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University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Department of English

George Orwell and Poland: Émigré, Official and Clandestine Receptions

by

Krystyna Wieszczyk de Oliveira

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2019

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Abstract

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This thesis offers the first major account of Orwell's Polish reception and his relationships with the Polish diaspora after the Second World War. Blending personal and political perspectives and drawing on original materials such as Polish censorship files, Orwell's letters to a Polish translator thought lost or intellectuals' diaries and correspondence, it brings to the fore Orwell's oft overlooked Polish social contacts, his interest in and support for Poland much at odds with the pro-Russian sentiment of the latter part of the war and, in particular, the fact of a thriving, complex and emotionally charged reception by peoples of a country under the Soviet regime that held him a quasi-official enemy. The thesis perceives Orwell's Polish reception as tri-partite: émigré, official and clandestine, separate, yet at times converging and influencing one another. It follows émigré responses and efforts to popularise him in the Polish language, also behind the Iron Curtain, early clandestine responses recorded in diaries and letters as well as later publishing efforts and responses recorded in the clandestine press, among others. It also shows how even an author perceived as the system's arch-enemy did peer through gaps in its regulatory censorship that widened and contracted according to the changing political climate, and argues that Orwell, though censored, did enjoy a form of 'official' reception too, if in diverse facets and 'disguises'. The pictured commitment of Polish émigré and clandestine activists, and at times actors in the official media too, to promote Orwell and of the communist regime to suppress points to the importance ascribed to this British author's works and myth in those specific historical circumstances. The work argues thus that that Orwell's figure, ideas and works had a special place in the Polish culture and were keenly received by Polish anti-communist activists in Poland and abroad as offering values supportive of the greatest Polish struggle of the latter 20th century: regaining independence from the Soviet occupation. The work makes an original contribution to Orwell studies, casting a new light on his life and legacy.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Krystyna Wieszczyk de Oliveira

Title of thesis: George Orwell and Poland: Émigré, Official and Clandestine Receptions

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:

‘Orwell, Poland and Polish Exiles in Paris and London’, *George Orwell Studies*, 1.1 (2016), 5-20

‘Orwell and the Poles: The case of *Animal Farm* in Polish’, *Orwell Society Journal*, 8 (May 2016), 8-10

‘O wczesnych relacjach Orwella z Polską’ [On Orwell’s Early Ties with Poland], *1984: Literatura i kultura schyłkowego PRL-u* [1984: Literature and Culture of the Declining Regime of People’s Poland], ed. by Kamila Budrowska, Wiktor Gardocki and Elżbieta Jurkowska, vol. 5 (Warsaw: Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences IBL PAN, 2015), pp. 45-62

‘Orwell on Poland and Political Controversies of His Time’, *Emergence*, 7 (Autumn 2015), 73-82

Signature:

Date:

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Lastly, risking the chagrin of Orwell's family and scholars, I venture the tired question (Orwell himself conducted an imaginary interview with Jonathan Swift in 1942, nearly two hundred years

Acknowledgements

after Swift had left this world): what would Orwell think of this? Ignoring that he would be 116 now, perhaps he would be slightly amazed with his impact on the history and the richness of his story within just this one nation; perhaps it would also amuse him. As of the work itself, I hope he would have approved.

Definitions and Abbreviations

All translations from languages different than English are my own unless otherwise indicated. Title translations in the text are usually given in single quotation marks, and in references in square brackets where italicisation indicates the translation is not mine.

The following abbreviations of the titles and editions of Orwell's works are used:

<i>CWGO</i>	<i>The Complete Works of George Orwell</i> , ed. by Peter Davison assisted by Ian Angus and Sheila Davison, 20 vols, all revised and updated editions published by Secker & Warburg, London: x: <i>A Kind of Compulsion: 1903-1936</i> (2000) xi: <i>Facing Unpleasant Facts: 1937-1939</i> (2000) xii: <i>A Patriot After All: 1940-1941</i> (2000) xiii: <i>All Propaganda Is Lies: 1941-1942</i> (1998) xiv: <i>Keeping Our Little Corner Clean: 1942-1943</i> (2001) xv: <i>Two Wasted Years: 1943</i> (2001) xvi: <i>I Have Tried to Tell the Truth: 1943-1944</i> (1998) xvii: <i>I Belong to the Left: 1945</i> (2001) xviii: <i>Smothered Under Journalism: 1946</i> (2001) xix: <i>It Is What I Think: 1947-1948</i> (2002) xx: <i>Our Job Is to Make Life Worth Living: 1949-1950</i> (2002)
<i>CEJL</i>	<i>Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell</i> , ed. by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968)
<i>Down and Out</i>	<i>Down and Out in Paris and London</i>
<i>Aspidistra</i>	<i>Keep the Aspidistra Flying</i>

The following abbreviations of the names of archives and collections are used:

<i>Kultura</i> Archive	Archive of the Kultura Literary Institute, i.e. the Polish publisher Literary Institute (Instytut Literacki) and its periodical <i>Kultura</i> , Maisons-Laffitte, Paris, France
AAN	Central Archive of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych), Warsaw, Poland
GUKPPIW	The main communist censorship files collection held at AAN, preserved documentation of the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Performances (Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk)

Introduction

This is the first major account of George Orwell's multifaceted Polish reception and his relationships with Polish nationals. It is informed by a variety of primary sources, including Polish censorship documents, intellectuals' letters and diaries, publications of the period, interviews with opposition activists involved with clandestine publishing and Orwell's letters to the Polish translator of *Animal Farm*, Teresa Jeleńska, presumed lost by Orwell Anglophone scholars.¹ The thesis examines Orwell's Polish reception up to the beginning of the democratic transformation in 1989 and the subsequent abolition of communist censorship. It focuses through the prism of the convulsive effects on Poland and its people of the Second World War and the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam peace conferences, which placed the country in the Soviet sphere of influence. It does so adopting the division that developed then in the production and reception of Polish national literature and intellectual work into 'émigré' (outside the Eastern bloc), 'official' (state sanctioned), and 'clandestine' (outside state control). In the process, the thesis deals with these interlacing themes:

- Polish reception being tri-partite: émigré, official and clandestine, with the three separate modes influencing one another;
- Orwell's relationships with the Polish diaspora, which also informed his work;
- Orwell's interest in and attitudes towards Polish matters as articulated in print and elsewhere;
- Political censorship he faced in both Britain and the Soviet-occupied Poland, often related to Polish issues;
- The role of individual actors and the role of institutions and organisations in these receptions;
- Translation and book history (production and distribution);
- Letters and diaries as testaments of (particularly clandestine) dissemination and reception and censorship files as testaments of official response.

In short, the thesis is overarched by these three key areas: George Orwell, censorship and reception.

Seventy years after his death, Orwell continues to fascinate and provide a fertile ground for further investigations. New books on Orwell and his work keep coming. There were upsurges in the sales of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the USA in mid-2013 and early 2017, and in 2018 it came among the top twenty of PBS's Great American Read; in Britain, on the centenary of his birth, a national newspaper featured his two biographers dispute his heritage. Orwell was the focus of a

series of symposia and subsequent essay collections in 2012 and 2014 and recently an annual George Orwell Studies Conference in London; the *George Orwell Studies* journal launched in 2016 offers 'Orwell Studies' as an area of scholarly pursuit.² Such an enduring interest is not limited to the Anglophone world. The symbolic '1984' was for example the theme of a conference and a subsequent book on the culture, literature and censorship of the declining communist regime in Poland in 2015.³ Since his death, Orwell's life and works have been the object of numerous studies and have been examined from diverse perspectives. Some claim him to be 'one of the most researched writers of all times', and the editor of the monumental twenty-volume *The Complete Works of George Orwell (CWGO)* and the supplementary volume *Lost Orwell* already back in 1996 wondered 'whether there is very much more to be said'.⁴ Precisely, however, there is still a need for a reassessment of Orwell's biography – given that his wish that no biography of him should ever be written has not been adhered to – and particularly for a systematic study of his international reception, both of his works and of his figure as an icon, symbol or myth. While his biographies, his letters and diaries reveal that Orwell's life was at times full of literary, social and political engagements, his biographers also suggest that these could be compartmentalised.⁵ Much has been written in English for example about his different British and Anglophone circles or about his Spanish engagements, but some other international contacts and engagements are underexplored in English-language literature, if considered in the light of, for instance, the many foreign editions of his works published during his lifetime or the multinational breadth of pamphlets he had collected which might have carried interactions behind them.

Certainly one such understudied segment of Orwell's life are his contacts and relationships with nationals from the countries affected by the Soviet imperialism during and after the war, for whom Orwell felt much sympathy. George Woodcock argued that Orwell was eccentric in that he 'tried to work out his theories in action and then to give his actions shape in literature. The triad of thought, act and artifact runs through the whole of Orwell's writing life' and therefore Woodcock had a 'difficulty in envisaging a future in which critics will ever be able to think of Orwell's writings separately from his life.'⁶ In a similar frame, this work intends to bring to the fore not only Orwell's Polish reception but also his engagements and contacts with the Poles, much ignored by his major biographies,⁷ and trace their influence on Orwell's own writing.

While a large-scale project examining the international reception of this idiosyncratic author in a systematic manner would be highly desirable, on a smaller scale, an exploration into his reception in Central and Eastern Europe is needed. A superficial consideration of the subject may begin and end with a statement such as: Orwell was banned in Soviet satellites, therefore there is no phenomenon to examine. This would overlook not only the likely émigré and clandestine receptions, but also the author's presence in the official sphere: from glimpses in the official press and publications that reflect the evolution of a regime's cultural policy and politics itself, through

intricate presence in public institutions such as libraries to, on the opposite end, revealing appraisals and verdicts of the censorial apparatus. In the Polish case, some of the latter have been preserved and are now available for study. If international scholarship has been slow to address this, for all Orwell's special appeal and significance to the Poles, Polish scholarship has been too. Polish studies in post-war history, literature, culture, censorship, reception, whether domestic or international, might be full of incidental mentions of Orwell, but focused examinations of his Polish history are yet few and fragmentary.⁸

Studying Orwell often prompts discussions on censorship and propaganda, and Orwell is a figure that lends itself particularly well for an exploration of their workings. Not a typical representative of English letters, in Poland Orwell was arguably a byword for suppression in the Soviet communist regime. A more substantial study of his reception thus provides an illustration also of the mechanisms of communist censorship and counter-censorship near their extreme. The varying degrees of Orwell's presence in the Polish public sphere and discourse and his diverse portrayals there and in censorship files show the shifting official 'interpretive strategies' and reiterate that the regime's cultural policy, and censorship policy with it, was monolithic neither across the Eastern bloc nor across the period. Furthermore, the many émigré and clandestine commentaries and editions as well as references 'smuggled' in official publishing may point also to a productive side of censorship.

While Soviet censorship may be the first to be associated with this author, it is not the only type circumscribing his entire writing career. He has been a victim of censorship in both undemocratic and democratic systems. Tellingly, his very first professionally published article was 'La censure en Angleterre' dealing with moral censorship in England, which he was to experience for himself some years later when copies of Henry Miller's books were seized from his home by the police notified by a vigilant post office.⁹ His works early on collided with the interests of national politics: for instance, the UK publisher initially rejected *Burmese Days* for fear of causing offence in then still colonial Burma and India; *Homage to Catalonia* and his articles on the Spanish war were rejected by his usual publishers.¹⁰ Political censorship and propaganda came to affect him increasingly in wartime Britain. Much of his struggle with it concerned issues related to Poland or of Polish interest, such as British policy and media stances toward Russian policy. Those experiences turned him into an insightful analyst of propaganda and censorship mechanisms in democracies too whose observations remain – sometimes acutely – pertinent and gather commendation by from Noam Chomsky to innumerable commentators preoccupied with the power of 'fake news', 'alternative facts' and agencies like Cambridge Analytica today.¹¹ Those experiences were also shared by and sometimes discussed with some of Orwell's Polish friends and propagators who, while free from the more explicit censorship constrictions imposed by German and Soviet regimes in Poland, struggled with its more implicit forms in Britain.

Methodology

The three main pivots of this work – George Orwell, censorship and reception – interlink the fields of literature, politics and history related to twentieth-century Europe and beyond. The work largely dispenses with a critical analysis of Orwell's texts, but does engage in the work of explaining and interpreting his selected journalism, diary notes and letters, and with locating them and some of his other texts historically, politically and socially. It equally engages with reconstructing and interpreting synchronic readings of Orwell's texts by his Polish audiences, locating those again historically, politically and socially. In his mature life Orwell self-professedly strove 'to make political writing into an art'¹² and asserted (before e.g. Foucault) that 'In our age there is no such thing as "keeping out of politics". All issues are political issues'.¹³ If it was not inevitable that a reception history of such an author would involve politics too, the political situation circumscribing so acutely the lives of his Polish readership and dissemination agents inevitably places politics at the heart of his Polish reception. Politics or more precisely political history, both related to government centres and politics at grass roots, becomes not so much a context as an integral part of his Polish story, a story – perhaps as much – about a politics of reception.

The thesis equally involves social and cultural histories and is, in some ways, a 'decentred' history or history of the 'other'. Already its main protagonist, Orwell, was hardly a typical representative of intellectuals of his time and place. Described as a 'fugitive from the camp of victory',¹⁴ he gained reasonable fame and made it to circles of the elite, yet was persecuted by the feeling of failure and inadequacy, and strove to look outside his social class and the mainstream in favour of the marginalised, the controversial, the unpopular, the elephant in the room. Ultimately, he withdrew also physically to remote Jura. A provocative question may even be asked: had it not been for the twist of history, the allies of late turning cold war enemies and vindicating, somewhat belatedly, Orwell's warning voice, would he not have been forgotten like many others who had courageously rebelled against regimes of truth but whose names we do not remember today? Such an outsider author nonetheless aroused a keen interest among a particular group removed from the political mainstream at a particular point of the Second World War: the Poles opposing the plans for a Soviet takeover of their country. Some of those drawn to Orwell were refugees and war veterans alienated from their homeland overcome by the Red Army that helped implant a foreign political system. Disowned by the new regime back home, if their home indeed happened to lie still within the new borders, some sought to assert themselves in other lands and fight for their country's freedom, if only symbolically, with ideas and the printed word. Some of those outside-mainstream communities drawn to and inspired by Orwell were clandestine publishers, distributors and consumers of materials printed illicitly. Likewise, for readers less

familiar with Polish or Central and East European history in the last century, this might appear a history of the 'other' too. It is also a history taking place in a multinational in-between space ultimately linking two cultural areas of distinct self-identities and heritage, if not that remote geographically or culturally, passing through disparagingly different phases: a colonial empire facing decolonisation and the other a renewed colonisation.

'Reception' is understood here as encompassing concretisations¹⁵ of texts and responses to them and the figure of the author. Instances of synchronic concretisations and responses to Orwell's works and sometimes his myth on both sides of the political spectrum are explored on the basis of several types of preserved 'testaments', or 'evidences', of reception as proposed by the literature historian and 'newspeak' researcher Michał Głowiński.¹⁶ These comprise thematised para-literary, critical and 'impressionistic' texts, including diary notes, correspondence and memoirs; discursive meta-literary texts, including paratexts, reviews, critical studies, textbooks, radio programmes and censorial appraisals; and transformations such as translations, paraphrases and transcriptions, including illustrations or advertisements. The physical appearance of publications is examined too for information about covers, layout, typographical design or size where these are assumed significant for the artefact's production, reception, circulation, function or reproduction. As such, reception and responses in both public and private spheres are examined, although the thesis deals predominantly with readings and responses among more culturally privileged sections of the Polish society, and in the case of the 'émigré' reception, focuses predominantly on the Parisian and London circles. It has been noted that 'common readers' rarely leave traces of their reading,¹⁷ and here additionally the specific socio-political conditions also determined that common readers under the Soviet regime in Poland had a limited access to Orwell's works, and scholars a limited possibility of carrying out studies of such reading in the period. While no known empirical sociological studies exist dealing with the circulation of and responses to Orwell's works within diverse social groups in the period, proposed by Głowiński as another form of reading 'testaments', the work does, however, attempt to explore aspects of text circulation and functioning on the basis of available primary and secondary sources. It additionally places a greater emphasis than suggested by Głowiński on the role of the agents and on practices involved with text production and circulation, considering the latter purposeful actions based on the agents' ideological systems and therefore forming part of response to Orwell and his works. In other words, many of Orwell's Polish readers presented here are producers, translators, reproducers and distributors or, alternatively, prohibition agents of the physical artefacts carrying Orwell's ideas or information about him whose actions on their own convey an attachment of certain values to these cultural objects. Some are public commentators who moreover communicated the meanings and axiological significance with which they endowed Orwell and his works and suggested or reinforced interpretive strategies of the communities

Introduction

whom the effects of their actions were to reach, whether inside the 'émigré', 'official' or 'clandestine' discourses.

The reception history studied here is thus undergirded by several converging historical and cultural/literary sub-fields, such as literary history, translation studies, translation history, history of cultural transfers, history of reading, history of responses and history of the book: as related to this specific author and the audiences in the specific political, historical and social circumstances. It largely pursues the objectives of what the reception studies researcher James Machor initially called 'a historicized study of response' and later 'historical hermeneutics', a practice 'concerned with the dynamics of response and reception as the products of historically specific reading formations shared by particular interpretive communities'.¹⁸

(1) the exploration of reading as a product of the relationship among particular interpretive strategies, epistemic frames, ideological imperatives, and social orientations of readers as members of historically specific – and historiographically specified – interpretive communities; and (2) the analysis of the way literary texts construct the reader's role through strategies necessitated and even produced by particular historical conditions.¹⁹

It does so with some reservations. Machor's empirical and theoretical explorations seeking a synthesis in the field are virtually enclosed within a monolingual focus, whereas to this project transcultural and translingual transfers and reception are fundamental.²⁰ Also, this reception history focuses on an author of many non-fiction works that bore direct reference to the outside world. This only reinforces the relevance for this example of historical hermeneutics of the political, social, cultural and historical context and of social actions related to both the author and his audience, going much beyond a strictly literary focus. This history then could be seen as belonging to the body of knowledge associated with poststructuralist reception study, particularly in that more than in the texts' aesthetic values it is interested in the practices – and values underlying them – of the interpretive communities.²¹

Likewise, the study as a whole, with its main concern with the reception history described above but with its important interest also in biographies, personal and social relationships and actions, political stances and events, national and international policies, censorship and propaganda, inscribes itself in this respect in the 'sociological turn' trend in various fields of humanities:²² focusing more on the social and political dimension over the strictly aesthetic or linguistic. Therefore, the cultural philosopher and sociologist Florian Znaniecki's theoretical reflections – in many aspects 'pre-postmodern' – will be useful in thinking about the underlying questions of cultural systems, social collectivities and their both individual and collective ideological systems (or Bourdieu's later 'habitus'²³), values and social actions, symbolic communication, and –

particularly relevant for thinking about the Polish exile communities – nations as social groups united by a common culture and history, headed by intellectual elites constituted by cultural, political and social leaders, their followers and sponsors who act for advancing shared goals, values and solidarity.²⁴ It should thus pre-empt Raymond Williams's famous cultural materialist indictment that 'we cannot separate literature and art from other kinds of social practice, in such a way as to make them subject to quite special and distinct laws',²⁵ or Anthony Pym's warning lodged from the perspective of translation history against 'idealist assumptions that markets, clients and translators are in some kind of fundamental agreement' and 'no one in this camp is particularly interested in things like socially determined individuals'.²⁶ On the contrary, the most salient considerations are collaborations but also precisely negotiations, transactions and differences within the highly socially and politically determined clients, translators-commentators and markets.

Following Znaniecki's advice, the work will try to reconstruct the protagonists' own readings – of texts, events and reality – with a humanistic coefficient,²⁷ that is as they appeared to them in their experience, as objective data, always aware that this is alas another *reading* of their readings,²⁸ perceptions and experiences, so necessarily subjective. These are interpreted and moulded into a history from today's level of knowledge of the facts, motives and coincidences, and from today's perspective. It therefore intends to follow Nietzsche's advice to be critical and selective.²⁹ It also partially agrees with Hayden White that any history is, ultimately, a story, and endorses Znaniecki and so many others on the claim that '[t]he image of the world, which we construct, is a historical value, relative like all others, and a different one will take its place in the future, [...] as it has itself taken the place of another image'.³⁰

Sources

The work is informed by a wide range of primary sources, some previously unpublished, collected from 16 institutions and organisations and several libraries in Poland, England and France.³¹ They comprise archival material, publications from the period (*émigré*, official and clandestine) and interviews. These include published and unpublished memoirs, diaries and letters, for example Orwell's 'lost' letters to Teresa Jeleńska, the Polish translator of *Animal Farm* and essays and eventually Orwell's friend, which span from 7 September 1945 to 17 January 1947;³² well over a thousand letters between the *émigré* translator and the Parisian publisher of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*; the publishing institute's prolific correspondence with Polish and foreign intellectuals and literary agents, including Orwell's (all held by the *Kultura* Archive in Maisons-Laffitte near Paris, today in the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register); letters to Orwell from various Poles; or Józef (Joseph) Czapski's transcribed but yet unpublished diaries and letters. Other archival documents include records of Polish communist censorship (GUKPPIW), the party and institutions,

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e.g. the Cultural Department of the Central Committee; collections of other émigré organisations and individuals in London, e.g. the documentation of the CIA book distribution programme held by the Polish Library POSK; or Radio Free Europe, BBC and Polish national radio broadcasts.

Catalogues in Polish libraries were useful in identifying pre-1989 publications by Orwell and about Orwell as well as post-1989 publications about Orwell and editions of various intellectuals' letters, diaries and memoirs. Much information about émigré publications derives from a comprehensive scanning of the two arguably most important émigré cultural and political periodicals: London's weekly *Wiadomości* [The News], for the years of its existence 1940-1944 and 1946-1981, and Paris's monthly *Kultura* [Culture], for 1947-1989. A selective, event- and period-related and cross-reference-based scanning was also carried out of *The Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily* (*Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*) and *The White Eagle* (*Orzeł Biały*), other major Polish papers in London. Many official publications related to Orwell were located through the Polish Literary Bibliography (*Polska Bibliografia Literacka, PBL*³³) comprehensively scanned for 'Orwell' entries for the period 1944-1989, complemented by library catalogues, cross references, institutional press cutting collections and other means. A similar procedure was followed for identifying clandestine publications on the basis of two bibliographies of clandestine prints, the 'Solidarity Encyclopaedia' and secondary materials and literature.³⁴

Interviews have been held with two activists involved in clandestine publishing also of Orwell's texts, Paweł Kłoczowski, today professor at the Pedagogical University in Kraków, and Piotr Pieńkowski from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, carried out in Poland in April 2014.

Secondary sources comprise diverse academic and non-academic studies and publications in various languages.

Literature Review

Overview

Orwell academic and critical scholarship is enormous. A few publications offer some systematisations of Anglophone studies.³⁵ Following influential obituaries and early commentaries,³⁶ a plethora of other works have been published, such as biographies,³⁷ memoirs and more or less critical personal studies,³⁸ popularising works,³⁹ works analysing Orwell's political⁴⁰ and cultural views and values,⁴¹ or all of this together,⁴² sometimes veiling a political attack,⁴³ works exploring the origin or aesthetics of his works,⁴⁴ sometimes their relation with utopia and satire,⁴⁵ or works focused on Orwell and Spain⁴⁶ or Orwell and the radio and film,⁴⁷

among others. The Orwell year 1984 brought him sharply back into a popular and academic focus again⁴⁸ and continued to evoke further explications and appropriations thereafter, from attempts to reassess his legacy⁴⁹ or demonstrate enduring relevance,⁵⁰ through new studies on language,⁵¹ to pedagogy.⁵² Orwell's centenary of birth in 2003 saw an upsurge in publications again, including three biographies,⁵³ and saw commemorative events around the world, most notably the George Orwell Centenary Conference in the USA, which resulted in a large volume of essays, if slightly overshadowed by the attack on Iraq.⁵⁴ Orwell's appeal did not stop there but has continued to expand in many directions. Following a 1984's host of studies from feminine standpoints, including perhaps the most seminal by Daphne Patai, studies continue to explore Orwell's life and works with this perspective in mind, including Patai's own reassessment,⁵⁵ whereas a crowd-funded book and documentary attempt to rescue Orwell's wife, Eileen, into the picture – often the first critic, supporter and even life saviour.⁵⁶ One comparative biographical study finds Orwell and Evelyn Waugh to be 'the same man', another pairs him – dubiously – with Churchill as two heroes who helped preserve democracy for the world.⁵⁷ Other yet reinvestigate his religion, other his place among public intellectuals.⁵⁸ Ironically, considering Orwell's wish, there always seems space for new biographies.⁵⁹ And Orwell continues to be felt acutely timely for problems of democracy in late capitalism and regulations in the current level of technological development, from questions of rhetoric and communication to the threat of inverted totalitarianism in a neoliberal-libertarian guise turning just as oppressive as the 20th-century totalitarian regimes.⁶⁰

Biographies

Those publications, however, rarely have much to say about Orwell and Poland. Even the arguably most impactful biography by Bernard Crick, who lectured in Poland and Czechoslovakia after 1989, makes no mention of Joseph Czapski or Teresa Jeleńska, hardly mentioning Poland in any context at all. Nor does it mention Orwell's Polish commander in Spain Benjamin Lewiński (Levinski) whom other biographies commonly at least mention and Shelden even interviews, while Meyers mistakenly transforms into 'another British militiaman'. In exchange, Meyers at least mentions Czapski and his Soviet-exile memoirs and the defected Polish Nobel poet Czesław Miłosz and his *The Captive Mind*, a literary treatise on the Soviet ideology's adverse effects on intellectuals, an excerpt of which related to Orwell he includes also in the volume of collected criticism on Orwell. Christopher Hitchens was rather fond of, what he calls, Miłosz's tribute to Orwell too, whereas a British cold war propaganda and film historian makes Miłosz 'Lithuania's' with no further qualifier.⁶¹ Sometimes Poland slides in only cursorily via an Orwell quote.⁶² The *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters (CEJL)* had gathered scattered Orwell's texts, including some on Poland. More complete, *The Complete Works of George Orwell* do contribute

considerably to the knowledge about Orwell's Polish relationships, also through editorial annotations, and to some extent hint at the keenness of his Polish reception.

Reception, Censorship and Translation Studies

Meanwhile, studies in literary reception continue to develop, for instance, in the line from Roman Ingarden's studies later feeding Wolfgang Iser's and Hans Robert Jauss's reception theory and more USA-based reader-response criticism to more recent reformulations by Philip Goldstein and James Machor.⁶³ Thinking about reception and canon formation did not remain unaffected either by developments in cultural and sociological studies when, echoing some thoughts of Orwell and many before him, some influential academics pointed to literature and culture and even academia as sites of ideological and political struggle and sources of possible manipulation.⁶⁴ But reception studies have developed not only in theoretical but in more practical directions too. A noteworthy British example is the project exploring the Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe, RBAE, for which, however, Orwell is too recent an author.

Similarly, expanding studies on censorship attempt both to theoretically 'map' the territory and propose models⁶⁵ and to offer studies focused on the phenomenon in practice, current and historical.⁶⁶ The relationships between censorship and literature have garnered much academic interest,⁶⁷ also when transnational and involving translation. Translation studies in fact have increasingly concerned themselves with meta-textual issues surrounding the practice of translation, ideology and manipulation among them,⁶⁸ and many works available also in English investigate the phenomenon of translation and censorship interlinked, from theoretical reflections to studies of practices.⁶⁹ Such studies on translation's and literature's (or other intellectual products') links with censorship often share some space and link back with reception studies and reception history again.⁷⁰

Some of the mentioned Orwell studies do consider Orwell's reception, but chiefly in Anglophone cultures, often observing the claiming and disclaiming of Orwell by both the Left and the Right. The reception studies scholar Philip Goldstein himself discusses the neoconservative reception of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.⁷¹ Most notable here, nonetheless, is John Rodden's *Politics of Literary Reputation* with its vast gallery of Orwell's projected portraits among different publics ranging from the rebel, common man to the prophet and saint, various applicable to the Polish context too. With a mostly Anglophone focus, the book and Rodden's other works do offer also glances at Orwell's West and East German and Soviet receptions, with references to Poland.⁷² Studies available in English of Orwell's reception under censorship or propaganda coercion, or on Orwell's censorship itself, have not been too common, however. Some small studies on Orwell's French reception remark on possible 'political reasons' for his initially lukewarm reception.⁷³ Some look

at the censorship of his essays in Francoist Spain.⁷⁴ Some look at Orwell's works' translations and availability in China.⁷⁵ Some works mention the regions and processes involved with using Orwell's last books, also on film, for cold war's psychological warfare, such as India, Middle East, Japan or South America.⁷⁶ A few articles deal with Orwell's censorship and, briefly, reception in Russia, and a booklet tells an afterstory of the Ukrainian émigré translation of *Animal Farm*.⁷⁷ Sustained studies of Orwell's reception beyond the Anglophone world available in English are however lacking.

Polish Studies

Polish studies on Orwell – contrasted with his earlier emotion-laden iconicity and enduring relevance in the Polish culture⁷⁸ – are rather modest too. Similarly to world trends, Polish post-1989 academic articles often focus on Orwell's most famed work, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and its social and political vision and reflections on the role of language in totalitarian ruling methods, sometimes from the perspective of science fiction and utopia.⁷⁹ Someone researched the original inspirations for 'newspeak', others focused on the novel's translations, whereby a recent doctoral dissertation offers a more detained look at ideological questions in Orwell's works and an analysis of their renditions in the two Polish translations of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm*.⁸⁰ *Animal Farm's* satire could be – carefully – discussed in a journal still in 1985.⁸¹ Sometimes Polish academics focused on Orwell's engagement in the Spanish war.⁸² In general, however, early studies tend to offer more of a catching-up reconnaissance of the previously prohibited subject than genuinely radical explorations. Studies on the reception of foreign literatures and authors under censorship in Poland are timidly growing, but no major work has as yet examined Orwell.⁸³

Tangently, nonetheless, Orwell does sometimes appear in diverse studies on the period such as on the communist censorship, clandestine or émigré publishing and political activities, on history and the cultural, literary and intellectual life. For example, a Jan Lechoń scholar presented archival research that explicates this US-exiled poet's laconic diary entry related to his instant assignment to adapt (or translate an adaptation) of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* for the Voice of America radio (its airing, though, is uncertain: Rodden claims that *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were broadcast for Eastern Europe in 1947 and 1949 forgetting to share the source, Tim Crook casts doubt on it for lack of documentary evidence in CIA archives, whereas the poet's papers suggest a series of broadcasts in November 1949).⁸⁴ Interviews with an émigré circle contextualise the printing of the novel with Soviet-style false covers as a camouflage for attempted smuggling across the Iron Curtain. Works on from the Polish science fiction flowering in the 1970s and 1980s, Czesław Miłosz or the poetic New Wave to history of the contesting movement of 1968 assert more or less passingly Orwell's influence. Similarly, 'newspeak' continues a term used by scholars to denote official discourses.⁸⁵

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Various reference works naturally have attempted to amend inherited blanks and obsolete forms.⁸⁶ An (infrequent yet) attempt at a Polish literary translation history by a critic gave opportunity to this author of an ideologically corrective paratext for the first official edition of *Animal Farm* (1988) to defend his former 'universalising' interpretation and to avow an early push for publishing some Orwell's texts officially. Having ignored Orwell for the first thirty years of his career, this prolific critic would now also include an entire essay on Orwell in one of his many collections and claim that 'Orwell's work has universalised and permanently taken a prominent place in 20th-century literature' and belatedly admit that he had been 'one of the first writers to speak up warning against communist totalitarianism'.⁸⁷ Leszek Kołakowski's peer philosopher from the Warsaw school of historians of ideas, similarly pushed into exile, offered a popular newspaper a comparative reflection on *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* as anti-totalitarian calls, before it appeared in a dedicatory essay collection.⁸⁸

From attempts to discuss Orwell's Polish reception *sensu stricto* the most notable one coming under the regime is the 1987 academic article by the translator of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* issued officially (1985), which attempted to recover Orwell's socialism from underneath of the reactionary-anti-communist label. Holding up Orwell and this time Koestler as the foremost presenters of ideological dangers, articles by another humanities scholar comment on Orwell's first official editions and clandestine publications.⁸⁹ It would be a political periodical that in a 60-page section on 'Orwell today' gathered a few new and reprinted Polish discussions on Orwell: his worldview, political journalism, appropriations and, most significantly, 'traces of presence' in Poland.⁹⁰ Overall, nevertheless, the above studies and voices provide only fragmentary images. Orwell's Polish multifaceted reception as a whole needs a more systematic study, which this thesis attempts.

Structure

The thesis is divided into three chapters exploring the émigré, official and clandestine receptions. Each follows a chronological-thematic approach that allows capturing their evolutions in function of developing political circumstances. Attempts are made to indicate nonetheless how the three receptions also influenced and interacted with each other. The émigré chapter argues that many Polish expatriates perceived Orwell as a friend and ally in their independence cause. It parts from exploring Orwell's contacts with the Polish diaspora that offered information at times censored elsewhere, which informed and ultimately influenced his own writing, and Orwell's speaking up for matters important for the Polish post-war fate, often transgressing political orthodoxies. It then explores Polish efforts to 'speak up' for Orwell: to translate and disseminate his selected

works, aiming to reach also behind the Iron Curtain, and the author's support for these. Among others, it unearths an overlooked entire book project and clarifies some confusions related to Orwell's dealings with the Poles found in *CWGO*. Lastly, it focuses on Orwell's 'afterlife'⁹¹ among the Polish diaspora, mostly the two most influential centres of Paris and London. It delves into the mourning after losing a friend but also the use of his works for ideological and political aims. It follows the enduring interest, appreciation and appropriation of Orwell by different generations of Polish exiles who over time enhanced ways of smuggling his works and ideas to compatriots in occupied Poland, often supported by and supporting USA's cold-war projects, oftentimes with covert CIA funding.

The chapter on official reception argues that the regime perceived Orwell as an enemy and a threat to its very existence and so banned him by the means of a comprehensive censorship apparatus modelled on the Soviet. Yet, a ban was not necessarily a straightforward absence. It could still mean a nuanced presence, which the chapter tracks down. Orwell was allowed some mentions in official publications, sometimes seemingly 'smuggled' disguised or misread in certain interpretive conventions, and tolerated for instance in libraries. His image and presence responded to the changing political climate while state files indicate how he remained closely monitored over the years. The chapter explores Orwell's Polish official reception history parting from the initial post-war innocent arrival, his subsequent branding as a shadowy enemy in the Stalinist period, his presence in the public discourse and even attempts at rescuing his image during the October 1956 'thaw', the subsequent 'freeze' and disappearance from the papers for over two decades but an increasing permeation in book publications, to the breakthrough of the dynamic 1980s. That decade comprising the Solidarity carnival, martial law, Orwell year and political changes leading to the partially free elections and the final dissolution of the Polish communist party saw Orwell's return to the press and periodicals not only under the old 'enemy' tag but sometimes also appropriated as a half-friend and saw his books officially published too but with precautions more prudent than those of the more ephemeral prints.

Miłosz claimed in his 1981 preface to *The Captive Mind* that his book had been quite widely read in Poland and played a 'liberating role'.⁹² If Orwell appeared a friend and ally to many émigrés, to his clandestine audience in Poland he too passed also a liberating message (even if dealing with the physical artefact could bring about imprisonment or other punishment), so argues the third chapter on Orwell's clandestine reception. If only through *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm*, he helped powerfully unmask some of the regime's mechanisms and practices and offered their simple descriptive tools. Once noticed and named, they could be more readily resisted. For their gripping parallels with the outside reality, the two books had a particularly strong resonance underground, if not a mobilising power, among older and younger generations alike. Book smuggling and clandestine printing and distribution was performed under state surveillance

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whose level of penetration, as archival documents show, might have been higher than many activists realised. Clandestine activities also greatly benefited from émigré and foreign support (e.g. CIA programmes). The chapter parts from exploring Orwell's early reception from traces in letters and diaries in the dark Stalinist years, the influence of his ideas on popular dissenting movements to finally his clandestine publishing, distribution and reception in the so called second circulation from the latter 1970s.

