There were hopes for cooperation with the Union of Writers and Journalists of the Republic of Poland and with the Polish Union of the Provincial Press (at that time associating 37 publishers). In the autumn of 1926, organisational preparations were initiated, supported by the government and self-government administration in order to convene a national Congress of the Provincial Press. It was prepared by a commission led by Aleksander Patkowski³⁰. One year later, the project failed to bring the expected success. The congress took place in December 1927, however, only 18 participants representing 7 provincial publishers took part³¹. The authorities did not resign – they announced the General Congress of the Provincial Press, which was not held, among others due to the intensifying political struggle during the election campaign. From the point of view of the intentions of the ruling camp, the situation of press corporations also changed significantly. Leaders of the Polish Association of the Provincial Press were often ideologically close or sympathetic to the National Democracy³². There was also a new, independent and non-governmental initiative – PZWDiC.

Establishment of the Association

The idea of establishing a permanent and institutionalised press publishers' agreement was not a new one. Projects in this area appeared already at the beginning of the 20th century and did not disappear after regaining independence³³. In Poland, in the 1920s, press was published, among others, by political parties, unions and associations, social and cultural-educational organisations, local government agencies, church institutions, schools, as well as private individuals³⁴. In the face of increasing economic difficulties of the industry, actions

²⁹ Read more: E. Kaszuba, *System propagandy...*, op. cit., p.92.

³⁰ At that time, the chairman of the Universal Regional Universities Section, belonging to the Union of Polish Teachers of General Schools, read more: A. Notkowski, *Prasa w systemie...*, op. cit., pp. 204, 207.

³¹ E. Kaszuba, *System propagandy...*, op. cit., pp. 93–94.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

³³ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 5. The existence in independent Poland of a large number of ideologically close associations and organisations in fact inspired the creation of joint representations, e.g. in 1924 there was a significant activation of the Polish Legionnaires, read more in P. Wróbel *Kombatanci kontra politycy. Narodziny i początek działania Związku Legionistów Polskich 1918–1923* [Veterans against politicians. Birth and beginning of the activity of the Polish Legionnaires Union 1918-1923], "Przegląd Historyczny" 1985, vol. 1 and M. Jabłonowski, *Sen...*, op. cit., pp. 41–47.

³⁴ M. Pietrzak, *Reglamentacja ...*, op. cit., pp. 99–103.

and pressures of the power camp³⁵, and taking into account the experience of many countries, the representatives of the largest publishing companies considered it necessary to take preemptive steps. The goal was to create a tool to defend the rights of the industry participants and a free channel between it and decision makers.

Organisational activities began to bear fruit in mid-1928, mainly in Warsaw and Poznań³⁶. The group of initiators represented various attitudes and forms of activity: the activist of the National Democracy was a publisher, polygraph and bookseller Mieczysław Niklewicz from “Gazeta Warszawska”, a friend of Roman Dmowski³⁷. Edward Pawłowski was close to his ideas and active in committees organised by the national camp. He was a printer and publisher of “Kurier Poznański” and “Orędownik Wielkopolski” owner of “Drukarnia Polska” S.A., president of, among others, Association of Employers and Association of the Graphic and Publishing Industry Organisations, treasurer of the Industrial Society, member of the Provincial Committee of the Organisation of State Defence in Poznań in 1926³⁸. A social activist, deputy and senator from the Christian Democracy, sympathetic to Centrolew’s actions, was father Franciszek Gąsiorowski from “Rzeczpospolita³⁹”. In opposition to the Piłsudski’s camp, sympathetic to Ignacy J. Paderewski and Władysław Sikorski, appearing in defence of the Brest prisoners, was Ignacy Mrozowski⁴⁰, president of the Management Board of the company “Kurier Warszawski” and Konrad Olchowicz⁴¹, member of the Warsaw syndicate of journalists, president of the Society of Writers and Journalists, board member of the Association of Catholic Writers - publisher of “Kurier

³⁵ S. Krzywoszewski (*Na progu naszej pracy* [At the beginning of our work], “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p. 2) stated, among others: “And if the interests of publishers in Poland have not been duly taken into account, if the moral and material situation of publishers of dailies and periodics is very far from what it should be, is it not because the publishers have been so scattered?”

³⁶ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 5; see also: “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p. 11 and E. Rudziński, *Zagraniczna...*, op. cit., p. 345.

³⁷ J. Zieliński, *Niklewicz Mieczysław (1880–1948)* [*Mieczysław Niklewicz (1880–1948)*] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 23, p. 115.

³⁸ Z. Kaczmarek, *Pawłowski Edward (1870–1939)* [Edward Pawłowski (1870–1939)] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 25, pp. 494-496.

³⁹ W. Dzwonkowski, *Gąsiorowski Franciszek ks. (1876–1939)* [Father Franciszek Gąsiorowski (1876–1939)] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 7, p. 348, see also: *Historia katolicyzmu społecznego w Polsce 1832–1939* [History of social Catholicism in Poland 1832-1939], Warszawa 1981, pp. 203–253.

⁴⁰ Z. Lechicki, *Mrozowski Feliks Ignacy (1869–1940)* [Feliks Ignacy Mrozowski (1869-1940)] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 22, p. 214. It is worth noting that after the verdict in the Brest case, he paid a bail for some of the imprisoned politicians.

⁴¹ M. Jabłonowski, Z. Anculewicz, *General Władysław Sikorski. Publicystyka generała Władysława Sikorskiego na łamach „Kuriera Warszawskiego” w latach 1928–1939* [General Władysław Sikorski. Publicism of General Władysław Sikorski in the pages of “Kurier Warszawski” in the years 1928-1939], Warszawa 1999, pp. 12–13 and A. Kołodziejczyk, *Olchowicz Konrad* [Konrad Olchowicz] [in:] *Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Encyclopedia of the history of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1999, p. 267.

Warszawski”. Marian Dąbrowski, publisher of, among others “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”⁴², entrepreneur and the largest press mogul of the interwar period, a member of parliament in 1921-1935 (initially from the PSL “Piast” list, after 1926 from the BBWR list), maintained close contacts with the ruling camp. The views of journalist Ludwik Feliks Fryze – publisher of, among others “Kurier Poranny” and “Przegląd Wieczorny” – evolved in the twenties from a liberal-bourgeois position towards the Sanation camp⁴³. The group was supplemented by the owner of the “red press” group, the publisher of, among others, “Ekspres Poranny” and “Kurier Czerwony”, Antoni Lewandowski, who, against the background of the others, had no political preference and skilfully adapted to the current situation⁴⁴.