Chapter 1 Émigré Reception – Orwell a Friend and Political Ally

It is pleasant to remember that precisely this writer in his wartime articles turned out to be a reliable and dedicated friend of the Polish cause and the Poles.¹

Paris, mid-March 1945. As three middle-aged men are lunching, they are engaged in an intense conversation. Between the two singularly tall and lanky diners who might have passed each other on pre-war Parisian streets is a Polish aristocratic bohemian painter, author and critic. His distinctive personal charm fused with gentle firmness leaves a lasting impression on the other one not only of 'authenticity' but 'exceptionality'. The polite English journalist and writer in turn leaves that of being 'nervous, not young anymore and noble'. The meeting proves memorable as their values and concerns seem to converge and the developed reciprocal trust would lead to a mutually appreciative path with some shared goals.²

London, 7 September 1945. The same English man discusses business with another Pole, a middle-aged jovial and forthright man with a thick Lvivian accent. The small man has the power to launch his oft-rebuffed book in the USA. As the potential publisher holds the slim manuscript in his hand and, as per his peculiar custom, smells it, he is inferring extratextual information from the author's speech and manner. Perhaps the writer's English restraint and muted voice engulfed by the café's hubbub did not appear convincing enough, or the manuscript did not smell quite right, to override his primary concern of the book's being too short to match his publishing profile. The reply soon delivered would be like that of several other US publishers: one of rejection, of the English and Polish editions alike.³

1.1 The Rare British Friend Speaks up for the Polish Cause

1.1.1 Orwell a Friend and Political Ally

This was Orwell meeting two Polish émigrés: Józef Czapski, accompanied by another Polish journalist, when Orwell was a war correspondent for the *Observer* and *Manchester Evening News* in Paris, and the publisher Marian Kister in London, with whom he discussed *Animal Farm*.⁴ Józef (Joseph) Czapski (1896-1993) was one of the foremost though quaintly unassuming Polish intellectuals of the 20th century. He was a painter, essayist and critic educated in St Petersburg and Kraków who participated in Paris and Warsaw's pre-war cultural lives. Historical circumstances made him a one-time pacifist but also veteran of three wars, an official and a public intellectual finally exiled in Paris. Czapski's contacts, experiences and endearing aristocratic-bohemian demeanour led him to play a pivotal role in the establishment and survival of the publisher Literary Institute and its periodical *Kultura*, set up in Rome at the end of the war and transferred to Maisons-Laffitte near Paris in 1947. He mingled with the Polish, Eastern and Western elite (e.g. James Burnham, André Malraux or Charles de Gaulle), yet, on revisiting his diaries at the age of 84, a meeting with Orwell 35 years earlier still stood out: 'I hate my snobbish memories, what have I taken from them. One lunch with Orwell [...]'. As the chair of The Orwell Society, Richard Keeble, suggests, Orwell may have been in Paris then on an intelligence mission for the future editor of the family-owned *Observer*, David Astor. In any case, he felt pursued by the communists and even attempted to borrow a gun from the writer Ernest Hemingway. This might partly explain the 'nervousness' Czapski noted at the meeting, while Czapski himself self-consciously muses: 'Surely it was me who prattled as usual, mainly as it was so soon after my Russia'.⁵

Czapski's 'Russia' certainly refers to, among others, his two years in Soviet camps and particularly the Katyń massacre in which close to 22,000 Poles captured after the Soviet invasion of Poland on 17 September 1939 were shot in spring 1940. Czapski was among some 400 army officers to survive it, while around 15,000 disappeared without a trace. In the aftermath of the German invasion of Russia in June 1941 and the subsequent Polish-Russian agreement, Stalin 'amnestied' Polish deportees and prisoners of (the unannounced) war so that they could join the Allied war effort. Czapski was among the fortunate to receive the news, be released and reach a recruitment point for a force formed of the amnestees under General Władysław Anders, the 'Anders's Army'. It was later restructured as the 2nd Corps of the Polish Army in the West subject to British command and Czapski, alongside other notable émigrés including those from the future *Kultura* circle, followed its immense Soviet-Middle East war trail which culminated in 1945 in Italy. Czapski's 'Russia' about which he worried to have 'prattled' to Orwell undoubtedly included also

his odyssey in search of the officers the Anders's Army was missing. Later, in 1943, the Germans uncovered some of their mass graves and triumphantly pointed to Russian perpetration. Stalin then deflected the accusation, Poland appealed for an International Red Cross enquiry and Stalin, having by then secured an upper hand over Hitler, broke off diplomatic relations in response, undermining Poland's political position among the Allies. The organised amnestees nonetheless had already been released from the USSR territory.

In the vivacious capital of the newly reborn country, pre-war Warsaw, Marian Kister (1897-1958) co-owned a successful publishing house, Rój. Like another Polish Jew Isaac Deutscher, the outbreak of the war saw him away in London. Like Deutscher or Czapski, he was never to set foot on Polish soil again. Kister's associate, however, was in Poland. A popular writer and journalist, he was on the German list of wanted intellectuals but escaped the country during the failing double-front September defence campaign. It would be their wives who strove to carry on in occupied Warsaw, against the backdrop of home, plate and book stock and even child losses in the war. Kister meanwhile headed from London to France where the Polish authorities mobilised an army-in-exile with a view to aiding their allies France and Britain. A veteran of WWI and subsequent battles, he now sought to serve as publisher. Hitler's blitzkrieg against France, however, quickly interrupted his projects. While the government and the bulk of the Polish soldiers and civilians were evacuated to the United Kingdom, many amidst the chaos were left to their own devices, among them Kister and his family who had just managed to arrive from Poland. Some Poles remained in France, some were interned or taken prisoner, while others succeeded in joining Polish or international forces in Britain, Syria or elsewhere or else in boarding a ship that parted away from war-torn lands. The Kisters' ship parted for the USA, where they would establish Rój's US descendant, Roy Publishers. Surely to their regret – and quite surprisingly, given its great appeal among anti-communist Poles – Orwell's *Animal Farm* was not to feature in Roy's portfolio nor endow the firm with its second Book-of-the-Month Club accolade. Instead, it would be reserved for Harcourt, Brace, exactly a year after Orwell and Kister's London meeting.⁶

Czapski's and Kister's are stories of two from around 500,000⁷ Poles who were able to and chose life in the West rather than in Soviet-occupied Poland after the war. Disproportionately many were intellectuals and, of those, many determined to work from this freer locus operandi for their homeland's independence. Certainly, the Polish independist exile 'tradition', the 19th-century partition-period Great Emigration concentrated greatly in France and England, provided some strength and inspiration, if not a strange sense of continuity. Some exiles treated staying in the West as both testifying to and the only available gesture of protest against what they saw as Eastern aggression and Western complicity: the peace conferences' decisions that placed the region in the Soviet sphere of influence and annexed nearly half of their country to the USSR. Orwell was certainly a good ally here. He himself thought that refugees from Soviet-occupied

countries were 'a godsent opportunity for breaking down the wall between Russia and the west. If our government won't see this, one must do what one can privately'.⁸

Czapski and Kister were also two from the Polish émigrés whom Orwell knew or met. One of Orwell's biographers claimed that Orwell had felt 'the pain of exile' in Burma, whereas leading cultural materialists sometimes argued that Orwell himself was a self-appointed exile.⁹ However true and helpful it was in connecting with other exiles, his Polish émigré social circle appears not negligible. Close contacts in London included Teresa Jeleńska and allegedly the critic and journalist Stefania Zahorska and her partner, former minister Adam Pragier.¹⁰ Pragier was a democratic socialist himself and shared Orwell's view that the British public would only concede to Britain's ally's, Poland, paying deadly concessions to the tardy ally Russia if these were kept in the dark or disguised.¹¹ It is easy to imagine intense conversations there. Orwell also knew the London-exiled poet Stanisław Baliński and apparently artist Feliks Topolski, whose illustration appeared in Orwell's *The English People*.¹² During their period in London Orwell also met *Kultura's* London representative and future Harvard professor and chair of Slavic Studies Wiktor Weintraub (1908-1988), young Tadeusz Nowakowski, later a praised Radio Free Europe presenter and much discussed author once dubbed 'a Polish Orwell', and possibly also the celebrated writer and his great promoter Gustaw Herling-Grudziński.¹³ In a commemorative 1984 Radio Free Europe programme Nowakowski claimed that Orwell also 'had a very good contact' with Waław Czarski and Maria Gryziewicz of the World League of Poles Abroad 'Światpol', a pre-war governmental organisation set up to maintain links with Polish expatriates, now exiled in London where it issued the Polish edition of *Animal Farm* (1947).¹⁴ During that project Orwell was meeting the essayist and former deputy minister Juliusz Sakowski and the League's reviver abroad and émigré activist recognised after communism with the highest Polish honour Bolesław Wierzbiański.¹⁵ In Paris, beside Czapski, he also associated with Marxist Isaac Deutscher, sometimes sharing a room in a press camp. Later Orwell would appraise Deutscher as 'only sympathiser, & recent development' in his list of potential unreliable contributors to the British Foreign Office's anti-communist propaganda, but his biography of Stalin he would appraise as 'moderately objective'.¹⁶ Orwell also received letters or corresponded with other more or less prominent Polish émigrés, from front-line politicians (Tadeusz Bielecki, Tadeusz Katelbach) to eccentric counts (Potocki de Montalk). Worth noting is Orwell's early encounter with young Konstanty Jeleński (1922-1987), Jeleńska and the Italian minister Carlo Sforza's son who would become a somewhat two-way Polish-Western cultural ambassador, among others, connected with *Kultura* and serving as Nikolai Nabokov's deputy at the Congress for Cultural Freedom and as French counterpart of Stephen Spender, co-editor of *Encounter*, co-editing the Congress's journal *Preuves*. While the mother would discover Orwell independently through *Animal Farm* in 1945, the son had possibly made his acquaintance through Cyril Connolly's *Horizon* circle while his regiment stationed in Britain before the 1944

Normandy landings.¹⁷ Had Orwell lived in acceptable health, he might have decided to second his friend Arthur Koestler (with whom he worked on a modern version of the League for the Rights of Man) and the thinker he critiqued James Burnham in their anti-communist missions channelled through the covertly CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom. He might have then attended its inaugural conference in Berlin in June 1950 and travelled there jointly with Mamaine and Arthur Koestler, Paul Sartre, Józef Czapski and Jerzy Giedroyc, the founder and editor of the Literary Institute and *Kultura* that published his essays in Polish and would publish *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. In Berlin, he could have refreshed the link with thence another *Kultura* animator, Jeleński.¹⁸

Certainly the memory of relationships and shared experiences undocumented in one way or another might have perished with the participants. Orwell's tendency to segment his social life is not helpful in uncovering forgotten interactions with the Polish diaspora today either. Yet, new material can sometimes still shed new light even in the well-researched Orwell scholarship.¹⁹ New insight can be gained into Orwell's contacts with the Poles, attitudes and joint efforts behind the Polish dissemination of his works from so far unpublished material or material available solely to Polish speakers on which this chapter draws, such as, for instance, Orwell's agents' letters to Jeleńska, *Kultura* or the translator of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Juliusz Mieroszewski, and from Polish émigrés' correspondence that concerns Orwell, for instance, between Mieroszewski and *Kultura's* editor Giedroyc (around 666 preserved letters from 1945 to 1953, the year the translation was published, or 1206 letters till the end of 1956, the year of a big political shift behind the Iron Curtain), between Giedroyc and Weintraub and others involved with *Kultura*.²⁰ Our knowledge of Orwell's relationships with the Polish diaspora can be expanded also by such new sources considered in this work as Czapski's diary and letters, the 1984 commemorative programme of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe, and Orwell's letters, thought lost by English scholars, to the translator of *Animal Farm* and essays, Teresa Jeleńska.

Teresa (Rena) Jeleńska (1892-1969) was the polyglot wife of a pre-war diplomat whom she accompanied to embassies across Europe (e.g. Rome, Madrid, Leningrad) and a friend of Polish and European intellectuals. The war encountered her in Poland, from where she later escaped with her son to familiar Rome and followed the customary trail of France and Britain. Thrown onto Scottish soil first, she took up work for the London-based government *Polish Daily* as a cultural correspondent, like Orwell at the time, often writing reviews. After the daily's forced fusion with *Soldiers Daily* beginning with 1944, she left it and moved to London, where she and Orwell met. On the 1984 Radio Free Europe talk on Orwell, her son Konstanty Jeleński affirmed how Orwell and his mother's contacts developed into friendship:

a friendship grew from that, given that Orwell used to come to hers for tea, to her small guesthouse room [...], initially to explain, in French by the way – as he spoke very good

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French – any doubts about the translation, and then, quite often, he used to come for tea and they discussed different matters, not related to *Animal Farm* at all: about pre-war Poland, about my mother's childhood memories, about his childhood memories... So my mother did have with Orwell a very close and warm relationship.²¹

Jeleńska mentioned she preserved just letters related to the translation of *Animal Farm*,²² out of which ten are known spanning from 7 September 1945 to 17 January 1947. Already those strongly indicate that the author-translator relationship went beyond purely professional. In line with Orwell's custom in those days, there is planning for lunches out: 'I wonder if you could have lunch with me some day, as you say you are free in the daytime? Do you think you could manage this Thursday, the 15th, or failing that, Thursday 22nd?'.²³ At other times, there was planning for an evening outing: 'I should have written earlier to answer your kind invitation, but it seems I simply can't arrange to go out in the evening for about another week [...], but, for instance, Wednesday 29th would be all right for me.'²⁴ It is uncertain whether or not an availability mismatch made him miss Konstanty Jeleński's visit to London in 1946, but a letter seems to validate biographer Bernard Crick's avowal of Orwell's punctiliousness with the housekeeper's fixed free days, apparently broken just once, Crick assures, for a lunch with Bertrand Russell:

Unfortunately I will not be free until Thursday [...]. On Monday and Wednesday I have commitments, and on Tuesday I have to stay home – because it is the baby-sitter's day off and I'll be alone with my little son. But I would like to have lunch with you at Kensington Restaurant on Thursday – at one o'clock, for example? I hope your son will not leave before this day.²⁵

The letters indicate too that Orwell indeed had the custom of calling on Jeleńska at home, something on 4 May 1946 he understandably had to cancel:

I just got the news that my sister died. I will leave for Nottingham Monday morning, and I guess I'll be back on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning. In this case I cannot come and visit you as I promised, and I hope you will excuse me.²⁶

The funeral took its toll also on the time available for arrangements before withdrawing to the remote Scottish island of Jura for a few months, and visits needed postponing again: 'Unfortunately it is absolutely impossible for me to come to see you before I leave. I returned to London the night before last and I'm going to Scotland this evening. [...]. I hope you will forgive me for not coming to see you before leaving. I hope to see you in the autumn'.²⁷ While Jeleńska and Orwell socialised at other friends' as well, her modest abode sometimes served as a cultural saloon where others could meet or catch up with Orwell too, like Baliński or Weintraub.²⁸

To various Poles who knew him, Orwell appeared not only a personal friend, but a friend of their country altogether. Jeleńska appreciated that he had ‘a great sympathy for Poland’ and ‘suffered the betrayal of socialism in Stalinist Russia, [and] the subjugation of Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe’. She recalled a friend telling her how the *Guardian* correspondent D’Arcy Gillie attested to Orwell’s concern for the Warsaw rising (1 August-2 October 1944) and could judge on the developments merely by the manner Orwell walked back home with the morning newspaper. The literature scholar Weintraub wrote at Orwell’s death that ‘It is pleasant to remember that precisely this writer in his wartime articles turned out to be a reliable and dedicated friend of the Polish cause and the Poles. One read these articles convinced that his voice here would never sound false, jarring, and his argumentation – get entangled in sophisms.’ The son of Polish flagship socialist leaders made plans for Orwell’s lecture at the Oxford University Polish Club. Nowakowski of Free Europe called Orwell ‘a polonophile’.²⁹

But even some who might not have known him personally or not known very well shared this ‘polonophile’ perception. Orwell appeared as a political ally. Some saw him even as a certain advocate of Polish interests before the British public. A London-exiled leading émigré paper called him ‘one of the most confirmed friends of Poland among English writers’. When in July 1945 Britain and the United States withdrew recognition from the Polish government and recognised the Provisional Government of National Unity (TRJN) formed in Moscow as Polish new authorities until ‘free and unfettered elections as soon as possible’³⁰ are carried out as per the 1945 peace conferences, it quickly transpired that the stipulated democracy leaned towards exclusivity. Far on the political spectrum from Orwell, the leader of the Polish National Democratic Party still sought his support and forwarded him the party’s protest in the face of this major pre-war party’s projected exclusion. Also the director of the formerly governmental Polish Press Agency forwarded Orwell a letter he received from a Scottish nationalist about the contended settlement of Poles in Scotland. A pre-war senator, then head of the ‘Help Poles in Germany’ Polish Social Committee, enclosed a copy of the Memorandum handed to the United Nations that exposed the discriminatory treatment of Polish refugees and Displaced Persons (DPs) in Germany.³¹

It was not only that Orwell strove to expose the same regimes of truth about British wartime gallant ally, Russia. There appeared to be an earnest interest in and solidarity with the country he in fact never visited. A perusal of *CWGO* may already affirm that the ‘polonophile’ perception was not entirely ungrounded. While Orwell’s publications and letters provide much evidence of this, it is worth glancing also beyond his own writing. For example, Orwell kept a considerable amount of material on Polish subjects in his pamphlet collection. Its rather remarkable range reflects subjects as diverse as the Catholic Truth Society’s 1939 report *The Soviets ‘Liberate’ Poland* or the translation of the Polish Underground State’s report on German concentration camps (whose circulation was restricted in Britain³²), through a 1942 political programme of one of the Polish

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Underground State's parties in occupied Poland, a wartime essay collection of an exiled author and politician or a treatise on the necessity for a European integration, to a Lviv University professor's 1941 booklet commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald.³³ They may indicate a strong personal interest and a considerable either effort or network of contacts to have obtained them. As *Tribune's* literary editor, Orwell sometimes took the opportunity to promote Polish matters and literature through reviews.³⁴ A particular case is one of June 1944, soon after he completed *Animal Farm*, when he ordered a note on *Polish Folk-Lore Stories*. It is unclear if he was aware that these anonymous stories were extracts from the Nobel-winning novel series *The Peasants* by Władysław Reymont. This adds to the intriguing question whether or not he had been familiar with Reymont's other work while writing *Animal Farm* entitled 'Rebellion' (*Bunt*, 1922/24, promptly translated into German) which, like *Animal Farm*, is a satire that warns about the Bolshevik revolution through the story of an animal revolt against people.³⁵

Orwell engaged also in various forms of activism for the Polish sake. For instance, having just concluded a frustrating search for a publisher for his then politically incorrect *Animal Farm*, in 1945 and 1946 he undertook to go through a similar process again for Józef Czapski's *Katyń* memoirs. Acting through the Freedom Defence Committee, he made inquiries about the fate of a Polish war veteran arrested with others on repatriating to Poland and whom the Western occupational authorities apparently denied asylum when he managed to escape to Germany, leaving him to an uncertain fate, while forcibly deporting various acquaintances. In 1984, Nowakowski claimed on Radio Free Europe – perhaps a myth, since no records have been found to corroborate it, but none of his four studio guests disclaimed it either – that so moved had Orwell been by the Warsaw rising that he had allegedly

taken a blanket and lain down in the evening at the door to the Prime Minister's residence at Number 10 Downing Street in order to alarm the public opinion about the lack of sufficient help for the rising Warsaw.³⁶

1.1.2 Poland in Orwell's Writing

Much of Orwell's interest, solidarity and sympathy for the Polish fate transpires through his published and private writing. His 'Diary of Events Leading Up to the War' reveals that, naturally, he monitored developments concerning the country where it started.³⁷ He followed and tried to raise awareness about the situation of Jews and Poles in occupied Poland deemed by Hitler's policy inferior races.³⁸ Defending British carpet bombing of Germany, he picked up fights for instance with the pacifist Vera Brittain or the historian Liddell Hart and evocatively used Poland as an example to show that 'Germany did it first':

The first act in the present war – some hours [...] before any declaration of war passed – was the German bombing of Warsaw [Orwell's mistake, though, as other places were attacked earlier]. The Germans bombed and shelled the city so intensively that, according to the Poles, at one time 700 fires were raging simultaneously. They made a film of the destruction of Warsaw, which they entitled 'Baptism of Fire' and sent all round the world with the object of terrorising neutrals.³⁹

The part of the Polish army and civilians successfully evacuated in mid-1940 from defeated France were welcomed in Britain by his review of memoirs by a US-born wife of a Polish nobleman in *New Statesman and Nation*. Already then he seemed to take it as an opportunity to try to amend some lingering representations and defend the Polish claim to independence in jeopardy:

I recently saw it [the book] reviewed in a left-wing paper under the heading 'Fascist Poland did not deserve to survive.' The implication was that the state of independent Poland was so bad that the downright slavery instituted by Hitler was preferable. [...] It became the fashion to say [...] that Poland was 'just as bad as' Nazi Germany. In fact, if Princess Sapieha's account is truthful, it was not nearly as bad.

Rather than commiserate the fate of France, a few years back his home, he points out that 'it had been argued that the speed with which Poland collapsed proved its inner rottenness. But actually the Polish army fought as long as the French, against far heavier odds'. And after an introduction laced with his standard reserve and irony, speaking on behalf of a country absent from the political map during his childhood, he concludes with a rather un-Orwellian note, quite worthy of Polish Romantics under partitions: 'this nation of thirty million souls, with its long tradition of struggle against the Emperor and the Tsar, deserves its independence in any world where national sovereignty is possible'.⁴⁰

With regard to what he called 'the Russian mythos' during the war, Orwell felt deeply that it was damaging British hopes for a socialist society in the UK. He was then only too aware of the deadly threat it and its sponsor country posed to Poland and its neighbours. Poland alongside the Spanish Civil War and the Russo-German Pact repeatedly loomed in his mind as the most 'pressing problems' that exhorted an open discussion and re-education of the British public.⁴¹ He tried to do his part. Seemingly he too thought that certain grave particulars be best not divulged, like cases of Poles forcibly moved by the allies to the Soviet occupational zone in Germany being shot on escape attempts.⁴² Generally, nonetheless, he insisted that 'the British people should be made to understand, with as much concrete detail as possible, what kind of policies their statesmen are committing them to' for the post-war future, and did try to educate *Observer* readers on the situation of Polish DPs when reporting from Germany:

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The people most affected here are the Poles. It is known that great numbers of Poles, especially from eastern Poland, want to remain abroad. If the Government of the U.S.S.R. decides that those of them who are now technically Soviet citizens must return, will the British and American Governments feel obliged to repatriate them? [...] Moreover, if the Poles and others who prefer to remain abroad are allowed to do so, what exactly is their status to be?⁴³

He tried to educate US audiences too in unambiguous terms: 'Throughout eastern Europe there is a "revolution from above," imposed by the Russians'.⁴⁴ One side effect of this revolution were some 157,000 Polish veterans formerly serving under the British command and their families who – though discouraged, nevertheless officially invited as a token gesture to the let-down ally – chose Britain as their new home by the end of the 1940s.⁴⁵ Concerned about their situation not being properly understood across the society, Orwell energetically engaged in tackling some contradictions and stereotypes surrounding the contentious subject of refugees. Censuring the Trade Unions Congress's unwillingness to allow Poles to work, according to him, 'in the two places where labour is most urgently needed – in the mines and on the land', he demanded:

It will not do to write this off as something 'got up' by Communist sympathizers, nor on the other hand to justify it by saying that the Polish refugees are all Fascists who 'strut about' wearing monocles and carrying brief-cases.

The question is, would the attitude of the British trade unions be any friendlier if it were a question, not of alleged Fascists but of the admitted victims of Fascism?⁴⁶

Having actually resided in Scotland when and where Polish settlement was a particularly hot issue, he once appealed to his readers' hearts via personal story relating an exchange he supposedly overheard between two businessmen, leaving the *Tribune* audience with such closing thoughts:

The thing that most depressed me in the above-mentioned conversation was the recurrent phrase, 'let them go back to their own country'. If I had said to those two businessmen, 'Most of these people have no country to go back to', they would have gaped. [...] They would never have heard of the various things that have happened to Poland since 1939 [...] the knowledge may make them a little less actively malignant.⁴⁷

1.1.2.1 Troubles with Censorship over Poland

The root cause of much of this ignorance Orwell saw in wartime propaganda and censorship. Unlike some Polish editors and journalists, he did not find the official censorship 'particularly irksome', but found that a tacit voluntary censorship could silence views challenging the

prevailing orthodoxy 'with surprising effectiveness'.⁴⁸ One of these 'orthodoxies' during the Anglo-Russian alliance was a flattering image of the big ally, and speaking up about Polish problems frequently caused by that ally's policy sometimes meant struggles with this censorship, as Orwell thought, particularly on the Left. Yet, he persisted in his attempts. The Warsaw uprising against the German occupation in summer 1944 was a topic suddenly sanctioned for discussion in the British press, from which, however, Orwell initially abstained. When he finally felt compelled to react, though, his voice vexed some publishing quarters and fuelled a lengthy polemic as well as begetting some professional consequences. Unlike Arthur Koestler, unable to get his article into print,⁴⁹ Orwell managed in *Tribune's* 'As I Please' to lodge his protest

against the mean and cowardly attitude adopted by the British press towards the recent rising in Warsaw.

As soon as the news of the rising broke, the *News-Chronicle* and kindred papers adopted a markedly disapproving attitude. One was left with the general impression that the Poles deserved to have their bottoms smacked for doing what all the Allied wirelasses had been urging them to do for years past, and that they would not be given and did not deserve to be given any help from outside.⁵⁰

At the time, news was fragmentary, *Tribune* would only concurrently report for example on the barring of ally supply planes from using the area the Soviet Union had supposedly liberated or on the Soviet persecution of the Polish underground army.⁵¹ Orwell also withheld from common adjudicating on such questions as whether the Polish government ordered the rising only for own political gain or whether the Russian army purposefully halted its eastern advance on Warsaw's edge to maximise the Underground's casualties. But he raised a fundamental issue that afflicted the Poles greatly: a perceived 'dishonestly uncritical' treatment and portrayal of Soviet policies by many British intellectuals, whom he accused of 'nationalistic loyalty towards the U.S.S.R.'. The memorable quintessence ran:

Do remember that dishonesty and cowardice always have to be paid for. Don't imagine that for years on end you can make yourself the boot-licking propagandist of the Soviet regime, or any other regime, and then suddenly turn to mental decency. Once a whore, always a whore.⁵²

Responses were swift and enraged. 'I consider his article a disgrace to the profession he has so recently condescended to join and an insult to readers', cried one academic citing Stalin-appointed politicians as purportedly reliable sources of divergent information. Koestler chipped in too, whereas the editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* protested against its inferred inclusion 'among the papers which he [Orwell] suggested licked the boots of Moscow'. The latter likely had

yet another, practical, repercussion. Orwell probably referred to this when he later wrote in a letter: '*New Statesman*, won't touch me with a stick, in fact my last contact with them was their trying to blackmail me into withdrawing something I had written in *Tribune* by threats of a libel action'.⁵³

Incensing some, Orwell's column much comforted others. The Warsaw rising had been planned to last a few days counting on ally support, but lasted 63 virtually without any. It involved 50,000 resistance soldiers, left nearly 200,000 inhabitants dead, 800,000 survivors deported or dispersed and the historic city and over 90 percent of the capital's housing destroyed (to send Hitler's message).⁵⁴ It was a highly traumatic event for the entire nation. Admittedly miscalculated, it befitted the revered romantic tradition of failed uprisings nonetheless. And Orwell – an avid Joseph Conrad reader who, as some claim, shaped Orwell himself as a writer – might have just appreciated this, judging how he would soon encapsulate Conrad's 'somehow un-English' mentality stemming from his Polish background: 'romanticism, his love of the grand gesture and of the lonely Prometheus struggling against fate'.⁵⁵ Orwell's response to the rising was perhaps the single article that most endeared him to his contemporary Polish audience.

At the time, *Wiadomości* had already been closed for its outspokenness on Soviet atrocities⁵⁶ and General Anders's weekly *White Eagle* had not reached Britain yet, but a reaction came from the compromising Polish government organ, the fused *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily*. It was telling of the government's predicament: vacillating between passion and perceived political pragmatism to moderate any criticism of Britain's Soviet ally which could further strain the relations with own ally, Britain. Diplomatically, the daily restrained itself to effectively translating large excerpts from Orwell's column, albeit venturing the noteworthy title 'Against Thoughtlessness' and the following opening:

The independent socialist weekly *Tribune*, that from the beginning has strongly reproved the insufficient help for Warsaw, publishes in its last number, besides the already familiar to our Readers criticism of the Soviet stance on this matter, an extensive article by Mr George Orwell protesting against 'the low and cowardly attitude of the British press towards the rising in Warsaw'.⁵⁷

To many Poles Orwell's article seemed a testimony to not only his solidarity with Poland, but also his exceptional courage and moral integrity. Many shared Czapski's bitter feelings of Western intellectuals' conformity with designs to placate Russian power claims with Central and Eastern Europe and there being a tacit agreement to this end to silence Poland, also through downplaying her contribution to the war effort, for example, by vilifying the London government, the Polish Underground State and Underground Army and the uprising. Czapski expressed these powerfully

in an open letter to the prominent French intellectuals Jacques Maritain and François Mauriac, which reached Orwell's hands too:

Would they [Western intellectuals] too be forced into silence by censorship? I understand that speaking of Poland today is uncomfortable, that it is indefinitely easier to remain silent or repeat simplistic and false clichés about Poland, the country of 'landlords' and reactionaries. [...] where are the great English, American writers, why are they silent? [...] I understand that in the Polish tragedy there is little material for the amusing paradoxes of Bernard Shaw, but where is the subtle, noble Aldous Huxley, where is Sinclair Lewis, Dreiser? [...] The case of Poland and the case of the European countries subjugated like her – is a moral case, a case of the world's conscience.⁵⁸

To Czapski, even decades later it still seemed as if Orwell had been the only one in England to have spoken up. His diary from 1976 reads:

Only one Bernanos from the great French writers said in a full voice what he thinks about this last German-Russian mortal violence on Poland. In Switzerland there was the future cardinal Father Journet in the article 'Varsovie ou la troisième guerre'. The two of them and Orwell in England and author of *Animal Farm* – were the only people whose word about Poland of indignation – appreciation of the crime [was] expressed with full passion and authentic pain.⁵⁹

During the Warsaw rising Orwell wrote in a letter that 'I consider that willingness to criticise Russia and Stalin is *the* test of intellectual honesty'.⁶⁰ The honesty of Western journalists and politicians soon underwent another such Poland-related 'test' when in March 1945 the Soviet services abducted sixteen Polish political leaders invited for negotiations and put them on a show trial in Moscow. It frequently failed. The abducted politicians were also prevented from participating in the formation of a new provisional government decreed by the Yalta peace conference as their bogus trial ran parallel to the political talks. The British and US ambassadors overseeing these in the same city lodged no clear protest, whereas London's *White Eagle* reported: 'The English press has not commented on the trial of the 16 leaders of the Polish resistance, limiting itself to usually nearly identical correspondents' reports'.⁶¹ Others failing at that pivotal moment for Polish post-war future – for if Stalin was allowed to pull this off, there seemed little hope that he would be kept to account on other peace conferences' democratic stipulations – Orwell passed the principle-proofing test once again. In a letter to *Tribune* he complained about its biased coverage of the trial and admitted to himself having been initially swayed by partial press reports into believing that 'the accused were technically guilty' and that a reflection on this regime of truth came only later:

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just what were they guilty of? Apparently [...] of doing what everyone thinks it right to do when his country is occupied by a foreign power – that is, of trying to keep a military force in being, of maintaining communication with the outside world, of committing acts of sabotage and occasionally killing people. In other words, they were accused of trying to preserve the independence of their country against an unelected puppet government, and of remaining obedient to a government which at that time was recognised by the whole world except the USSR.⁶²

He accused there the left-wing press of a 'double standard of morality' in denouncing mass deportations, concentration camps, forced labour and suppression of freedom of speech when committed by others but not when by the Soviets and in resorting to 'doctoring the news and cutting out unpalatable facts', noting likewise that after the politicians' arrest 'all mention of their status as political delegates was dropped'.

Orwell might have passed this intellectual honesty trial, the public at large however could not have known it – since his letter remained unpublished. A printer's proof copy notes that it was 'withdrawn because *Tribune* altered attitude in following week'.⁶³

By late 1945 *Animal Farm* had not only been politically accepted in the UK but would soon become a Western propaganda instrument against the former Eastern ally. Meanwhile, Orwell observed that some previously 'red' politicians were now involved in protesting the undemocratic Russian coercion in Poland,⁶⁴ that reports are ensuing⁶⁵ and that in January *News Chronicle* itself mentioned that "'force has had to be used" against the Polish Home Army', if only in small print at the bottom of a column,⁶⁶ and that by September 'even the News-Chron[icle] has got round to admitting some of the facts' about the destruction and abuse spread by the returning Soviet troops and some repressive policies that the old People's Party in Poland aims to fight against.⁶⁷ Hence, he cautiously hoped for the British press and politicians 'to start spilling the beans about the Lublin Committee' and other issues previously glossed over.⁶⁸ It turned out, however, that some of the 'beans' would be slow to ripen for 'spilling', among them, the Soviet role in the Katyń massacre.

Not the largest war atrocity, Katyń was a crime particularly upsetting to the Polish community perhaps for brazenly targeting the national elite and the cynicism surrounding it on the political level. Orwell undertook to accelerate its 'ripening' by helping Czapski publish his *Souvenirs de Starobielsk*, memoirs which contained 'everything related to my investigations and the life of my friends who disappeared in Russia'.⁶⁹ After the decisive Battle of Monte Cassino (Battle for Rome) concluded in May 1944, the British supervision finally allowed its publication in Polish, French and Italian by the Anders's 2nd Corps in Italy. But not without misgivings. When in March 1945 Orwell was meeting its author in Paris, the future translator of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, then editor of a

periodical of the Polish Army in the East, complained: 'We've got ever greater censorial difficulties [...] I couldn't publish even a five-line note about Czapski's book.'⁷⁰ Thus, undertaking to publish it against the censorship current in Britain was no small task. Orwell had once praised Potocki de Montalk's pamphlet scathing his imprisonment for, as Orwell put it, 'having printed the word "fucking"'. The current task might have loomed the more daunting if Orwell knew that Potocki had been sentenced on censorship charges yet again precisely for having printed in the word 'Katyn' as it were: a brochure alleging the Soviet perpetration of the massacre and a British cover-up.⁷¹

A glimmer of hope for exposing the issue to the British public seemed to appear around December 1945 when Czapski wrote to Orwell saying that he had learnt 'through my friend Poznanski that you told him to have found an English publisher' and that he expected the book to 'have some relevance in the weeks to come owing to the Nuremberg trials, which will put the issue on the table'.⁷² The first post-war Christmas-season anticipation ebbed away when it became apparent that neither a publisher was found nor Katyń received an in-depth scrutiny at the Nuremberg tribunal where the perpetrators were not among defendants but prosecutors. A year into the publishing mission, an ally showed up in the person of Arthur Koestler. Having received from Czapski copies of the booklet and the Open Letter on the Warsaw rising, he – tellingly – immediately shared them with Orwell: 'It's funny you should send me Czapsky's [sic] pamphlet, which I have been trying for some time (to get) someone to translate and publish'.⁷³ Orwell thus updated Koestler on his progress:

Warburg wouldn't do it b(ecause) he said it was an awkward length, and latterly I gave it t(o the) Anarchist (Freedom Press) group. I don't know what decisi(on they've) come to. [...] If the Freedom Press people fall thro(ugh, what about) Arthur Ballard, who is now beginning to publish pamp(hlets? [...])⁷⁴

Censorship in the British army press was formally abolished on 1 September 1945, but as late as March 1946 the British War Office instructed the General Headquarters Central Mediterranean Forces in Italy with regard to the 2nd Polish Corps' press: 'In UK control is exercised by making paper allotment only on condition that controversial political questions are avoided. Suggest you adopt same procedure'.⁷⁵ No British publisher approached decided to publish Czapski's testimony even at Orwell's recommendation. Although Czapski's later book on his Soviet experiences did appear in the UK in 1951, Orwell and Koestler could hardly foresee that in spite of ensuing decades of antagonism between the former allies a loyalty in this complicity would be largely upheld until the USSR came to own Katyń in 1990.⁷⁶

1.1.2.2 Orwell's 'Omissions'

Orwell seemed to monitor Polish affairs during and after the war rather closely, but his surviving writing does not tackle certain events and political decisions crucial to the Poles very broadly. Orwell seems to have either not mentioned or only acknowledged rather than offer a wholesome commentary on such issues as, for example, the Russian invasion of Poland on 17 September 1939 or its fate during the Phoney War. During the former, he did not keep a regular diary, being away, possibly seeking war work.⁷⁷ Later, for instance, he reproached the writer John Middleton Murry for what seemed to him an approval of the invasion, but other than a future criticism of the opinion that 'by agreeing to partition Poland Stalin had in some mysterious manner "stopped" Hitler' no strong message appears directed at the public.⁷⁸ Then again, it was during the Phoney War that he was making only his first contributions to *Tribune*, *Horizon* or *Partisan Review*, on top of writing the essay collection *Inside the Whale*. Still, for a plain-language advocate, curiously vague and imprecise is his statement in *The Lion and the Unicorn* written in latter 1940 that the British nation stood behind Chamberlain both when he 'gave the guarantee to Poland' (must be of mutual military assistance) and 'when he *honoured* it', not mentioning that this happened more on paper than in practice; he merely hints that Chamberlain prosecuted the war 'half-heartedly'.⁷⁹ He may be similarly suggesting this when mentioning that 'several of the small European States' – and he seemed to place Poland here – 'lost their freedom because we ourselves let them down',⁸⁰ but again fails to explicate it, while he had been made personally aware of besieged Warsawians' belief in 1939 'that the English were coming to help them, rumours all the while of an English army in Danzig, etc. etc...'.⁸¹ Although the name of the Polish Premier and Commander-in-Chief, General Władysław Sikorski, appears at least once in Orwell's BBC talks, no comment is found about his death in a suspicious RAF plane crash off Gibraltar in critical 1943.⁸² Similarly, the ally sanctioning of the USSR's appropriation of close to half of the Polish land in the east but lack of definite recognition of the new western border incorporating lately German land gets no other comment save reflections on the scale and logistics of human transports, for instance:

large numbers of Poles, previously deported by the Russians, are moving back into Poland, and others are moving out of the eastern provinces of Poland which the U.S.S.R. has now taken over.⁸³

the current scheme to remove all Poles from the areas to be taken over by the U.S.S.R., and, in compensation, all Germans from the portions of Germany to be taken over by Poland [...] 'this will involve the transfer of not less than seven million people.' [...] equivalent to uprooting and transplanting the entire population of Australia, or the combined populations of Scotland and Ireland. [...] this enormous crime cannot actually be carried through.⁸⁴

The deposition of the Polish government in July 1945 in favour of Stalin's puppet administration appears only mentioned, for instance, as 'the *outgoing* London Polish Government', 'the forcing of quisling governments upon unwilling peoples' or 'a "revolution from above," imposed by the Russians' but, like with the Soviet terror in that occupied region, there is no detailed discussion.⁸⁵ The 1948 publication of the Secret Protocol to the 1939 Russo-German pact that specified their plans to partition Poland appears not acknowledged. Neither did he energetically reprove in public the policy of forcing Polish fugitives back to the Soviet zone in occupied Germany or of generally coercing Polish DPs to transfer to occupied Poland, despite having protested this through the Freedom Defence Committee.⁸⁶ Nor did he publish, or try to as far as is known, anything on Katyń himself, despite being strongly engaged in promoting Czapski's testimony.

Naturally, even an author as prolific as Orwell could not possibly have made pronouncements on every issue he cared about, even if allowed to speak freely. Possibly, sometimes also reliable information was lacking. Indeed, he sometimes wondered about others' sources.⁸⁷ Still, it is plausible that some of these 'omissions' might have resulted from censorship, whether directly imposed or eventually internalised as self-censorship. In the experience of the principal Polish papers in Britain, discussing, for example, the question of the Polish-Soviet border which the 1941 Polish-Russian agreement signed under British pressure failed to guarantee, discussing Stalin's crimes, suggesting similarities between Hitler's and Stalin's policies or calling on Britain to implement the Atlantic Charter carried a threat of closure, as did expressed opposition to the Yalta conference order (February 1945) and to the former Prime Minister's attempt to participate in and thus sanction it.⁸⁸ Possibly then, some of Orwell's laconic incisions might be more so meaningful. When Orwell mentioned that 'the last speech made to his ministers by Mr. Arciszewsky [sic], the premier of the outgoing London Polish Government, began: "In the words of a man whom we once trusted, I have nothing to offer you except blood, toil, tears and sweat..."' (a paraphrase of the newly elected PM Churchill's speech after Germany invaded the Benelux countries in May 1940, ending the Phoney War), his hint at the prevailing orthodoxy remained in the text: 'but I believe none of the papers had the guts to mention it'.⁸⁹ Overall, Orwell's surviving writing suggests that even if some crucial Polish predicaments are not discussed at length on a permanent public forum, it does not mean Orwell remained oblivious or disinterested in them.

1.1.2.3 Polish Friends Repay

Orwell might appear to have played the role of a friend, ally, advocate or agent for the Poles but, as in any good friendship, the relationship worked both ways. On learning about the League for the Rights of Man with which Orwell and Koestler were involved, Czapski offered to take the initiative forward in France: 'I think it is a necessary thing to do precisely in France and, through some carefully selected men, we could interest wider circles in this question'.⁹⁰ Offers from Poles

would pour in to translate and publish *Animal Farm* in various countries and languages.

Ultimately, émigrés provided distinct perspectives and information, sometimes otherwise unavailable, and for an intellectual eager to face facts rather than accept views ex cathedra this was likely a welcome opportunity. Likewise, Orwell's Polish circle informed and influenced his views, thus informing and influencing, and sometimes inspiring, also his journalism and literary work.

If, as Wierzbiański claimed Orwell to have told him, the fate of Poland during the war had 'influenced his views',⁹¹ certainly Orwell's up-to-datedness on some political issues, especially those related to Soviet and British policy towards Central Europe, would have stemmed from émigré contacts. Conversations alas might go undocumented, although some did in fact leave a trace in his diary, like the one with 'a Pole who has only recently escaped from Poland by some underground route he would not disclose' in December 1940, upon which he diligently recorded what he had learnt:

He said that in the siege of Warsaw 95 per cent of the houses were damaged and about 25 per cent demolished. All services, electricity, water, etc., broke down, and towards the end people had no defence whatever against the aeroplanes and, what was worse, the artillery. He described people rushing out to cut bits off a horse killed by shell-fire, then being driven back by fresh shells, then rushing out again. When Warsaw was completely cut off the people were upheld by the belief that the English were coming to help them [...].⁹²

Orwell's extensive collection of pamphlets – 'the ideal form' for 'plugging the holes in history' in a time when 'organised lying exists on a scale never before known' – might partially reflect on his intelligence sources too, given the amount of Poland-related material among them, that Poles sometimes sent him materials directly and that he owned inclusively some Polish material censored in Britain.⁹³ Czapski's testimony on Katyń itself formed 'a rather treasured item of my collection', so much so that he even asked to keep Koestler's copy while his was being sent to prospective publishers.⁹⁴

The intelligence Orwell gained provided an impulse and inspiration for his own work too. Some argue that Orwell abstained from typing down a quick comment on Katyń in favour of a more considered work later on.⁹⁵ In some cases a Polish influence nonetheless emerges in his published journalism. For example, his 1945 article mentioning that the 'outgoing' Polish government's darkest-hour address to the nation paraphrased Churchill's speech indicates: 'I am told' – presumably by Polish friends.⁹⁶ A 1947 'As I Please' quotes substantially from the Scottish nationalist's letter to the director of the Polish Press Agency about Polish settlers in Scotland and the word no longer being the Englishman's bond.⁹⁷ Isaac Deutscher recognised himself

anonymously quoted in another 'As I Please'.⁹⁸ Other undocumented instances might remain untraceable. A Polish influence on Orwell's two most well-known works is possible as well. A comment Czapski made at their Paris meeting impressed Orwell greatly, and he so related it to Koestler a year later:

After telling me something (of the priv-)ation and his sufferings in the concentration camp, he (said some-)thing like this: 'For a while in 1941 and 1942 there w(as much) defeatism in Russia, and in fact it was touch and go (whether the) Germans won the war. Do you know what saved Russia at (that time? [...]) [...] I (put it down to) the greatness of Stalin. He stayed in Moscow when the (Germans nearly) took it, and his courage was what saved the situation.[']⁹⁹

Czapski's above observation might have been immortalised in *Animal Farm*, as it corresponds with a last-minute manuscript alteration Orwell requested, writing to his agent from Paris:

when the windmill is blown up, I wrote 'all the animals *including* Napoleon flung themselves on their faces.' I would like to alter it to 'all the animals *except* Napoleon.' If the book has been printed it's not worth bothering about, but I just thought the alteration would be fair to J[oseph] S[talin], as he did stay in Moscow during the German advance.¹⁰⁰

While this may be true of various Orwell's acquaintances who had experienced the Soviet or German totalitarian systems, the editor of Orwell's collected work suggests that Czapski's experiences too had 'an indirect influence' on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.¹⁰¹ It might be useful also to correlate Orwell's rehearsing of ideas for this novel with his visits to Pragier and Zahorska's and Zahorska's own novel in progress 'History of the Tri-Empire' whose excerpts she published in 1945.¹⁰² Both works envision a future Stalinist-like totalitarian state and a world divided into three empires at war with each other, an eradication of vestiges of the former 'degenerate' anarcho-imperialist culture near completion (by 1984 as per Orwell, and slightly more optimistically in 2445, in 500 years, as per Zahorska), a tight control of reading matter (censorship and newspeak, and new-style phonotypes which substituted paper prints and the skill to read 'in the complicated old fashion' altogether respectively) or the idealistic social cleansing of undesirable elements (via 'evaporation' and forced 're-education', and via 'disintegration' or assignment to life-path lists 16 or 18, that is, work camps for life).

1.2 Polish Friends Speak up for Orwell

1.2.1 The Polish Media and Orwell Good for All

Churchill's wartime Minister of Information alleged in the House of Commons in mid-1943 that 'every time you find a Pole you find a newspaper' (which some émigrés remembered somewhat anecdotally as: 'if two Poles met on a desert, their first action would be to set up a newspaper').¹⁰³ A natural way then to 'repay' the British friend and ally such as Orwell – as well as comfort own community – was to also showcase him in the émigré press and publishing. United in the ultimate goal, to free their country from the Soviet occupation, émigrés were often divided in views on how to achieve it. Traditional political divisions became less relevant than stances on the 1941 Polish-Russian (Sikorski-Maisky) agreement, Yalta agreements and the loss of cities Lviv and Vilnius with important Polish heritage or on current political trends and events, such as the role of émigrés, exiled government and demobilised army in the West, contacts with the communist country or acceptable compromises like repatriation, publishing behind the Iron Curtain, sources of funding, and the like. Much divided, different factions seemed to largely agree on another matter: Orwell. Orwell seemed nearly 'good for all', his actual political allegiance less important than what he appeared to say and represent. The government organ, *Polish Daily & Soldier's Daily*, appreciated him and a governmental organisation would publish the translation of *Animal Farm*, reissued by a Catholic publisher;¹⁰⁴ a politician defending in contrast 'integral nationalism' would equally seek his support;¹⁰⁵ Poles involved with Radio Free Europe, Voice of America or BBC were no lesser Orwell enthusiasts, as was General Anders's *White Eagle* initially believing that a Third World War was coming (a conviction not alien to Orwell either¹⁰⁶); Orwell would become an authoritative voice for younger émigrés too.¹⁰⁷ Above all, Orwell would remain a regular reference in the two most influential and much contending opinion-making outlets: the 'indomitable' London's *Wiadomości* and the 'pragmatic' Parisian *Kultura* alike. Just like Orwell thought about Dickens, he himself became 'one of those writers who are well worth stealing', also by the Poles.¹⁰⁸

Wiadomości reemerged bypassing new publishing restrictions by minimising its size and frequency and mentioned Orwell in the very first reborn issue of 7 April 1946 (reviewing a literary journal from Poland, Weintraub teased that its dubious polemicists could learn a great deal from the new British periodical *Polemic*, particularly Orwell's opening article 'Notes on Nationalism', but that it was unlikely he would ever get a chance to see it). *Wiadomości* was the one to soon dub Orwell 'one of the most confirmed friends of Poland among English writers'. It increasingly noticed him as a journalist and critic, of a 'characteristically muscular' style that avoided 'banality and poeticisation like a plague'.¹⁰⁹ It ended up presenting Orwell as the main publicist of *Polemic*

and enthusiastically reviewing every article he sign there, including his annotations to a communist poet's reply to his 'The Prevention of Literature', rather portrayed as an attack on Orwell's claim that there had been 'a conspiracy of silence' about Russia during the war.¹¹⁰ The future Harvard literature professor, Weintraub, appraised Orwell's essay 'Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool' as 'great and original' and 'Second Thoughts on James Burnham' as 'the strongest' of the third number. The poet Stanisław Baliński thought that this 'great socialist English writer' expressed in 'The Prevention of Literature' 'what everyone thinks for whom the freedom of speech is the basis of existence' and quoted from it amply in his opening address on the freedom of thought at a Polish PEN Club meeting in London, duly published by *Wiadomości*.¹¹¹ It regularly acknowledged other Orwell's essays, even overseas articles or book reviews on political and cultural topics,¹¹² not overlooking those related directly to their readers' situation like the pronouncements on Poles and foreigners in Britain.¹¹³ Both *Wiadomości* and the young *Kultura* warmly noted *The English People*.¹¹⁴ It also liked to keep an eye on British surveys and report on Orwell's answers, for example on appropriate earnings for a writer or the most interesting books of 1947 and Orwell's ranking highest Conrad's reprint of *Under Western Eyes*.¹¹⁵ A Polish writer responding to *Wiadomości's* own 1948 survey on most impressive books read since the war evoked Orwell's choice to lend authority to his being the same Conrad's book, while another included in his list *The Road to Wigan Pier* which he described as 'Troubles of an unorthodox socialist and excellent critic against the monstrous industrial Midlands'.¹¹⁶ Noteworthy is Orwell's own reply in 1949, despite being unable to 'answer at great length, as I am ill in bed, but I am happy to give you my opinions for what they are worth', to *Wiadomości's* survey among British writers on 'Conrad's Place and Rank in English Letters', whereby Orwell is presented as 'a great novelist, critic and journalist. [...] As a leading journalist of *Tribune* during the war he energetically spoke up in Polish defence'.¹¹⁷ More critical or detached notices of Orwell were much more difficult to come by.¹¹⁸

1.2.2 How Appropriate for Us: *Animal Farm* in Polish

Having been shelved for eighteen months and rejected by at least four publishers, *Animal Farm* was finally published on 17 August 1945, after the war in Europe had ended and the US dropped atomic bombs on Japan.¹¹⁹ Just days after, it reached a particular Polish reader who would take the Polish 'repaying' and 'speaking up' for Orwell a whole step further:

a review of newly published *Animal Farm* simply electrified me. That was it and how appropriate for us. I bought the book and, enchanted, wrote to Orwell, about whom, I admit, I had never heard. Quickly came a reply, the translation idea interested him, he wrote that he was particularly concerned with readers in the countries behind the Curtain.¹²⁰

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This reader was Teresa Jeleńska. Orwell's surviving letters to her reveal much also about the dynamics of their collaboration. With *Animal Farm*, the urgency seemed on both sides. Orwell asserted to Jeleńska he was 'anxious' – even 'extremely anxious', telling his agent – about translating it 'into Polish and other Slav languages if possible' but did not know how to arrange for it or make it financially feasible.¹²¹ Having approached this unfamiliar author without delay, 'electrified' Jeleńska equally energetically set upon procuring a publisher – and not just for the Polish edition but also English for the USA. Orwell reports on his, possibly first, Polish interview as soon as a letter of 7 September 1945, the earliest identified:

Following your telephone call last night, I rang up Mr Kister and then went and saw him this afternoon. I gave him a copy of the book, which he will airmail to the USA. He said – what I know to be true – that there are great difficulties in the USA about very short books such as this one. Books there are not usually sold for less than 2 dollars 50 cents, and so they have to be reasonably long. However, his firm will consider it, also the Polish translation.¹²²

He simultaneously updated his agent on his priorities:

The point about this firm having the book is that if they decide to do it they might also publish a Polish translation. [...] I would much rather they had it than some other firm which might give better terms but would not translate.¹²³

Orwell rightly anticipated that 'it is quite likely that Kister's firm will not decide to take the book'.¹²⁴ Seemingly by an apolitical decision, Kister unwittingly joined the pool of possibly regretful publishers who had declined it, including T. S. Eliot at Faber, Gollancz and Jonathan Cape, soon yet augmented by a French colleague who, probably owing to the French communist party having scored most votes in the 1945 elections, deemed the contracted project 'impossible "for political reasons"'.¹²⁵ Jeleńska, nevertheless, did not give up on this 'how appropriate for us' book easily. Acknowledging her efforts: 'I hope all the trouble you have been to will produce some results' and justifying: '[o]f course no reviews are very good these days, as there is not enough space, but the book did get good notices', in November Orwell was sending her 'about half a dozen of the better cuttings', presumably as a recommendation for another publisher.¹²⁶ An update came in early January 1946, when Orwell was 'so glad to hear that the translation is going well' and subsequently informed his agent:

I told you that a Polish woman was making a translation in the hope that General Anders's publishers in Italy would take it up. She tells me that they have agreed to do so, and to pay her an adequate fee for the translation. This is still all somewhat in the air,

but I have definitely told her, and told her to tell them, that I do not want any money out of it myself.¹²⁷

Yet again, with Anders's 2nd Polish Corps now preparing for demobilisation, the plan fell through. Finally, Jeleńska found a publisher closer to her new home: the London-exiled World League of Poles Abroad, Światpol.

Publisher found, she informed Orwell of having submitted the translation on 5 February 1946, lamenting however that

I do not see why they claim being unable to publish it in two months. It's a shame because it would be a huge success in our 2nd Army Corps in Italy – around 180,000 men – where English is not spoken. Until that time, God knows what can happen – the Russians want Anders's head and without a doubt it will be offered on a silver platter [...].¹²⁸

The reality proved worse still: the book would not be out until the end of the year.¹²⁹

What Jeleńska would call a delay did not seem to stem from the publisher's indifference. Quite to the contrary, promoting *Animal Farm* and its author appears to have been rather important for Światpol, if not for the exiled government, too. Wierzbiański recalled the high level of discussion surrounding Orwell's publication:

I received a call from the Secretary of the [exiled] Ministry of Information, Juliusz Sakowski, with an invitation to a meeting. I arrived at the designated place at Park Lane Hotel in Piccadilly where I found Sakowski and my acquaintance, Mrs Teresa Jeleńska [...]. 'In a moment', said Sakowski, 'shall come George Orwell.' [...]

Orwell agreed to give the Poles the rights to the Polish edition of *Animal Farm* without royalties. Evidently, Sakowski had already discussed this matter prior to this, since Mrs Jeleńska had already translated the text from English. This discussion was about the publisher. I received a manuscript that still required some work, and scheduled a next meeting. [...] Waclaw Czarski, a book publisher in Warsaw before the war, in London heading the publishing department in our Światpol, was full of enthusiasm. So a second meeting took place [...], this time at Hyde Park Hotel in Knightsbridge.¹³⁰

In keeping, he commissioned illustrations not from a random artist but the former vice-chancellor of Warsaw's Academy of Fine Arts and award-winning designer Wojciech Jastrzębowski (who soon returned to communist Poland and managed to resume his career, despite having lent his talent to such a subversive book).¹³¹ Furthermore, the budget of Polish organisations subject to a government that had just lost recognition grew increasingly constrained and they struggled to

meet refugees' needs for even more basic, functional publications or else Polish literature. Yet, Orwell's book, *Światpol*'s only foreign title in that period, was issued possibly in 5,000 copies, a significant imprint number in those days and exile conditions, also compared to *Animal Farm*'s first British edition (4,500 copies).¹³²

The author himself paralleled this dedication. Not only did he relinquish royalties, but also – busy and overworked – attended meetings with prospective Polish publishers and offered assistance with the translation itself: 'If you should feel in doubt about the meaning of any word or phrase, perhaps you will ring me up. I do not, of course, know a word of Polish, but as we both speak French and English I expect we can explain ourselves', he encouraged Jeleńska.¹³³ Indeed, Jeleńska claimed that 'Never did any of the writers I translated help me so eagerly and efficiently in my work as he, even though he did not know Polish', and she evidently requested some help, since Orwell once efficiently explained, in French:

Sails (of a mill.) I think that in French this would translate as 'ailes.'

Spinney. 'Taillis' (small woods, perhaps some trees.)

Beech. Hêtre (tree.)

Deadly Nightshade. Also called *belladonna*. *Solanum nigrum* in Latin. Plant with black berries, similar to cherries, and poisonous. If this plant doesn't exist in Poland, I suppose you could simply say 'poisonous berries.'¹³⁴

He also attentively followed-up:

It doesn't seem worthwhile to re-translate your translation into French. I was only curious to know if you had difficulties with the animals' names. Some, like Napoleon, would translate quite easily, but others, like Boxer or Pincher, are nicknames of farm animals, and it's about finding the closest equivalent.¹³⁵

Even when seeking to escape from London distractions to the remote Scottish island of Jura over the spring and summer 1946, he remained available to his Polish campaigners who, among others, sent him the illustrations for approval. The published book features six black and white drawings. The front cover displays a bust of a rather disagreeable-looking pig in a decorated uniform whose epaulettes bear the Animal Republic's insignia, hoof and horn – much resembling the USSR's hammer and sickle. This is framed as an emblem delimited at the bottom by cuffs and a whip, and at the top by a ribbon with the telling inscription: 'all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others', all on a grassy-green background, since the Animal Republic's flag was green to represent the green fields of England. Others, four full-page plates and a small drawing at the end, capture the fable's scenes inside. Orwell assured Jeleńska from

Jura that the presented illustrations ‘were suitable and some of them very nice, especially’, volunteering his interpretation of the closing drawing of a human and clothed pig’s handshake, ‘the one of Churchill shaking hands with Stalin’.¹³⁶

This was thus *Folwark zwierzęcy* [Animal Manor], one of the first editions of *Animal Farm* in the languages of the countries subjugated by the Soviet regime and possibly one of the first illustrated.¹³⁷ By substituting the Polish letter ‘ę’ with ‘e’ on the title page, the British printers somewhat appropriately also marked the book’s exilic origin.¹³⁸ Given the edition’s high print run, the publisher’s well-developed global network (servicing 200 Polish papers and 200 news agencies during the war), the likelihood of one copy having multiple readers and, even with UK book prices’ being generally higher than e.g. Giedoryc’s Literary Institute’s, Wierzbiański’s assurance that it ‘sold out quickly’ – it can be assumed that *Folwark zwierzęcy* was disseminated rather widely. Wierzbiański also recalled how Orwell’s colleague Malcolm Muggeridge told him later that ‘Orwell was very content with the Polish edition and kept asking whether at least part of it made it to Poland’, to which the publisher’s director vigorously avows: ‘it did!’.¹³⁹

Hence, this bilateral collaboration borne out of shared concerns and interests, pressed with much dedication, enthusiasm and good will, seemed to produce satisfactory result for both sides: the one ‘anxious’ to reach a Slavic audience and the other ‘electrified’ by the book’s ‘appropriateness’ and the urge to ‘speak up’ for its author.

1.2.3 *Animal Farm to Save the World with a Little Help from Polish Friends*

This attempt to speak up for Orwell put him on the Polish map possibly unlike any other so far. Like the original in the British press, the translation of *Animal Farm* received some ‘good notices’ in the Polish press too. *Kultura* had not been born yet, but *Wiadomości*, closed when the original came out, reviewed this ‘superb satire on the Soviet system’ now, praising also the translator. The *Polish Daily & Soldier’s Daily* furnished its readers with plot details, characters’ description and their historical correspondences with an enthusiasm on a par with Jeleńska’s.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the enthusiasm of some of *Animal Farm*’s Polish readers made them anxious for it be known not only among the Polish community, but around the world. They offered suggestions for and assistance in disseminating it in various other languages, countries and artistic forms, including the USA, Italy, France and Germany and such languages as English, Italian, French and Ukrainian as well as taking it beyond the medium of the written word.

To start with, Jeleńska was not the only keen Polish translator. While there may have been yet others, a Polish forces veteran wrote enthusiastically in May 1946:

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I have read your book *Animal Farm* with considerable enjoyment and interest. It has occurred to me that it would be an excellent idea if it were published in Polish.

Before becoming too enthusiastic I write to ask your attitude to such a proposition.¹⁴¹

On learning about Orwell's rejections in the USA, Jeleńska herself exercised her network to help. Notwithstanding Orwell's grim view of US prospects at the time, she tried to not only facilitate a US book edition, but even animate him to seek turning it into a Disney film too. 'Yes, I did think the book might make a Disney film, or perhaps a puppet film. But it is very difficult to sell ideas to the film people, as I well know', replied still sceptical Orwell in September 1945, nine years before an animation was produced (directed by John Halas and Joy Batchelor, sponsored by the CIA).¹⁴²

A project in which Jeleńska, and her son, played an instrumental role that did come to fruition in Orwell's lifetime was the fable's Ukrainian edition. As Konstanty Jeleński was co-editing his Normandy landings division newspaper in British-occupied Germany, his colleague suggested co-opting a Warsaw school friend identified among DPs, Ukrainian Ihor Szewczenko. Struck by Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Szewczenko yearned to translate it for his fellow DPs and Jeleński facilitated their direct contact through his mother to seek Orwell's authorisation.¹⁴³ That edition furnished Orwell's audience not only with what was for a long time thought his only preface to *Animal Farm* (until an originally intended but unused introduction dealing with censorship, 'The Freedom of the Press', was discovered in 1971). It was also one written with the Soviet-subjugated reader in mind. The book was published by a Ukrainian anti-Stalinist Democratic Labour Party publisher in the US occupational zone. As Szewczenko explained decades later, the publisher was not clandestine, but might have failed to apply for an authorisation.¹⁴⁴ Ironically, as late as latter 1947 the US authorities confiscated the book as anti-ally propaganda. Szewczenko comforted Orwell that some 2,000 copies had been distributed nonetheless.¹⁴⁵

Jeleńska still had at least one more *Animal Farm* card up her sleeve to offer. She urged that Orwell send a copy to the Italian minister Carlo Sforza. She thought that because of his odium for fascism Sforza flirted with communism and propagated some 'harmful ideas' and she believed that Orwell's fable could do 'utmost good' in Italy as an anti-Stalinist antidote. Expecting nevertheless that publishing it there would require some courage on Sforza's part, she thought that Sforza's familiarity with the book could already ensure a trickle-down effect within his circle, so she advocated:

it will make an infinitely greater impression on Sforza if it is George Orwell himself who sends him his book. Would you like that? – Ultimately, this is a man of value and it would be good to win him over for the cause of true freedom! If you want – and you can say that it is your Polish translator who has asked you – (Sf[orza] knows that I was to

translate the book). [...] You may also mention that I recommended you his daughter as translator.¹⁴⁶

And she was again not the only Pole seeing the merit in facilitating *Animal Farm's* dissemination in Italy. Giedroyc's Literary Institute then still in Rome with the demobilising Anders's Army was keen on it too. As its London representative reported in January 1947, it turned out, however, that Orwell had 'already sold the rights to someone else'.¹⁴⁷ Orwell himself thought it 'important that the book should be translated into Italian' and managed to sign an independent contract just around the time of Jeleńska's February 1946 proposal.¹⁴⁸

In July 1949 Orwell received yet another Polish proposal for a foreign edition – from Count Potocki, who had by now abandoned England for France. The letter bears Potocki's self-designed crest claiming the title of Wladislaus Quintus, the King of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia and closes with a familiar reproach of *Animal Farm's* message: 'I am sincerely astonished that none of you seem to realise, the only *possible* remedy of the world's present insanity, is to restore the Throne, I mean real Royalty and not a bogus imitation such as you have in England'. But above, Potocki offers regardless:

A week or two ago I was describing your famous satire *Animal Farm* to the young composer Maurice Roche. Ever since he has been at me to write to you, to ask you to authorise me to translate it into French, in which event he undertakes to find a publisher. He says he is sure it will do well if published here, and thinks it cannot yet have been done, as in the circles he moves in he would be sure to have seen it.

A French translation had already been published, otherwise the result could be well worth of attention, since Potocki promised:

If you care to authorise me to do it I shall get all the French people I know to sit in committee on the poems and any other difficult matters, as was done at Joyce's own insistence with the French translation of *Ulysses*.¹⁴⁹

1.2.4 Not Only *Animal Farm*: An Overlooked Would-Be Collection of Essays

Animal Farm dramatically boosted Orwell's Polish renown, and his exposure in the Polish press was steadily growing. But émigré Poles wanted to speak up for Orwell in more diverse ways. In spring 1946, the Literary Institute fledgling out of the Anders's Army enthusiastically embarked on translating his work for a book publication. The Institute's founder, Jerzy Giedroyc (1906-2000), was a law graduate with political ambitions and ministerial secretary and editorial experiences from pre-war Warsaw. During the war, he served at the Polish embassy in then friendly Romania before joining the army and ending up in the 2nd Polish Corps. There, he held editorial and

educational posts and met some of his future collaborators, including Czapski. Czapski so presented the Institute to Koestler around this time:

My friends are setting up a publishing house in Rome, Polish and Italian. We have a small capital and a man of experience in charge, of a great talent in this field and who has already proven his worth. We have already published a few hundred books in exile. The Poles away from Poland are reading more today than they did in the country. I am contacting you with the request for authorisation to translate and publish your book *Darkness at Noon*. [...] Anders's Army that is in Italy at present [...] represents the bulk of our readers [...].¹⁵⁰

Unlike Koestler's case, where *Darkness at Noon* and *Arrival and Departure* were chosen for publication specifically, here clearly the author mattered more than specific titles, since texts as varied as *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933), *Burmese Days* (1934), *Coming Up for Air* (1939), essays and journalism were considered. The book undertaking eventually failed, resulting in four translated essays appearing in the journal *Kultura* launched later instead. This partial failure, nonetheless, does not detract from the original project's significance. The project testifies to Orwell's continued interest, sympathy and support for Poles – even as the sudden surge in fame and the progressing illness both took a toll on his available time and energy. On the other hand, it testifies to émigrés' growing appreciation for Orwell and desire to spread his ideas further – and not solely those with an immediate political message.

Notwithstanding its significance, the project has been much overlooked by researchers. Studies on *Kultura* and the Literary Institute often highlight that Giedroyc published the first Polish edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and some essays in *Kultura*, but tend to ignore the intended book. For example, when a literary historian and editor of a book series on *Kultura's* Archive asserts the sagacity of Giedroyc's political vision for having recognised Orwell's importance and published his essays before Orwell had been yet printed in France or Germany and in Britain was still 'a voice of one crying in the wilderness', he does not communicate the underlying book project – which in fact even much pre-dates the essays' eventual 1948-1950 publications in *Kultura*.¹⁵¹ Another study on the Literary Institute's publishing activity does indicate that the then still Rome-based Institute 'planned to publish a selection' of Orwell's essays, but if this might suggest a book collection, a subsequent statement seems to cancel it: 'Jeleńska corresponded with Orwell and with his authorisation translated the essays for the *monthly*', i.e. the journal.¹⁵² In Britain, *CWGO* detain to report on *Kultura's* translations, inclusively detailing some abbreviations and omissions,¹⁵³ but a fact as noteworthy as an entire essay collection having been the original project behind them is missing, leaving it to the reader to perchance gather this only from a letter Orwell sent his agent in August 1946:

I am in communication with Mrs Jelenska, the Polish woman who translated *Animal Farm*, about a further translation. The people she works for don't want *Burmese Days*, as it is too specialised a subject, and are talking of making a sort of selection of various essays and passages out of several books. I think I had better hammer it out with them myself, as there are some things I don't want taken out of their context.¹⁵⁴

This message resounds more clearly in a letter Orwell wrote to Jeleńska, again the translator, the day after, but which is not included in *CWGO*:

In the case of the translation being made in the form you suggest, I suppose it will be made clear that this is merely a selection and that I did not originally compose a *book* in that form? I would also like each item to be marked with the date at which it was written, as was done in the book of essays.¹⁵⁵

These letters also provide the evidence *CWGO* found missing of 'the giving of his authorisation' to Jeleńska for these further translations, should this not be inferred from e.g. the letter to his agent quoted above: 'Certainly you may describe yourself as "authorised translator", so far as I am concerned'. Those and other letters between Jeleńska, Orwell and his agent also draw attention to some chronology issues *CWGO* found confusing.¹⁵⁶

Jeleńska, a well-known figure and by now Orwell's good acquaintance and his first-choice Polish translator, was to play a pivotal role in this project too, but the new publisher was not a complete unknown to Orwell either. If he had been aware of Anders's 2nd Corps publishers who had considered Polish *Animal Farm* and over whose immediate readership's dispersal Jeleńska fretted, about Giedroyc's venture he learnt not only from Jeleńska or another London émigré but also Czapski's letter to Koestler quoted earlier, passed on to Orwell around the time he himself became Giedroyc's target.¹⁵⁷

Orwell seemed as dedicated to this new Polish project as to the previous one, and as did the Poles. This transpires particularly in his letters to Jeleńska. Hurrying to his sister's funeral in the north, he still remembered: 'I will send you the books we talked about as soon as I can get the copies'.¹⁵⁸ Departing for Scotland almost immediately upon return, he still personally sent Jeleńska *Down and Out* (in French, not possessing an original) and *The Lion and the Unicorn* and attentively advised on text choices and accessibility:

As for *The Lion etc.*, the first part would perhaps be worthwhile to translate, but the second part seems outdated to me – because it deals with a political situation that existed in 1940 but which no longer exists. [...]

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As for my novels, which would be worthwhile is *Burmese Days*. Unfortunately I don't have a single copy [...]. It is possible that my agent would have one. [...]

There is another novel that might be worth translating, *Coming Up for Air*, which appeared in 1939. My agent would probably have a copy of it. His address is [...].¹⁵⁹

And he would keep 'hammering out' the Polish project himself even when seeking refuge on Jura with a view to starting *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Straightaway he needed to assure his agent: 'Yes, I authorised Mrs Jelenska to ask you for copies of *Burmese Days* & *Coming Up for Air*'.¹⁶⁰ Since the agent did not possess the latter either, the fate seemed to point to *Burmese Days*, but this turned out not the publisher's top pick.¹⁶¹ Agreeing, 'I quite understand that the subject-matter of *Burmese Days* would seem a bit remote at present', Orwell appraised Jeleńska's another proposal:

The selection you suggest – ie. the earlier part of *The Lion & the Unicorn*, 5 essays from my recent book, and the two from *Polemic* – would I think be quite representative and not too impossibly heterogeneous. If you wanted to vary it by putting in any of my contributions to *Tribune*, that would have to wait till I get back to London, because I have not got the press cuttings here and I doubt whether I could get them sent. [...] I think the James Burnham essay is worth retaining, because even if it seems a bit specialised, it gives a summary of Burnham's theory and I think that the ideas he sets forth will gain ground in the next few years.¹⁶²

Somewhat similarly to his 19 end-of-war dispatches which later in life he dismissed, he insisted: 'I don't think the *Observer* articles are worth reprinting. They are only book reviews and are very short, usually only 600 or 700 words', a verdict unchanged weeks later: 'I honestly don't think any of the reviews from the *Observer* are worth reprinting. They are too short'.¹⁶³ He continued to advise and assist:

As to the *Tribune* contributions, I will pick out any you want, but I cannot do so until I return to London (about October 12th.) If you urgently want any particular contribution before that date, the only way of finding it would be to look up the files on *Tribune* in one of the libraries. In that case, if you told me which one you wanted, I might be able to indicate roughly the date at which it appeared. As to an article on the freedom of the press, I don't remember one specifically on that subject, except the recent one in *Polemic*. There is one which appeared about the middle of 1944, examining the current use of the word 'Fascism' [...].¹⁶⁴

Equally affably did he oblige Jeleńska's translation doubts:

The 'second best bed.' Shakespeare's will, which happens to have survived, bequeaths his 'second best bed' to his wife. So far as I remember that is all he did leave to his wife, but in any case it seems a rather unfeeling legacy, because presumably the best bed must have been lent to somebody else. In the passage you refer to I meant to say: Shakespeare's having treated his wife badly does not affect our estimate of his work, and neither ought it to do so in the case of Dickens. One could perhaps put a footnote explaining the allusion to the bed.¹⁶⁵

I don't know much about philosophical terms but I think that 'One' as used by Plato should be translated into French 'Un', and not 'Unité'. At any rate, Un sounds more impressive.¹⁶⁶

Animal Farm being a special case, this book was to carry a small fee, as Orwell instructed the agent, the agent instructed Jeleńska and the Literary Institute duly enquired.¹⁶⁷ Ultimately, however, Orwell might have waived the fee to support the Polish efforts in this way again. For Giedroyc's team counting in Italian lire charges in sterling appeared 'fantastically high' and he once remarked that for this Orwell book 'the copyrights don't cost me anything'.¹⁶⁸

The Poles' eagerness tried to play just the part. Orwell's letters to Jeleńska point to her own fastidiousness with text selection and translation. For instance, she preferred to wait for Orwell's belated response to her queries even if this meant breaching the deadline with the publisher.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, the publisher's London-Rome correspondence over the summer, autumn and winter 1946/1947 reveals a mounting anticipation.¹⁷⁰ From nowhere then, Jeleńska's submission proved – an anti-climax. The Institute's London representative and literature scholar who had praised Jeleńska's 'phenomenal' translation of *Animal Farm* just days earlier now reported: 'Mrs. Jeleńska has translated it quite lively – but unfortunately very slipshod'. And he apologised: 'I've tried to polish it a little and clear from some most striking blunders, but I'm afraid some might be still left'.¹⁷¹

It is unclear what accounted for this. Certainly, Jeleńska was not a translator by profession. In fact, it was in her middle age and a war-upturned world that she suddenly needed to seek her first formal employment. Notwithstanding its high impact in its time, some see her translation of *Animal Farm* as less than 'phenomenal' than initially claimed too, especially when juxtaposed with the 1988 (official) version. Conversely, the manuscripts of two essay translations kept at the Polish Library do not entirely foreshadow the project's knotty finale, and some people indeed defended Jeleńska's work, including the Literary Institute's other London representative and Orwell's acquaintance Stefania Zahorska:

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The decision communicated to Mrs. Jeleńska of your not using her work as a translator has caused us trouble here. Together with Terlecki¹⁷² we have perused part of the translation of Orwell's essays and it really seems fine to us, I know that Mrs. Jeleńska has worked on it very carefully and with the author's help. [...] Mrs. Jeleńska is in a very difficult situation, the fees which she receives for translations are indispensable to her to make the ends meet – very modestly – if she loses them, I really don't know what we are going to do with her [...].¹⁷³

Rome nonetheless echoed Weintraub's disappointment: 'the translation is not always good, in places it is literally taken from English', 'it could hardly be more untidy'.¹⁷⁴

As a result, the Polish collection of Orwell's essays so enthusiastically projected for February-March 1947¹⁷⁵ never materialised, the ultimate reason being probably financial considerations, as Giedroyc lamented: 'The manuscript is really sloppy and will need to be edited and retyped. With these expenses the translation costs rise beyond measure'.¹⁷⁶ The very first issue of *Kultura* from June 1947, initially a quarterly, still advertised Orwell's among the Literary Institute's books in press; the second no longer did.¹⁷⁷ Instead, it was already to feature an essay itself, the one Orwell so strongly recommended on Burnham, soon *Kultura's* personal friend. But this too ultimately fell through, seemingly for the same reasons: 'As for Orwell – a fat cow – it will need to be retyped because it's so heavily amended', reported to travelling Giedroyc his overworked right hand in Rome.¹⁷⁸ Giedroyc suffered over the essays' impasse. Not a person to overuse adjectives 'great' and 'perfect', a year later he still wrote: 'I want to use them in *Kultura* because they are really perfect but translated in such a terrible Polish language' and continued to search for volunteers to 'tidy them up'.¹⁷⁹ At last, from the nine texts projected,¹⁸⁰ three appeared in *Kultura* throughout 1948 and a fourth one in the issue for January 1950, the month of Orwell's death, as if presciently paying a tribute.¹⁸¹ The explanation given to Orwell and its circumstances remain unknown.