Composition of the group seems to confirm that not views or attempts to support any of the forces fighting on the political scene, but the real needs of the industry have been at the heart of the decision to try to establish an independent and self-governing organisation⁴⁵. Representatives of individual companies, apart from a serious organisational effort, decided to bear the burden of financing the venture⁴⁶. It seems important that among the people invited to the cooperation there were no publishers of national minorities’ press, and yet Poland in the years 1918-1939 was the homeland not only for Poles⁴⁷.

⁴² *Posłowie i senatorowie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919–1939. Słownik biograficzny* [Members and senators of the Republic of Poland in 1919-1939. Biographical dictionary], Vol. 1 (A–D), Warszawa 1998, pp. 355–356 and *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Who was whom in the Second Polish Republic], ed. J. Majchrowski, in cooperation with G. Mazur and K. Stepan, Vol. II, Warszawa 1994, p. 262.

⁴³ A. Bachulski, *Fryze Ludwik Feliks (1874–1948)* [Ludwik Feliks Fryze (1874–1948)] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 7, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁴ Cz. Lechicki, *Lewandowski Antoni (1890–1946)* [Antoni Lewandowski (1890–1946)] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. 17, p. 205. As part of the group, there also appeared: “Dzień Dobry”, “Dobry Wieczór” and weeklies “Kino” and “Przegląd Sportowy”. The group also included Kazimierz Młynarski - “ABC”.

⁴⁵ P. Borowiec, *Jesteśmy głosem milionów. Dzieje krakowskiego wydawnictwa i koncernu prasowego Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny (1910–1939)*, [We are the voice of millions. History of the Kraków publishing house and press group Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny (1910-1939),] Kraków 2005, p. 155.

⁴⁶ “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p.11 and E. Rudziński, *Zagraniczna...*, op. cit., p. 345.

⁴⁷ The author realises that this provokes discussion, among others on the subject of minorities, nationalism, etc. At the current stage of research it is difficult to determine the reasons for this decision. Further work is needed in this matter. Minorities accounted for about 35% of inhabitants of the Second Polish Republic. The consequence of this state of affairs was the publication, in various periods, in various languages and in printouts, of numerous press titles. For example, the environment of the Ukrainian, Jewish or German minorities issued more than hundred titles each. Read more: T. Kowalak, *Prasa niemiecka w Polsce 1918–1939. Powiązania i wpływy* [German press in Poland in 1918-1939. Connections and influence], Warszawa 1971; A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska w latach 1918–1939* [Polish press in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa 1980; by the same author: *Prasa żydowska w II Rzeczypospolitej* [Jewish press in the Second Polish Republic], “Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 1991, R. XXX, no. 2; J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów* [Polish Republic of many nations], Warszawa 1985, by the same author: *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków. Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w latach 1918–1939* [Motherland, not only Poles. National minorities in Poland in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa 1985; M. Jabłonowski, *Z dziejów gospodarczych...*, op. cit., pp. 41–46; E. Wiszka, *Prasa emigracji ukraińskiej w Polsce 1920–1939* [The press of Ukrainian emigration in Poland in 1920-1939], Toruń 2001; by the same author: *Emigracja ukraińska w Polsce 1920–1939* [Ukrainian emigrants in Poland in 1920-1939], Toruń 2005.

Publishers' environment tried to take a moderate position with regard to current politics. We see this clearly during the period of rapidly growing tension and confrontation in the summer and autumn of 1930. In the commentary from in the journal of the organisation, which was released between September and October, the following was emphasised: "Poland is again experiencing a period of parliamentary elections, intensifying and exacerbating the play of political passions. The weeks ahead, the last phase of the pre-election fight, will bring further tension to this play. (...) We must remember that the press during the election period, more prominently than in ordinary times, acts as a political educator of the general public. (...) Publishers, editors, publicists in the electoral period, more than ever, should bear in mind that brutal methods of political struggle not only internally humiliate and tarnish its participants, but also give a result opposite to what is expected (...) Regardless of the political mark and banner of particular publishers going to the elections, they should adopt common slogan to show tact, seriousness and mutual respect in the form of speeches and political fights"⁴⁸.

The commentary probably came from the politician, economist and social activist, previously mentioned Kauczik, who played a key role in the history of the organisation. When, after a period of activity in the area of executive power and close cooperation with Prime Minister Władysław Grabski⁴⁹, after May 1926, he was dismissed, this 35-year-old former high-ranking official was at a professional crossroads. He started working in the media, he co-edited the magazine "Droga Naprawy", collaborated with "Kurier Warszawski", and his words appeared in many other publications⁵⁰. His journalistic activity, reputation and

⁴⁸ *Przed wyborami*, [Before elections] "Prasa" 1930, no. 2, pp. 1–2.

⁴⁹ At the beginning of the war, he began studies at the Faculty of Law of the Jagiellonian University, which he continued in Russia. He finished his education in 1927 at the University of Warsaw. Evacuated to the East, he was active in Moscow and St. Petersburg, where he got close to National Democracy and established cooperation with Władysław Grabski. He returned to Warsaw in 1918, taking up a job at the Social Work Office, and was also involved as a secretary in the Office of Congress Works at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the end of January 1919 he co-organised the Central Liquidation Office; simultaneously (1920–1921) he was the secretary general of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. In 1923, he established close cooperation with the minister, and then Prime Minister Władysław Grabski, who appointed him as the head of the Presidential Office of the Ministry of Treasury, then appointed him the Director of the Cabinet, and in February 1924 he entrusted Kauczik the function of the director of the Presidential Department. In this last position, Kauczik dealt not only with matters related to the repair of the state treasury, but also conducted behind-the-scenes negotiations with politicians of various options forming the Sejm of the first term, seeking support for the policy pursued by the Prime Minister. He resigned after the government's resignation and worked in local affairs at the Extraordinary Savings Bank. Read more: J. Tomaszewski, *Kauczik Stanisław* [Stanisław Kauczik] [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Vol. XII, Wrocław–Warszawa 1966–1967, pp. 236–237.