Had this book appeared, it was bound to impact and change the course of Orwell's Polish reception. Directly following the Polish edition of *Animal Farm*, which introduced many to Orwell altogether, it could thus contrast more vigorously than a few essays staggered in fledgling *Kultura* this first – and lingering – perception of Orwell as an anti-totalitarian (or anti-communist) fiction writer with that of a political and literary essayist. Even if the book's possible 3,000-5,000 print run did not sell out and part got damaged with other Institute's stock, essays would be also more visible listed in bibliographies and library catalogues as a separate book than enclosed in the journal.¹⁸²

1.2.5 Most Poignant Book of Our Times: Echoes of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

While an essay collection that would present Orwell in a broader light, also literary, did not appear, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* reinforced his familiar image as a Russia critic. The book was an important event for the Polish community too. *Wiadomości* anticipated its June 1949 launch since February: 'Orwell has presently settled on a farm on a Scottish island of Jura. He has written a new novel entitled *1984*. The novel, due to come out in June, gives a picture of Great Britain under a totalitarian rule. "People who have read the manuscript [...] say it is a masterpiece"'.¹⁸³ Once out, *Wiadomości's* editor, Mieczysław Grydzewski, quickly called it 'perhaps the most poignant book of our times'. It impressed him by revealing 'a deep knowledge of the totalitarian Bolshevik country's mechanisms, based, not solely, as Hitler's totalitarianism, on brutal physical violence, but on a hundredfold more dreadful doctrinal violence that destroys in each individual remnants of humanity'.¹⁸⁴ *Kultura* too promptly received an article in which Orwell's novel sets the scene for a discussion on contemporary utopias and futuristic visions (for various reasons published with a few months' delay). Fittingly, the article was Juliusz Mieroszewski's debut in *Kultura* that opened the novel's future translator's hence lifelong association with the journal.¹⁸⁵

Another *Kultura* contributor, a Siberia veteran, soon reaffirmed *Wiadomości's* perception and argued that those who 'perhaps most deeply penetrated into the visceral essence of the [Soviet] system, into the theory of the mechanism, were two western writers, one of whom had never been to Soviet Russia', pointing to Koestler and Orwell on account of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.¹⁸⁶ In London, Grydzewski was not alone in thinking however that the wartime Anglo-Russian alliance brought about a persisting lack of understanding of the Soviet regime and found the British press unwilling to recognise it was its totalitarian nature that Orwell tried to capture:

English critics have behaved towards Orwell's novel like the protagonist of [Ivan] Krylov's fable, who in a zoological garden saw every single little insect, but did not notice the elephant. They did not notice that it is a novel about Russia. 'Power and Corruption', 'A Tale, Which Is a Warning', 'Is It Going to Be Like That in the Year 1984?' – these are the titles of reviews in the most serious papers [...].¹⁸⁷

General Anders's paper *White Eagle*, settled in London now, was quick to relate, though rather passively, *New York Times* review which asserted precisely that which so disappointed Grydzewski: 'it is a wonderful piece of work as a prophecy and a warning for the future'.¹⁸⁸ But Weintraub's glance at other US reviews, particularly Philip Rahv's in *Partisan Review* and Lionel Trilling's in *New Yorker*, might have brought *Wiadomości's* editor some relief, since he pointed to the Soviet references in both.¹⁸⁹ Then still only a four-page weekly, in September *Wiadomości* generously dedicated nearly half a page to Orwell, featuring his photograph and Weintraub's own

2,000-word review and a 500-word polemic with the editor. The review gave a picture of the novel's atmosphere and main ideas, such as doublethink, the rewriting of history, Big Brother, telescreens, proles or the deceiving names of Oceania's ministries. The philologist exposed some of its literary shortcomings (e.g. Goldstein's book being an arrangement of journalistic slogans or O'Brien's portrayal being too schematic and elevated to a superhuman perfection), but thought it was nevertheless 'artistically convincing', 'impeccably thought out and excellently written'. The message he left *Wiadomości's* audience with slightly challenged his boss's: 'The book analyses totalitarianism, whose model closest to perfection can be found in the USSR, but it wants to analyse it as a certain general phenomenon, and not as a system specifically Russian' and is directed at 'ordinary Smiths' who may be plagued with totalitarianism if they forsake honest patterns of thought and gloss over certain political facts and standards.¹⁹⁰

Orwell's novel became a rhetorical reference among émigré Poles even before it was available in their mother tongue. For example, Grydzewski was irritated at Churchill's boasting in his diaries about his refusal to accept Russian occupation of eastern Poland in 1942 given his acquiescence shortly afterwards 'in line with the rules of Orwellian "doublethink"' or at Ernest Bevin's comments sanctioning Konstantin Rokossovsky's becoming an 'official Polish dictator' and Grydzewski warned that if socialism is not humanitarian, it would turn into 'the monster so suggestively portrayed by Orwell'. Reviewing the memoirs *Leap to Freedom*, Weintraub observed that 'If someone thought that Orwell exaggerated the extent of espionage possible in a totalitarian system, they would change their mind after reading [Oksana] Kasenkina's account of the control extended by the Soviet authorities over their diplomatic post in the United States'. Surveying the press language transformation in Poland, Zahorska and Pragier, of course, termed the phenomenon 'newspeak'. Conversely, *Kultura's* reviewer of memoirs of a former Nazi general ironically remarked that Orwell 'wrongly transfers only to the next generation the birth of "doublethink"' pointing to there having already been 'a real "doublethink" academy', whereas *Wiadomości's* US collaborator noticed that the increasingly obtrusive advertising resembled things described by Orwell too.¹⁹¹

Inevitably, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* struck a very sensitive cord within many Central and East Europeans. So affected, another Soviet camps survivor, writer Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, forty years later still vividly recalled the experience of gobbling the book overnight while temporarily residing in Winston Smith's city of London. So terrifying and impactful, Weintraub avowed it was indeed impossible to ever forget it. '[S]o dreadfully pessimistic and ends in a total victory of Big Brother Stalin', US-travelling Czapski 'finished this book with a great impression, but also depression'.¹⁹²

1.3 Dead but Much Alive: Orwell's Afterlife among the Polish Diaspora

1.3.1 Polish Friends Mourn the Author's Death

In 1968, a year before her own death, Jeleńska reminisced how she could 'still see him [Orwell] in my room in Kensington as he takes out from his jacket's pocket a bottle of milk to clumsily give it to drink to the four-year-old boy, an orphan from bombarded neighbours whom he adopted'.¹⁾ In his 1950 obituary for *Kultura*, Weintraub shared what struck him on meeting Orwell, for example, Orwell's unobvious to him appreciation of James Joyce or his concern for the Karen minority after Burma's independence. Jeleńska recalled having been struck by his appearance on their first meeting: 'tremendous height, bony, skinny and looking old for his age'. Weintraub remembered how Orwell 'made the impression of someone very typically English [...] by the entire demeanour. Very calm and composed in movement, he spoke with a colourless, monotonous, rather quiet voice. A man with a silencer'. Both appreciated his sharp faculty of social observation (his *faculté maîtresse* as a critic, according to Weintraub) and his unsentimental writing style, highlighted his views on Stalin and Russia as atypical for the British Left and appreciated his honest and free thinking, human solidarity, respect for individual rights, and his rejection of hypocrisy and social class prejudice.¹⁹³

Orwell's death on 21 January 1950 prompted various solemn responses in the Polish émigré press, from passing remarks: 'unforgettable Orwell',¹⁹⁴ 'a great writer prematurely passed away',¹⁹⁵ 'much ever regretted Orwell',¹⁹⁶ to obituaries. One of the first came in *White Eagle* on 4 February. Brief, it appreciatively overviewed Orwell's life, perhaps amending the former rather superficial review of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, but also reaffirming the friendship and Polish claims to Orwell too.¹⁹⁷ Giedroyc solicited an obituary from Weintraub immediately, although it only materialised in *Kultura's* April issue.¹⁹⁸ In *Wiadomości*, where Orwell was a constant reference, his passing could not go unnoticed either. If a larger article was slower to come, mentions abounded, in February for instance Weintraub related Koestler's tribute from *Observer*.¹⁹⁹ Shortly before Orwell's first posthumous birth anniversary, temporarily London-based writer Gustaw Herling-Grudziński (1919-2000) dedicated his entire 2,500-word press review to *World Review's* Orwell special that featured extracts from his unpublished wartime diaries as well as texts by e.g. Orwell's friend and successor as *Tribune's* literary editor Tosco Fyvel, Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Malcolm Muggeridge, and poets Stephen Spender and Herbert Read.²⁰⁰ He collated an enthusiastic overview indicating Orwell's significance to the British culture and political discussions. He was particularly impressed with – and would hence highlight repeatedly – Orwell's

¹⁾ Noteworthy is Jeleńska's mention of the boy as an 'orphan', a rarely referenced strategy adopted to avoid the stigma of illegitimacy. Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie' [A Memoir].

'courage and intellectual integrity' transpiring from the diaries. *Wiadomości's* readers could observe here Grudziński's fast unfolding and hence lifelong admiration and axiological affinity with his late British colleague. It crystallised further when in 1952 Grudziński executed Orwell's testament in Burma as it were. A witness to the Soviet post-Revolution reality as a Siberian camps survivor, he lectured across this newly-independent country on the dangers of Soviet communism, remaining very mindful of Orwell's footsteps.²⁰¹

1.3.2 Another Paris-London Collaboration: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Polish

Not long after Juliusz Mieroszewski handed in the translation of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, he wrote to the publisher Giedroyc: 'preparing book translations is important for the future because after liberation one generation will have been brought up under communism and it is necessary to be preparing already to deliver immediately, because English is known little'.²⁰² Shortly before it was published, Giedroyc shared with Mieroszewski: 'I'd like to "flood" the market with books'.²⁰³ Indeed, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* came out on 1 February 1953 in a company that together launched *Kultura's* Library, a series which initiated the Literary Institute's book-publishing comeback and by the year 2000 would reach 500 titles. The first authors were Gombrowicz, Orwell, Miłosz and Burnham (translation of *Containment or Liberation* published in chorus with its US launch).²⁰⁴ Giedroyc explained to Miłosz in 1956 that 'Publishing books is not my profession only a means of my political work'.²⁰⁵ Undoubtedly, Orwell's early inclusion in *Kultura's* book repertoire reflects his projected high political importance. Moreover, in the new book series, it had not only been envisioned that 'First under fire comes Orwell', but *Nineteen Eighty-Four* would also have one of the Institute's highest print runs: 2,500 copies (even though the contract stipulated 'not to exceed Two Thousand', a restriction lamented 'ridiculous') and would be one of their most frequent reprints (the first edition selling out in 1960).²⁰⁶ Back in 1953, however, the 'flooding' of the market with books was a big risk for the still just establishing themselves publisher and journal: 'Maybe it would be better to publish them gradually', Giedroyc wondered, 'but throwing them almost at once captures the public's imagination. And I mean [...] to establish *Kultura's* situation in both Polish and émigré opinion', much to his anxiety: 'It looks like this will end up in my complete bankruptcy and that will finally be it'.²⁰⁷

Though the Polish edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was published in the year of Orwell's fiftieth birth anniversary, it was two years earlier, in early April 1951, that the Parisian editor proposed the translation job to his new London-based associate, Mieroszewski. Juliusz Mieroszewski (1906-1976) was an economy graduate and journalist before the war, coming from landed gentry in southern Poland. He first met Giedroyc in the Polish army in the East, where, like him, he worked in education and the press. After the war, he settled with his family in London to a modest but assiduous journalistic life, finally becoming almost exclusively Parisian *Kultura's* porte-parole,

though never leaving London even for a day.²⁰⁸ Mieroszewski and Orwell seemed to resonate with each other not only in political ideals and a nerve for obstinate probing against the consensus, but also journalistic style: unadorned, clear, direct and forceful. Mieroszewski might have thus been one of the most suited émigrés for this translation assignment. The problem was, as frequently with Giedroyc, that: ‘the matter is more than urgent and it would need to be done at a Stakhanovite tempo’.²⁰⁹

Even modest two and a half months projected by the translator (‘It is an exciting activity it nonetheless requires invention and reflection particularly given that his whole ‘Newspeak’ – you remember – is a language invented by the totalitarian country on the basis of English. To render it in Polish one needs to create new phrases’) appeared excessive: ‘I’m very dismayed by the Orwell translation deadline. [...] I beg you to compress it to 6 weeks’, which Mieroszewski did not think possible: ‘Second year we’re collaborating and I’ve never mucked up any deadline precisely because I don’t take on work with deadlines beyond my capacities’.²¹⁰ To hasten the process of typesetting, nevertheless, he volunteered submitting 50-page batches. Under this relentless time pressure, Orwell seemed ‘a rather athletic job!’.²¹¹ In late June, Mieroszewski reported: ‘Together I’ve sent 203 pages so far. I’ve literally put everything aside and I’ll be sending the three last portions of 50 pages each at 8-9 day intervals. It can’t be sooner even by an hour and *I promise you* that literally nobody would do this translation for you faster’.²¹² On the last stretch, he even ‘got into a debt to do this translation in time’, and the completed work left London bound for Paris in July 1951.²¹³

The letters between the publisher and translator reveal also some practical considerations of working with the Polish word in exile. Once Mieroszewski reported: ‘The two copies only need doing the Polish accents – because unfortunately I only have an English typewriter’, finally calculating that ‘In hand and pen I’ve added accents [...] on 804 pages’.²¹⁴ They also illustrate additional organisational work, delay and costs involved in trans-border collaborations: ‘I put to your heart the request for the 8 pounds for the paper, carbon paper and post (each 50 pages loco Paris cost me a few shillings)’, Mieroszewski once reminded his boss, while the manuscript needed further shipping to Germany for printing.²¹⁵ On completing the job, Mieroszewski mused on this mundane, practical front just as one can imagine Orwell doing himself: ‘Orwell similarly to Proust doesn’t care for “paragraphs” and chucks one thing after another to a maximum use of paper’.²¹⁶

Notwithstanding the hectic tempo, Mieroszewski did put his heart into the job:

1984 is not a trashy detective story, but one of the most famous novels of post-war world literature and must be translated in a literary way. [...] I’m translating in a notebook, correcting, smoothing, revising and only then typing out a fair copy. It takes

up masses of time. Besides, I'd like this translation to be written in a really literary Polish and not bear this die visible in virtually all literally translations from English to Polish. Not the grammar construction but the 'spirit' of the Polish sentence is something completely different from that of the English sentence.²¹⁷

And before the launch two years later, this fearless journalist even confessed: 'I'm nervous [...] because the last chapters translated in a frantic hurry are not free from slips. If we add that when it comes to us – there's nit-picking anyway – Grydz[ewski, *Wiadomości's* editor] will get a chance to show off. But any translation can be picked on and even shattered anyway'.²¹⁸ He was then pleased to find only one mistake 'not affecting the sense' (a transposition of a poem's two verses) and reckon that the published work 'reads rather well',²¹⁹ and was 'very happy' with external assurances (Terlecki 'congratulates me on "a perfect translation" of 1984, which in his opinion "is exceptionally close to the original". Paweł Zaremba telephoned me and said [...] the translation is great').²²⁰ Mioszowski's rendition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* relaunched his translation engagements and, like Jeleńska's rendition of *Animal Farm*, served Polish readers for decades, until another, officially approved translation came out in 1988. Many hold the newer translation superior, pointing to Mioszowski's version's faults for example in newspeak's coherence; others lament that it has superseded Mioszowski's translation almost entirely today.²²¹

The Editor too was happy with the publications. Readers and friends congratulated from far-away corners where Orwell's Polish edition seemed to make quite a difference. Orwell's peer from the series, Gombrowicz, wrote from Argentina, a prize cruise destination which the war outbreak had inadvertently turned into his new home, that 'Orwell is exceptionally interesting too – I didn't know it'.²²² A Guatemala exile reported to be 'delighted' with Orwell, and stricken: 'I'm unable to comprehend how this man was able to understand the essence of communism so profoundly at the time when so few people were aware of this new religion's true essence. I lean towards treating this novel-not-a-novel as the best capture and explanation of applied Leninism-Stalinism so far'.²²³ If the translator remained slightly self-conscious about the translation itself, Giedroyc clearly viewed Orwell's book aligning with his political work. He assured James Burnham: 'Books by you, Miłosz and Orwell will be a true dynamite load for the intelligentsia in Poland', where he apparently 'managed to send quite many'.²²⁴ When in 1954 the organ of the communist Polish Writers' Union derogated Orwell's and Koestler's books, Giedroyc felt personally flattered: 'In *Nowa Kultura* there's been a large article recently stating that Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* and Orwell's 1984 is [sic] avidly read in Poland in secret. They're rending their garments because of that. It is a big compliment on our account'.²²⁵ Burnham's, Miłosz's and Orwell's books seemed 'the most important propaganda undertaking of the last years', the regret being, as Giedroyc confided in Burnham, 'that in my conditions I can do those things only on a small scale and have no possibility to continue systematically'. Sales, therefore, were paramount, the more so as these

needed to balance the less propagandistic undertaking, 'the Gombrowicz deficit'. Hence promotion was vital, and part of this burden befell *Kultura's* London correspondent, Mieroszewski, charged with overseeing their UK distributor's marketing efforts throughout the Polish press.²²⁶

Mieroszewski held the opinion that if there were Polish expatriates capable of writing a good book, there were none capable of selling them. He actually derided the 'threadbare' marketing of book sale 'for the national Cause'. One strong point of *Kultura's* books was their price. As he assured the Editor, in Britain 'Orwell costs in Polish less than in English'.²²⁷ One Germany-based Polish newspaper precisely extolled the accessible price (6.50 MD) and jettisoned the patriotic, and even educational, book-purchase appeal, claiming reading simply 'the greatest entertainment'. In fact, it rather misrepresented *Nineteen Eighty-Four* quoting from an intimate scene between Julia and Winston, in which the novel's true tenor could, if at all, be grasped merely by the hint: 'Their embrace [...] was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act'.²²⁸ Such an unceremonious treatment of Orwell's book was, nonetheless, rather uncommon. If General Anders's paper applauded Orwell's translation but took the opportunity to also snigger at Mieroszewski's persona, 'a fine fiction writer who exchanged his belletristic pen to the indubitable detriment of literature for a journalistic lance which he brandishes with varying success', the feared *Wiadomości* welcomed 'with applaud *Kultura's* beautiful publishing initiative', hoping for readers' support and noting that the volumes included Orwell's 'masterpiece'.²²⁹ If the London indomitables' *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily*, which so early had acknowledged Orwell's column on the Warsaw rising but whose politics clashed heavily with pragmatic *Kultura's*, this time apparently remained silent,²³⁰ the Polish press across the globe issued adverts, notes and reviews, from Europe, through Argentina, to the USA and Canada.²³¹ A popular Detroit daily featured a well-written synopsis, reading the novel as a motivational call for action in the West to save it from turning into Oceania too; ironically, its author would soon return to the Oceania-like Poland turning a secret informer himself. Canadian 'Voice of Poland' also appraised the new and 'not pre-pay' Polish book series positively. Slightly dismissing Gombrowicz in Orwell's favour, it echoed the 'terrifying' epithet and concern for the future. The Argentinian 'Voice of Poland' too offered a sizeable and emotional synopsis. Pointing frequently to the 'painful' imagery ('The tragedy is the greater that these visions do not differ much from the truth already existing and that this truth has engulfed our Country'), it heartily endorsed the book: 'Despite such tragic pages one reads it with bated breath' and commended that '*Kultura's* Library has given us a wonderful book which, being a requiem for freedom, can revive the hearts of people of the West who until now did not understand what Russia's power is and that it can annihilate them'. Perhaps making amends to Orwell and *Kultura*, the mentioned German paper reprinted this Argentine review a few months later.²³²

Such reactions to the translated book reinforce the impression that Orwell was almost ‘good for all’. There were some voices less enthusiastic about Orwell too, but rather isolated. Orwell’s adversary Deutscher published his notorious article two years after the Polish edition came out.²³³ Earlier, an ‘indomitable’ New York exile who nonetheless kept in touch with *Kultura* for personal sentiments thought that unfortunately Orwell seemed already ‘outworn’: ‘I’d wish that they [books] helped you financially – I only judge by the American market and the New Yorkist specifically. You can buy Orwell here for 25¢ in a cheap “pocket” edition and it is as if an outworn book already; Burnham, who is interested, will read him in English’.²³⁴ Many more, nevertheless, claimed the translation indeed most desirable. A London paper argued that ‘this just a-few-year-old classic of contemporary fiction deserved a good Polish rendition’. The Polish chief librarian in exile speaking from her and her colleagues’ experiences at the Polish Library then by the UCL echoed that many fellow expatriates had learned the language only ‘hurriedly, functionally’ and translations were still needed, which ‘may be confirmed in the recent months by the great popularity of Orwell’s *1984* and Burnham’s *Containment or Liberation* [...] having a demand equal to that of Polish new releases’.²³⁵ Undeniably, Orwell gained a great deal with the Polish edition among non-polyglots. He could have gained just a little more with a biographical note included in it too, since he was sometimes misrepresented even in places where English was spoken. The Toronto-based organ of the Polish National Union in Canada, for example, presented Orwell as having ‘Spent nearly whole his life in the East, in India and Burma. There he was also a British official and an elephant hunter’.²³⁶

1.3.3 Weapon in Unorthodox Cold War Offensives

If Orwell anticipated that getting his later works behind the Iron Curtain, he so desired, could be difficult, did he ever fantasise on what measures might be taken to achieve it? Would he have pictured his *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Polish travelling to Poland disguised under false covers of a Soviet-style militant poster or conceivably sharing space with state secrets in a diplomatic bag? Or as a miniature edition possibly hiding in factory-sealed tins of humanitarian food aid? What about picturing hundreds of slender Polish editions of *Animal Farm* subject to the mercy of the elements as they are carried over the borders of Central Europe by gas-filled balloons?²³⁷ Given his practical, DIY inclination and interest in clandestine action (such as intending to acquire a printing press on the onset of the war or to publish *Animal Farm* by himself near its end) and the gratuitous training in conspiracy gained when evading persecution in Spain – he might as well have contemplated similar scenarios. Still, it remains a guess what he would make of these unorthodox offensives of the cold war for which he had provided not only the ‘dynamite’ but inclusively the name.

If early on to cognizant émigrés Orwell seemed a rare Western ally and a moral authority bravely calling for justice, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* turned him into more widely known *the author* of the two canonical books that delivered alarming warnings about what might happen in a place occupied by the Soviet regime. Little wonder that émigrés felt compelled to share these projections with compatriots. Rather symptomatically, the translator Jeleńska mentioned to Orwell owning no fewer than three copies of *Animal Farm* ‘but none at home at present’ and the translator Mioszowski justified his inability to assess the translation project immediately until acquiring *Nineteen Eighty-Four* on Monday because ‘a friend borrowed my copy and then left with it for... Australia’.²³⁸ Little wonder also that émigrés felt particularly compelled to share them with compatriots behind the Iron Curtain, frequently seeing the books just like Deutscher alleged *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was as ‘an ideological super-weapon in the Cold War’²³⁹ – weapons which could help, if not overthrow altogether, curb the regime’s grip on people’s minds. For Giedroyc, the first books of the series launched in 1953 were ‘dynamite’, principally with readers in Poland in mind; the motto of the publisher of *Animal Farm*’s Polish reedition was ‘to attack with the book’; Jeleńska urged Orwell to launch a preventive attack with *Animal Farm* on Italy.²⁴⁰ The ‘repayment’ to a friend who supports their independence quest now fuses inseparably with his usage as a *cold war* ally.

Attempts to expose the Soviet regime might not have garnered much appreciation from allied governments before but now, as the tables turned, Orwell previously denouncing the received discourse from outside suddenly found himself at its new centre, with his works prominently exploited in Western cold-war action. Although it was often unclear whether this substantially US-led and -sponsored war aimed merely at Soviet containment or indeed at Central Europe’s liberation, Polish émigrés took advantage of its offensives, sometimes involving Orwell. Some initiatives were embraced readily. For example, the New York-exiled poet Jan Lechoń prepared the adaptation of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* for the US government’s mouthpiece Voice of America still within Orwell’s lifetime.²⁴¹ Some other initiatives, however, proved a cause of contention.

Notwithstanding Giedroyc’s circumspection concerning his autonomy and frequent disapproval of US actions (manifested e.g. in refusing the offer for *Kultura* to become the Polish *Encounter* or *Preuves* – a stably financed journal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom), his political missions too benefited from the US more or less covert funding, the publication of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Polish, subsidised by the Congress i.e. CIA’s smokescreen, included.²⁴² Compatible in aims, the joint venture was not quite free of difficulties, however. The subsidy allowed Giedroyc to offer, what he thought, a generous French ‘syndical’ translation rate (although deemed very modest by UK standards by the translator). But contrasting with the allegedly Congress-imposed desperate translation rush was the fact that it was not until its completion that it apparently transpired that the Polish side was responsible for obtaining the publishing rights as well.²⁴³ With the Orwell

estate somewhat slow to contribute to this cold war effort ('Today I've sent the *fourth* letter to this Orwell's agent. They are dealing with this matter in an incredibly un-English manner'), the process took another three and a half months.²⁴⁴ Even more incongruous with the rush was the nearly one year and a half's wait for the book to pass through the Congress's printing cogs in Germany 'however much I badger to hasten the printing', as Giedroyc complained.²⁴⁵ If in June 1952 it seemed that 'The Congress has finally awakened and Orwell is almost set', in August that it could appear in September, November approaching and 'this wretched Orwell that they messed up so much' still not out proved more than the exacting Giedroyc was prepared to bear. Shortly before the eighteen-month contract with Orwell's widow expired, in mid-January 1953, he notified the translator: 'You won't believe but Orwell is coming out', 'It's me who's doing it now so there won't be any more delays'.²⁴⁶ When it previously appeared that the book was 'at last' being set up in type, the Congress requested that the name of the underground leader Emmanuel Goldstein be changed to a less Jewish-sounding 'Ryszard Davis'. The editor half saw the point, half dismissed it: 'up to the frontiers when idiotism is harmless, I'm happy not to disturb it', but the 'absurd idea' affronted the translator:

it is Europe in England – authorial rights oblige and I don't intend to make a fool of myself in front of an experienced literary agent with this type of a nonsensical proposal [...]. Let the Congress for Culture (which should have a little more respect for works of culture) itself call the agent, his address is in the contract.²⁴⁷

Ultimately, Goldstein survived his own-rank conflict and served on the cold war's Polish front under his own name intact.

Another US-led cold-war action implicating Orwell that proved highly contentious was the so-called 'balloon war' – communicating with countries cut off by the Iron Curtain by prints sent from Western Europe via balloons. The idea came from the Free Europe Committee's sister, Free Europe Press, both covertly funded by the CIA, and met resistance from some Polish circles who feared that in Poland external incitement to oppose the communist authorities, wrongly suggestive also of an external backing, could easily translate into another disastrous uprising. With the Czechoslovak or Hungarian balloon actions already well under way, the Polish one went ahead notwithstanding, but only in 1955 and intending to transmit solely 'safe' material.²⁴⁸ Its main foci were thus news bulletins, the revelations of a defected high official of the Ministry of Public Security (an aptly Orwellian name) and Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech denouncing some of Stalin's crimes. But Orwell's participation too was perhaps simply inevitable. In July 1956, the Free Europe Press would also launch a book-mailing programme, which by October would have dispatched to Poland 300 copies of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* targeting the Polish elite. Here, over 100 thousand copies of *Animal Farm* were set on the spectacular aerial journey in spring,

targeting an indiscriminate audience.²⁴⁹ When the finder dared not to surrender it immediately to the authorities, the booklet must have comprised a powerful reading: compacted into fifty pages but retaining previous edition's illustrations, displaying a sunny yellow or lively red cover with Orwell's photograph and a commentary on the back that expounded the satire's relevance in the instance of Stalin's myth's impugnation – and simply dropping from heaven.

If Free Europe vetted *Animal Farm* a safe weapon, the Congress for Cultural Freedom's secretary deemed its drop pointless: 'What sense is there in dropping Orwell to Poland *now*?', complained Konstanty Jeleński in a letter to his unlikely friend, the president of the Polish Writers' Union in Warsaw.²⁵⁰ The controversial balloon offensive on Poland did not have much lifespan left indeed, as it ended abruptly in October 1956 at the height of a political crisis that saw a Soviet invasion hanging right in sight. Resolved only just peacefully, the watershed advented the 'thaw', a period of greatest political freedom since the war started. It even seemed that Orwell might no longer need to be supplied from outside.

Orwell's position, or use, in the cold war had in fact been questioned even before this thaw-time questioning. In his notorious misreading of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Deutscher denounced:

[It] has frightened millions of people. But [...] it has not advanced their understanding. It has only increased and intensified the waves of panic and hate that run through the world and obfuscate innocent minds. *1984* has taught millions to look at the conflict between East and West in terms of black and white, and it has shown them a monster bogey and a monster scapegoat for all the ills that plague mankind.²⁵¹

But even the very translator of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had pointed out to a related shortcoming of the book before it even went public in Polish and of Orwell's voice in general, a shortcoming Orwell himself noted for instance in Dickens:

the problem of the halved world seen from the Western side – is completely sterile.

There are books about the Soviets, there are political and economic studies but there are no novels, there are no literary attempts to formulate a positive solution to the halved world. There is the apocalyptic literature, which paints the menace of the cataclysm, such as Orwell's *1984*, but these works do not suggest any positive solutions.²⁵²

Though his enthusiasts, sceptical audience did not exclude Orwell's two companions from the *Kultura's* Library series, Witold Gombrowicz and Czesław Miłosz. The iconoclastic playwright and writer, Gombrowicz, praised Miłosz but concurrently accused of swimming with the current of schematic anti-communism that not only undermined communism's thorough assessment but

also constrained thinking and artistic expression. All this he saw mishandled heritage from Orwell and Koestler:

How much is in Miłosz of Orwell? How much in Orwell of Koestler? How much in them both of the thousands and thousands of words which are produced day after day – on the same topic – by printing machines, which is by no means related to the American dollar but derives from our very nature that longs for a world defined? The boundlessness and richness of life is summarised by you to a few themes and you operate with a simplified concept of the world, a concept you know only full well to be temporary.

Now, the value of pure art lies in that it breaks schemata.²⁵³

Miłosz attacked here had paid an indisputable tribute to Orwell in his flagship anti-communist book, *The Captive Mind*. He also defended Orwell, for instance against Deutscher's various allegations, arguing that Orwell had always been true to himself and lived 'in fear for humanity' or that he had been among the few Western intellectuals not 'minding for savoir-faire before history and before Stalin's concentration camps' but actively 'peeking inside the kettle in which East-European nations were boiling' and that ultimately 'nobody will know how many human beings each of them saved'.²⁵⁴ All the same, this recent regime's defector and possibly hence especially wary of another bandwagon declared himself reticent of the cold-war 'aura' 'characteristic of certain Western milieus, and heralded by Orwell'.²⁵⁵ Seemingly, though, for both Orwell's early *Kultura* Library companions rather than with him and his works the problem lay in his appropriation for a facile militant anti-communist propaganda.

Still, neither such intellectual criticism nor the October '56 thaw invalidated Orwell's standing on the cold war's Polish front. The hopeful armistice did impart some lasting liberties, among them curtail censorship and increase possibility of Western travel, but the apparently liberating course was in essence short-lived. Hence Polish, Western and joint information, culture and propaganda offensives carried on, sometimes employing Orwell too and relying more or less consciously on US funding. With the Free Europe balloon action never resumed, the less contentious publication-mailing programme, 'the secret Marshall Plan for the mind',²⁵⁶ expanded instead. Over time, it would even take orders from institutions and individuals daring to supply delivery details (then scrupulously collected). By its closure in 1991, this covertly CIA-sponsored programme would have not only facilitated dispatching around 10 million of Western prints to Soviet satellites, 4 million to Poland, but also set up a network of free distribution points for visitors to non-occupied Europe and the USA.²⁵⁷ In both of these Polish departments Orwell's last two books were a staple. Preserved reports of one distribution point in London, the Polish Library, show that beside *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* such items were occasionally given away as 'As I Please' or

Homage to Catalonia in Russian, alongside periodicals or other publications that sometimes dealt with Orwell, for instance a volume of translated essays from the British Council series *Writers & Their Work* including the one on Orwell.²⁵⁸ While possibly predominant, on-site and remote customers were not limited to intellectuals and students. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* could be ordered equally by an engineer ship-builder from Gdańsk or a couple of retired Home Army veterans as by an 'electrician-mechanic'.²⁵⁹ Despite some intellectual reservations as mentioned earlier, Orwell's two novels remained weaponry widely solicited by the programme's beneficiaries. Thus, more than one visitor to the West might have been disappointed when these were out of print (republished in 1972 and 1974), just like the one intent on finding out what this Orwell was all about in 1972 Paris, but having to console himself with a – successfully smuggled back – copy of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in French, a language he could not read.²⁶⁰

Apparently the cold war meant war, and this normally affects human lives. Even on the idealised Western front action sometimes affected 'civilians' too. If the *Animal Farm* balloon drop might have conceivably begotten trouble to some in Poland, it apparently did so also on the other side. With the Stalinist terror waning by 1956, the fable translator ten years earlier now living in Venice considered paying a visit. But, as her son ('I'm livid too') declared in the letter to the head of the Polish Writers' Union – perhaps seeking to defuse the situation – Free Europe used Jeleńska's translation without consulting her and a regime journalist was quick to retaliate for her presumed involvement in arch-enemy schemes: '*for fat dollars* [does she] translate Orwell for Free Europe drops'.²⁶¹ Jeleńska's visit never materialised.

If 'veterans' like Jeleńska were affected, then volunteers in the cold-war action did have reasons to remain cautious. The print distribution reports of the Polish Library in London suggest that many visitors did feel they were taking a risk by accepting the publications offered. Some did leave details capable of identifying them. For example, the record of Adam Sandauer's visit of 10 September 1974 includes information 'the professor's son', making it explicit that the son of a prominent critic and journalist and future author of a convoluted afterword to the first official edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1988) carried away a copy of *Animal Farm* which he then presumably smuggled into Poland.²⁶² Many other recipients preferred to remain anonymous or semi-anonymous. Some took multiple publications, some only a few, a number returned some publications previously taken, while others yet made special arrangements for their contraband, such as the visitor from the Warsaw Medical Academy on 21 December 1972 whose considerable list of 16 publications taken included both *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and of whom it was noted: 'travels through Sweden – the Swedes will take it through'.²⁶³ Such caution was not ungrounded given various high profile court cases and repressions in Poland, for instance for contacts with *Kultura* and smuggling or distributing its publications. The diplomatic-bag smuggling French diplomat faced words of admonishment too and, in 1960, expulsion.²⁶⁴

1.3.4 Orwell Defies Détente

From the late 1960s to the late 1970s cold war tensions thawed ushering in détente. For some it boded for 'normalisation', a gradual erosion of the two-bloc system, for others, however, 'disengagement' and a mutual guarantee of 'non-interference' in the other bloc's spheres appeared like the West's abandonment of Central Europe. While Orwell scholar John Rodden is convinced Orwell would have supported détente, some Polish intellectuals evoked Orwell's authority precisely to speak against it. Of two émigrés with a close affinity with Orwell's thinking, Juliusz Mieroszewski and Herling-Grudziński, Orwell's translator cautioned:

The West is repeating with a terrifying exactness identical phases of appeasement in relation to the Soviets – which it used 34 years ago in relation to Hitler. [...] The saddest in it all is the fact that within the framework of its Ostpolitik the Americans have adopted the Soviet propagandistic jargon. Both superpowers are using the same Orwellian newspeak.²⁶⁵

Grudziński in turn despondently sneered, for example, at the US presidential visit to the USSR in 1972:

when Mr Pilkington feasted in Kremlin's at pig Napoleon's hospitality, the slightly forgotten Orwell's fairy tale suddenly revived. Today *Animal Farm's* prophetic scene sounds like a hackneyed, banal, boring record. Nobody is much bothered about whether current Mr Pilkington manages to bound back to Napoleon before the end of term [...]. Which in the end demonstrates that 'normalisation' is a serious and irreversible operation. The more everything blurs (mugs and snouts), the more it becomes indifferent.²⁶⁶

As the two blocs sought rapprochement, ideological warfare and Orwell's usefulness for it seemed much a thing of the past. Not that he was forgotten, e.g. 1968 saw the historic publication of *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, but the focus of the media and so the public shifted from the totalitarian vision to more the man and his life.²⁶⁷ To many Poles, however, Orwell lost nothing of his anti-communist topicality: he much defied détente.

In fact, events surrounding early détente alone brought the Polish people plenty of Orwell associations and reminders. Early 1968 saw the squashing of nationwide protests demanding freedom of speech in Poland, remembered as 'March '68'. When the regime's anti-intellectual and anti-Semitic response saw a philologist and critic sentenced to prison for a satiric operetta performed merely in private, *Wiadomości's* Radio Free Europe supplement commented: 'Like in

the worst Stalinist years, a juicy pun has been judged a crime! What crime? A crime of “disseminating publications containing false information able to cause a considerable harm to the state”. [...] People’s Poland – a country of pathetic nonsense... Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. When Konstany Jeleński reflected on student protests in Paris, his thoughts circulated around Orwell as well: ‘Hearing how the radio commentators at rue de Grenelle spoke during the strike about “a nearly cordial atmosphere” between the governmental and the syndicalist representatives, I remembered the ending of *Animal Farm*’.²⁶⁸ The cordial Western disengagement from the suppression of the Prague Spring by the Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 inevitably drew in Orwell as a witness too. Grudziński condemned the official US reaction speaking of “the immediate emergency”, which should not “halt the new atmosphere” “of East-West understanding”, lamenting the president’s supposed reversion to ‘the dictionary of Orwellian newspeak’. If Mieroszewski in post-thaw 1960 was convinced that ‘Luckily, we are quite far’ from either the *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or *Brave New World* catastrophes coming true, by the early 1970s he had ‘no doubt that the computer technology and nuclear technology not only are not bringing the Soviet communism closer to the West but on the contrary are facilitating a future rise of an anti-Western civilisation as per Orwell’s vision’.²⁶⁹ The question of communist language manipulation too remained just as relevant as ever during détente. ‘[D]espite the make-believe peace, a continuous, stubborn fight for the language is going on, which in its essence is a fight for mental and political independence’, declared some *Kultura* commentators, whilst the term ‘newspeak’ was commonly embraced also by Poland-based dissidents getting increasingly organised and vocal outside.²⁷⁰

Far from rendering Orwell obsolete for the Poles, détente thus brought plenty of external reminders. It also marked various milestones in his Polish reception itself. Both *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were republished in London and Paris, the first by a publisher – ‘Orwell is good for all’ – of a Catholic association, the latter twice by Giedroyc, the second time round supplemented with an introduction and a separate smuggling-friendly miniature edition.²⁷¹ If a projected in 1958 ‘book on Orwell, which I’d like to introduce in some way in the national market or directly – smuggle’²⁷² did not take shape, the year of Orwell’s seventieth birthday saw a *Kultura*’s issue already bursting under current matters and bigger than normal still open with a large essay on Orwell by Wojciech Skalmowski. Proving its worth, this essay just slightly appended would become the introduction to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* six and again ten years later.²⁷³ Another *Kultura* opened with Herling-Grudziński tremendously gratified to translate the just discovered intended introduction to *Animal Farm*, ‘The Freedom of the Press’, alongside Orwell’s future first biographer’s commentary.²⁷⁴ The Paris-exiled artist Jan Lebenstein, himself an independent satirist given to grotesque, embarked on illustrating *Animal Farm*: ‘Colleagues are illustrating The Divine Comedy and I prefer the animal-human one’, he once explained to Grudziński. The title of a

portfolio of ten lithographs published in Italy conveyed yet another intention: *Animal Farm: to the Memory of George Orwell*.²⁷⁵ Lebenstein's mythology and Babylon inspirations mixed with that period's fascination with 'the fragile border between human faces and porcine snouts'²⁷⁶ led to gouaches, lithographs and drawings that emulated the fable's amusement with that liminality lined with menace, transmuted in the uncanny Lebensteinese convention. Illustrations portray particular protagonists, representatives of species, *Animal Farm's* laws and events. Some of Lebenstein's art would be smuggled to Poland, for instance, by the director of the Wrocław National Museum, and some of the *Animal Farm* series would make it, at the director's risk, to the first large Lebenstein's exhibition in Poland since his emigration held in Wrocław in 1977, where their true derivation, however, was veiled under new titles: numbered 'Compositions'. Proceeds from the sale of some *Animal Farm* illustrations supported clandestine printers.²⁷⁷

Détente saw the writer Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's appreciation of Orwell shine through more fully, particularly after he reestablished contacts with *Kultura* and delivered there his regular 'Diary Written at Night' (1971-1995). In over two decades, he revived and admired Orwell's many reflections, from detrimental social consequences of retreating religion and the vanishing belief in the soul's immortality creating a spiritual vacuum, through Williams Faulkner's comment echoing Orwell's that worthwhile literature emerges only when there is no fear, to denouncing 'mafia-like' mentality of intellectual elites and pondering on European antisemitism ('only the imagination of the author of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* could rise up to' the question of what effect a German occupation could have had in the UK, whether similar to that in France with the Vichy state).²⁷⁸ He evoked Orwell in recollections, for example, of how Bertrand Russell (author of introduction to Grudziński's own book) loved and thought that both Conrad and Orwell had 'noble souls' and represented 'above all courage, even in despair'. The Shakespearian Jan Kott believed that the Polish playwright Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, 'Witkacy', and 'the Orwell of *Animal Farm*' both foresaw that 'In a world which has become a "global village" madness is contagious and could easily become universal'. So did Grudziński, thinking that Orwell denounced haphazard globalisation: with a blanket rejection of 'provincialism', 'the crowning of a "planetary" vision is *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'.²⁷⁹ Grudziński would also loyally 'defend' Orwell, for example against Mary McCarthy's famed review of *CEJL* in *New York Review of Books* which he took as a nearly personal attack ('I saw black before my eyes reading it') and disputed it so vituperatively as to allegedly turn his and McCarthy's relations cold ever since.²⁸⁰

Together with the young philologist Wojciech Skalmowski and Skalmowski's Orwell essay which made his name²⁸¹ they did much during détente to safeguard Orwell as the draftsman of 'possibly the most accurate diagnosis, accusation and warning against the cancer eating away the very root of existence', *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Seeing it as continuously if not increasingly relevant, they also nuanced it: 'a genius extrapolation' of observed tendencies with a 'mobilising', 'didactic and

polemic, and not prophetic' aim.²⁸² They tried to rescue Orwell from it as well by salvaging his philosophy (evil for him was a 'mixture of stupidity and inertia and he believed that recognition [makes it lose] its venom'), life and other works (before becoming 'an expert on totalitarianism, [Orwell] had been an expert on poverty' chronicling 'the commonplace, greyness and loss' in a convention of 'subjective realism' resonating somewhat with Witkacy's ideal of Pure Form).²⁸³

Détente also witnessed a major change in the émigré dynamic. Many from the old guard passed away, whereas the events of March 1968 in Poland in the aftermath of the 1967 Israeli-Arab six-day war produced a new wave of emigration, lending the Polish culture abroad a new lease of life, fostering new collaborations but also new journals and ways of operating and connecting with the country. *Kultura's* pillar Juliusz Mieroszewski died close to Orwell's birth anniversary in 1976, and so did *Wiadomości's* pillar and possibly Orwell's acquaintance Adam Pragier a month later. The other Orwell translator, Jeleńska, managed to reminisce about Orwell in *Wiadomości* in 1968 before passing away the following year and before *Wiadomości's* editor, Grydzewski, himself would join her, Orwell and much of the declining paper's former readership the year after. This important and Orwell-loving publication would formally close in 1981, leaving readers with Orwell's six writing rules in its farewell issue.²⁸⁴ In pre-war Warsaw, *Wiadomości's* editor had impulsed to gel through his paper a colourful and impactful poetic group ('Skamander'). By now, many of them were also struggling, various somewhat touched by Orwell too. Orwell's Voice of America adaptor, Jan Lechoń, had committed suicide in 1955. When in post-war Britain, the chief satirist of the lot and briefly UNESCO's literature secretary, Antoni Słonimski, sought to mingle with the British Left and particularly writer H. G. Wells whose 'great' writing 'full of panache and optimistic faith in progress' he found more appealing than Orwell's 'harsh' journalism 'filled with disbelief in the future of the human race'. Back in Soviet Poland, he conceded shortly before his tragic death: 'Only later did it become clear on whose side the power of imagination had been greater'.²⁸⁵ If pre-war poetry of another US-exiled member was described as 'pure shouts of joy', his last collection bore a symptomatic title 'Black Polonaise' and contended that far from eradicating the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* reality this international 'normalisation' and Polish affected 'stabilisation' only transformed earlier manifest terror into cynic 'doublespeak' and normalised spying and informing: 'It's no Orwell, it's information' – now collected by daylight.²⁸⁶ Regardless, defying both détente and the human toll that the passing time collects, Orwell's appeal and relevance endured among exile newcomers, from older intellectuals such as leading Warsaw philosophers Zygmunt Bauman, Leszek Kołakowski and Bronisław Baczko, to younger ones, including Skalmowski himself.²⁸⁷ *Aneks* launched in 1973 by young March '68 exiles from Warsaw collaborating across Uppsala, Paris and London became a major émigré periodical. It too quickly produced an Orwell issue that offered an essay on Orwell and the translation of eight Orwell's

texts – prepared in Poland and, smuggled back and later clandestinely reproduced, having many repercussions there too.²⁸⁸

1.3.5 The Orwell Year 1984 Commemorated

Some Polish émigrés contributed to an international commemoration and reevaluation of Orwell's reputation on the occasion of the Orwell year. In a long and rather tangled but much-noted *Encounter* article the Siberia survivor and neoconservative editor of *Survey* Leopold Łabędź strove to expose 'Doublethink & Double-Talk, Body-Snatching & Other Silly Pranks' surrounding the year and leading to a supposed 'Orwellisation' of Orwell. Like many readers with a Soviet baggage, he grew vexed with the increasingly common interpretation of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and subsequently Orwell's persona as critical of the West, sometimes to an exclusion of the Soviet referent altogether. Admitting that Orwell was not 'always that consistent', he maintained that 'unlike other men of the Left, his intellectual integrity impelled him [...] to call a spade a spade, rather than engage in the usual face and faith-saving euphemisms and semantic acrobatics'. Łabędź argued that since the 1970s progressives had been performing an 'ideological surgery' endeavouring to falsely present Orwell as precursor of the New Left and took particular issue with Raymond Williams and Bernard Crick, the Belgian author of *Orwell ou l'horreur de la politique* Simon Leys, and current *Tribune*. He proposed that the fate of Orwell's last book be best gauged by juxtaposing 'the reaction to it by "progressive" commentators in the West and by unofficial commentators in the East'.²⁸⁹

Some Polish public intellectuals in exile were unwilling to explain their former involvement with installing the Soviet regime in Poland and found it helpful to internationally assert Orwell's uncommon 'genius', which as if suggested an own less penetrating mind and provided a self-justification similar to Miłosz's expression of 'Hegel's sting' (i.e. falling for the Soviet ideology). Leszek Kołakowski published an essay in the neoconservative US magazine *Commentary* edited by Norman Podhoretz (also controversially vocal about Orwell) which was later included in the commemorative collection *1984 Revisited* edited by the socialist Irving Howe. There he argued that 'The crucial importance of the lie in the Communist totalitarian system was noticed long ago (Anton Ciliga, *Au pays du grand mensonge*, 1938); it took the *genius* of George Orwell to reveal, as it were, the philosophical side of the issue'.²⁹⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, once a political instructor at a military corps (KBW) tasked with exterminating the underground army loyal to the Polish government in London, decades later found the *Animal Farm's* slogan useful to frame reflection around individual choices and an educator's responsibility: '*All wills are free, but some wills are freer than others*; some people, who knowingly or unknowingly perform the function of educators, instil (or modify) the cognitive predispositions, moral values and aesthetic preferences of others and thus introduce certain shared elements into their intentions and ensuing actions'.²⁹¹

Jan Kott, the Shakespeare scholar and friend of Orwell's widow, earlier contributor to harsh communist propaganda, maintained: 'Years had to pass before painstakingly, bloodying our hands, we climbed out of this abyss. To avoid it, Nicola Chiaromonte's and George Orwell's clarity of vision and conscience would have been necessary. Intellectuals of my generation rarely possessed such lucidity in those years'.²⁹²

A notable contribution to international celebrations came also from the British Library's Polish Assistant Keeper who organised an exhibition 'Orwell in Eastern Europe' showing 'the love of Eastern Europeans for Orwell'.²⁹³ Polish exhibits of Orwell's rare clandestine prints and artefacts inadvertently dominated, their 'lion's share' coming from Jerzy Giedroyc either on loan (some with a 'most watchful care' plea attached) or as a donation. Some exhibits, probably thanks to dissident employees inserting items into institutional book parcels, came also from two Polish national libraries in Warsaw and Kraków (various of those not only Orwell-related clandestine publications would stimulate the British Library's collection 'Sol' for 'Solidarity').²⁹⁴ The organiser was glad that her accompanying texts passed the British Library's 'censorship' intact since she thought that 'even bare quotes from Soviet tabloids [...] sound like an attack on the Soviet system', but was disappointed by some other uninformed responses: 'E.g. a mister from the BBC wants to know whether in Soviet bookshops one can buy Orwell, and if not, then where they got the term Big Brother from and why they attack in the press books the readers don't know'.²⁹⁵ The exhibition was favourably noted not only in the British, but also Polish émigré media and gratified particularly the clandestine publishers the catalogue mentioned by the name.²⁹⁶ Owing to its popularity, the three-month exhibition opened in August 1984 extended until March 1985, all the while attracting new exhibits.²⁹⁷

Unsurprisingly, alongside Polish contributions to international commemorations, there was a myriad of celebrations and gestures directed at Polish-speaking audiences too. Even with Orwell's Polish connections still left underexplored, for instance Skalmowski signalled the question as deserving a separate essay which he never published or 'As I Please' on the Warsaw rising was translated sooner underground than abroad,²⁹⁸ perceptible in Polish reassessments and discussions on Orwell was nonetheless a sense of a particular link and loyalty, and hence a right to speak on his behalf and rectify misappropriations. Some delineated trends in international discussions. Entry for 1 January 1984 in Herling-Grudziński's diary declared that 'the heart grows at the sight of "Orwelliana"', although entries for the following days delivered an increasing irritation – with just the things he had forewarned of in the run-up to the Orwell year: 'In next year's "celebrations" and "fittings" should not be cast aside Orwell the socialist, humble and determined champion of "ordinary human decency"'.²⁹⁹ He too passionately contested the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Westward interpretational trend. If on a radio talk he once came to concede that the Smithsonian Institution event's focus on technology reflected that 'this vision

aligns more' with the US society, in his diary he was less forgiving. Ultimately, the only worthy Western 'Orwelliana' turned out *1984 Revisited*, Umberto Eco's introduction to the novel's Italian edition and articles by émigré Russian historian Mikhail Heller and Simon Leys in *Le Monde*. At the rest, he fumed, as it supposedly claimed that Orwell's book spoke of the USA and ignored Orwell's socialist sympathies, a cardinal offender being the special issue of the Italian communist magazine *L'Unità* (much translated in the Polish official press).³⁰⁰ The younger generation's *Aneks* offered a more toned down survey of international conversations, with translations of Leys's 'Orwell or the Horror of Politics' (abridged), Kołakowski's article and Szewczenko's presentation on Orwell's eschatology delivered at a US Slavic association meeting.³⁰¹ Slightly belatedly, but even the most recent exile wave, 'the Solidarity emigration', contributed to the celebrations in a major way: a collection of translated Orwell's texts covering around one-fourth of *CEJL*. In the introduction, Skalmowski similarly argued: Orwell is 'an uncomfortable figure for the second and third generation of Western pro-communist snobs and/or totalitarianists *in spe*, that is people whose fathers or grandfathers Orwell had fought during his life, therefore attempts to roar down his message started early' and he recommended readers Łabędź's article.³⁰²

Likewise, Polish discussions were not simple interactions with Orwell's texts but engaged in making sense of, or claiming, Orwell's life, views and interpretations. If Skalmowski's 1981 essay rescued Orwell as a literary critic, or rather 'literary publicist' whose reviews sometimes 'tell us more about Orwell than the works he reviewed',³⁰³ his preface to the translated 1985 collection emphasised the journalist beside an author and the man rather than a myth, with human weaknesses and struggles, albeit still somewhat 'sanctified'. One issue important to tackle was Orwell's socialism. Recently, *Kultura* revalidated it and Grudziński avowed Orwell, Ignazio Silone and homegrown Adam Ciołkosz as worthy paradigms of 'the socialist ethos'.³⁰⁴ Skalmowski nonetheless thought that 'most Poles shudder at the sound of this word with disgust' as a reaction to the practice of 'realist socialism' in Poland but also to 'the activity of Western Lefties using this once noble-sounding word as a camouflage for nihilistic and totalitarian ideas' and professed that in Orwell's times the idea was more pure because less burdened with its practical application and that 'today [Orwell] would be an idealist' with a realistic outlook ('the courage of facing unpleasant facts') and 'unconditional intellectual honesty'.³⁰⁵ While a satiric playwright noted for parody and absurd, a fellow Orwell appreciator with much affinity in views and the gift of observation, Sławomir Mrożek (1930-2013) once bemoaned in his diary nonetheless that 'when it comes to implementing socialism, even theoretically, then Orwell doesn't think it through to the end, gets lost in contradictions (which he sees so sharply and fights in others)', Skalmowski hails Orwell's honesty of precisely 'thinking things through to the end'.³⁰⁶ Some reflections inevitably returned to the core essence of the novel of the year once more, like Miłosz's first book since the 1980 Nobel award. The 1984 free-form poetic-cum-prose volume of reflections on love and death

extracts from the imagery of O'Brien's questioning of Winston Smith a contemplation on the existence of the past and time as a metaphysical question posed by 'the agnostic Orwell'.³⁰⁷

By then, various Polish émigré commemorations counted already with connecting diverse Polish audiences, including those from Poland. A striking case is a polemic in a Solidarity-period Paris literary journal sparked by an amended reprint of a clandestine publication (claiming that Orwell could have turned neoconservative like many former socialists did in the USA or France) which attracted two émigré contesters, one from as far as Australia (defending Orwell's socialism and a sure support for a welfare state).³⁰⁸ The quarterly *Aneks* commemorated Orwell in two 1984 issues, and the special section 'In Orwell's Memory' even published two essays by Poland-based authors.³⁰⁹ Guests on two special Orwell programmes at Polish sections of the Radio Free Europe and the BBC certainly considered reaching the Polish audience in the first place.³¹⁰ Radio Free Europe listeners could learn – undoubtedly with considerable interest – about the publication of *Animal Farm* in Polish from Wierzbiański, about Jeleńska's relationship with Orwell from her son or about clandestine printing from its leading figure recently in exile, beside a discussion about Orwell and *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* message and appropriations with Jeleński, the clandestine publisher, a young critic from Poland, Herling-Grudziński and Nowakowski. If some participants complained about the increasingly common disregard for the Soviet target of Orwell's blade, the host Nowakowski concluded that 'the greatness of Orwell' might lie in that 'everyone can have their own Orwell and teach him in their own way'. In a November 1984 BBC talk, Leszek Kołakowski and three younger émigrés focused much more on this anniversary novel, seeing it as providing a verisimilitude of detailed sensory descriptions and the ubiquity of the lie in a system like the one they experienced. Noticing Orwell's preoccupation with the limits of human nature's plasticity, they defined it as an attempt to carry through to last consequences certain political theses. Like many Polish readers, they unanimously argued that while the book is pessimistic, its message is not entirely so. Extremely woeful, read for the first time the book delivered a catharsis, besides offering a warning with the hope of precisely evading such a scenario. And already then they assured their listeners from afar that Polish experiences of the 1970s and 1980s provided such a wonderful rebirth of citizenship, independent thinking and protection of privacy that it was impossible for this haunting scenario to become reality anymore.

Chapter 2 Official Reception – Orwell an Enemy

*All history was a palimpsest,
scraped clean and reinscribed
exactly as often as was necessary.*

Nineteen Eighty-Four, 1949

It is March 1977. A young moustached man casually passes through the customs before boarding the ferry that connects Poland with Sweden (after 18 months, the passport had finally been granted). Yet his apparent calm is an act, as if learnt from Winston Smith. Bulking under the man's shirt and jacket is his nearly two years' labour of 700 furtively hand-filled pages plus a similarly sizeable pile of papers not quite belonging to him. They are the reason behind the journey, a journey of possibly no return and of unknown consequences to himself and his young family left behind. When made public, they might transform his homeland, as if *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Goldstein's book came to light. For that, he needs to transport them safely out of the Big Brother's country. Only who would have guessed that after all that agonising effort possibly the hardest task yet would await on other side of the Iron Curtain: to prove that he is not an O'Brien's alter ego and this is not a communist mystification?¹

2.1 Orwell and the Communist Censorship System

So runs the story of *The Black Book of Polish Censorship* that, somewhat similarly to Goldstein's book handed Winston Smith by Big Brother's undercover agent O'Brien which exposed Oceania's vile political system, revealed just how omnipresent, systemic and meticulous the communist state control over information and the written word aspired to be. It divulged selections from documents amassed by a dismayed Winston Smith's colleague in trade, a Polish censor: the 'Book of Rules and Regulations', the very 'censor's Bible' containing some 400 continuously updated records and censorial training and analytical materials from 1974-1977.² They covered almost every facet of public life and in a surprisingly straightforward manner instructed censors to 'eliminate' from the media any mention or an undesirable way of mentioning (criticism or praise) of names, publications, laws, authorities' decisions, facts and events, from an uncomfortable book title, through the fact of meat exports to the USSR or the size of national wheat yield, to information on environmental health hazards. Formulated centrally, such instructions were sent to regional branches of the Main Office for the Control of the Press Publications and Performances (*Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk, GUKPPiW*). This was the Polish counterpart of the Orwellian Ministry of Truth: the institution commonly referred to as 'the

‘censorship’, albeit only by those aware of its existence, since the office preferred to keep its public profile low, aside from opting not to flaunt that word in its name. Similarly, its censors went by the modest title of ‘advisors’.

The Office had been sanctioned by a decree of 5 July 1946,³ i.e. days after the dress rehearsal of rigging a referendum before rigging the decisive elections of 1947. Its protoplast can be tracked back to 1943 Moscow.⁴ Its formal purpose, as guided by Soviet specialists, was to ‘oversee the press, publications and performances’ and ‘control the dissemination of all kinds of works by means of print, image and spoken word’ in order to prevent:

- a) attacking the Polish State system,
- b) disclosing state secrets,
- c) violating the Polish State’s international relations,
- d) violating the law or common decency,
- e) misleading the public opinion by publishing information not corresponding to reality.⁵

If the decree itself was not that outwardly offensive, other regulations, like the decree on ‘offences particularly dangerous during the period of State restoration’, would hand out punishments to the tenor of 10 years in prison for ‘deriding the Polish state system’ or up to a life sentence for disseminating prints containing ‘false information’ that caused ‘great harm to the State’.⁶ With some amendments expanding or ordering the Office’s competences, it remained the core censorship regulation until 1981, when social pressure led to adopting a new law on censorship, more objective in appearance.⁷

It is not obvious which article indents Orwell infringed precisely, (a), (e) or perhaps also (b), if for instance exposing the corrupt nature of the Soviet system or hinting at the illegitimacy of its rule in Poland meant in this Soviet-guided interpretation disclosing state secrets. In an essay highly influential among Polish dissidents (which argued that if this system was left unchallenged it would only solidify its ways ‘leading to the strictly Orwellian model’), Leszek Kołakowski noted that it was not the law that determined what was legal in this regime, but ‘a free interpretation of nebulous acts by the police and party authorities’.⁸ Likewise, the oblique formula of the 1946 censorship decree ensured that, as a 1968 internal review reported, ‘Censorship can *legally* confiscate *anything* it considers appropriate to confiscate’.⁹ Yet, even this confidently claimed legality might have been an overstatement, since the Office infringed on communist own regulations, beginning with the constitution which on paper guaranteed freedom of speech among others or when, by failing to provide justification of its decisions in writing, it failed to adhere to the code of administrative procedure binding it in years 1960-1972.

The Office offered not only scant justification, but also scant chance to appeal its decisions, the Warsaw's central office being the second instance for regional offices' verdicts, but the only one in the capital city where most publishing activity concentrated.¹⁰ Moreover, censors left no mark of their interventions in published texts. Somewhat prefiguring and echoing the idea of the death of the author, often – the censor became an invisible co-author.¹¹ Knowing readers could try to detect of which parts. The right to mark censorial 'eliminations' was the biggest change in the 1981 censorship law, but still few dared to exercise it. '[T]here is no such thing as law, there is only power', Orwell thought of a totalitarian system, and seemingly he was censored in Poland in a befitting manner.¹²

Would the existence of an identifiable censorship body make the function of censorship and propaganda different to that in democracies where interlinked state and corporate powers defend their agendas in or through media, policies, trade agreements, scientific and cultural sponsorship or aid schemes without resort to ostensible formal censorship? Similarly to Orwell in 'The Freedom of the Press', Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky suggest that in present-day democracies they tend to defend the economic, social and political interests of the elite.¹³ Their Soviet version seems to have aimed at much the same, only possibly in a different order of priority: the political interests before others – to help install and maintain an illegitimate communist rule despite the lack of a wider popular support (or indeed leaders, decimated earlier by Stalin himself) and help maintain the country's dependence on the USSR to which the elite in power owed their position. Propaganda and censorship then became tools of misinformation and indoctrination aimed at turning the society, exhausted by six years of war and occupations, into abiding *Homines sovietici*. And the censorship office was a vital but just one element in this complex exercise, employed in coordination with other efforts.

With increasing monopoly and centralisation in all fields, the state managed to become virtually the sole sponsor, producer, supplier, distributor and controller of the media and cultural production and thus promote and control both the content and access to information and culture. Certain content could be elicited by the censorial apparatus, central publishing plans or pressure attached to post appointments, grants or other perks; the production was managed by authorising publications for print (including pre- and post-publication controls) and controlling means of production such as paper, printing and even copying machines; and access controlled through eliminating or restricting and promoting certain matters in circulation (e.g. banning émigré journals¹⁴) and in libraries (e.g. library 'cleanses' and special access collections¹⁵), through border and postal controls, radio jamming (e.g. Radio Free Europe, BBC or Voice of America) or private library confiscations. Blocking access to the 'imperialist' Anglophone culture in the Stalinist years went as far as closing all English departments except Warsaw's headed by an immigrant US communist. Hence, if the censorship office was the most apparent symbolic

manifestation of censorship in People's Poland, it was largely the censorship system's executive and controlling organ. It ultimately oversaw the performance of the chain's other links such as editors, reviewers (recommending for or against publishing a book), academic boards, researchers or authors and translators – as these were growing more advanced in the art of 'goodthink' and apt at censoring themselves and each other. Critics, researchers, authors or translators inclined to pursue an undesirable subject like Orwell found themselves in a situation reminiscent of that of the countryman bidding admittance to the Law in Franz Kafka's parable: 'From hall to hall there is one doorkeeper after another, each more powerful than the last'.¹⁶ And after years of conditioning, the most powerful doorkeeper sometimes became the first: one's own inner censor.

For all their punctiliousness, one would look in vain for instructions on Orwell in the 1970s censorial book of rules exposed by the runaway censor. Claiming that their full codification, if at all possible, would only limit censorship's scope, he assessed that over eighty percent of censor's interventions derived from so-called '*normal* censorial criteria': unwritten but 'obvious' and known 'intuitively'.¹⁷ In the USSR, Orwell's fate might have been sealed in 1937 when a literary journal editor contacted him with the intention to present his readers *The Road to Wigan Pier* (which explores the poverty of British miners and the working class) and received such a reply from Orwell, then recovering from being wounded in the Spanish front:

I must tell you that in Spain I was serving in the militia of the P.O.U.M., which, as you know [sic] doubt know, has been bitterly denounced by the Communist Party and was recently suppressed by the Government; also that after what I have seen I am more in agreement with the policy of the P.O.U.M. than with that of the Communist Party. I tell you this because it may be that your paper would not care to have contributions from a P.O.U.M. member, and I do not wish to introduce myself to you under false pretences.¹⁸

The NKVD (later KGB) consulted, the reply indeed declared that the journal could have 'nothing to do with POUM-members; [...] part of Franco's "fifth column"'.¹⁹ More than just foregoing a chance to enhance his Russian profile, Orwell seemed to have gained the persisting mutually exclusive enemy labels of 'Trotskyite' and 'fascist', but at least could rest assured that the editor's subsequent perishing in the purges should have been unrelated. As the Literary Secretary of the Russian Booker prize explains, Orwell in Russia nevertheless was most often combated simply with a 'policy of silence':

Orwell enjoyed the worst form of an official ban – he was among those authors whose name was not to be mentioned. [...] It all went in a different way – by word and hearsay. At one of the chair meetings at MPGU [Moscow State Pedagogical University] a naive new comer [...] pronounced the name and silence fell. The old professor Purishev

imitating the same innocence asked – and who is the man? It was like that. Just not to mention, but no document was ever issued to this end.²⁰

Given its origin, the Polish censorship system likely replicated Soviet prescriptions on Orwell, and Polish early censors possibly knew his case straightaway ‘intuitively’. It would be in 1977 that the Contemporary Problems of Capitalism Research Institute prepared for the censorship office a six-page ‘Profile of George Orwell – An Anti-Communist Writer’ and, hence censors could look him up via their index cross-reference: ‘Biography, Views and Works Assessment of the English Writer G. Orwell’.²¹ Of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the profile was unambiguous: ‘unambiguously aimed at both communism and the Soviet Union has become as if Orwell’s “political testament”. Published half a year before the author’s death, it was supposed to be the last warning to the world about “the communist danger”’.²²

2.2 Banned yet Present Disguised, Smuggled, Misread

2.2.1 Innocent and Anonymous

In Poland, the policy of silence interweaved with distinct forms of Orwell's presence however. Though censored, Orwell would from time to time surface, plainly misread, disguised or smuggled in officially accepted forms. In the USSR, even an orthodox, i.e. condemnatory, review of a US edition of Orwell's essay collection caused an internal scandal in 1947.²³ In 1946 Poland meanwhile a translation of one of his essays still appeared, and not even in the private sector, which revived briefly after the war and enjoyed a limited freedom, but a state publication: a regional Marxist-Catholic magazine that rather unsuccessfully aimed to convert Catholic adherents to the new Soviet faith. Still, it was a rather disguised, anonymous-like introduction of Orwell in 'liberated' Poland with no comment or reference other than the author's penname.²⁴

Not a stranger to the secret services, Orwell remained such to much of the public in Poland. Various Poles might have met or heard of him in Spain. The impact of such encounters nonetheless would have been inconsequential at least until after the Second World War, owing to the complicated fortunes of Polish veterans who were neither easily released from the Soviet clench in Spain, or from France, nor welcome back in pre-war Poland. Those not interned or in labour camps often joined the Second World War effort abroad, only to then receive an ambivalent reception in communist Poland too. To many Poles back then Orwell might have thus remained unknown. In *Homage to Catalonia* he somewhat belittled his standing as an author and might have done so also while in Spain. Orwell's very commander Benjamin Lewiński, though living on in France, affirmed discovering who Eric Blair was only when, thoroughly astounded, he found himself featured in that book upon his retirement nearly fifty years later.²⁵ Orwell's probable 1946 debut on the Polish soil then, cloaked in this half-anonymous and unassuming guise, likely did not cause a sensation. Even so, the magazine was not a bad place to start from: although it soon closed, it served as a platform for such other debuts as Virginia Woolf's for example.²⁶ And the essay itself, proclaiming a decline and weakness in English literature and dealing with crime, precipitated the mood of incoming headlines such as 'capitalist literature in the vapours of rotteness'.²⁷

If the political will had it, Orwell's other works could perhaps have been introduced into the official culture 'disguised' too, and he himself fashioned into an amiable progressive writer, as was done, for example, with Reymont. Critical of the Russian Revolution, even satirising it in an animal fable and anti-utopia reminiscent of Orwell's (arguably focused less on the totalitarian mechanisms and more on psychological aspects than *Animal Farm*), Reymont nevertheless remained in the communist canon: with the fable and some other texts 'evaporated' from his

profile, some corrective paratexts accompanying his works and him fashioned into a bourgeois-capitalist society critic.²⁸ In Orwell's case, for example, the view of the 'good young' Orwell offering apt cultural criticism as later claimed by the British New Left could have been championed and so part of the mystique and pressure gathering around his name vented. Or else, he could have been disarmed and domesticated by a superficial approach, like the one adopted once by the British Foreign Office's weekly in Poland. Anthony Powell, apparently, explains there that Orwell is known 'mainly for his autobiographical essays and depictions of life of people for whatever reason unhappy', that 'In another book' – sparing superfluous details such as its title – 'he describes the civil war in Spain in which he participated' – imperative to stress – 'on the Republicans' side', that 'as a novelist, he is mainly a satirist'. Letting slip *Animal Farm's* title and that it is his greatest satirical work till then, the text hastily assures the reader – no doubt primarily the one wearing the censor's outfit – that Orwell 'is interested in politics, whereby he shows leftist sympathies'.²⁹ These, however, were not to turn into first-choice methods opted for in fighting such an enemy as Orwell.

2.2.2 Socialist Realism versus a Shadowy Enemy of Humankind

On the contrary, soon it appeared as though there were to be no more misgivings and no more disguises admissible for Orwell in Poland but a strict policy of silence as the communists were getting a firmer grip over the country (through rigged elections in January 1947 where communists supposedly gained eighty percent of votes and the progressing liquidation of political dissenters, opposition parties, independent organisations and publishing and so on). Restrictions were quickly turning tighter. It was often thought that education and cultural production, particularly the written word crossing official borders and linking the partitioned parts, had been key in preserving Polish identity and nationhood when own statehood was lacking throughout the 19th century. With this literature's import affirmed by the famous statement attributed to Stalin about writers being engineers of souls, culture and literature in particular were crucial areas to regulate closely. If initially censorship focused on media and information, by 1948 and 1949 censors were alerted: 'The newspaper goes to the bin, whereas the book lives on', 'gets into the hands of peasants, workers, stays in libraries' 'and its effect changes and it is never possible to foresee in advance what resonance it will have'.³⁰ If in 1946 a magazine published an Orwell's essay and in early 1949 a niche British weekly just about got away with an anaemic note on him before being dissolved by the end of the year, a documented confiscation from 1948 of a copy of *Animal Farm* in Jeleńska's translation and its rare surviving internal review confirm the stern course the cultural policy had assumed already, leaving no doubts about its stance towards Orwell:

It is a lampoon of the Russian Revolution and post-revolutionary relations in the Soviet Union [...]. The owner of the brochure should be held criminally liable for distributing reactionary and derisory of the socialist system underground publications.³¹

Anthony Powell's was probably the last complimentary public mention of Orwell for a long time to come. Three weeks earlier, in January 1949, the Writers' Union congress sanctioned Socialist Realism as the only binding aesthetics in literature and by extension the arts. This has been perceived as a symbolic beginning of the 'Stalinist era' which bore much uneasy semblance with Oceania's chilly police state and which would 'thaw' for a while only around 1956.

Socialist realism sanctioned, the exact details of the cultural policy were still up for debate. And to an outward policy of silence engulfing Orwell and kindred figures and to a risk of repressions for owning or lending his works – Orwell was evoked in discussions on the cultural policy itself. Miłosz who deserted the diplomatic service in 1951 claimed that Orwell who had never lived in Russia astounded members of the 'Inner Party' 'through his insight into details they know well'.³² This fascination sometimes externalised through vituperative attacks that usually imputed him hatred for humanity representative of the sickness of the Western bourgeois-imperialist-cosmopolitan culture. The very Deputy-Minister for Culture and Arts, for example, liked to convey this message.³³ Miłosz maintained that Orwell's use of Swiftian satire, a form 'forbidden by the New Faith', fascinated officials too.³⁴ Likewise, a prominent young writer, Auschwitz survivor and soon disappointed socialist realism promoter thought to have committed suicide made major contributions to debates on satire in 1950. He argued that satire's rock bottom was its 'degradation to the role of an anti-Soviet farce. This is the last, post-war stage of the Orwells and Koestlers, the [Marians] Hemars and Lechońs, the Madrids and Voices of America'.³⁵ Whilst Orwell was seemingly not supposed to exist, such discussions would surface in specialist publications.

Exceptionally, Orwell's name was allowed to peer through in less privileged circles too. In spring 1951 readers of a few regional papers were alerted to how contemporary western literature 'savours' catastrophism as exemplified by (unavailable to them) Aldous Huxley's *Ape and Essence*, an Orwell's *1984* and a writer called Henry Miller.³⁶ Orwell had observed that orthodoxy 'seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style' devoid of 'a fresh, vivid, homemade turn of speech'.³⁷ This small column entitled 'Literature of Death and Decay' seemed to precisely rehearse such principal Stalinist turns of speech. Reviling Huxley's 'copious' translations in interwar Poland (a taboo period now) and deeming his new book 'disgusting' and 'soaked through with disdain for the humankind', it declared that Orwell equalled Huxley 'completely as far as slander and maltreatment of human dignity is concerned', that both books were 'a criminal offensive of fear directed against the countries that love peace and creative work' and both writers were

‘warmongers and enemies of the human race’. Unfortunately for the propaganda, whilst the article alleges that ‘Works of this kind are as if written on the same model’, the fact that it itself was likely, as Orwell put it, ‘mechanically repeating the familiar phrases’ and not even necessarily ‘homemade’ glares through if only by the consistent misspelling ‘D. Orwell’ across three newspapers – pointing further to Russian links and its transliteration of ‘George’ which starts with ‘D’.³⁸

While the aware elite could possibly access something of Orwell’s in a specialist library, ordinary folk had little means of verifying such texts’ accuracy, a kind of thing Orwell found ‘very disquieting’.³⁹ But even theoretically highbrow discussions could rely on mere hearsay and be seemingly accepted at face value.⁴⁰ Offhand hearsay superficiality and premeditated misrepresentation appear to blur indistinguishably even in discourses by the deputy-minister for culture aspiring to a supreme socialist realist theoretician of all arts. He repeatedly claimed that Orwell was a ‘fascist American writer’.⁴¹ His essay on art education dated November 1949 likely refers to the *Nineteen Eighty-Four* protagonist’s reflections upon his intimate encounter with Julia. If the novel reads: ‘Not merely the love of one person but the animal instinct, the simple undifferentiated desire: that was the force that would tear the Party to pieces’, the minister’s quote adulterates it and portrays as though Orwell’s own views ‘preached cynically’: ‘Not love *for the human being*, but the animal instinct, the simple undifferentiated desire, *hatred for the human being* – this is the force in our hands that will tear the *communist* Party to pieces’.⁴² Five months from publication could have been sufficient for an energetic minister to get familiar with the novel and the expansive textual differences (Winston did not quite cogitate ‘hatred for the human being’ at that point) a translation slippage, but it is easy to picture it as a result of retranslated Soviet readymade prompts.⁴³ Ultimately, ready clichés made navigating life under the new regime easier. The earlier censor’s review of *Animal Farm* shows how not misreading Orwell carried a risk indeed. Even this brief but frank note involuntarily suggests the ‘economic phenomena’ in the USSR might have been in fact detrimental to its citizens and that Orwell’s wrongdoing lay rather in pointing out that they resulted from wilful actions:

Economic phenomena of the Soviet Union have been ridiculed in it in a derisive manner and presented as a wilful job to the detriment of the citizens, the community, who have been harnessed by a clique of pigs to work more arduously than before, this time for the benefit of the clique of pigs.⁴⁴

While the censor’s frank reading remained concealed in the nooks and crannies of the Polish ‘Ministry of Truth’, the prolific deputy-minister emphatically expounded his fantastic theories not solely in Polish highbrow publications: they could travel the world. A long essay on the sick Western art that declares Orwell a fascism worshipper, technician of ‘pathological naturalism’

who propagates sadism, hatred and war, and for whom freedom is 'the freedom to destroy; the apotheosis of the lynch law, racial hatred, colonial conquests, contempt for European people. Is the freedom to edit Shakespeare in the form of stories, of chewing gum, of the barbaric culture of ignorance, stupidity and debauchery' – featured in a Mexico-based Spanish anti-Francoist periodical.⁴⁵

Official glimmers of Orwell's existence appear an exercise in doublethink: to critique an author one would be expected to have read their work, while this would have been at the very least a furtive activity. It was not only that such works were unavailable in bookshops or ordinary library collections. The internal *Animal Farm* reviewer had demanded legal sanctions for its owner, Miłosz claimed that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was 'both difficult to obtain and dangerous to possess' and Leszek Kołakowski remembered how his friend, too afraid, revealed having owned a copy only towards the end of the Stalinist time in 1955.⁴⁶ An article then accusing journalists of not having done and demanding that they 'do justice' to such works as Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* or Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, as if accessing them was a normality, seems double doublethink, or perhaps socialist surrealism. Yet, a year after Stalin's death the journal of the Writers' Union ventured with this precise allegation, exposing a shortlist of unperson writers and books 'openly attacking a socialist society' in the process. It furthermore asserted (to *Kultura's* elation): 'Let us not deceive ourselves, books by Koestler and Orwell, Waugh and Camus are circulating around Poland' and implied that their main threat was that they could influence those yet undecided about supporting the new system:

Books by Koestler and Orwell, Waugh and Camus are being read, lent, indeed, sought after even. Not only open or secret enemies spend time over them. Those also lean over their books whom we have not yet convinced, and whom convincing is worthwhile.⁴⁷

No ensuing acts of 'doing justice' have been detected in the official press, but if the Poles were not supposed to read Orwell, why such a call at all? Perhaps a reply lies in the self-preservation 'ketman' practice Miłosz imputed intellectuals in the Stalinist regime exercise: 'If he makes a passionate speech against the West, he demonstrates that he has at least 10 per cent of the hatred he so loudly proclaims. If he condemns Western culture lukewarmly, then he must be attached to it in reality'.⁴⁸ Such calls and attacks may have done justice to this duty, whilst sometimes courageously smuggling an 'evaporated' figure onto a public forum.