⁵⁰ On the activities of S. Kauczik, see, among others, archives: AAN, Files of S. Kauczik; developments: J. Tomaszewski, *Kauczik Stanisław*... op. cit., by the same author: *Stabilizacja waluty w Polsce. Z badań nad polityką rządu polskiego przed zamachem majowym* [Stabilization of the currency in Poland. Research on the policy of the Polish government before the May coup], Warszawa 1961; Z. Landau, *Polskie zagraniczne pożyczki państwowe 1918–1926* [Polish foreign state loans 1918–1926], Warszawa 1961; M. Pietrzak,

organisational efficiency, supported by extensive contacts in the world of politics, attracted the attention of publishers, so when he was offered the position of the director of the planned office of the Association, he accepted it.

Statute and goals of the Association

The initiative group joined the work, preparing the draft statute with the participation of Kauzik, among others. The document specifying the tasks, composition and organisation of the Association was necessary in order to apply for the status of a legal personality. It was signed by Antoni Lewandowski, L.F. Fryze, Feliks Mrozowski and Mieczysław Niklewicz. Those four created a temporary board that was supposed to operate until a general constitutional meeting is convened⁵¹. The registration procedure ended with the ordinance of the Government Commissioner for the capital city of Warsaw, which on 22 October 1928 decided to enter the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines into the register of associations⁵². Ul. Nowowiejska 43⁵³ was the address of the Association. The seat was changed in 1930 – the Association moved to a new premise at ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 40, where the publishing house of “Kurier Warszawski” was located⁵⁴.

By acquiring legal personality, PZWDiC could start to develop operations throughout the country. Its goals included perfecting the periodic press in Poland, representing and defending the interests of publishing houses, and normalising relations between them. They were intended to be achieved through the use of extensive activities, which included research on the conditions for the development of the publishing movement in Poland and the press abroad; representation of the collective interests of publishing houses and press companies towards state and local government authorities and enterprises, as well as delegating representatives of organisations to participate in their work. PZWDiC’s tasks also included:

Reglamentacja wolności prasy w Polsce (1918–1939) [Regulation of freedom of press in Poland (1918-1939)], Warszawa 1963; W. Pobóg-Malinowski, *Najnowsza Historia Polityczna Polski* [New Polish political history], Vol. I 1864–1914, Vol. II 1914–1945, Gdańsk 1990–1991; W. Morawski, *Od marki ...*, op. cit.; M.M. Drozdowski, *Władysław Grabski*, Rzeszów 2002 and memoris: J. Dąbski, *Pokój ryski – wspomnienia, pertraktacje, tajne układy z Joffem, listy* [Peace of Riga - memories, negotiations, secret arrangements with Joff, letters], Warszawa 1931; W. Grabski, *Dwa lata pracy u podstaw państwowości naszej (1924–1925)* [Two years of work at the basis of our statehood (1924-1925)], Rzeszów 2002; S. Mackiewicz, *Zielone oczy* [Green eyes], Warszawa 1958; M. Rataj, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], Warszawa 1965.

⁵¹ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 170–190, see: § 51.

⁵² AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 190, the Association in the registry was assigned number 513; see also: J. Myśliński, *Kalendarium polskiej prasy, radia i telewizji* [Timeline of the Polish press, radio and television], Warszawa 2004, p. 63.

⁵³ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 56.

⁵⁴ The ceremony took place on 20 May 1930, and the President of the Council, F. Mrozowski, opened the new seat, see: “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p. 12.

appearing with initiatives of economic enterprises and cooperation in organising economic, social and professional institutions related to the publishing movement; publication of letters and publications and organisation of press exhibitions; organisation of publishing, industrial and commercial enterprises (including, among others, entities with legal personality: paper mills, printing houses, paper wholesalers and printing materials, distribution and press points, advertising offices, agencies, etc.); settling disputes between members of the organisation through the Association Court, as well as interventions in situations of conflicts between members of the organisation and members of other professional associations and corporations⁵⁵.

According to the statute, the real member of the Association could be any press representative within the Polish state represented by its representative, also honorary membership of the organisation was possible⁵⁶. In practice, the owners or chief executives acted on behalf of the publishers. Active and passive electoral rights were vested in real members admitted to the Association by the Council of the Association and paying contributions, the amount of which was calculated according to a special key, depending on the size of the publishing house⁵⁷. These contributions, together with the registration fee⁵⁸, legates, subsidies, donations, income and interest on capital, formed the Association's funds. Analysis of the reports proves that PZWDiC was based on solid financial foundations, although barriers were encountered in the first months of operations⁵⁹. However, these barriers were defeated and, for example, in the Association's gross balance sheet in 1932, the turnover reached almost PLN 284,000 and net balance was PLN 23,300; the key items in expenditures are office costs (PLN 55,500) and "Prasa" publishing house (PLN 8,200); the

⁵⁵ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 170–171.

⁵⁶ This was specified in § 8 and 20 of the Statute, see: AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 172 and 177.

⁵⁷ Pursuant to § 19 of the Statute, the basis for calculating annual contributions of real PZWDiC members was the number of permanent editorial and administrative staff as well as workers employed in the enterprise and being members of the Association in January of a given year. Each of the enterprises was counted to one of 15 classes, used to determine the amount of the contribution:

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Number of employees	1–5	5–10	10–15	15–20	20–25	25–30	30–35	35–40	40–45	45–50	50–60	60–70	70–80	80–100	above 100
Calculation units	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

⁵⁸ Newly-joining members paid entry fee in the amount of PLN 20-300, depending on the assigned class, see footnote 62.

⁵⁹ President of the Council, F. Mrozowski, financially supported the organisation during the period of the most serious expenses related to the capital renovation of the Association's seat, by transferring PLN 3,000, see "Prasa" 1930, vol. 1, p. 12.

supplementary capital was PLN 8,400. Membership fees of publishing houses brought PLN 40,200, and paper tax – almost PLN 23,000⁶⁰.

It was assumed that the authorities of the Association would be: general assembly of members and a general congress of branch representatives, Council of the Association and the Board of the Association⁶¹. General meetings were to be convened once a year, and their competence was to make decisions in the basic rights of the organisation, election of the Council of the Association, the Audit Committee and half of the members of the Association Court⁶². Council of the Association consisted of at least 12 members elected for three years from among the largest press companies. The Council's composition was to change in a rotating manner, and the Council itself was supposed to meet at least once every three months, deciding on the matters essential to the Association, including the election of the President, Vice Presidents and Board Members. In addition, the Council was authorised to create sections and departments for the implementation of its statutory objectives⁶³.