2.2.3 The 1956 Thaw Attempts to Tame the Foe

Smuggling, disguising and misreading Orwell acquired quite distinct qualities in 1956, as he peered through the official press gates with a frequency unheard of before or in subsequent decades. But then, 1956 was quite a special year. Following Stalin's death in 1953, farm

collectivisation halted, exposed, the dreaded Ministry of Security (UB) was dissolved in December 1954, political prisoners including surviving Underground Army veterans awaiting execution were freed, the press started to tentatively criticise the political situation, symbolic being the trespassing 'Poem for Adults' by a prominent cultural ideologue in mid-1955.⁴⁹ This was a prelude to the October '56 'thaw', a label given to the relaxation of Stalinist discipline, borrowed from the title of a controversial 1954 Soviet novel.⁵⁰ The effects of Nikita Khrushchev's 'secret speech' at a Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1956 which denounced some of Stalin's crimes and the 'cult of the individual' were soon felt across the bloc, adding fuel to fire. Meanwhile, a large workers' rebellion was bloodily crushed on orders from the supposedly Workers' Party, and the Polish First Secretary suddenly died whilst visiting Moscow. Poland was in ferment. Masses demanded democratisation. The press began to denounce Stalinist era 'wrongdoings and deviations' (*błędy i wypaczenia*) and publish intellectuals' 'self-criticism' which tried to review the cultural life's past adherence to and wean it from prescriptive socialist realism. Even censors of the Main Office voted for its dissolution. The social pressure culminated in the reluctantly rehabilitated Władysław Gomułka becoming new First Secretary in October. Vested with popular hopes for substantial reforms, he had a unique opportunity to negotiate the most pressing of them right away with Khrushchev who paid Poland a surprise visit, under the pressure of nationwide demonstrations on the one hand and Soviet tanks halting 90 miles from Warsaw on the other. While a few weeks later similar tanks crushed Hungarian hopes for similar reforms, the 'Polish October '56' successfully safeguarded unprecedented freedoms and emancipated the culture from strict socialist realist prescriptions thereafter. Effects on Orwell were observable very soon, showing particularly well how closely his presence and image depended on politics.

Sometimes it appeared as if Orwell and Koestler and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Darkness at Noon* were the epitome of threat and evil, and their treatment a measure of thaw's liberalisation. In January, Zbigniew Mitzner, columnist of a rare illustrated magazine modelled on US *Time*, *Świat*, still echoed the pre-thaw 'familiar phrases'.⁵¹ A half-page excerpt from *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s rat torture scene proved that 'Orwellian literature' is 'an art that evokes disgust for itself' rather than for something else. Mitzner assured that the system Orwell created in the novel had nothing to do with Soviet socialism but rather with sadistic inclinations of its author who supposedly dreamt of it for the humanity he despised. He asserted Orwell's equivocation sweepingly suggesting as if the directives for the upcoming (and proving historic) 20th Soviet Communist Party's Congress already evidenced the USSR's superiority both in current and future scientific advancement and in citizens' wellbeing. Still, there was a progress. The article did offer an excerpt from the novel, even if extremely brief and misleading, and an intimation of its world, on top of entertaining the idea of comparing its vision against the Soviet reality. The opening smirk 'Well, yes, I have finally

read this novel' unambiguously exposed not only the act but also prior breathless anticipation and the presumption that the audience shared it too.

Mitzner's January 'disgust' for Orwell by March transformed into a placid mention of *Kultura's* Library translations in a Culture and Arts Council's weekly.⁵² A celebrated popular historian who a decade later would share Orwell's fate of a publishing 'unperson' and in an Orwellian twist marry the undercover agent spying on him laments here that émigrés fail to engage in translating Conrad-related matter. He opens, nonetheless, by pointing to the import of the Parisian Institute's translations in émigré eyes given that émigrés presumably could read foreign works in other languages. Although for the historian Orwell lost to Burnham's and another forthcoming translation: 'I do not hide that the latter two I would read gladly', Giedroyc promptly responded by sending him copies of *Containment or Liberation?* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.⁵³ The following month the journal featured a public reply – slightly convoluted, as if measuring carefully the freedoms at disposal, yet venturing to play with censored subjects. Under the title 'Is This the Holy Book', potentially alluding to Orwell's, the historian critiqued Burnham's book only, justifying this by a greater interest in political writing than literature. Still, he playfully drew attention to both titles and their publisher again: though mentioning '*Kultura's* Library' and publisher's details, he pretended not to have conjectured the obvious and mocked that he would happily 'pay back with some Polish books that must be a rarity in Paris' had he known the donor. The surreptitious advertising yet coming with a public jest did not quite please the donor: 'He knows only too well that if there had been *Kultura's* stamp as the sender, *Kultura* [i.e. its parcel] would not have arrived', Giedroyc complained to Mieroszewski and (unsuccessfully) urged his spokesman for a retort in *Kultura*.⁵⁴

If in March and April Orwell and his book's translation could be referenced without pejorative epithets, by May even a popular party organ asserted no less than that Orwell's 'lampoon' indeed captured and 'carried to a caricature – all the ills, wrongdoings, [and] deviations which really existed at ours'.⁵⁵ Initially, it looked as though its popular journalist just struck Mitzner's notes, claiming that the book, 'a great weapon in the hands of those who sowed hatred to reap war', contained 'deliriums of an ill, dying mind' and 'pathological obsessions', sometimes pitifully naive, sometimes divorced from logic or economic laws. But this seemed just a primer for what was to follow, including *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* keywords and bold suggestions such as 'habits of "doublespeak" and "doublethink" multiplied at ours. When too often practice contradicted words, and facts [contradicted] declarations'. Yet, while the party paper involuntarily allows that Orwell did portray the Soviet system, it stays adamant that such 'wrongdoings' were things of the past and Orwell was wrong to attribute it innate evil: 'The whole giant healing and purging process, which socialist countries are undergoing, is a definitive argument disproving the Orwell myth'. Such healing supposedly included the abolition of the cult of the individual, the work

towards democratising the inner party, political amnesty or ongoing public discussions and criticism – which, the paper optimistically professed, would only strengthen the system and disprove ‘Orwell’s involuntary fellow believers’ who, it ventured, previously saw the wrongs but subscribed them to necessary costs of revolution.

Emboldened, a student and young intellectuals’ magazine *Po prostu*, later iconic victim of the first ‘freeze’ wave when closed down in October 1957, went still further the following month.⁵⁶ It contended that Orwell’s observations spoke not merely of the past but – might be relevant at present too. Further yet, they attacked the party organ journalist for – conforming with propaganda, albeit wording it fastidiously as ‘non-violation of propaganda’s rules of loyalty’.⁵⁷ Surely growing more and more hesitant by then, gatekeepers also allowed to label the past 25 years a ‘Big Brother era’ and hold the novel’s ending (the brainwashed ‘futilely rebellious protagonist’ is ‘cured’ and ‘loves Big Brother’) as an admonition that only by revising this past ‘thoroughly, profoundly, sincerely and fundamentally’ will it be possible to avoid Orwell’s prophecies. The party journalist is accused not only of having glossed over Orwell’s pertinent critique too soon, but also of transmitting his ‘unfair’ image, for example, failing to mention Orwell’s left politics. Yet, if the student magazine works to distance itself from the Big Brother era, it draws some rhetorical tricks from it. Some allegations like the purported insinuation that Orwell was ‘an extreme reactionary, furious and manic defender of the old order’ are not obvious in the party’s paper and point rather to the reviewer’s own biased interpretation of it – probably intended for more drama and ultimately exploring the new limits of censorship. Its amendment to the ‘unfair’ image is also rather just half-elucidating:

Nineteen Eighty-Four is the last political novel by a British journalist and publicist, Labour Party activist, Orwell. Orwell’s novel is, in a sense, a top achievement of the genre that can be described as bourgeois-democratic apocalypse on the subject of the dictatorship of the proletariat... and technology.

The iconic magazine nonetheless achieved one more astonishing feat. Contrary to earlier voices – some possibly covertly defiant or casting a spell on reality – it argues that neither Orwell nor *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are well known in Poland. When in 1954 the Writers’ Union journal pointed out that the Polish public received ‘only a thin section of literature of the capitalist countries that actually does not give us an idea of what new is being written in the West’ (considered not a great loss anyway, since ‘no works [were] being created on any grand literary scale’), it innocently placed the blame on the publishing houses.⁵⁸ Now, the sought-after student weekly soon to attain a phenomenal circulation of 170,000 copies⁵⁹ the blame for Orwell’s unfamiliarity places loudly and unequivocally on ‘political censorship’, as it alleges that the party paper’s polemic ‘with a book not known to the reader due to political censorship is a trick [...] from the Orwellian era’.

Yet, not all commentators were on the same page with thaw freedoms and expressed attitudes to Orwell. For some a wartime hero who risked life to support writers and literature under occupation by generous manuscript acquisition, for others a murky censorship apologist,⁶⁰ the earlier-mentioned Mitzner seemed too entrapped by the system to let go of pre-thaw discourse even by September 1956. There was a heated polemic going on across the émigré and official media on some fundamental questions and stances towards the changing situation in Poland expatriates should adopt, spurred by a regime's radio set up to encourage émigrés' return to Poland and fuelled by *Kultura*. Mitzner, the radio employee, censured *Kultura* also by way of its links with Orwell. In his broadcast subsequently published in the radio bulletin for émigré audiences and republished in national *Świat* (having been rejected and even derided by a Warsaw daily), Mitzner charged that *Kultura* as a group

for the nation does not exist. Mr Mieroszewski exists for the Poles in the country only insofar as this figure has been created in the local imagination by Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz when he once cited Mieroszewski's one more reasonable sentence [...]. We verily do not know the difference of working at Free Europe, or translating a book that the Americans buy for their propaganda purposes. I think here about Mr Mieroszewski and his translation of Orwell's book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. [...] We do not understand why such for instance *Kultura* group member as Mr Jeleński cannot – obviously, if someone offered it to him – accept royalties from Poland, while Mrs Jeleńska – I do not know his wife, aunt or uncle's wife – can accept from Free Europe fat dollars for the translation of another Orwell's book – *Animal Farm*, which Free Europe drops *en masse* by balloons over Poland.⁶¹

Even if apparently going against the liberalisation spirit, so much so as to inclusively face peer counter-censorship, Mitzner's article does take advantage of expanded liberties and shows readers that not only Orwell, but émigrés involved with his translation exist too. After that, however, Jeleńska precisely forsook her visit to Poland.⁶² Mieroszewski on the other hand took a detour in his *Kultura* debates to defend himself and Orwell, albeit not always steering clear from fallacious arguments:

had I been less modest by nature and habit – it would have gone to my head. For where is there another expatriate whose figure in the country's imagination has been created by the very Prime Minister [...]. [Mr Mitzner reveals] before the terrorised reader the greatest crime of my life [...] this Mieroszewski has translated Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

To accuse a Polish journalist with seriousness and political commissar's zeal that he had translated into the mother tongue one of the greatest English books of current times – is

no longer either a joke or even propaganda. It is Stalinist pencil-pushing from which Mr Szelaḡ has not grown out because it fits him too well.⁶³

Actually twisting his words himself, Mieroszewski finishes Mitzner (penname Szelaḡ) off with:

Neither *Kultura* nor I know of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s being dropped from balloons – as Mr Mitzner says. I dare express the opinion however that the type of transport does not in any way affect the quality of a literary work. Mr Szelaḡ's columns dropped even from the moon would not cease to be pulp.⁶⁴

It so happened that the brand of 'pulp' itself was up for dispute at this time and was used in reference to Orwell's own work too. In the lead to the October events in Warsaw, the Writers' Union weekly published large articles by a notorious journalist and film critic Zygmunt Kaḡużyński. Announced as a series of three, they promised to study – remarkably – both anti-communist and anti-capitalist literature, unilaterally pre-sentenced as: 'Pulp Literature of the Great Conflict'.⁶⁵ Anti-communist literature is classified into works dealing with 'communists' intellectual hypocrisy', 'political crimes and their moral consequences' and 'a depiction of the whole system as a mechanism of an inhuman tyranny'.⁶⁶ These are said best represented by Miłosz's *The Captive Mind*, Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* respectively, the first two discussed in the first article and Orwell, 'The most important literary reference of the anti-communist polemic', in the second.⁶⁷ The third article on anti-capitalist pulp is nowhere to be found, the series nonetheless begins with a fair-sounding – and rather audacious – assertion of a deep literary crisis in both camps alike:

anti-communist books published in the West are written in majority by deserters from the Revolution camp, suffering from an internal dilemma, while anti-bourgeois literature happens to be a product of mental self-castration, executed by writers in the conviction that service to the proletariat demands their psychological self-mutilation.⁶⁸

The Orwell article is both chaotic and eloquent. It seeks a learned veneer, for instance through references ('Prof. Guérin', Deutscher), but negligence quickly blurs with partial display of knowledge, for instance Orwell's year of death is mistaken, a statement that Orwell was accused by "the army's Stalinist leadership" of treason and sentenced' bears no qualification, Deutscher's anecdote about a US *Nineteen Eighty-Four* kiosk seller's demanding that an atomic bomb be dropped 'on the Bolshies' is presented as Kaḡużyński's own or, deemed 'less elitist' than Miłosz's or Koestler's books, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is presented as 'a science-fiction romance, the likes of which are sold every week in the West in their millions'. The latter misrepresentation was possibly inspired by the owned edition, one of the thirteen 1950s US 35-cent 'pulp' Signet paperbacks, whose blurb Kaḡużyński translates: 'A Startling View of Life in 1984. Forbidden Love... Fear...

Betrayal' though, under the externally prudish system, does not go as far as reproducing the cover image where Julia and Winston exchange a suggestive look, are surrounded by remarkably fit-looking and provocatively-dressed Oceanians, and Julia's cleavage reaches her fantastically thin waist.

Such obfuscation was in fact Kałużyński's rather regular *modus operandi*, which one writer dissected as follows: 'apparently a [...] propagator of Western works, those we don't read because we can't find them here [...]. And then Kałużyński winks that the gravy he pours over his revelations is not his; certainly, his gravy whiffs of dialectic bigotry, but it is allegedly for our good, so that we can eat the meat'.⁶⁹ Indeed, the messiness seems to allow in much ambiguity and with it some extra daring. Kałużyński might be one of the first in Poland to officially reappropriate the novel as a warning against Western capitalism, citing as evidence Western papers' 'newspeak' and trivial contents fabricated for the 'proles', 'puritan obsessions' with sexual life, that 'the Party' could be seamlessly substituted with US 'Central Trust' or – again ambivalently – that 'it is not the communists who can be accused of not feeding the masses enough with doctrines'. For the many misleading clues, however, his article also comprises possibly the most ample information about Orwell and the novel and its excerpts in official publishing yet. Hidden there are casual statements such as that Orwell was a socialist or 'probably the most remarkable contemporary English essayist' and, even if nonchalant and inconsistently translated,⁷⁰ explanations of the novel's main 'boogymen' such as its slogans, 'newspeak', 'doublethink' or falsification of history.

As common, the journal's circulation peaked during the thaw at nearly 70,000 copies and reached beyond just the elite readership. Back in 1953, this writers' journal had to address the criticism of its 'ideological weakness' and now it became a rather iconoclastic broadsheet again.⁷¹ Kałużyński is far from the stern tone of the journal's 1954 article concerning Orwell⁷² but, like Mitzner, still maladjusts his dose of 'dialectic bigotry'. In fact, he soon ceased to publish here and moved to a more regime-pleasing paper, seeing an opportunity to amend and republish this article there during a regime's disciplinary squeeze, martial law, 26 years later.⁷³

Even if sloppy, Kałużyński's scholarship 'made a lot of noise, became the subject of talks and polemics'.⁷⁴ With the thaw now in full bloom, his stale 'gravy' went under open attack even from Mitzner's magazine *Świat*.⁷⁵ Adamant that the three books 'show as no other the horror of Stalinism', the article deems their alleged warning against capitalism a 'backbreaking thesis' and attempts to dismantle Kałużyński's other chaotic allegations: that Orwell's satire on the system fails by failing to provide a clear image of the rulers and their ideology – it provides excerpts vividly portraying the nature of its totalitarian power as inflicting constant fear, pain, and humiliation; that Orwell failed to attack communism's philosophical fundamentals and only displayed a panicky horror – it points out that 'Orwell's aim had been to reveal the consequences

of the developing totalitarianism' and hence his horror was unsurprising, the more so as existing reality saved him even stretching his imagination; that history had 'grotesquely distanced' the book – it argues that it could only do so when the current system becomes 'a new, humanist type of socialism', but even then it would remain a pertinent analysis of Stalinism and totalitarianisms in general. In January *Świat* via Mitzner negated that in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Orwell portrayed socialism and used a short excerpt to declare that Orwell's writing evokes nothing more than 'disgust for itself'. Now, by November, *Świat* printed around a page of excerpts altogether to illustrate *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s nightmarish vision of a totalitarian world and gave to understand not only that the Stalinist regime was totalitarian, but – quite remarkably – that the present system in Poland continues so and that Orwell's book offers its apt analysis. Less daring, Kałużyński's polemicist from the radio station for émigrés much agreed with November *Świat*, though was quick to admonish equating 'socialism' with 'Stalinism' and defend current socialism-building efforts.⁷⁶ The three books that the Kałużyński had bravely brought up for discussion prompted a further enquiry into their 'practical' value as 'a warning against the return of totalitarian tendencies' and the degree these had been obviated. They were solemnly proclaimed not pulp yet.

The thaw of 1956 also opened the gate for books of some previously forbidden home and foreign authors, e.g. the US writers John Steinbeck, Erskine Caldwell and Ernest Hemingway, or authors ignored and now (re)discovered such as Jane Austen, Virginia Woolf, Henry James, but also British contemporary writers Graham Greene and even Evelyn Waugh. Even the imperialist naturalist foe mentioned in one breath with Orwell of late, Henry Miller, would soon be welcomed, as would the other 'equally bad' enemy of the people, Huxley, though not his *Brave New World* republished only alongside *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* in 1988. If the enemy Orwell was to be confronted head on in Soviet Poland by having his works officially published and his myth done with, this appeared one of the most feasible moments as his thaw-mood press appearances seemed to be already paving the way. But the bold step was not taken. And soon 'freeze' began to approach. A scholar of Polish communist censorship indicates that by mid-1957 a mere proposal to publish for instance Orwell's peer from *Kultura*'s Library, Miłosz, was already 'the publisher's act of courage'.⁷⁷ As one censor's 'Report from Preventive Control' shows, already at the end of 1956 a censor controlling a regional weekly thought too audacious an excerpt from *Nineteen Eighty-Four* depicting Winston's hearing, his dialogue with O'Brien that explains mechanisms behind the Party's totalitarian rule, and suppressed it, a decision appraised 'necessary' by the censor's superior.⁷⁸ The weekly's courage too deserves notice, especially given the suggestive title proposed: 'Brainwashing'. A *Świat* journalist maintained years later that printing fragments of Orwell or Koestler 'even at deep thaw' had been 'a very risky undertaking'.⁷⁹

Perhaps in spite of the censorial winks of letting into the press even revealing fragments of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and opinions defending its continuous relevance or openly citing political censorship for its stifling, the book's publication could not have taken place in fact. What was condemned during the thaw was the past with its 'cult of the individual' and 'wrongdoings and deviations'. Although sometimes iconoclastic, the voices that made it through – defended the system. They could call for its reform, or 'revision' as commonly termed, and for building socialism with a human face, but objective or fundamental assessments were hardly permitted, even less ones parting from hostile stances such as Orwell's who in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* offered, as Kałużyński defined it, 'a depiction of the whole system as a mechanism of an inhuman tyranny',⁸⁰ that is: irredeemable.

Thus, Orwell's feverish thaw-time official presence was largely limited to the press and periodicals and did not extend to his works published as books, forms that according to the gatekeepers live on, and hence might jar with a future version of the past or truth. Conspicuously, debates on Orwell were also largely limited to just one book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. A journalist years later claimed that 'revisionists' had 'considered *Animal Farm* too unilateral';⁸¹ if they did *consider* it, the press scarcely reflects it. In February 1957, a Writers' Union regional organ published a short 'reading journal' contrasting US Steve Nelson's and Orwell's views on the Spanish war.⁸² Whilst not comprehensively, it manages to rather skilfully present *Homage to Catalonia* without major misrepresentations, conveying such issues as that Orwell joined POUM, 'a party dissident towards communists, and then – in the period of its liquidation – proclaimed Trotskyist', that in his story there was a 'tragic accent whose subjective [sic] sincerity we do not have a reason to doubt – an accent of a cruel disappointment with the side for which one was fighting', or that in an in-rank power struggle communists 'of the Spanish 1937 version [...] begin to liquidate within the workers ranks ideological renegades, above all Trotskyites'. Euphemising that Orwell subscribed the defeat in Spain to 'the squandering of the revolution's gains, which caused apathy among the working class who at a certain moment saw itself between two forms of totalitarianism' and not venturing to elaborate on the reasons for it, the periodical does communicate for example that Orwell 'sees in a Soviet and French military alliance an obstacle to the consolidation of a people's government on the Pyrenean Peninsula'. This could then have been a propitious time to try to disguise and smuggle Orwell into official publishing if not as a friend, as an inoffensive naive socialist, for example by leaving some problematic works behind, as was just being done with Huxley and *Brave New World*, and exploiting instead, for instance, his defence of socialism and criticism of the Catholic Church, capitalism, colonialism or the British reality in general. Yet, perceived as referring to the Polish and Soviet reality with such great immediacy, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* seems to have had eclipsed Orwell's profile and other works too intensely to allow this to take place.

2.2.4 The Nemesis Frozen for Decades

By 1957 the slower cogs of book publishing did spurt at least two books where Orwell was dealt with. A summer reading journal leisurely reflected on *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in a short section playfully titled 'The West through a Little Hole in the Curtain'.⁸³ Whereas Orwell's compatriot with a name reminiscent of Eric Blair's nom de plume, George Bidwell, who in 1946 'chose Poland' and became a prolific journalist and author (though nowadays forgotten), boldly included Orwell in his popular history of English literature.⁸⁴ With around eight pages, it offered possibly unprecedented in official publishing material on Orwell and all his books largely ignored elsewhere. The first booklet introduces *Nineteen Eighty-Four* ambiguously: 'The book like a stone round one's neck: drags to the bottom. I thought after reading: bottom of hatred? For whom? For communism – for sure. For totalitarianism of all sorts – for sure. But this does not exhaust the book's load. Hatred for the human being? This again is too general'. Nonetheless, it then turns rather sympathetic – and mildly daring. In a still half-thaw mood it claims that behind 'political obstinacy and simplification' the book carries some 'precious elements' and mocks that surely these were not passed over 'for some shallow fear of censorship or "right-wing deviation"' (a nationalistic 'right-wing deviation' had been essentially the charge behind the former imprisonment of the new First Secretary among various others communists). The booklet withholds details, but suggestively plays around the main 'precious element': the so far infrequently explored idea of a 'noble' 'protest against limiting the human being'. It exasperates at *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* purported conviction of its futility. While Bidwell tenders a similar complaint and similar withholding strategies in his coeval book, he uses them for an opposite effect.

Orwell's countryman in turn worked hard to soak every Orwell work he mentions in a communist 'gravy' yet staler than Kałużyński's. As the regional Writers' Union journal pushed for some objectivity presenting *Homage to Catalonia*, Bidwell's book in typesetting then⁸⁵ authoritatively claimed that the POUM had been 'dissolved for conspiring with Franco's supporters' and Orwell along with Huxley and others had 'resolutely supported' 'the side of the forces of darkness, pessimism and mysticism, against the interests of the people'.⁸⁶ *The Road to Wigan Pier*, one-time nearly presented in Russia itself, is deemed anachronistic and 'suggestively reconstructing destitution with a negative judgement of the workers'. In Burma Orwell is declared to have 'behaved just like any other young gendarme who brandishes an imperialist baton' and in *Burmese Days*, an imperialist propaganda piece, portrayed the Burmese as villains. *Down and Out* appears to lack integrity, for Orwell never 'Was so much "down and out", because he received money from the family whenever he needed'. *Keep the Aspistras Flying* reinvents the wheel, whilst neither mobilising for a fight. Bidwell declares that Orwell had shirked 'the real fight' anyway (presumably in Spain). Lending himself additional authority in the Polish reader's eyes by

boasting English contacts, Bidwell decries Orwell's belief in being spied on (indeed not unfounded) as – rather disconnectedly – ‘a typical fascist mentality: Orwell who sees himself in the role of a potential dictator’. Bidwell's greatest artistry shines through perhaps when dealing with *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The referential frame obscured and the lens uniquely focused allowed any creative assertions. So Bidwell plays down its originality and states that 600 years earlier an English writer John Gower tried to discourage peasants by depicting in a poem *Vox clamantis* a failure of a peasant revolt. Not without risk of transgressing political correctness of his time in Poland, though, Bidwell alleges that in *Animal Farm* ‘Orwell wants to convince the reader that a rebellion of the oppressed against the ruling class must always end in defeat, it is better then to reconcile oneself with the situation, give up the struggle and be grateful for the trough’ one already has. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, he claims, Orwell reached ‘the bottom of despair’; external reasons passed over, familiar internal ones are supplied: ‘which is not strange in a man so full of disdain for the humanity’. The novel is purportedly ‘adorned’ with ‘scenes of vulgar pornography for which it is hard to find an equivalent in contemporary literature’ and a negligently cited excerpt seems to support Julia's image as a prostitute. This referential frame comes supplemented by a random but discomfiting statement that Nazi propagandists Julius Streicher and Joseph Goebbels ‘also had a liking for vulgarity and pornography, considering them a useful tool for degrading the human being’. In case the Polish reader, likely unfamiliar with the works, has not gathered it yet, the Englishman spells it out, echoing the Stalinist-era culture minister: Orwell's two last books are ‘typical products of fascism’.⁸⁷

How much of it did this British author believe and how much pretend? How much did he intentionally ‘smuggle’ amidst this ‘gravy’ he clearly thought necessary, but ended up overdoing? For example, he supplies the array of titles of Orwell's works or, dismissing it as a ‘common joke’, he nevertheless plants the idea that ‘mainly the communists impeded the revolution in Spain’. It might be impossible to ascertain. Seemingly submitted for publication at the height of the thaw, Bidwell's elaborate work which contained a time-consuming index and was translated by his Polish wife alas appears to be a product of and for the Stalinist era, rather painfully missing its time. Still, it showcases a striking attempt at mastering the ‘duckspeak’ of a foreign culture. By Orwell's standards of the language of political orthodoxies,⁸⁸ Bidwell seemed to stumble somewhat. The familiar ‘lifeless, imitative style’ mixes with some unfamiliar, fresh but sometimes bizarre, turns of speech, such as the statement that discussing the work of Huxley and Orwell ‘belongs to a kind of soiling activities’ after which one ‘would like to take a disinfecting bath’. Off the press in August 1957,⁸⁹ if meant for the Stalinist lingo but ‘distanced by history’, as Kałużyński claimed of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1956, if slightly precociously and rather old-fashionedly – Orwell's compatriot's book seemed to anticipate for him the oncoming ‘freeze’.

This 'freeze' went with the return of 'the policy of silence' for Orwell in the press. The March-April 1957 issue of a party journal featured a translation of Deutscher's influential, and critical, article.⁹⁰ Whilst this might have more to do with Deutscher himself than Orwell,⁹¹ it pre-marked the forthcoming cold trend for Orwell in the press too. However, the renewed policy of silence was, again, not entirely totalistic. Orwell's name did pop up here and there. Discussing a painful walkout of a promising young writer in 1958, the party organ denounced that his writing bore an 'outright and direct' influence 'of Orwell himself, a classic and master of the contemporary anti-communist lampoon' (wherein both loathing and admiration for Orwell, 'the master', might be detected).⁹² In the aftermath of the March '68 events, a young journalist and critic, son of an International Brigade commander in Spain and then head of intelligence and internal affairs in communist Poland, discussed in a literary periodical the role of intellectuals and anti-utopias. Avoiding drawing attention to Orwell's attacks on communism, he alerts that various 20th-century anti-utopias, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* prominently among them, pose a threat to utopian ideals, which may lead to apathy. This seemed a veiled call for a cross-class action when the protests apparently failed to produce tangible results and suggested impossibility of the system's reform.⁹³ Perhaps in an attempt to win over the wavering star satirist from the pre-war group of experimental poets, in 1974 Słonimski was free to vent in a tightly regulated Catholic monthly the disappointment with the time telling that the pessimist Orwell 'had been right' as opposed to the optimist Wells, whom and whose visions of the future Słonimski once adored.⁹⁴ Regardless, for over two decades Orwell virtually remained an unperson in the Polish official press. The Polish Literary Bibliography, for example, lists no official press or book publications concerning Orwell for years 1958-1981 except the 1968 article and a subsequent letter of response.⁹⁵ After the political opening of 1956, though not reaching the Stalinist-era levels, liberties began to decline again and censorship to intensify. But, rather than revert to the farcical cold war rhetoric of the early 1950s, press gatekeepers of the 1960s and 1970s seemed to prefer a strategy in which the perceived threat the likes of Orwell posed was best avoided, i.e. pushed out of sight.

To a scarce press appearance, Orwell seemed to remain an enemy monitored closely behind the scenes, as if seen capable of single-handedly dismantling the whole system had press mentions led a wider public to his works. For communist analysts in 1977 Poland, Orwell was still topping the league of 'sworn enemies of our system' composed of German-US philosopher Hannah Arendt, US security adviser of Polish provenance Zbigniew Brzeziński and French sociologist Raymond Aron among others who 'dutifully and on every occasion lackeyed the most virulent bourgeois propaganda' (not minding that Orwell had ceased activities passing away over a quarter of a century earlier).⁹⁶ That year censorship superiors decided that censors be formally alerted to this enemy profile and included it in their reference material, explaining that, apparently, 'one can encounter simultaneously different assessments of his work' and anticipating that 'soon the anti-

communist legacy of this “influential prophet of bad forecasts for the future” [...] will be used in propaganda much more intensively’.⁹⁷ Neither successfully tamed nor subverted via a disguise, dead, he seemed to menace the system nearly till its end. A Ministry of the Interior’s analysis of clandestine publications distributed in Poland in 1985 shared with the Central Committee’s secretaries and the head of the Secretariat’s Chancellery still classified Orwell’s essays and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as no less than ‘anti-communist “classics”’. Grouped within ‘criticism of socialism and communism as a socio-political system’ under ‘political-agitational literature’, Orwell’s works addressing ‘an average citizen’ were identified to threaten with ‘creating pseudo-values (or anti-values, dysfunctional toward socialist culture and art)’.⁹⁸ Moreover, this system’s nemesis appeared to threaten on every corner, always lurking and ready to attack. He could attack, for instance, at the annual Warsaw International Book Fair. Gatekeepers in 1971 are instructed to watch closely, among others, ‘Sovietology’ and remove from the fair ‘publications of an ideological-political character, dismantling the governing system in a socialist order in general, and in the Soviet Union in particular’ by such authors as ‘Robert Conquest (The Great Terror), Orwell, Koestler, R. Aron, Djilas, Dedijer’.⁹⁹ He did seriously attack from the pages of *Kultura*, as a Central Committee’s report alerted in 1973:

Kultura still endeavours to influence the intellectuals. G. Orwell’s essay ‘The Freedom of the Press’, attacking British intellectuals’ positive attitude towards the Soviet Union during WWII, deals with the question of the freedom of speech in general, treating any constraint in this matter as aiming at fundamental rights of the system of ‘democratic countries’. Orwell’s text has been used to indirectly inspire intellectuals’ active stance against ‘constraints to freedom’ for political reasons.¹⁰⁰

Predictably, the nemesis could try to attack also from a homegrown magazine column, like the one intended for the Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* whose title hinted at thoughtcrime by paraphrasing the title of a Russian dissident Andrei Amalrik’s 1970 booklet, *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*, and connected with Orwell: ‘Will *Tygodnik Powszechny* Survive until 1984?’.¹⁰¹ Even when this archenemy was gaining more exposure in official publishing again beginning with the 1980s and was half-claimed a socialist friend, his books remained as menacing as ever. The Warsaw International Book Fair, for example, would consistently keep Orwell at bay. Even if during the Solidarity carnival of 1980-81 a book exhibition in Warsaw displayed *Nineteen Eighty-Four* among other ‘clandestine’ publications with an official approval,¹⁰² from the celebrated book fair *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were meticulously debarred, not least from the particularly offending 1981 Penguin stall.¹⁰³ Under martial law in 1982, a West German publisher too failed in exhibiting ‘the famous lampoon of communism’, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, as did French Hachette, whose exhibits contributed to 33 suppressed that year.¹⁰⁴ Gatekeepers had prepared themselves for the risk of an intensified offensive in 1984: ‘As was to be expected this

year, some percentage of the questioned items concerns Orwell (*1984, Animal Farm*)'.¹⁰⁵ Beside logging predictable Orwell's accomplices such as British Longman or the Dutch intending to smuggle Howe's *1984 Revisited*,¹⁰⁶ the fair controllers noted that 'Particular attention should be drawn to the fact of preventing from exposition Orwell's *1984* at a Yugoslavian stall'¹⁰⁷ – where the road to communism took an independent trail which managed to domesticate Orwell.

2.2.4.1 But Lurking in Libraries

2.2.4.1.1 Orwell's Texts

Early on the censorship management worried that whilst newspapers go to the bin, books live on and, on top of reaching peasants and workers, stay in libraries. Libraries in communist Poland were in fact ambiguous places where awful and dangerous texts could be lurking. If library collections were intended to be scraped clean of undesirable reading matter in the Stalinist times and reinscribed with orthodox material, some had not complied entirely and furthermore started amassing heretical works yet again. The surviving paper catalogue of the National Library in some instances supplies information not only on the way the library got hold of a particular publication (a donation, institutional exchange or purchase) but also the year. It records, for example, a copy of the first Polish edition of *Animal Farm* donated as early as 1948 (and so surviving the Stalinist clearances) and another obtained via exchange in 1962, and at least one copy of the second edition (1974) obtained via exchange in 1975 and another in 1983. At least two copies of the first Polish edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* seem to have reached the library early too, since the catalogue marks they belonged to an 'old collection'. It also shows since when the library held some editions in other languages, such as Russian émigré editions of *Animal Farm* or *Homage to Catalonia*, obtained via exchange in 1972 and 1977 respectively, or that it promptly stocked Orwell's clandestine publications, even under martial law.¹⁰⁸ The surviving paper catalogue of the other national library, the Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków, indicates a similar trend, inclusively dating earlier some admissions in other languages of *Animal Farm*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or *Homage to Catalonia*, or dating an early, 1960, admission of *The Road to Wigan Pier* in English.¹⁰⁹ Both catalogues document a 1961 reception of the nearly 500-page collection of Orwell's texts, *The Orwell Reader* or holding *Collected Essays* (Mercury, 1961) since 1965.¹¹⁰ If the Warsaw library dates to 1967 a donation of *Ten Contemporary Thinkers*,¹¹¹ where 'Politics and the English Language', 'The Re-writing of History' and 'The Principles of Newspeak' provide some of the essence of Orwell's thoughts on totalitarianism, the Kraków library dates to 1969 an exchange for same year *CEJL* reprints, volumes 1 and 4, the latter outspoken about Polish matters.