It was assumed that the Management Board was to consist of the President, two Vice Presidents and at least five members and three deputies elected for a period of 3 years. It was supposed to represent the organisation, manage its work, implement the provisions of the general assembly of members and the Council of the Association. It was agreed that Management Board meetings should be held at least once a month⁶⁴. In the initial period, it consisted of the publishers of "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny" (Marian Dąbrowski), "Kurier Poranny" (Ludwik Feliks Fryze), "Rzeczpospolita" (father Franciszek Gąsiorowski), "Express Poranny" (Antoni Lewandowski), "ABC" (Kazimierz Młynarski), "Kurier Warszawski" (Feliks Mrozowski), "Gazeta Warszawska" (Mieczysław Niklewicz) and "Kurier Poranny" (Edward Pawłowski)⁶⁵. Operations in the Association's structures were managed by many outstanding publishers with extensive life experience and established professional position. Decisions were taken primarily in the interest of their own companies, but also for ideological reasons - most of them have been associated with the organisation for years.

⁶⁰ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 74, see Financial Statements of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines for 1932.

⁶¹ See § 25 of the Statute (AAN PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 178).

⁶² See § 27 of the Statute (AAN PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 17).

⁶³ Council's attributions were specified in § 37 of the Statute (see AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 183–184).

⁶⁴ According to § 40 of the Statute (AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 185) the tasks of the Management Board included representing the Association, directing its affairs, implementing general resolutions of members' meetings and the Council's provisions, removing members of the Association, supervising the activities of branches and sections, keeping accounting.

⁶⁵ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 58.

The executive body of the Association was the Office, appointed by the Council of the Association. Its head was the Director, who participated in the meetings of the Management Board as a member and in the Council's meetings with an advisory vote⁶⁶. The Audit Committee, consisting of 3 members and 2 deputies, was elected for a period of 1 year. The Association Court, elected for 2 years, composed of 4 members and 4 deputies, and required a minimum of 5 members to meet⁶⁷.

The first period of organisational activity

The time of finalisation of works related to the creation of the organisational and legal framework for the Association's operation took place in the autumn of 1929⁶⁸. After months of the Temporary Main Board⁶⁹ in force, in October, the Constitutional General Meeting of PZWDiC was held. It adopted a number of resolutions concerning, among others, development of an amendment to the press act; commencing a dialogue with the relevant authorities regarding distribution and tax matters; publication of the "Memorial Book" dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the Polish press, and establishment of the Institute of Journalism as a workshop for studying the working conditions of journalists⁷⁰. For formal matters, the Council of the Association was formed, which consisted of representatives of large publishing companies⁷¹. Statutory authorities were elected, including permanent⁷² and

⁶⁶ See § 45 of the Statute (AAN PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 186).

⁶⁷ See § 48 and 49 of the Statute (AAN PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 187-188).

⁶⁸ In this context, the strong criticism of all those who had doubts about the appointment of the PZWDiC is noteworthy, see for example the material of F. Głowiński, *O jednolitą organizację prasy* [For a homogeneous organisation of the press], "Prasa" 1930, vol. 1, p. 4.

⁶⁹ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 60.

⁷⁰ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 2-4. The meeting was held on 20 and 21 October 1927.

⁷¹ Among others "Bluszcz", "Express Poranny", "Kurier Czerwony", "Gazeta Warszawska", "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny", "Kurier Poranny", "Kurier Poznański", "Kurier Warszawski", "Nasz Przegląd", "Polska Agencja Reklamy" and "Polonia", see: AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 1.

⁷² This group included, among others: M. Dąbrowski, L.F. Fryze, F. Krajna, A. Lewandowski, F. Mrozowski, M. Niklewicz, E. Pawłowski, Z. Pieracki, D. Rozencwajg and Z. Wieniawa-Chmielewski, see: Resolution no. 4 AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 1.

non-permanent⁷³ members of the Council of the Association, the Association Court⁷⁴ and the Audit Committee⁷⁵. The next General Meeting took place after two years, in May 1931⁷⁶.

Meetings of the statutory bodies of the Council of the Association and the Management Board were convened, as is apparent from the files, basically in accordance with the provisions of the Statute, similarly the meeting of the Presidium of the Council and the Management Board⁷⁷. For example, in September 1929 the Presidium of the Main Board of the Association dealt with preparation of the work plan for the autumn, also considered the editorial program of the “Prasa” publishing house. The Main Board focused, among others, on the implementation of the budget for the period from June to September; authorising the Presidium to conclude agreements with the Management Board of the Society of Railway Bookstores “Ruch” regarding instructions for kiosks and platform sellers, and the Polish Society of Book Publishers and the Association of Polish Booksellers on the creation of sales departments of Polish periodics in provincial bookshops. In addition, it considered publishing houses’ applications for admission as members of the Association and it decided to place the “ABC” publishing house in class 15, entitling it to permanent membership of the house’s representative in the Council of the Association⁷⁸.

The authorities of the Association made efforts to reach the majority of publishing houses of the Polish Republic with resolutions of the General Constituent Meeting and the circular on the emergence of its authorities. As a consequence, the number of publishing houses – members of the Association – was growing. Initially, it was 45 publishers, in 1930 in the structure of the organisation there were the publishers of all dailies and almost all magazines, the circulation of which exceeded 10,000 copies (except for a few folk

⁷³ This group included, among others, S. Bok (“Słowo Pomorskie”), A. Budrys Budrewicz (“Kurier Wileński”), E. Grocholska (“Kobieta Współczesna”), A. Gutowski (“Czas”), W. Gebethner (“Tygodnik Ilustrowany”), S. Jeleński (“Tęcza”), S. Krzywoszewski (“Świat”), Cz. Mikulski (“Przegląd Techniczny”), S. Pawlikowski (“Pielgrzym i Gонец Pomorski”), J. Włodarski (“Płomyk i Płomyczek”), K. Ziętowski (“Dziennik Kujawski”) and A. Zdanowski (“Robotniczy Przegląd Gospodarczy”), see Resolution no. 5 AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 1-2.

⁷⁴ This group included, among others: W. Buchnera (“Mucha”), O. Bujwida (“Polski Esperantysta”) and J. Lutosławski (“Gazeta Rolnicza”), see Resolution no. 6 AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 2.

⁷⁵ Members of the Audit Committee were appointed: K. Czerwiński (“Czasopismo Księgowych”), A. Umgelter (“Dzień Polski”), Ch. R. Hofmoki–Ostrowska (“Forum”) and A. Szylar (“Kupiec Tytoniowy”), see Resolution no. 7 AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 4, k. 2.

⁷⁶ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 8-21. From 1932 to 1939, General Meetings were held annually.

⁷⁷ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 22-49.

⁷⁸ See: *Życie organizacyjne. Z działalności Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism* [Everyday life. Operation of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines], “Prasa” 1930, vol. 2, p. 14.

magazines).⁷⁹ Two years later, in 1932, fees were paid to the association by 111 publishers⁸⁰. Already in 1929, in response to the question from the City of Warsaw what percentage of the total domestic production is represented by the Association, it was found that, considering the amount of paper consumed by publishing houses in Poland, PZWDiC members represent 75-80% of production⁸¹.

Pursuant to the provisions of the statute, the Association could establish regional branches⁸². They were to have “internal independence in matters concerning them” and were intended to be established in parallel with central structures. Unfortunately, the Association in this respect, like many other organisations⁸³, did not achieve spectacular successes. The existence of 10 districts was assumed, their area of activity in the west and in the centre was to coincide with the regions of the provinces. At the eastern provinces, it was planned to gather every three voivodships⁸⁴. The seats of regional authorities were to be located in provincial cities, therefore appropriate instructions and regulations were prepared. Only the publishing houses of the western provinces undertook a serious organisational action in the area, initiated by Edward Pawłowski, the chief director of the publishing houses “Kurier Poznański” and “Orsownik Wielkopolski⁸⁵”. Organisational and personnel difficulties of branch offices were, it seems, a consequence of the deep socio-cultural differences between individual districts. Unification in this area proceeded slowly in the Second Polish Republic⁸⁶.

⁷⁹ See the note: *Wydawnictwa zrzeszone w związku* [Publishing houses in the Association], “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p. 12 and K. Badiak, *Zabiegi Polskiego...*, op. cit., p.49.

⁸⁰ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 74, see attachment no. 2 to the balance sheet as at 31 December 1932. The group paying the membership fee in the amount over PLN 1500 to the Association included, among others, publishers of “ABC”, “Bluszcz”, “Gazeta Polska”, “Gazeta Warszawska”, “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”, “Kurier Poranny”, “Kurier Poznański”, “Kurier Warszawski”, “Der Moment”, “Prasa Polska SA” and “Tęcza”. In 1939 the Association had 164 members; in the years 1931-1939, the organisation’s materials (AAN PZWDiC, ref. No. 4-5) it was as follows: 1931 – 80; 1932 – 111; 1933 – 106; 1934 – 116; 1935 – 121; 1936 – 131; 1937 – 140; 1938 – 147; 1939 – 164.

⁸¹ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 57.

⁸² See § 22-24 of the Statute, AAN PZWDiC, ref. no. 2, k. 177-178.

⁸³ For example, FPZOO and its creating associations experienced very similar problems, see: M. Jabłonowski, *Sen...*, op. cit., p. 111-114.

⁸⁴ See: AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 56. As it results from the answer of 26 August 1929 (questionnaire of the Industrial Department of the Capital City of Warsaw), the status of the Branches was as follows: Pomorski in Toruń (“Słowo Pomorskie”); Poznański (“Kurier Poznański”); Śląski in Katowice (“Polska Zachodnia”); Krakowski (“IKC”); Lwowsko-Stanisławowsko-Tarnopolski in Lviv (“Nowy Wiek”); Warszawski; Łódzki (“Kurier Łódzki”); Kielecki in Częstochowa (“Goniec Częstochowski”); Wołyńsko-Lubelsko-Poleski in Lublin (“Express Lubelski”); Wileńsko-Białostocko-Nowogródzki (“Express Wileński”). The quoted document shows (k. 62) that the management boards of the Branches: Toruń, Łódź and Częstochowa were at the stage of constitution.

⁸⁵ See the note: *Współpraca prowincjonalnych członków Związku* [Cooperation of the provincial members of the Association], “Prasa” 1930 vol. 1, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁶ Read more, among others: J. Żarnowski, *Ojczyzną był język i mowa...* [The homeland was language and speech], op. cit., Warszawa 1978, p. 200.

At the beginning of the 1930s, many districts were still in the organisation phase. The files suggest that a large part of them did not show much activity⁸⁷.

The structure of the Association was evolving. In the first period of its activity, the following sections were established: Distribution, Advertising, Editorial, Periodic Press, Provincial Press and Propaganda of Reading. In May 1930, there was a reorganisation, after which there were 4 sections: Dailies and Periodic Press (both had the following commissions: Editorial, Distribution and Advertising), Provincial Press and Propaganda of Reading. In subsequent years, actions aimed at its improvement were carried out. For example, the Council of the Association in October 1931 established three committees: Committee of Daily and Capital Press, Committee of Daily Provincial Press, Committee of Periodic Press. Changes also took place in subsequent years⁸⁸.

The aforementioned Sections, Committees and Commissions were collegial bodies of the Association dealing with problems in the field defined by their names. Some of them did not leave any trace of activity in the files in the Central Archives of Modern Records. It seems that they were rather consultative and advisory in nature. The actual handling of matters was concentrated in the Association's Office and was seriously related to the activities of director Kauzik.

The statutory activity of the organisation remained the core one. Among the issues that the Temporary Main Board dealt with in the second half of 1929 was the issue of legislative regulations⁸⁹. It was about taking a position on the proposal of envoy journalists who, in May 1928, submitted to the marshal a draft law on the normalisation of legal relations of the journalistic profession. Temporary Management Board criticised the draft law in the form of a letter to the chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee. It demanded that the representatives of the Management Board be heard and allowed to participate in the deliberations. By decision of the Marshal of the Sejm in February 1929, representatives of the Association were admitted to participate in parliamentary works as experts⁹⁰. This resulted, among others, in them preparing and sending to the Marshal the draft law "On the regulation of the journalistic profession"⁹¹.

⁸⁷ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 3 and 5.

⁸⁸ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 5.

⁸⁹ Read more: R. Habielski, *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność...*, op. cit. pp. 158–163.

⁹⁰ The draft law was submitted on 22 May 1928. The Association was represented by: F.L. Fryze and M. Niklewicz, and the meeting was held on 20 February 1929.