2.2.4.1.2 Foreign Works about Orwell

Besides, there were publications about Orwell and his works too. And the Warsaw National Library held a relatively large number of them prior to 1989. In addition to a growing completeness of publications by *Kultura* and the Parisian Literary Institute or *Wiadomości* and prompt acquisitions of many clandestine publications, foreign publications were stockpiled too, some quite swiftly. For example, Richard Rees's memoir arrived via exchange already in 1962, Oxley's *George Orwell* in 1970, John Atkins's in 1979. A copy even of Crick's originally 1980 biography dates to a 1983 exchange.¹¹² Histories and essay collections only in English offered different perspectives on Orwell and his writing. Orwell entry in Peter Quennell's *A History of English Literature*, in the library since 1977, opens assuring that Orwell 'was a lonely and heroic figure'.¹¹³ William Robson's *Modern English Literature*, in the library since 1971, not only reinforced Orwell's place on the literary scene, '[Bernard Shaw's] is the best kind of English prose, in the tradition from Swift to George Orwell', but asserted also that Orwell 'attempted to identify himself with the working class', thus disclaiming the communist allegation of his disdain for the common people. It further maintained that Orwell 'saw completely through the lies of Stalin's propagandists' since Spain, that *Animal Farm* was 'a withering satire on Stalin's dictatorship' or, mentioning Russian émigré Yevgeny Zamyatin who wrote *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* literary ancestor *We*, that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was also about 'what will happen when totalitarianism is able to take over not only the body but the soul', an observation likely to struck a sensitive cord in many Polish readers.¹¹⁴ Robert Langbaum's *The Modern Spirit* available also since 1971 topped this up with recapping the familiar perspective: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* projected 'the nightmare future of a technologically advanced *socialist* society without culture – without the individuality, spirituality and intellectual freedom'.¹¹⁵ *The Twentieth-Century Mind*, available since 1974, distinctly reiterated that Orwell had been among the left-wing writers whose sympathies 'were soon to be alienated by the purges in Russia and by the German-Soviet pact of 1939' and that the analyses of linguistic manipulation techniques in *Brave New World* or *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 'remind us of societies, such a Russia, where great literature cannot be freely read and discussed, and of the relationship between linguistic vitality and fullness of life'.¹¹⁶ Also Terry Eagleton's *Exiles and Émigrés* and Samuel Hynes's *The Auden Generation* arrived fairly promptly (1979), the latter particularly contradicting the communist picture of Orwell by clarifying that his idea of socialism was 'a state based on freedom, justice, and equality'. It also reiterated that there was more to Orwell than just two works. An excerpt from *Coming Up for Air* envisioning a fascist totalitarian state: 'The secret cells [...], the processions and the posters with enormous faces, and the crowds [...] cheering for the Leader [...], and all the time, underneath, they hate him so that they want to puke' points the reader to ponder on a zealously censored suggestion of parallels between

fascism and communism, particularly upon the assertion that '*Coming Up* is like a first draft of [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*]' .¹¹⁷

And there were British and world literature companions, dictionaries, lexicons and encyclopaedias discussing Orwell too. Two copies of *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* arrived in 1968 and another two years later. Details about Orwell's life, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* assured the reader not only that Orwell 'considered himself a democratic socialist, but he hated totalitarianism' and was 'disillusioned with the aims and methods of Communism', but also that *Animal Farm* was a 'satire in fable form on Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary Russia' and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 'a warning of the possibilities of the police state brought to perfection, [...] where the past is constantly being modified to fit the present, and where the official language, "Newspeak", progressively narrows the range of ideas and independent thought'. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* briefly followed. From *The Pelican Guide to English Literature* volume 7 arriving in 1968 one could learn, if nothing else, that Orwell might not have been quite the sick enemy of the people relishing in sadism as per the Stalinist rhetoric but rather an author on a par with some household names: that both 'Huxley and Orwell were to the generations of the twenties, thirties, and forties what Shaw, Wells, and Chesterton were to the pre-1914 public' .¹¹⁸

What of all these Orwell sources in the National Library? Was it a surprising oversight on the authorities' part? Not exactly. A surviving paper Central Catalogue at the Warsaw National Library registered holdings of main Polish libraries up to 1986. While not specifying when particular titles arrived at a particular institution, it shows a considerable amount of works by or on Orwell held across the country by this time.¹¹⁹ Yet, those were national or academic libraries in large cities, it is doubtful smaller places would have enjoyed this much privilege. With foreign sources, there was also the caveat of the language barrier. Besides, the regime had yet another effective way to protect ordinary users from deleterious material stocked by libraries: special collections. Various Orwell-related records of these three surviving catalogues still bear marks which indicate that accessing the material would have required obtaining appropriate permissions which not every willing reader could secure. Thus, a date on the old catalogue card does not necessarily indicate availability to a common reader. Moreover, readers could be wary of a questionable title showing up on their record, such works were often 'not for loan', whereas the reading room might have been shared with an undercover agent on duty minding both the users and the library's sometimes semi-legal collections.¹²⁰

2.2.4.1.3 Traces of Presence in Homegrown Works

If in the post-October '56 decades of fluctuating freeze Orwell was pushed out of sight in journalism and periodicals (which frequently suffered paper shortages and delays), he began to

be tentatively included, sometimes as if smuggled, in some – books (which, according to censors, live on). Censors needed to ensure that certain people and their work were not mentioned or were mentioned only in a particular way even in reference works.¹²¹ Compiled in the Stalinist period, the Polish Literary Bibliography for 1947 fails to record the London translation of *Animal Farm*, the one for 1948 overlooks Orwell's essays in *Kultura*.¹²² Submitted in the thaw atmosphere of late September 1956, the volume for 1949 contained a Supplement for Years 1944-1949 – a true relic indicating how the earlier bibliographic records might have been purposefully manipulated. The Supplement indeed recorded retrospectively *Animal Farm* and, including some previously omitted non-communist periodicals then still precariously standing, also Anthony Powell's article on British writers in the British Foreign Office's weekly in Poland from 1949.¹²³ The Polish Literary Bibliography volume for 1946 with a foreword dating December 1956 and printed only in 1958 records no separate Orwell entry, but does smuggle a reference to the translation of 'Decline of the English Murder' in the section on English literature history.¹²⁴ The 1960 volume for 1956 already records the various official press polemics and even the Free Europe's edition of *Animal Farm* as well as an émigré review of *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* film adaptation. The 1967 volume for 1950-1951 records not only the tiny scathing home article, but also émigré ones, including *Kultura's* essay translation and Orwell's obituary even though *Kultura* had by then become a sore for the October '56 establishment growing increasingly authoritarian again.¹²⁵ The Bibliography records no single home publication on Orwell from 1958 (bibliography published in 1963) to 1981 (published 1989), save the mentioned two in 1968.¹²⁶ It could possibly have been a case similar to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's who, though featuring perhaps still more frequently than Orwell even after his expulsion from the Soviet writers' union, is reported to have been nonetheless routinely removed from Polish bibliographies as late as mid-1970s.¹²⁷ However, the Bibliography's archive holds no material suppressed by the censor related to Orwell.¹²⁸ The Bibliography was not allowed to record clandestine publications, but even in the decades of the apparent official press and periodical silence engulfing Orwell it did not revert to the Stalinist-type of scholarship and kept record of major émigré publications, not shunning away even such a suggestive title as 'The Freedom of the Press'.¹²⁹

Yet, if the 1960 Bibliography for 1956 recorded the various official and émigré articles related to Orwell, the first post-war Universal Encyclopaedia of 40,000 entries compiled precisely since 1956 and out in 1959 – omits him.¹³⁰ So does the second, completed in 1961. It also omits e.g. Solzhenitsyn, Zamyatin and Koestler; some other former fellow 'enemies' such as Huxley or Henry Miller are included if just by three words, *Brave New World* gets mentioned too.¹³¹ Orwell, however, does get in in the subsequent three encyclopaedias. The snag is a clear-cut-political-stance rule, duly fulfilled even in an only miniature note. The 1960s twelve-volume Great Universal Encyclopaedia of 80,000 entries informs:

Engl. novelist, journalist, lit. critic; initially showed leftist sympathies (novel [sic] *The Road to Wigan Pier* 1937), fought in Spain on Republ. side, later published 2 works aimed against communism (grotesque *Animal Farm* 1945, satirical novel *1984* 1949).¹³²

The 1970s four-volume Universal Encyclopaedia and the frequently reissued 1980 single-volume Popular Encyclopaedia do similar things.¹³³ Notably, the latter's first post-communist edition follows a familiar clear-political-stance trend, just the other way round. Orwell's entry even begins identically: 'init[ially] close to the socialist left, later its critic', but continues in the opposite direction yet with rather regime-conditioned formulations: 'an analyst and unmasker' 'of mechanism of human enslavement in a communist totalitarian system', amended only eight editions later in 1999.¹³⁴ It is also only in the post-communist editions that the foreign hat is removed from Orwell's titles and translations acknowledged, and so more readily identifiable. For better identification still, there is an Orwell's photograph. A much larger space than for the author himself was found for an entry on – 'newspeak'.¹³⁵

If a compliant political tribute permitted a major breakthrough of Orwell's encyclopaedia inclusion, it was still no guarantee of a successful placement in all reference works. While a 1965/1966 and a 1972 lexicons included Orwell too, replicating the tried and tested encyclopaedic entries,¹³⁶ a 1968 Small Dictionary of World Writers with 1,500 entries overlooks him. Fellow authors such as H. G. Wells, C. P. Snow, Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene, and younger John Osborne with a piece as recent as 1964 mentioned, less known authors such as Noël Coward or Christopher Fry, somewhat problematic J. B. Priestley and Aldous Huxley, the latter in quite laudatory terms, and even André Gide are all included, the last with a smooth comment: 'initially connected with communism, but the later published *The Return from the USSR* did not consolidate these tendencies'.¹³⁷ Koestler and Orwell, however, appeared too much to bear. The dictionary's second edition (1972) was 'thoroughly revised and expanded' in the aftermath of the 1968 events with 'the greater part of the entries [...] written anew, the rest – verified and updated'.¹³⁸ Yet, even here, amidst 500 new entries, Orwell and Koestler were out. If such an exclusion from the top 2,000 world writers club happened for a reason, then Orwell's exclusion from the 1971 Small Dictionary of English and American Writers counting with contributions from some leading English literature scholars appears so even more.¹³⁹

Polish critics and English literature scholars often avoided writing about contemporary topics in the post-war years, seeking refuge in a safer past. Yet, neither histories of English literature were common, possibly partly due to the imposed cultural turn eastward, partly perhaps as a repercussion of some critical appraisal of a major English literature history.¹⁴⁰ Also, non-systematic, fragmentary studies permitted a greater circumvention of ideological commitments. Rather than 'definitive' histories, a fervour of essayistic publications offered impressions,

experiences or reflections ranging from subjective views to more objective and scholarly studies. Yet, 'smuggling' Orwell here was not an easy task either. Various consulted works from this abundance show scarce mentions of him. Still, some do. A 1958 collection of essays 'about English literature' by a known English scholar Witold Ostrowski does not seem to acknowledge Orwell's existence, though opportunity abounded.¹⁴¹ In a 362-page essay collection on the US and English novel a poet appears to convey that none of Orwell's were 'symptomatic of the contemporary époque' enough to include a mention, even if it entertains authors both less known and not then available in Polish.¹⁴² In his 1967 collection on 'experiences from foreign literature' an erudite critic did disclaim that it dealt only with authors who 'focus on themselves a noteworthy readership attention and are present in the Polish literary perception'. Huxley or Camus and some less known writers passed this selection, but not Orwell, neither in a similar volume of 1979.¹⁴³ Another well-known critic and literary historian Lesław Eustachiewicz excluded Orwell from his discussion on literary contemporaneity and history.¹⁴⁴ Another critic often interested in the moral message seemingly did not find many worthwhile in Orwell's works, if judging by his various essay collections throughout the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴⁵ All of a sudden, though, his 1965 book on German anti-Nazi writers enigmatically claims that Heinrich Mann's 1923 novella *Kobes* 'brings to mind the cruel and nightmarish vision by Orwell', upon which – the paragraph severs.¹⁴⁶ A critic and regime's consultant¹⁴⁷ Waław Sadkowski seemed to have little space for Orwell in his many critical collections from Marxist premises for decades until the moment his periodical pompously launched an Orwell number in 1986. For it, he penned what would become an obsolescent afterword to the first official edition of *Animal Farm* (1988).¹⁴⁸ Yet, another loyalist critic, but also an idiosyncratic rebel, Kałużyński, did dig out some space for Orwell also in his 1961 essay collection. His 1956 broadsheet articles may have rather obscured Orwell's and Koestler's profiles; these texts retain some tendentious reinterpretations, fuzziness and understatements, but are arguably slightly less misleading, smirking and cold. Koestler gets a rather factual section in the book, and Orwell at least some acknowledgment. A painting at an exhibition showing 'that architecture of an anthill', a street of working houses, suddenly connects with Orwell, since it supposedly 'so horrified Orwell, Huxley, Chesterton'.¹⁴⁹ Orwell is credited with 'an interesting essay' on the evolution of the crime romance as the most widely read literature or, boasting a French culture expertise, Kałużyński sneaks in that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had been reported by French periodicals to be 'the most important work of the 20th century, according to Polish intellectuals'.¹⁵⁰ Also the old satirist Słomski had his anecdotal 'Alphabet of Memories' published before his death, where he smuggles snippets from his London days, including: 'I expressed myself rather critically about Aldous [Huxley], putting him against Orwell. [Julian] Huxley agreed adding readily: "He wrote it to spite me and Wells"'. He also includes an allusive commentary 'from Orwell': 'A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and

then fail all the more completely because he drinks', omitting: 'It is rather the same thing that is happening to the English language', the quote resumes (speaking as if of the man): 'becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts'.¹⁵¹

Unsurprisingly, showcasing Orwell in anthologies, histories (which slowly started to appear) and didactic materials was similarly challenging. Neither a 1958 anthology of world literature for teacher training students nor Eustachiewicz's 1968 one, revised in 1973, host Orwell while hosting some authors for whom the Polish literary canon later proved less sympathetic.¹⁵² Similarly, Eustachiewicz's 1978 textbook on contemporary literary movements consigns Orwell to an unperson.¹⁵³ It may be assumed that university dossiers fared not much differently. A 1969 'Selection of Contemporary Literary Texts in the English Language' for the University of Warsaw students features texts by famous authors, such as Kingsley Amis, Iris Murdoch and Isaac Asimov, and less known authors, such as Albert Maltz or Maurice Ogden, but not Orwell.¹⁵⁴ Just some years later, in the 1980s, universities and particularly humanistic departments would feature material officially censored and published underground, Orwell often among it, on their obligatory reading lists.¹⁵⁵ Even so, Orwell is still absent from the first version of a major English literature history from 1978 by a frontline Anglicist of the oldest Polish university, the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, boasting the oldest English institute in Poland. This would be amended three years later.¹⁵⁶ Conversely, although only in a 500-copy circulation, Jagiellonian University's own 1965 chronological tables had already acknowledged Orwell. Suggested to be out of his league among the 20th century's 'major novelists' such as J. B. Priestley, Robert Graves, Elisabeth Bowen or Walter de la Mare, Orwell is placed among 'lesser novelists', on a par with, for example, James Hanley, Charles Morgan, Liam O'Flaherty and Rose Macaulay, but also Christopher Isherwood and Somerset Maugham. He has to his name *Burmese Days*, *Coming Up for Air* and, elusively but nonetheless noted, '1984'.¹⁵⁷ A major event was also the translation of George Sampson's *The Concise Cambridge History* in 1966, with a foreword by Margaret Schlauch herself, the US-imported head of once the only surviving English department, promptly reissued, where Orwell too gets a cool treatment.¹⁵⁸

Briefer or longer, superficial and innocuous or more weighty and meaningful – it appears that references to Orwell during the pendulum-like thaw-freeze swings in the regime's oppressiveness of the late 1950s to the late 1970s were more successfully smuggled in specialist and academic publications. For example, the very influential and frequently reissued Antonina Kłoskowska's 1966 work on mass culture avoids a detailed discussion, but makes several references to Orwell as a mass culture critic.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, Orwell features in various studies even in the time of a swelling dispute between intellectuals and the authorities hardening their course to the background of increasing censorship and paper shortages. Some offer incidental, if not enigmatic,

references, like a study on Polish avant-garde literature claiming e.g. that ‘These enticing visions of the future, often taken up by fantasy authors with varied valuing tendencies (let us compare say Orwell with [Stanisław] Lem), are to show once more the inevitability of socialism’s victory’ or that Witkiewicz’s catastrophism ‘grew therefore out of similar fears as Orwell’s and Huxley’s’.¹⁶⁰ Some volunteer not entirely indispensable inserts, like that in a paper on Henry James which claims that James had anticipated 20th-century critics of modern civilization such as Huxley and Orwell.¹⁶¹ Some nonetheless offer more abundant and revealing mentions, like the eminent philosopher Adam Schaff’s highly impactful 1965 study *Marxism and the Human Individual*.¹⁶² Discussing communism and alienation in the light of Marx’s humanism, not quite orthodox reflections themselves, Schaff additionally evokes a series of unorthodox writers, where Orwell features eminently, alongside Zamyatin and even the disillusioned former Yugoslav official Milovan Djilas. Perhaps feeling less realistic than ‘satire’, the label of utopia, fantasy and science-fiction sometimes seemed to allow a greater margin for unorthodoxy and dealing with Orwell too. If the Anglicist Witold Ostrowski omitted Orwell in his 1958 collection of often popular essays many previously published, his coeval entry in a reference work-like volume of a literary genre journal asserts that Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* belongs to ‘Anti-Utopia’. Together with Ostrowski’s entry on ‘Utopia’, they remained a long-serving reference for other scholars.¹⁶³ If these entries might have appeared still on the wave of the thaw climate, in a 1966 article Ostrowski again discussed Orwell’s novel in the category of anti-utopias in which ‘The writer knows that his fantastic world does not exist, but he believes that it may come true’ and which ‘warn of possible further developments’.¹⁶⁴

However, the label of ‘fantastic’ and a specialist target audience were no guarantee for a successful inclusion of Orwell in official publications either. Another widely published science fiction and fantasy genology scholar seemingly did not find Orwell’s texts an indispensable example to use.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, such a label could indeed be conducive to allowing non-academic audiences to enjoy at least mentions of Orwell too. If again failing to elaborate, the principal Polish science-fiction and satiric writer Stanisław Lem offers some Orwell references in his 1970 popular history of the fantastic genre. Lem claims, for instance, that a sub-class of dystopias he calls ‘computerocracies’, where machines are employed for a ruthless and dictatorial power, ‘are usually under a strong influence of the famous in its time Orwell’s novel (*Nineteen Eighty-Four*) and more or less successfully copy its scheme’. Not elucidating the term ‘Orwellian type’ – whether due to a censor’s cut or attempt to solely convey a knowing wink – Lem argues that called ‘anti-utopias’ should be ‘only works of the Orwellian type’ and complains that the concept of ‘socialism’ ‘has been removed from the SF dictionary if it does not constitute the foundation of a dystopia of a post-Orwellian kind’.¹⁶⁶ An attentive reader could also gather that Orwell and Huxley were not exclusively science-fiction writers but writers well established within

a wider public.¹⁶⁷ Still, neither the science-fiction label nor the author's prominence seemed a foolproof recipe to get Orwell across to the general public. A 1968 popular history of utopia by a distinguished sociologist appears to make no reference to Orwell whatsoever, only its revised 1980 edition simply inserts Orwell's name here and there often next to Huxley's, managing to include also *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* slogans: 'Showing societies in which (as in Orwell) "war is peace", "freedom is slavery", "ignorance is strength" – [negative utopias] warn against trusting spokesmen of freedom, peace and knowledge'.¹⁶⁸

Largely absent from the press and periodicals in these years, Orwell enjoyed this sort of scattered official *presence*: 'smuggled' in books and reference-like works. The pattern for such inclusions seemed to sway between the regime's liberating waves, conformity with propaganda requirements, author's bargaining power, text's specialism and intended audience and perhaps sometimes simply the system's oversight. Visibly, the elite had a better chance to get familiar with Orwell if interested than a common reader, with a greater awareness of and access to foreign and émigré subscriptions, special library collections and specialist libraries altogether, such as those of the government, foreign embassies and councils or the Writers' Union, and with private lending itself. Still, it seemed not impossible for a common Polish reader to access information on Orwell and his works one way or another, but it would have required determination and awareness that such a writer existed in the first place. The latter could sometimes grow indeed from 'marginal information, accidentally thrown in names and contents', as one such reader asserted – gratefully convinced that even if under a guise of derision, these were purposely left 'signals',¹⁶⁹ that is, a coded communication, a knowing wink between authors and readers that could help the latter to navigate towards forbidden authors and subjects.

2.2.4.2 But Smuggled in Official Culture

Wholesome testimonies of reception in which the process of reading Orwell and similar authors would be thematised were unavailable in official critical and academic studies.¹⁷⁰ These offered rather 'signals', which nonetheless conveyed the fact of Orwell's reception and reading or else responding to his myth, at least among elite circles. There were still other places and forms which conveyed that too. Notwithstanding a ban and vigilant censorship, Orwell did mark Polish cultural production of the time – including that accepted officially. For many intellectuals involved with the questions of individual and collective oppression and freedom, totalitarianism and its language or with satire and fantasy, Orwell was an obvious reference, however much ultimately passed through the censor. Officially published though thinly-disguised historical novels (e.g. *The Inquisitors*) by a feted writer Jerzy Andrzejewski, for example, contribute to the same pessimistic line of questioning totalitarianism.¹⁷¹ New Wave poets and particularly their 'linguistic' branch drew among others from Orwell's 'newspeak' in their attempts to reclaim the language by

exposing the official propaganda with its jargon and taboos, and their demands echoed many Orwell's own postulates. They called for presenting, even if initially still from a socialist standpoint, the 'unpresented world' of reality in a true and authentic way and straightforward language (understandably wanting in the communist literature of earlier years). Another of their programmatic texts argued that poetry 'should be distrust. Criticism. Unmasking. Should be all that until the moment when the last lie, the last demagoguery and the last act of violence disappears from this Earth'.¹⁷² As mentioned, Orwell was an important author for the satirist Sławomir Mrożek.¹⁷³ Satire, a safety valve uneasily endorsed to allow extra liberties, indeed was almost certain to facilitate smuggling in some Orwell associations. Such can be traced in aphorisms of Stanisław Jerzy Lec which subscribe to a similar sceptical and catastrophic line of thought as Orwell's and in more literal references, such as those in Marian Załucki's satiric performances to, for instance, a 'Ministry of Provision' and a 'Ministry of [Vodka] Appetiser'¹⁷⁴ or to *Animal Farm* in the epigram 'We Are Pursuing':

A total democracy

we are pursuing stubbornly and boldly.

All should be equal!

Some

already are.¹⁷⁵

Similarly, Orwell greatly influenced and constituted a basic reference for Polish science-fiction authors in its golden age in Poland of the late 1970s and the 1980s. While the older generation's writer Stanisław Lem often disagreed with Orwell's projections, offering corrective or alternative perspectives in his own works, the earlier-quoted history of the fantastic genre alone lets transpire the import he ascribed to Orwell's achievement in the field regardless. Like many after him, the influential precursor of Polish sociological fiction Janusz Zajdel found much inspiration in Orwell. His works treated of universal themes but were often read parabolically as aimed at the regime's reality; one of them, published in 1984, inclusively contrived this audacious tribute to two anti-utopian classics, Huxley and Orwell, in one of the characters' name: Nikor Orley Huxwell.¹⁷⁶

Inspiration mixed with smuggling Orwell is visible in other officially admitted creative works as well, such as the mentioned 1977 Jan Lebenstein's painting exhibition with the titles referencing *Animal Farm* censored but images nonetheless displayed or in music. Like their British colleagues David Bowie, Eurythmics and others, Orwell inspired Polish musicians too. For example, a popular post-punk band Maanam contrived to slip on a 1981 single a B-side song entitled '1984'; another distinctive post-punk band Republika drew much on newspeak and stark visions from Orwell's books in its anti-totalitarian portfolio, and inclusively entitled their English-language album

adaptation *1984*.¹⁷⁷ Despite Orwell links, both bands featured amply on the state radio and high on the leading Radio III song chart, though Maanam in 1984 precisely experienced a temporary ban due to their refusal to perform for visiting Soviet dignitaries. Another New Wave band formed in a provincial city such as Rzeszów in southeastern Poland in 1985 even named itself '1984'. Among its songs was a dark and bleak 'Animal Farm' questioning the raising of an obedient next generation and denouncing the social order in which some are 'more equal than others'. It was recorded in Radio III studio only much later but again made it to the state radio chart.¹⁷⁸

2.2.5 The 1980s and Orwell Back in Sight

2.2.5.1 Reinscribed Books

The 1980s changed the censorship game several times. The first visit of the new pope, John Paul II, to his homeland Poland in 1979 was welcomed by a rapturous audience of 11 million and had a tremendous psychological effect. In the summer of 1980 a worker-based trade cum social movement named 'Solidarity', by the end of 1981 counting nearly 10 million to the party's 1980 membership of 3 million and dwindling, won unheard of rights, which subsequently pushed the censorship door open wider. The surprise military takeover of the country executed with a surgical precision in December 1981 – nearly closed it. The unrelenting economic crisis holding Poland in poverty unmatched in Europe, the recovering social activism and international politics later pulled and pushed home policies occasioning censorship's progressing liberation. If fluctuations in the censorship discipline might be reflected more directly in the press and, already less directly due to a longer publishing process and often greater delays, in periodicals than books, book reeditions in particular can provide a unique view of Orwell's treatment evolving at the mercy of politics.

The smuggling of Orwell for the price of a tendentious political labelling in reference works gets bolder as the 1980s progress. For example, the second edition of the 1970s *Universal Encyclopaedia* (1985) bears a bounty of additional information in a 120-word entry on Orwell compared to its predecessor's 30 words, that is, once it is rigorously classified. It mentions Orwell's service in Burma (colonial), Spain (anarchist) and BBC, it mentions *Homage to Catalonia* and maintains that 'disillusioned with revol[utionary] ideals' – no mention of NKVD activities – Orwell 'crossed onto reformist and anti-communist positions' and that there was purportedly 'an increased interest in Orwell's works in the West' in the 1960s and 1970s 'connected with an attempt to use them for the goals of an ideological battle'.¹⁷⁹

History books, including literary histories, provide distinctly vivid examples of an Orwellian mutability of the past according to political requirements of the moment. In Orwell's case, the

Jagiellonian University's English literature history offers a sample. Its first 1978 edition ignores Orwell but its second 1981 edition inserts a new section on him without ever disturbing his autochthonous neighbours J. B. Priestley, Anthony Powell and C. P. Snow. While students might have appreciated what was then a generous over one-page discussion, Orwell and other newly embraced protagonists might have just experienced bad luck. Out in 30,000 copies during Solidarity's happy days, the book went to the press on the eve of Solidarity's Gdańsk Agreements and might have still caught the censor's heavy pencil. Its author indeed showed quite a skill in talking but saying little if not actually misrepresenting Orwell and his works. Orwell is shown as if of a highly privileged background and a communist apostate. *Animal Farm* is a Swiftian satire 'full of bitterness and wit' – no information on quite what. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is 'a ghastly vision of totalitarianism' with 'faceless nihilism' and 'politics devoid of ideals' – disassociated from any possible life references. A misleading trope asserts a 'mystery-and-thriller action'. Still, it left some recognisable 'signals', such as 'a super-Huxleyan world', and half-complete messages that might have intrigued for further investigation, such as 'One of the most depressing ideas is the impossibility to turn off the television'. If the translation of 'doublethink' is unrecognisable (*antagonistyczna wyobraźnia*), the expression 'thought police' is successfully smuggled.¹⁸⁰ Still, some histories had it worse, like the one specifically on the English 20th-century novel in the press under martial law in 1982 in which Orwell is shamelessly 'evaporated' save for a passing remark that 'Orwell's political satires' influenced L. P. Hartley's novel *Facial Justice*.¹⁸¹ The foreword announces that 'A diligent discussion of other writers is impossible for extra-literary reasons', which might just indicate the author's lost fight with censorship also over Orwell. The volume's low-imprint 1987 reissue fails to make amends, but its 2004 remake indeed suggests that Orwell might have been a special case, since the foreword's earlier remark is substituted here specifically with the following one: 'The previous edition needed to omit George Orwell owing to censorial limitations'.¹⁸² The 1965 chronological tables, and Orwell in them, had more fortune. Reissued in 1984, they had encyclopaedic-like texts complement them. Orwell's not only exceeded in length those of Isherwood, Greene or Huxley, but also insisted that *Animal Farm*, previously ignored, 'is a beast fable in the best English tradition about the failure of revolution, and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a science-fiction novel about the horrors of totalitarianism' and that Orwell was 'a political writer of *consistently socialist* views *but* opposed to all forms of totalitarianism'. The last phrase seems particularly ambivalent and dangerously loaded: not only does it reclaim the supposed enemy of the supposedly officially binding system, it also implies readers' automatic association of it with totalitarianism. The entry was authored by Jadwiga Piątkowska, defender of Orwell's socialism and translator of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* for whose official publication she claims to have battled. One wonders on a possible battle with gatekeepers here.¹⁸³

2.2.5.2 Back in the Fourth Estate Under Censor's Keeping

When in the Solidarity's heyday from summer 1980 to the imposition of martial law in December 1981 the formerly clandestine publishing exploded, also in terms of Orwell matters, the official press lagged behind. Catching up with the newly won freedoms, in spring 1981 a front-marching though conflict-averse Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* translated 'Why I Write' – possibly Orwell's first entire text in official publishing since 1946 in Poland if not in Soviet-held areas.¹⁸⁴ On the anniversary of the Soviet invasion of 1939 a weekly devoted to translating foreign articles, *Forum*, featured a review of Bernard Crick's Orwell biography from an Italian communist magazine *L'Europeo*.¹⁸⁵ Both were quite revealing in terms of Orwell's motives for anti-Stalinist militancy. Their brief Polish introductions were not only laudatory ('one of the most penetrating thinkers of our century'¹⁸⁶) and sympathetic ('unhappy, difficult life'¹⁸⁷), but also affirmative of the commonplace of Orwell's catchphrases, with *Forum* arguing cryptically that 'Orwell's surname is almost a knowing sign'. Yet, it was not during the Solidarity's blossom and the regime's weakness that the build-up towards the special year 1984 really started to gather strength. As if with some bureaucratic delay, this started already under the military regime of martial law. Hence, it proceeded with due prudence and diplomacy. Bold Kączyński was one of the first to get a statement on Orwell in these new oppressive conditions. A remake of his long 1956 article, it ran from the front over several pages of the party's top, by then moderately reformist, weekly *Polityka*. Typically unstraightforward, it boiled down *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to defending the co-indispensability of socialism and democracy, decried its post-October '56 obsolescence and its unfair use by Western propaganda wanting factual information on socialism's achievements, and reinforced the novel's supposed critical take on capitalism.¹⁸⁸ By the summer, a few others ventured to deal with Orwell too, but with a yet greater caution: rather than risk speaking about Orwell, choosing some innocuous texts of his to do the talking. The remote subject of Burma offered just such a safe guise, readily used by a young travel magazine which translated fragments of *Burmese Days* and an intellectual Catholic monthly which translated 'Shooting an Elephant'.¹⁸⁹ If the first fleetingly contextualised the text focusing on Orwell's sarcastic portrayal of British imperialism and Burma-based Britons 'stewing in their own juice', the second withheld all comment whatsoever, letting only the green-lighted Orwell convey a compassionate message that administrators themselves may also be victims of an oppressive system they co-create. A little more daring, another Catholic weekly opted for translating excerpts from *Coming Up for Air*. The translator, an Orwell devotee underground and after communism, supplied a generous introduction which intended to expand Orwell's image as a novelist beyond '20th-century classics of political literature' and also as a political and cultural commentator – but deftly evaded overstepping the line. Though *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is discussed ('on the interpretation of which fierce disputes still continue'), words 'socialism, 'communism' or 'Russia', do not occur,

'totalitarianism' does only once, and attention diverts to the book's supposed genesis in Orwell's preoccupations with the decline of traditional values, liberal ideas, ethics and human solidarity.¹⁹⁰

Whether volunteered or imposed, such prudence and diplomacy do not strike as excessive in the time when artists and journalists faced a 'verification' in their official media posts that above all judged their loyalty to the system. Perhaps, then, it was still in the Solidarity-bloom optimism that the largest Polish publisher considered issuing *Burmese Days*. Excerpts were admitted in the press already under martial law and the publisher's internal reviewer agreed in April 1982 that 'its message absolutely cannot be questioned for ideological reasons' ('most "correct", unequivocal in condemning British colonialism'), yet an entire Orwell's book proved too much to handle. In the midst of martial law and paper scarcity, the reviewer's stated motivation for a rejection was: it is not 'justified artistically to include this title in the necessarily meagre publishing plan'.¹⁹¹ Another Orwell's novel with a 'correct' message, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, would indeed get published altogether officially in 1985. Its excerpts too did get into a periodical beforehand in 1983, but only after the periodical's stubborn battle and after martial law had been lifted.¹⁹² Earlier, as the translator alleges, several literary periodicals 'refused [the idea] without even seeing the text'.¹⁹³ Information on Orwell too was carefully dosed. A censorship file dated to August 1982 shows how in a regional but highly popular daily in northern Poland the censor did spare an article on the symbolism of '1984' in popular music – suppressing all reference to Orwell in it. Maanam's song title *1984* was good to go, but not the detail that it was 'Taken from George Orwell's book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*', even if this simple excision produced a false statement as if it was the song that showed 'a humanity terribly deformed by the authorities which managed to consolidate a total dictatorship and for it destroyed independence of thought'. Speaking of such a 'total dictatorship' and mentioning 'doublethink' and other *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* elements alongside an unspecified 'symbolism' of 1984 was not forbidden, forbidden was linking these openly to the menacing name and book. Even propagating Western rock stars like David Bowie was fine, but not to show their link with Orwell or that Orwell had an international following: 'Orwell's' is again seamlessly excised in the phrase: 'David Bowie operating with an ominous Orwell's symbolism has created a musical theatre of fear about the youth's march towards annihilation'. Certainly, to readers familiar with Orwell or even only his myth, 1984 symbolism would have been clear and such censorship half-measures not very effective. They could have a greater effect on unaware readers, as if constituting a multi-layer communication, aside from perhaps superficially calming the censor's superiors.¹⁹⁴

Alas, even when martial law was lifted in July 1983, censors' vigilance of Orwell was not. The new 1981 law on censorship theoretically permitted marking places of censorial interventions. The Catholic *Tygodnik Powszechny* was among the few titles insisting to exercise it. Its September sympathetic article on Orwell's ethics bears four cutting marks, which might still not reflect them

all, since often marking only a few not all censorial interventions was permitted in practice. The article defended the constancy of Orwell's moral message and pointed out that 'Yet sympathy for the writer does not exactly depend on this moral content but exclusively on whether a given book deals with British imperialism or in a similar way with e.g. the backstage of the civil war in 1936 Spain'. It even stated that Orwell needed to flee 'a sentence passed not by the enemy, but by recent brothers in arms'. However, some further dealings with the subject of Spain bear two marked cuts. A parabolic reading of 'Shooting an Elephant' and 'A Hanging' contrived to isolate such timely themes as that tyrannies enslave also the tyrants themselves and that an inner surrender to oppression may lead to apathy and turning into a potential instrument of totalitarianism. Whether for the skilful diplomacy or the remote Burmese topic that lulled the censor's attention, or just for permitted marking having reached its limit, this outwardly looks undisturbed by censor's cuts; moving on to 'degrading the man by political powers' sounded an alarm and some text that followed got suppressed. Suppressed got also the ending.¹⁹⁵ Conversely, another article on Orwell that followed shortly in the weekly would have been quite benign even if it was furtively praising Orwell's 'sense of reality' and independence of thought had it not been for a dramatic censor's cut as its opening – apparently covering 'political Orwell'.¹⁹⁶ The mentioned fragments of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* published in the periodical are introduced by a one-page article 'Why Orwell...'.¹⁹⁷ The introduction barely mentions the novel in question and starts awkwardly before asserting that *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* manipulated and one-sided reception 'obscured [...] both the author and his whole work'. In a roundabout way, it reaches its key point: 'the creation of the myth of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as an anti-communist pamphlet required [...] the creation of a myth of Orwell – as an anti-communist and reactionary, as an ideologue of the right', whereas – the article eventually reveals – Orwell's work is 'a typical product of the left-wing or radical literature of that period'. This was one of the first official resolute claims on Orwell's sustained socialism. But there was a catch. Claiming Orwell a man of the left who never 'converted' seemed to allude to Polish former fellow-travellers who joined the opposition during the Solidarity's carnival and during martial law sought refuge and pursued activity in Church infrastructures.

Like most of the state press, the article introducing excerpts from *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* bears no single censor's mark – only a surviving censorship report signals just the magnitude of censorial intervention backstage: three largely self-contained columns evaporated from the published version, that is, nearly the length of the entire published article, which was virtually written anew.¹⁹⁸ The original indeed focused almost exclusively on *Aspidistra*. Besides being the novel in focus, at first glance it seems also a much safer text than *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Why would the censors then question this but accept, or demand, the other? Perhaps the original presentation of this 'safer' novel as dealing with 'the problem of an intellectual entangled in a

lonely battle with the system' looked not so safe after all just when the persecuted and dispersed Solidarity movement deliberated their future underground. Perhaps the observation that the novel's protagonist Gordon Comstock apparently realises that a system in which it is an individual's free choice to rebel is not really repressive – could dangerously suggest that Western systems are not repressive, but the Polish is. Perhaps the observation that the book criticises lip-service socialism – tiresomely echoed the recent allegation by the 10-million Solidarity. Or perhaps the observation that Comstock eventually 'gave away his talent to the system' – could grievously hit intellectuals who opted for sticking by the establishment. Highly problematic anyway could have been the underlying message: that Orwell had been an exemplary socialist until 'Many, like Orwell, turned against matters which they defended before' – for reasons left to conjecture. If suddenly claiming this arch-enemy our own, better then to reinscribe the narrative wholesale: Orwell has always been in our ranks full stop. Such a drastic remake might explain some of the published article's awkwardness. This is just one know example of an article entirely reinscribed according to political needs without letting the reader know it, even though the law granted it.