⁹¹ The draft law was dated 15 March 1929. It assumed that the profession of journalist, due to the work characteristics consisting in the writer's individual writing, is similar to free professions, such as doctors or

The press market after 1929, in the face of economic crisis, was strongly affected by numerous fluctuations, which resulted in serious losses incurred by the publishers. In their opinion, this was even deepened by the policy of the authorities, which often – due to deficiencies in sanitary-construction, administrative or enforcement regulations when collecting overdue taxes – closed printing houses. In November 1930, the PZWDiC commission and the Syndicate Association of Journalists had a meeting on this matter – the aim was to prepare a joint speech⁹². A memorial was prepared to the heads of industry and trade, labour and social services, treasury and internal affairs departments. It pointed out the dangers to the publishing and graphic industries resulting from the policy of the authorities, and in particular the ruthless collection of taxes. In addition, the risk of increased unemployment among journalists and administrative employees in the industry was emphasised. The document contained a request for issuing appropriate corrective ordinances, as well as a number of specific postulates, including on the matters of mitigating the actions of executive organs, as well as appointing representatives of interested organisations to the government committees. The memorial was delivered to the ministers, and a copy – to the Government Commissioner of the Capital City of Warsaw⁹³.

The first works of the Association's experts included participation in a team appointed by the minister of industry and trade preparing a new customs tariff⁹⁴. The Association's structures focused on the problems of advertising – a questionnaire was published among several hundred publishers, and the conclusions were presented to the authorities⁹⁵. In the following months, the PZWDiC agenda focused on issues related to: press legislation and its application (including journalistic act and collective agreement for journalists); tax and customs matters; prices of paper and printers' salaries; distribution (including businesses and distribution fees, especially postal fees); news agencies; propaganda of readership; advertising

lawyers - so it proposed the creation of Press Chambers covering both publishers and journalists in single organisation, see more: *O Izby Prasowe w Polsce* [For the Press Chambers in Poland, "Prasa" 1930, vol. 1, p. 13.

⁹² In the commission's meetings on 5 and 7 November, the following took part representing the Association of Publishers: Stefan Krzywoszewski, Mieczysław Niklewicz, Jerzy Szapiro i Stanisław Kauzik; and representing the Syndicate Association of Journalists: Władysław Bazylewski, Witold Giełżyński, Stefan Grostern, Bohdan Jarochoowski and Bernard Zynger, see note: *W obronie prasy i drukarni* [For the defence of press and printing houses], "Prasa" 1930, vol. 3, p. 9.

⁹³ This memorial was approved and signed on 12 November 1930, see: *W obronie...*, op. cit.

⁹⁴ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 1, k. 63.

⁹⁵ Read more: W. Władyka, *Krew...*, op. cit., pp. 134–140; E. Rudziński: *Sprawy ogłoszeniowe w działalności*, [Advertising matters in operation] op. cit., and *Informacyjne agencje...* [Information agencies...], op. cit. An interesting material about the functioning of press publications during the crisis years was developed and published by D. Nałęcz, *Wydawcy w latach kryzysu* [Publishers in the crisis years]. *Memorial Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism do Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych z 22 grudnia 1932 r.* [Memorial of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines to the Minister of Internal Affairs of 22 December 1932] "Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej", R. XXVII, no. 1, pp. 65–78.

and advertising agencies; advertising activity; relations between press publishers as well as between publishing houses, journalists and their organisations; press polemics, etc. The Association took part in the work of joint commissions of publishers and journalists⁹⁶. Due to the prolonged economic crisis⁹⁷, an attempt was made to develop a concept of fighting its consequences. This resulted in two basic theses: making a significant reduction in production costs (including reduction of paper prices, paint prices and administrative costs) and making PZWDiC a centre unifying and coordinating the efforts of the publishing world⁹⁸. A lot of effort was put into maintaining contacts with foreign press, participation in international conferences and conventions. The Association also made efforts to be an active member of the International Federation of Magazine Publishers (FIADEJ)⁹⁹.

The organ of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines was the newly appointed bimonthly “Prasa”, which was given the subtitle “Magazine dedicated to publishing and press matters¹⁰⁰”. The editor was the director of the Association’s Office. The first issue appeared in July 1930. In the editors’ opinion, expressed by Stefan Krzywoszewski, the magazine was to “serve not only the current goals of the Association, but to improve the quality of the Polish press, be a binder of the environment, direct its development and inform about the media, both at home and abroad¹⁰¹”. The issues consisted primarily of articles, including in the departments: organisational life, national market, national and foreign chronicle, review of laws and regulations, review of the literature. On its pages in the years

⁹⁶ In AAN in the PZWDiC team, see, among others: files relating to various important problems of press and related fields, including economic, political and historical problems (ref. no. 220-243); legal provenance materials regarding the press, including the press act, press law, confiscations, etc. (ref. no. 244-255); archives concerning the propaganda of readership and press, press advertising, advertising matters and contracts, advertising agencies and Polish Radio (ref. no. 262-282); files regarding distribution of, among others, distribution companies and use of mail for distribution of magazines (ref. no. 314-315); materials related to print paper, its production and prices, as well as contracts in this area concluded with producers (ref. no. 316-328); materials devoted to working conditions and the salaries of printers, issues of collective agreements and conflicts between printers and publishers (ref. no. 329-341); documents regarding the participation of the Association in propaganda and social actions (ref. no. 445-465), as well as regarding printing, distribution and sale of various publishing houses (ref. no. 466-469).

⁹⁷ In the matter of fighting crisis phenomena, S. Kauzik often spoke in “Press”, see, among others: *Przyczyny ciężkiej sytuacji wydawnictw* [The reasons for the difficult situation of publishing houses], “Prasa” 1931, no. 4–5, *Przegląd sytuacji przemysłu wydawniczego*, [Review of the situation of the publishing industry] “Prasa” 1932, no. 4–5.

⁹⁸ More: K. Badziak, *Zabiegi Polskiego...*, op. cit., pp. 53–54. The author devoted his material to PZWDiC’s efforts to reduce paper prices for the industry.

⁹⁹ AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 349–410, see files related to the relations of the Association with the foreign press, mainly European, and the participation of organisations in international federations of publishers; E. Rudziński, *Zagraniczna działalność Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism w latach 1929–1939* [Foreign activity of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in the years 1929-1939], “Rocznik Historii Czołopiśmiennictwa Polskiego”, R. 13 no. 3.

¹⁰⁰ The content is available at <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=27776&from=publication> [access: 3.07.2018].

¹⁰¹ See: S. Krzywoszewski, *Na progu naszej pracy*, [On the threshold of our work] “Prasa” 1930, vol. 1, p. 1.

1930-1931, about fifty texts appeared, many of them important to the industry¹⁰². The periodical, in the opinion of Eugeniusz Rudziński, enjoyed good reception also in international area¹⁰³.

An opportunity for the presentation of PZWDiC was the Universal National Exhibition (PWK) in Poznań, which was a symbolic image of social and economic achievements of Poland's first decade of independence. Its essence was to present the whole effort of the authorities and society to rebuild the state in many areas (political, social, cultural)¹⁰⁴. PWK's achievements are significant signals about the numerous possibilities of the Second Polish Republic, including exports. It was a strong impulse uniting the districts of the country, and in the political dimension it was mainly an image success. Works on the project started at the end of 1926. In order to mobilize environments that could take part in the venture, appropriate statutory bodies were established¹⁰⁵. The initiative, after some fluctuations above all of a political nature, was supported by the highest authorities of the country¹⁰⁶.

Among the exhibitors, there were several Polish publishers operating for few months. The invitation, as one might think, was a result of informal links and political sympathies of the PWK and PZWDiC organisers. The first meeting of both parties took place in September 1928, when the committee responsible for the preparations for this exhibition was established¹⁰⁷. Organisational and construction works progressed at incredible speed. In

¹⁰² See, among others: W. Trzebiński, *Nauka o dziennikarstwie* [The science of journalism], "Prasa" 1930, vol. 1; Z. Pieracki, *Prasa i poczta* [Press and post], "Prasa" 1930, vol. 2; S. Kauzik, *Kryzys w przemyśle wydawniczym* [Publishing industry crisis], "Prasa" 1931, no. 1; by the same author: *Przyczyny ciężkiej sytuacji finansowej wydawnictw* [Reasons for difficult financial condition of publishing houses], "Prasa" 1931, no. 4-5 and 6-7; W. Natanson, *Zakres odpowiedzialności redaktora odpowiedzialnego czasopisma* [The scope of responsibility of the editor of the responsible journal], "Prasa" 1931, no. 2; F. Głowiński, *Reklama prasowa w dobie kryzysu* [Press advertising in the time of crisis], "Prasa" 1931, no. 12.

¹⁰³ E. Rudziński, *Zagraniczna...*, op. cit., p. 348.

¹⁰⁴ It consisted of exhibitions of: Government, Local Government, Agriculture, Industry, Trade and Crafts, Arts, Physical Education, Sport and Tourism and Emigration, see: Z. Landau, *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* [Universal National Exhibition] [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 r.* [Encyclopedia of Polish economic history until 1945], Volume II, Warszawa 1981, p. 124.

¹⁰⁵ It was called the Grand Committee, from which the Main Council was elected (president Cyryl Ratajski, 1875-1942, lawyer, politician, economic activist, including the NRL member, president of Poznań, former minister of interior affairs). Executive bodies were the management board and subordinate directorate (president of the management board and chief director Stanisław Wachowiak, 1890-1972, lawyer and economist, politician, economic activist, including a member of the Sejm (NPR), former deputy minister in the District of Prussia, former Pomeranian Voivode, see also by the same author: *Czasy które przeżyłem* [The times that I experienced], Warszawa 1991, pp. 112-140.

¹⁰⁶ In 1927, President I. Mościcki assumed the honorary presidency, and after several months the president of the honorary committee of the exhibition was marshal J. Piłsudski.

¹⁰⁷ The meeting took place on 28 September 1928. S. Kauzik, *Wystawa prasy* [Press exhibition] [in:] *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa w Poznaniu w roku 1929. Dzieło zbiorowe*, [Universal National Exhibition in

November, a decision was made to build a special and spectacular Press Pavilion¹⁰⁸ in the central part of the exhibition area, on the square adjacent to Wilson Park. It was financed by a joint effort of government authorities, PWK and PZWDiC. The interior design project was selected through the competition¹⁰⁹. Part of the exhibition was a retrospective of the Polish press over four centuries, complemented, among others, by books, documents and materials on Russian, Austrian and Prussian censorship, journalistic organisations and press institutions. This part of the exhibition was prepared, in cooperation with the directorates of the largest Polish libraries¹¹⁰, by Professor Stanisław Jarkowski¹¹¹, Professor of Higher School of Journalism. The second part of the exhibition was the current exhibition. On the basis of the current understanding, the management board of the press exhibitors group¹¹² was appointed, which approved the plan prepared by director Kauzik¹¹³ and the budget. The coordinator of this segment was a publisher from Poznań and one of the founders of the Association - Edward Pawłowski. 184 publishers participated in the exhibition, including 44 daily newspapers and the Polish Telegraphic Agency. The organisers' goal was to present the image and development of the activity of the industry in all areas. The large share of the exhibition was taken by the publishing houses of the PZWDiC founders, which constituted

Poznań in 1929. Collective work] Volume IV, ed. St. Wachowiak, Poznań 1930, p. 303) in addition to the names of the founding publishers of PZWDiC, lists Waław Szczerber as part of the commission.

¹⁰⁸ The Press Pavilion was 69 m long, 15.5 m wide and 9.2 m high, its top was a 25-meter tower, the building was designed by Ing. Roger Sławski.

¹⁰⁹ The design of the painter Edmund John was considered the best.

¹¹⁰ These included: National, Central Military, Rapperswilska, Ordynacji hr. Krasińskich from Warsaw, Jagiellońska, Society of Friends of Sciences in Poznań, Książnica of Kopernik in Toruń, Stefan Batory University and University of Wróblewscy in Vilnius, read more in S. Kauzik, *Wystawa...*, op. cit., pp. 306–310.

¹¹¹ Stanisław Teofil Jarkowski (1882-1947), journalist, volunteer in the Polish Army in 1920; in 1919 an official in the Ministry of Press of MSW; 1919-1924 head of the Press Office of the Union of Land Owners; vice director and professor at the Higher School of Journalism in Warsaw; a member and correspondent of the Institute for Social Studies in Berlin, see more in: *Czy wiesz kto to jest?* [Do you know who it is?], ed. S. Łoza, Warszawa 1938, pp. 290–291.

¹¹² The composition of the group included S. Bok, "Słowo Pomorskie"; Cz. Wieniawa-Chmielewski, "Polonia"; M. Dąbrowski, "IKC"; F. L. Frieze, "Kurier Poranny", "Przegląd Wieczorny"; father F. Gąsiorowski, "Rzeczpospolita"; Fr. Głowiński, "Express Lubelski"; Gromski, "Wiek Nowy"; A. Lewandowski, "Express Poranny", "Kurier Czerwony"; K. Młynarski, "ABC"; F. Mrozowski, "Kurier Warszawski"; M. Niklewicz, "Gazeta Warszawska"; E. Pawłowski, "Kurier Poznański", "Orędownik Wielkopolski"; J. Stypułkowski, "Kurier Łódzki"; F.D. Wilkoszewski, "Goniec Częstochowski"; A. Zwierzyński, "Dziennik Wileński" and St. Kauzik, director of the Association of Publishers.

¹¹³ It contained the following guidelines: maintaining a uniform structure of the interior of the Press Pavilion as an artistic whole; putting emphasis on the historical section of the press and contemporary exhibition of magazines; introduction of territorial order while displaying the political and information press, distinguishing periodical (artistic, economic) press in individual departments; introduction of uniform guidelines for the exposure of individual publications; approval of designs of individual stands by the designer of the interior design of the Pavilion, see: S. Kauzik, *Wystawa...*, op. cit., p. 311.

separate whole, adequately harmonized with the structure and interior decoration of the Pavilion¹¹⁴.

The Universal National Exhibition gave the opportunity to present PZWDiC on a national forum, which from the point of view of image was invaluable. Moreover, it demonstrated the financial possibilities and organisational efficiency of the industry¹¹⁵. The establishment of PZWDiC and the first months of its activity met the expectations of the publishing community, which received a tool to implement its interests. After just one year, the Association was the largest and most important organisation in the publishing industry in the country. Due to the profile and political sympathies of the leaders, it did not become one of the elements of the political base of the power camp. Considering its potential and activity, it could fulfil the function of a significant entity acting on behalf of the industry, finding its place in the socio-economic life of the Second Polish Republic¹¹⁶.

References

Badziak K., *Zabiegi Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism o obniżki cen papierów wydawniczych w latach 1931–1939* [Fight of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines for price reductions of publishing paper in the years 1931-1939], “Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej”, R. XXIV, no. 2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., *Wystawa...*, op. cit., pp. 313–314.

¹¹⁵ PWK, solemnly opened on 15 May, lasted until 30 September 1929 - it enjoyed great popularity, also among foreign guests and it proved to be a great success. In total, about 4.5 million people visited it, read more: M. Jabłonowski, *Z dziejów...*, op. cit., pp. 101–103. PWK's achievements are presented in the study *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa w Poznaniu w roku 1929* [Universal National Exhibition in Poznań in 1929], ed. S. Wachowiak, vol. 1–4, Poznań 1930; see also: Z. Landau, *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa...*, op. cit., p. 124; J. Kaliński, *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* [Universal National Exhibition] [in:] *Encyklopedia Historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Encyclopedia of the history of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1999, p. 335.

¹¹⁶ The end of the organisation's activity came with the fall of the Second Polish Republic. In view of the situation created by the occupiers, and especially the suspension of publishing houses belonging to the Association, it lost the purpose of its statutory activity and source of income. The Presidium of the Council and the Management Board decided on 28 November 1939 to prepare a motion for a general meeting of members regarding the liquidation of the organisation. The consequence was the suspension of operations, termination of contracts with employees and the decision to sell real estates. As it appears from the preserved files, no more general meetings of members have been called, read more: AAN, PZWDiC, ref. no. 7.

Chojnowski A., *Piłsudczycy u władzy. Dzieje bezpartyjnego bloku współpracy z rządem*, [Piłsudski followers in power. The history of a non-party block of cooperation with the government] Wrocław–Warszawa 1986.

Habielski R., *Wolność czy odpowiedzialność? Prasa i polityka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, [Freedom or responsibility? Press and politics in the Second Polish Republic] Warszawa 2013.

J. Halbersztadt J., *Józef Piłsudski i jego współpracownicy wobec problemu wyborów parlamentarnych w Polsce w latach 1926–1928. Z badań nad genezą BBWR*, [Józef Piłsudski and his associates on the problem of parliamentary elections in Poland in 1926-1928. Research on the genesis of BBWR] “Dzieje Najnowsze” 1984, vol. 1.

Jabłonowski M., *Sen o potęgę Polski. Z dziejów ruchu byłych wojskowych w II Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939*, [Dream of the powerful Poland. History of the former military movements in the Second Polish Republic in 1918-1939] Olsztyn 1998.

Kaszuba E., *System propagandy państwowej obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926–1939*, [State propaganda system of the ruling camp in Poland in the years 1926-1939] Toruń 2004.

Nałęcz D., *Zawód dziennikarza w Polsce 1918–1939* [Journalism in Poland in the years 1918-1939], Warszawa–Łódź 1982.

Notkowski A., *Państwowa polityka prasowa Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939) cz. 1*. [State press policy of the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939) part 1], “Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej”, R. XVII, no. 1.

Notkowski A., *Prasa w systemie propagandy rządowej w Polsce 1926–1939* [Press in the government propaganda system in Poland in years 1926-1939], Warszawa–Łódź 1987.

Paczkowski A., *Prasa polska 1918–1939* [Polish press in 1918-1939], Warszawa 1980.

Paczkowski A., *Prasa w życiu politycznym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Press in the political life of the Second Polish Republic], “Dzieje Najnowsze” 1978, no. 3.

Pietrzak M., *Reglamentacja wolności prasy w Polsce (1918–1939)* [Regulation of press freedom in Poland (1918-1939)], Warszawa 1963.

Rudziński E., *O koncernach „prasy czerwonej” i „IKC” 1926–1939* [On the concerns of the “red press” and “IKC” 1926-1939], “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego”, R. VII, vol. 1.

Rudziński E., *Sprawy ogłoszeniowe w działalności Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism w latach 1929–1939* [Advertisements in the activities of the Polish

Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in the years 1929-1939], “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego”, R. XIV, no. 1.

Rudziński, *Zagraniczna działalność Polskiego Związku Wydawców Dzienników i Czasopism w latach 1929–1939* [Foreign activity of the Polish Association of Publishers of Newspapers and Magazines in the years 1929-1939], “Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego”, R. XIII, no. 3.

Władyka W., *Krew na pierwszej stronie. Dzienniki sensacyjne Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Blood on the first page. Sensational journals of the Second Polish Republic], Warszawa 1982.