Even if changed beyond recognition, the 'stubborn' periodical's editors saw to it that the excerpt and their introduction intention saw the light of day. A 1984 article for *Tygodnik Powszechny* by its editor went a different way. Quite unobjectionably asserting Orwell's own insistence on *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* universal message ('a warning against totalitarian systems', 'also in the West') but then also asserting that 'it is precisely Christianity that is his [Orwell's] greatest ally in defending the man against enslavement' – the article got confiscated without a trace – until surfacing underground.¹⁹⁹

2.2.5.3 The Orwell Year Relief of Alliance Transmutations

The Orwell year coincided with the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, feted also with another amnesty. Whichever occasion outdid which, a perceptible 'amnesty' encompassed Orwell's name in the press too, used to varied ends. Some papers were quick to discredit *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and anyone implicated with it, even if offering argumentation sometimes more repetitive and emotive than consistent. 'I Declare *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Outdated', 'Orwell Didn't Foresee...', 'Orwell, That Is New Areas of Fear' ran some January and February headlines.²⁰⁰ The main allegations were Orwell's 'prophecy's failure', since in 1984 the 'predicted' nightmarish system fulfilled itself nowhere and the globe 'is spinning after all...',²⁰¹ and that it addressed England of his time and nowadays depicts the Western reality. Supposedly, the latter was being confirmed by 'wise' Western commentators themselves, simultaneously thus ridiculing militant anti-communists who had embraced the book as their Bible 'too rashly' and manipulated its reception accordingly for decades. Some of the Western relevance claims indeed continue timely in current

capitalist democracies, such as the expanding electronically-aided invigilation, newspeak and doublespeak in politics, particularly when covering own international invasions and abuse away from home, or the mass dumbing and manipulation through the media. But with hardly a hint at any Soviet relevance too, to readers familiar with Orwell these must have appeared patently partial and been much dismissed, like they were even by many émigrés. Sometimes yet these articles saw no contradiction in acknowledging all the same that e.g. it ‘would be boorish’ to judge a utopia by the measure of its fulfilment,²⁰² that it was meant as a warning rather than prophesy against totalitarianism possible in any system,²⁰³ and even that it did contain a ‘caricature vision of communism’ (albeit among other systems)²⁰⁴ or that – seemingly not obliterating all prior relevancy claims – *Nineteen Eighty-Four* lost all relevance ‘the moment the Cruise and Pershing II missiles were installed at NATO’s bases in Western Europe’ (since the book assumed nuclear weapons abandoned).²⁰⁵

Some specialist periodicals joined the discrediting game too. A Marxist journal reprinted the translation of Deutscher’s ‘1984 – the Mysticism of Cruelty’.²⁰⁶ Not first to do so, the arguably most important literary monthly briefly derided Orwell’s commercialisation, mocking Bernard Crick who decried it yet ‘himself organises a “George Orwell Summer School” with very expensive entries’. It too reported on the novel’s ‘symptomatic interpretational shifts’ focusing now on consumerism, as seen in *1984 Revisited* (native Kotakowski’s article ‘Totalitarianism and the Lie’ there deserved no mention), and on technological threats to freedom, and concluded by cautioning that today’s *Tribune* and Crick misrepresent Orwell and ‘carefully censor’ his columns (no evidence offered).²⁰⁷ If notes in highbrow periodicals like the latter could have been just a wearisome formality to tick off for their readers knew better, some care was taken to pre-empt any random leakage of Orwell news to the provincial public. Like in 1951, one article could serve a few distant regions. Unlike in 1951, it could be innocuously friendly:

In the Western press [...] there have been numerous deliberations and speculations concerning the work of the English writer George Orwell, and in particular one of his books entitled *1984*.

Well, this author [...] wrote [...] many novels and essays, of which only the last [novel] [...] received a great international fame. [...] it is a kind of ‘black utopia’, a warning for the whole human civilisation against technocratic or totalitarian tendencies. It was, however, read quite one-sidedly in the West (against which the author himself in vain protested) as a flagship anti-communist work [...].²⁰⁸

The popular (mis)reading in 1984 could thus ran exactly contrary to that of 1951. Rather than deplore as an enemy, it could ‘disguise’ Orwell as a friend and, in a pre-tested way²⁰⁹ denounce the ‘currently resurrected’ ‘myth of Orwell as an anti-communist’, defend that if anything he was

initially 'a socialising radical' and later 'a sceptic liberal' distancing himself from 'a primitive and zoological anti-communism' (a *sui generis* idiom undoubtedly of a Soviet provenance and rather seldom used in Poland) and that his other novels 'are great accusations of capitalism, colonialism, social injustice and destitution'. It could even bemoan that only a few (unspecified) works have been translated into Polish owing to this bad fame. The censors' 1977 instructional material summarised Orwell's 'political testament' as unequivocally aimed at both communism and the Soviet Union; meanwhile, the propaganda spin tried to appropriate him as a friend.²¹⁰

The end of 1984 prompted holding to and settling account with Orwell anew.²¹¹ Some youth voices joined in too. Perhaps imagining that this could prove their political maturity, they sometimes joined in not with a sprightly welcome but attacks yet more forceful than those in adult papers. One of them was the Students' Union organ, a continuator of *Po prostu*, the valiant 1956 Orwell defender.²¹² Ultimately, it too claimed Orwell a semi-friend (neither anti-communist nor communist; 'ideological divisions', 'brutality, sometimes irrationality' of the Spanish war 'led him to abandon the revolutionary movement', but he remained of the left), albeit misguided (e.g. by Burnham's erroneous theories) and in fact a fanatic of a limited intellectual capacity (as per Deutscher). But the article opened with a powerful ridicule of *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Polish reception, insinuating it quasi-superstitious. It alleged that Polish intellectuals had elevated *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to serious discussions 'to an intellectual result just as pathetic as' Winston's on studying Goldstein's book. Asserting the book's increased popularity during martial law, the magazine argued that this had arisen from a laughable 'longing for an ordering and all-explanatory Book'. Yet, most acrid perhaps was the – quite incisive – allegation concerning the Solidarity and martial law period of an instrumental use of Orwell's name for a facile absolution:

The ideological volte-face of some of the scientific and cultural life's flagship personalities have been so astounding that it has been difficult to explain their yesterday's affirmation of the 'hypocritical system'. But this can be explained through Orwell too. The recent servility is deemed a natural reflex in the cogs of the 'totalitarian system' [...]. Orwell Polish-style not only prophesied, he also cured the moral hangover.

Another youth magazine, a daily to which a future Polish president had just transferred as editor-in-chief, published an article on Orwell too at this time. Formerly organ of various youth associations, (in)famous for breaking the official silence and publishing the symbolic 21 demands of the protesting Solidarity workers in summer 1980, the daily picked similar themes, and even expressions, to the Student's Union organ, but made of them a use far less scathing.²¹³ Yet, an 'adult' regional daily could suddenly be similarly demeaning in its mid-year follow-up on Orwell, feeding its readership with snippets of sarcastic ready-made views: 'The British writer George Orwell is out of favour with the London wax museum. His prophesy about a total police state

entitled *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has not fulfilled and Orwell's wax figure has been moved to the warehouse'.²¹⁴

Hence, there was space for some divergence. Some publications claimed that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* drew on Hitler and Franco's totalitarian policies and methods,²¹⁵ others lamented it had not, insisting that 'not in the least' was it 'a register of communism's wrongdoings and deviations' either,²¹⁶ others yet dismissed it precisely as such and therefore outdated.²¹⁷ Some claimed it 'poor from a literary perspective', others 'a superb, pungent satire'.²¹⁸ Some presented its plot and vision²¹⁹ or sound information on Orwell (if omitting e.g. contentious Spanish details),²²⁰ others tendentiously misrepresented it (e.g. a Spanish front 'deserter').²²¹ There was also space for some seemingly original observations. Some publications argued, for instance, that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* drew on Berkeley's philosophy (albeit 'vulgarising' it) and noted that while the fictional Oceania dwellers in London reached the year 1984 relatively unscathed save occasional IRA bombings (rather than Big Brother's), real Oceania dwellers in Salvador, Guatemala or Nicaragua did not.²²² Nevertheless, much of the permitted scope of discussion and expressions, and possibly the oft-chaotic argumentation itself, seems influenced by two types of foreign references: a Soviet prompt and 'wise' Western voices exploring the novel's timeliness for the West. Claiming Orwell, for instance, a friend whose reputation was ill-manipulated seemed connected with referencing a reformist Gorbachev's aide,²²³ repudiating as enemy – *Izvestia* and its Melor Sturua, credited to have even 'proven the accuracy of Orwellian visions';²²⁴ assuring that Orwell would deride his anti-communist body-snatchers – *Sovetskaya Kultura*.²²⁵ In the 'second cold war' the Soviet militant style was already much toned down in Poland and going as far as repeating *Sovetskaya Kultura's* claim that Orwell 'in a way justified Hitler's Reich'²²⁶ has not been detected, but repetitive expressions and arguments read as an eclectic mix of Crick and *New York Times* with *Izvestia* and *Sovetskaya Kultura*. Some of these references were available to – an informed – Polish reader in periodicals translating selected articles from the foreign press.²²⁷

Still, in the Orwell year there appeared some voices more balanced and moderate too. Even if relayed in fragments, Bernard Crick's article in *Financial Times*, 'The Real Message of "1984"', was still one. It opened *Forum's* entire Orwell section, preceding a translation from *Sovetskaya Kultura* and not vice-versa. *Forum* returned to Orwell reprinting Western obituaries of the actor who played O'Brien in the film adaptation.²²⁸ It must be noted nonetheless that such translations were not always free from a distinct type of localisation, such as the statement: 'Assuming that to be true and that the book's worst fears have not yet (in the West at any rate) been fulfilled, perhaps we have Orwell himself to thank for it' dropping the phrase: 'in the West at any rate'. A local daily included a tame but informative and not derogatory note about the film too.²²⁹ Another regional magazine diplomatically maintained e.g. that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* showed 'a dictatorial country' and constituted 'a set of diagnoses, anxieties and fears of our century' and also managed to

calmly assess its relevance to the current Polish reality ('the mere fact of discussing' Orwell might suggest a difference from Oceania, precisely Orwell's warning among others contributed to having averted it for the time being). Finally, it could even make a case for publishing the book ('Let it be a book – and not a myth', open to discussion not 'in the categories of schoolboy emotions, eating the forbidden fruit').²³⁰

Lastly, next to clandestine publishers, another cluster but present on the official market grew by now into Orwell's dedicated if unlikely promoters – segments of the Catholic press. If state commentators almost exclusively fixated on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the Catholic looked somewhat more widely, seemingly untroubled by their idol's perception of the Catholic Church's doctrine being just as oppressive as the communist ideology they resisted. Kraków's weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* and monthly *Znak* and Warsaw's monthly *Więź* were the principal Catholic intellectual outlets. They supported Catholic deputies accepted after October 1956 as token opposition, allied under the name *Znak*, now for nearly a decade disbanded but actively involved with Solidarity. Representing Church's progressive segments, the periodicals attracted various opposition intellectuals boycotting or no longer welcome in state outlets. Till now, they published at least 'Why I Write', 'Shooting an Elephant' and two articles on Orwell among them, and another Catholic periodical brought a comment and excerpts from *Coming up For Air*.²³¹ If now, in the Orwell year, an official Orwell publication, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, was only in November approved for typesetting and published a year later,²³² it was *Znak* that featured translations of the somewhat politically suggestive essays 'Politics vs. Literature' and 'A Hanging'.²³³ Both the book and the periodical were issued in Kraków, Poland's old capital sometimes mocked by Warsaw as conservative. The novel's translator indeed preoccupied that between the communist propaganda and Orwell's advocacy by the Catholic press even some English literature scholars thought him conservative and responded 'with an incredulous smile to an opinion stating his Socialist views'.²³⁴ Yet, when for instance the January 1984 issue of a 19th-century monthly just resurrected after decades of trying engaged with the slippery subject of Orwell's political views, it unmistakably argued he was a socialist with liberal values.²³⁵ But then again, when its November number discussed briefly if even more daringly the aims of a totalitarian rule and implications of newspeak on the human thought, this served as a preamble for contemplating European values – seen as rooted in Christianity.²³⁶ Whereas the article by *Tygodnik Powszechny*'s editor-in-chief got suppressed,²³⁷ more highbrow *Znak* got away not only with publishing Orwell's essays but also reprinting Skalmowski's émigré essay on Orwell as a literary critic (which just followed an article analysing the totalitarian Nazi language). Whether or not this too met incredulous smiles, the essay also conveyed Orwell's socialism and repudiation of religion – 'particularly Catholicism' seen as 'a system forcing individuals to believe in absurdities', citing e.g.: 'One cannot really be Catholic & grown up'.²³⁸ Then again, a young conservative Orwell aficionado who later reviewed Orwell's

biography for *Znak* seemed to hold a grudge against its author Bernard Crick for insinuating that Orwell would detest *Encounter* and argued that rather than Crick-style, Orwell's was (the Catholic) G. K. Chesterton-style socialism.²³⁹

2.2.5.4 Affable Anonymous Aspidistra for the Relentless Crisis

Amidst such readings, misreadings and charges of misreading, between a friendly disguise and unfriendly scorn, the official press of the mid-1980s ended up featuring this long-standing enemy quite often. Yet, when it was decided that – arguably – a benign book of his be published, it would come as if disguised under anonymity again. The translation of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*, issued in 20,000 copies, had no preface or commentary other than an 80-word back-cover blurb.²⁴⁰ Neat and smooth, if it claims that the novel ‘tackles the subject of an individual’s place in the society’ and satirises ‘immaturity justifying itself with the help of an abstract idea’, the author’s profile is barely identifiable: ‘best known for his political satires written towards the end of his life’ – no title offered, ‘years later would gain worldwide fame’ – no details spared, but spared is an encyclopaedic clear-cut assertion on his political stance: ‘a socialist, participant of fights against fascism in 1936 Spain’. Perhaps at the time of submission the extent of official publishing hospitality to come in the Orwell year was yet too uncertain and so was the incoming Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev’s reformist trend at the time of printing to have risked a more implicated comment. Censors perhaps remembered the lesson of yesteryear: ‘The newspaper goes to the bin, whereas the book lives on’ and deduced that less is more when it comes to an Orwell book. Periodicals in turn could by then even smirk: ‘Orwell has been demythologised. [...] Of course not via the lampoon *Nineteen Eighty-Four*’ or that *Nineteen Eighty-Four*’s vision has, ‘evidently, such a great power that our publishers needed to wait out that date, year 1984, for any book by this writer to appear at all’.²⁴¹ In fact, making the book anonymous and unfamiliar started straight with foreignising its title: ‘Viva Aspidistra’. Uncommon then in Poland, ‘aspidistra’ to an average reader ‘can be just as well a speciality of the Mexican cuisine as a South-American fish’, disapproved one reviewer, a fellow translator, suggesting the palm as a cultural botanic equivalent;²⁴² the pelargonium, prompted another reviewer.²⁴³ Thus, Orwell’s official book debut in Poland materialised through a novel the author had dismissed as a ‘pot-boiler’ not to be reissued and under an inscrutable title. Yet, for all the anonymising and foreignising efforts, ‘an Orwell’ together with the concomitantly translated and disparagingly different Brazilian 19th-century abolitionist romance ‘The Slave Girl Isaura’, whose telenovela adaptation – an unfamiliar in communist Poland mass culture product – had been a recent TV sensation, took, a reviewer maintained, 60-90 minutes to sell upon delivery to any visited bookshop.²⁴⁴

If the more permanent book form remained cautiously neutral, there is already a marked difference in the tone of the press and periodicals’ comments, again reflecting the changing

political situation and the media position. The trial of at least the direct perpetrators of a popular Solidarity priest's murder in 1984 that shook the country overtly admitted the establishment's fallibility and showed that the secret services' crimes were not always unaccountable. While Gorbachev's reformist term was only just unfolding, in the face of the unceasing crisis unalleviated by the spiralling international debt and US sanctions retained even after martial law, Polish leaders were swapping ideology for economic pragmatism. The delayed and unreliable news on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in spring 1986 further compromised the government's and state media's reliability.²⁴⁵ All this induced some political liberalisation and remnants of a derisive, cold-war militancy marshalled just yesterday to stave off the Orwell year danger are now largely gone. Arguably, there is even a perceptible pro-Orwell bias, which might have been there all along, just carefully buried under the Miłosz's 'ketman' practice and slowly emerging now as censorial interventions kept decreasing.²⁴⁶ Strikingly though, most reviews still seemed to accept as given that an officially published Orwell book could have been none of the unmentioned 'best known'. Few in fact revisited the selection,²⁴⁷ perhaps out of an insufficient familiarity with his other works or just sheer bewilderment at the rare event itself. Indeed, some reviews contain punctured, elliptical phrases, as if a hurried breathlessness to comment.²⁴⁸ Just for some did the publication serve as a pretext to deliberate about *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or *Animal Farm*²⁴⁹ or Orwell's 'uneasy life';²⁵⁰ many lost themselves keenly in discovering 'the young Orwell'. The thrill notwithstanding, some still managed some objectivity. Various concurred in that the novel was actually artistically unremarkable,²⁵¹ even tiresome and irritating,²⁵² some even labelling Orwell 'a bad writer' from a literary perspective for its journalistic encumbrance,²⁵³ yet that it was a captivating and beneficial, even 'great' book with a 'brilliant style' all the same.²⁵⁴ Above all, Orwell the satirist and penetrating social and political observer is already noticed.²⁵⁵ Reading it as a satire on the omnipotence of money,²⁵⁶ the British class structure, British facile socialism,²⁵⁷ artistic world²⁵⁸ and generation,²⁵⁹ or on 'everything that offended this then young socialist [...] in his country',²⁶⁰ reviewers generally agreed on its open-ended message and no straightforward solutions offered. A Catholic reviewer saw Orwell's rejection of utopian thinking and radical social reforms as a defence of basic values and comforts often dismissed as bourgeois.²⁶¹ Then, even a novel outwardly so politically benign could still apply disturbingly close to home. An important cultural monthly observed that through the business of Ravelston's underground periodical there 'transpires [...] a note of the author's personal commitment'.²⁶² In turn, a cultural weekly of the Peasant Party, just now regaining some political autonomy since the war, probed the relentless Polish question: the book shows an individual rebellion as futile and immature – 'but what if it is a mass rebellion?'.²⁶³ Assuming this is what Orwell is about, some entreated to look 'far beyond superficiality', for 'several interpretational levels'.²⁶⁴ One reviewer, however, berated both the

choice from 'early Orwell' and the translation, nominating it for a worst-translation-of-the-year prize.²⁶⁵

This reviewer was Waclaw Sadkowski, the editor-in-chief of *Literatura na Świecie* [Literature in the World], a unique and influential monthly devoted to foreign literature, possibly one of those which earlier refused to publish the novel's fragments.²⁶⁶ Also a critical publisher's consultant on *Burmese Days* recently, Sadkowski just now dedicated no fewer than 176 pages of his (small format) periodical to texts by and on Orwell, both home and foreign, by authors and translators published also underground, showcasing new and retranslating some titles published previously or concomitantly abroad or underground as well as an Orwell's life chronicle and many photographs.²⁶⁷ Commentaries, nonetheless, remained restrained. They included fragments from an article by the US socialist sympathiser Alfred Kazin and an article by another Polish conservative Orwell aficionado elucidating Orwell's defence of the common sense, clear thinking and taking responsibility for the world, yet omitting contentious details for instance about Spain, claiming that Orwell's enemies were 'radical intellectuals', i.e. nationalists, at whom even *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was aimed.²⁶⁸ It was topped by Sadkowski's own curious text, rather a veiled defence of the system, derision of recent Orwell's appropriations for 'vulgar anti-communism', and a dismissive and self-styled 'revealing'. It argued that Orwell's views escaped 'unilateral political qualifications', whereby 'Above all, appreciated should be the fervour of his convictions – leftist, socialist in spirit, radically critical of the capitalist system and its most degenerate form: colonial oppression'.²⁶⁹ Still, alongside the 1985 émigré anthology, the periodical provided the greatest taster yet of Orwell's writing – all legally.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, in a country just transitioning out of a rationing in some ways more extensive than during the war and printing textbooks on newspaper paper – the periodical's issue had a double of *Aspidistra*'s print run: 40,000 copies.²⁷¹ Sadkowski's article, slightly amended, would also become the afterword to the historic first official publication of the decade-censored *Animal Farm*. But all this still failed to fulfil Sadkowski's grand Orwell ambitions. The editor proudly upheld that the journal had waited 1984 out in order to avoid becoming 'part of the crowd'.²⁷² *Aspidistra*, meanwhile, had snatched away 'the palm of primacy' as Orwell's first major official publication. This former consultant-reviewer-censor, likely privy to some insider intelligence on the censorship course for his periodical's benefit and liberal avant-garde image, years later would still remember the disappointment and make a point of highlighting how the 1986 Orwell issue had been in preparation since 1982.²⁷³

2.2.5.5 **Aspidistra Is Not *the* Orwell; or, a Death Foretold**

Yet, neither *Aspidistra* nor fragments of *Homage to Catalonia* and essays in Sadkowski's periodical were *the* Orwell. When some commentators were still writing mildly about *Aspidistra* in August 1986, an also Kraków cultural weekly featured a large article on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Its title

audaciously enunciated its intention: 'Publish Orwell?'.²⁷⁴ In this light, the attempt to dismantle the Orwell threat via the familiar benign, almost friendly, disguise seemed not so much a design to manipulate Orwell's reputation as a knowing wink to the censor and to the public, now an accomplice in pressuring Orwell's gatekeepers to let the real Orwell in. Censors must have supported this call to have let it through – perhaps just having a hand in its clumsiness. It was accompanied by a striking editorial insert in bold with a message somewhat allusive but just as unequivocal as the title:

There has arisen a climate of whispers around Orwell in Poland. It was fostered by the translation by one of the publishers abroad of Orwell's animal fable about the stratification that takes place in the stables, cowsheds and pigsties of *Animals* [sic] *Farm*, from which a joke entered the common speech that 'all animals are equal, but some might be more equal'. But how about maybe ending with these whispers? Maybe some publisher – Czytelnik? Wydawnictwo Literackie? – would risk an edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*?²⁷⁵

The summer 1986 might have been just the momentous time for *the* Orwell in Poland – when the decision to publish *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* was taken. The Kraków's August article 'Publish Orwell?' claimed that the idiosyncratic critic Artur Sandauer ('the professor' mentioned in the Polish Library's CIA book distribution records in London) had purportedly 'formulated this idea recently', not disclosing where. In February 1987, a national weekly's front page announced that inside Sandauer writes on the subject 'publish Orwell'.²⁷⁶ The article itself was similar in tenor, but more expertly distilled for impact: 'Everyone must cope with this book and – judge it a lampoon or else admit that it is right, in which case the fact of nonpublication speaks rather for the latter', it claimed boldly; 'The Right to Truth' ran its headline. Above all, however, it accentuated its supposed antedating to July 1986. Undoubtedly, the curious cross-referencing, delay and/or backdating as well as hints in text and image (e.g. a tongue sticking out from a key) conceal some vigorous debates and concerted efforts behind the two gallant calls for *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* publication. Some press articles were able to follow the thread.²⁷⁷

Only two years earlier Orwell's books had been confiscated from the International Book Fair. At the end of 1985 they were still internally classified as dangerous 'anti-communist classics'.²⁷⁸ What would then have prompted the summer 1986 decision – supposing this assumption correct – to publish *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm*? By this time the official stance towards Orwell was no longer univocally 'negative' and Orwell was already getting a footing on the Polish official book market with *Keep the Aspidistra Flying*. Suppressing information and stifling discussion was becoming harder for the state as, with the shock of martial law wearing off, the opposition was slowly regrouping and access to non-official sources of information widening. The

dire economic situation and the sinking credibility of the party, the system and the media led to efforts at serious reforms. Reinforced by the Soviet liberalising trend, these jettisoned much of the compromised ideology and focused on economy. Seeking to regain Western support, particularly the lifting of US sanctions, the state also amnestied remaining political prisoners (including the future new translator of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*²⁷⁹). Opening the official culture to authors and texts till now forbidden could similarly appear to reaffirm a liberalising transformation. And this could help appease and win over the public, also international. Here an ideological nemesis like Orwell not once overlooked by book censorship for decades could hardly be overlooked now in a queue for publication, especially given his recent 1984 topicality and the extent of clandestine presence. Thus, like in an Orwellian antagonism and Oceanian switch of alliances, the passing of two sentences might have just coincided: a death sentence in absentia to one friend-turn-enemy, colonel Ryszard Kukliński delivering the USA top-secret Warsaw Pact documents and defecting there before martial law, and a welcome sentence to an arch-enemy-turn-almost-friend, Orwell with his books for long seen to expose the Soviet system.

The above public ‘negotiations’ joined by other commentators mounted public pressure but also expectations and diverted attention. The books came out in latter 1988 in new translations, since existing émigré versions were typically snubbed. They also allowed leading critics to appear as if in the liberalising avant-garde. Select ones were immortalised in the first official editions, since, unlike *Aspidistra*, sacrilegious *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm* did require a good old interpretative moulding through a paratext such as an afterword.²⁸⁰ These became Sandauer, with the obscuring article ‘The Right to Truth’ pasted in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and Sadkowski, with the ill-fitting periodical article transplanted into *Animal Farm* – propaganda indulgent by his own later admission (‘accentuating of course the “universal message” of this politically spicy allegory’), but which he nevertheless defended.²⁸¹ These hand-picked paratexts almost instantly rang woefully outdated – courtesy of the undreamt of speedy course Polish history had taken. In 1987, another papal visit reinvigorated the spirit of public resistance, the party suffered a blow in a referendum and censors’ grip over culture kept yielding. Further excerpts from works of previously forbidden authors surfaced, including Orwell.²⁸² Even some censors came publicly clean, including Sadkowski himself.²⁸³ An academic journal could already withstand Piątkowska’s article ‘On the Paradoxes of the Reception of Orwell’s Works in Poland’.²⁸⁴

One way the party scrambled for public acceptance was by blurring the distinction between itself and the opposition. In June 1987, a previously clandestine and Orwell-friendly journal *Res Publica* appeared officially with a generous print run; in January 1988 one of the most influential magazines of the period was launched, the monthly *Konfrontacje*, which handled ‘confrontational’ topics and featured selected opposition members next to communists. The official publication of some previously unwelcome books was heralded by the old form of magazine serialisation and

from the first issue *Konfrontacje* became the historic platform for a year-long confrontation with one of Orwell's most vilified works, *Animal Farm*, preceding *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* March debut in an atheist weekly, heralding in turn their analogous appearance in the Soviet Union.²⁸⁵

When the regime's giving in to Orwell's two flagship works manifested in a book form, it did so liberally, in 100,000 copies of *Animal Farm* and 50,000 of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with a prompt impression of 100,000.²⁸⁶ This turned out a backdrop to the regime's giving in to the power of dissidence too. After months of massive protests ravaging the country, the party acquiesced to unheard of negotiations with an illegal organisation, Solidarity. Highly charged 'round table talks' scheduled for February 1989 led to the first partially free elections in the Soviet bloc since 1945, held on 4 June 1989 (the day of the Tiananmen Square massacre in China), the first non-communist prime minister and a promise of free elections within two years. In such circumstances, much of the political commentary aged disproportionately to the passage of time, and the two- or three-year-old commentaries included in Orwell's books, upholding their evasive interpretations, remained distinct testaments to this. They might as well suggest a safety feature should the regime manage to turn around and go back on some hastily granted freedoms: easier to remedy in more ephemeral publications than lasting books.

But there was no going back. Already the early 1988 magazine editions gave the impulse to an open Orwellomania which – as it turned out – was to witness the regime's dissolution and last well into the next decade. Although the censorship institution was formally dissolved only in June 1990, the practice ceased earlier. This is noticeable also in articles on Orwell where former evasions, masks and knowing winks subsided, inviting greater directness and probing elation.²⁸⁷ If some commentators welcomed the books with disbelief at the sudden change ('Only a year ago customs services confiscated every Orwell's novel brought from abroad'²⁸⁸) or, conversely, lamented that the delay deflated *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* original meaning,²⁸⁹ some mentioned openly how Orwell's projections still 'shout with their literalness' amid unobtainable razorblades and purported production increases undetectable in the shops and available technology.²⁹⁰ There was irony at the 'mere' 40-year wait²⁹¹ and reproof of the paratexts, seen as a symptom of an inability to 'free ourselves from the fear of the Thought Police'.²⁹² Above all, nonetheless, there was a shared sigh of relief.²⁹³ Not waiting for the books to go out or for censorship to go out of business, radio broadcast *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (29 August-25 October 1988),²⁹⁴ discussed Orwell and nominated *Animal Farm* the book of the week (January 1989).²⁹⁵ The Polish Translators' Association awarded *Rok 1984* the best prose translation prize for 1988, and *Animal Farm* premiered on stage in at least three adaptations.²⁹⁶ Academic papers promptly mushroomed exploring various aspects of Orwell's oeuvre, from social concerns, language, to the origins of newspeak in Orwell's contacts with anarchist Esperantists and interest in Charles Ogden's Basic English.²⁹⁷ Most urgently, the school curriculum needed changing, but naturally it was 'impossible

to write quickly and well [...] a new textbook, the more so as neither criticism nor science have yet made the necessary reevaluations and syntheses. It is only possible to fix (ad hoc and hurriedly – in three months!) an anthology of texts necessary [...]', as a complementary literature textbook for the 1990/1991 school year noted.²⁹⁸ Among texts perceived necessary in the secondary school's final year was *Nineteen Eighty-Four* – which still required a word of caution. The reason was Sandauer's afterword which

derives the book's origin from experiences of fascism, and as an example of 'systems ruled by a central organisation' gives 'the Catholic Church among others'. Amidst these systems Sandauer fails to notice communism and treats Orwell's novel not as a prognosis but a satire on the year 1948. Sandauer's peculiar 'dialectics' thus needs to be read with criticism and distance.²⁹⁹

Soon *Animal Farm* established itself at secondary schools,³⁰⁰ while greater freedom over curricula now could tempt primary teachers to include it there too.³⁰¹ Some other works were promptly translated,³⁰² clandestine editions republished,³⁰³ sometimes by national publishers,³⁰⁴ and reference works made amends to Orwell too. If the 1960s and 1970s dictionary of English and US writers obliterated Orwell and Sadkowski's 1989 guide 'From Conrad to Beckett' still spared him no more than a passing mention,³⁰⁵ a lexicon of 20th-century world writers under his edition (1993 and 1997) now claimed this enemy of late almost a saint: 'a through and through good man'.³⁰⁶ In 1999, Orwell with *Animal Farm* would be voted into a nationwide magazine's 'End of Century Canon', alongside such other authors as James Joyce, Marcel Proust, Julio Cortázar and Herling-Grudziński.³⁰⁷ Conversely, a 2002 book of study notes already judged necessary a basic reminder that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had once been banned by communist authorities.³⁰⁸

The Polish official editions of Orwell's two most contentious books thus came out amidst a dynamic transformation but whose magnitude unfolded only gradually through such apprehensive steps as the round table talks, partially free elections, non-communist prime minister, Berlin wall's opening, Polish communist party's dissolution and finally the Russian army's withdrawal in 1993. Publishing Orwell officially sometimes seemed as though acquiring a national significance. A Solidarity's leading negotiator at round table talks insisted that a law that sanctioned confiscation and destruction of Orwell's or Miłosz's books violated moral order and natural law.³⁰⁹ If some early commentators externalised personal feelings ('Winston's delight and fear' on reading the prohibited book compared to those on reading *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the past, hence its official publication was 'a reason for joy and wiping a tear of emotion'³¹⁰), they often noted how 'nothing happened' to the system by the books' publication.³¹¹ Others, conversely, considered the decades-late publications a reason for a national shame rather than pride and joy, but which was nonetheless 'another proof of regaining normality'.³¹² Some,

Chapter 2

however, pronounced that *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s publication 'certified' nothing less than the Orwellian Ministry of Truth's death.³¹³ Only with the hindsight is it possible to see that as a matter of fact it foreboded the unimaginable peaceful death of the regime itself.

Chapter 3 Clandestine Reception – Orwell a Liberator

*No urban guerrillas
a dynamite prohibition
we advanced our cause
firing paper ammunition.¹*

It is 1974. A young Polish student in Paris, the only one among three friends who had been given a passport to go abroad, keeps working in the evenings to save up for the one thing he craves. Finally the day comes: he is able to purchase the Rally spirit duplicator. Now he only needs to find a way of sending it to Poland. An opportunity arises in early 1976 when a theatre troupe from his home university visits London. Before travelling there, he attempts to learn how to operate the device, learning also that it produces a peculiar smell, a smell which alerts the British customs officers at Dover who insist on detaining the object until his return. They eventually give in to his pleas and let it go. The task now is to correctly identify the contact among the theatre troupe's crowd, since ingenuous conspiratorial precautions prevented him from finding out his name. After much fear and suspicion, this is done. With the risk of legal repercussions for the entire group, the duplicator, carefully dismembered, successfully passes across the channel and across the customs, disguised in artistic paraphernalia. Soon it would be put to a test in Lublin, Poland, using *Animal Farm* as its guinea pig.²

3.1 Orwell Ammunition

This is the story of allegedly the first duplicator in the hands of the political dissidents in communist Poland,³ where printing material, from paper supply, presses to photocopiers, was under state control. Overcoming this obstacle required wit, planning, risk and luck. The significance of that first duplicator lay not in the fact that it could suddenly satisfy all clandestine publishing demands in the whole country. It was hardly a mass printing device, and a piece that went missing during the cross-channel journey initially rendered its operation still more laborious. Neither were visual results it produced very impressive. Many see its significance, however, in that it broke certain psychological barriers.

Needless to say, mass publishing beyond the reach of censorship was illegal. Some opposition leaders insisted on exposing the system's unlawful practices only through legal means. Therefore, they rejected the idea of printing in favour of *samizdat*, typewriter copies usually limited to a few reproductions at one go, which was a technically legal way of communication by-passing censorship. Seasoned by a longer stretch of history of Soviet dealings in Poland and other European countries than the younger generation, also key émigré figures such as Jerzy Giedroyc and the director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, feared that clandestine publishing could provoke widespread repressions, even bloodshed. Rather than provide the Lublin student with a duplicator which he requested, both had independently tried to dissuade him out of his plans. Some writers in Poland shared the same fear. A well-known critic and editor and already member of the dissident Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) was nevertheless convinced that as soon as the country's first underground literary journal *Zapis* transfers from *samizdat* to print, Soviet tanks would come to the streets.⁴ Yet, many others were willing to test it. Dismissing the very foundations of the communist rule in Poland as unlawful and likewise its laws on censorship, they eagerly embraced new technological possibilities that aided uncensored communication and could help break the state's monopoly on culture and information.

Another duplicator would very soon make its way from France to Poland – by no less tortuous a journey that did not exclude a trek in the Tatra Mountains in backpacks of one mountain-first-timer and another a seaside boy in sandals surprised by a severe high altitude weather.⁵ The device was sent by Jerzy Giedroyc who had changed his mind: 'The matter of duplicators etc. for the country is most important', he would write to Nowak-Jeziorański in December 1977.⁶ Before long, more equipment would percolate the borders. On occasion, a used device could be acquired from an institution or even a secret agent, if a possible provocation was successfully outwitted.⁷

DIY printing/copying solutions would arise, with instructions for home implementation,⁸ as would a host of more elaborate constructions, including offset printers built from scratch. Some were artisan, others larger-volume covert factory productions, like adapted Roneo Vickers, for conspiracy, posing as a foreign product with the original manufacturer's blessing.⁹ Over time, arrangements would develop with state printers' employees willing to do some confidential work.

Still, other printing ingredients were not easy to obtain either. Aside from systemic deterrents in place, the late 1970s and the 1980s were marked by shortages of even basic products. Obtaining paper, ink or other materials again required risky, convoluted and time-consuming strategies. Paper, for example, would be painstakingly collected in small amounts when available in shops (which sometimes recorded buyer's details), recycled from institutional leftovers but often obtained through less legal means, such as lifting from state institutions or buying on black market. Analogous difficulties concerned ink, which called for home-made fillers or substitutes, and certain detergents were found fit for the purpose, most famously the Komfort washing paste. Too often the available transport, whether for rims of paper, printed matter or printing appliances, would be the miniscule Fiats 126p (smaller than today's Smart), while a large publisher's yearly throughput could be 10 tonnes of paper.¹⁰

Clandestine printers, authors and distributors also acted against the backdrop of a steadily increasing level of invigilation after the 1956-thaw low. Both electric machines and spirit duplicators (which soon fell in disuse) required insulated rooms, for the first emitted suspicious noise and the latter smell, and could also lead to poisoning. Manual devices such as the popular DIY silkscreen printer, called 'frame', were more easily accommodated in one's flat, but the lower print quality and output than that of e.g. offset made them more useful for the press than books. Mechanic printers were best placed in isolated country locations. Some were moved to a location for a specific job only, sometimes houses, sometimes freezing barns or attics, but there would even be dedicated bunkers with sophisticated camouflaging and escape routes.¹¹ People constructed fake walls or concealed cupboards for storage, and repaired breaking machines with ad hoc solutions. The level of ingenuity and improvisation needed in clandestine publishing and circulation is well captured in the humorous title of a 2006 presentation by its leading figure Mirosław Chojecki (b. 1949), a prize-winning Nuclear Research Institute employee before he was dismissed for involvement with dissident activities and co-founded the, arguably, first and largest underground publishing house NOWa. His thesis read: 'How by Means of the Underpants Elastic We Overthrew Communism' (the elastic in this 'innovation' relieved a person previously needed to lift the silkscreen printer's frame after printing a page).¹²

In these conditions, the quality of the publications greatly varied from hardly legible marginless pages of crammed and smudged typescript fonts to professional-looking books. This was not

dissimilar across the Soviet bloc, though some artisan Czech or professionally printed late Hungarian productions exceeded in quality.¹³ Nowhere else however did underground printing develop on such a scale. From the initial bulletins recording state repressions in a dispassionate Russian-modelled style the clandestine publishing quickly grew to issuing papers, journals and books, and this came to be called 'the second circulation', as opposed to the official first. Thus, the years 1976-1977 were the beginning of a 'paper revolution' in Poland. It would not be bloodless. It would claim some lives and disrupt many more.¹⁴ But, despite initial fears, its paper nature would help avoid a widespread carnage, and would ultimately pave the way for a peaceful democratic transition that would also hearten other satellite states. Orwell's texts would be some of the revolutionaries' most frequently used 'ammunition'.

For many Orwell's clandestine readers across Poland and other Soviet states, sometimes getting hold of an illicit publication for one night only and devouring it with flushes of heat and emotion, Winston Smith's experience at obtaining the illicit Goldstein's book, *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, resonated deeply:

A heavy black volume, amateurishly bound, with no name or title on the cover. The print also looked slightly irregular. The pages were worn at the edges, and fell apart easily, as though the book had passed through many hands.¹⁵

3.2 Before the Paper Revolution

3.2.1 Liberating Thoughts in Diaries and Letters

Before Orwell became a more massive weapon beginning in the late 1970s, he was known merely to narrow elite circles¹⁶ who owned his books, received Western or émigré periodicals or had access to specialist libraries and special collections. As mentioned, the frequent more or less direct source of such uncensorious publications was the covert CIA book mailing and distribution programme, in which many Polish émigré publishers and organisations participated, and which addressed both institutions and individuals. Orwell was their prominent author, albeit in a limited selection.¹⁷ These rare clandestine readers sometimes left traces of their responses to Orwell in letters and diaries, various nowadays published, even though in the Stalinist period merely keeping Orwell's books at home could have unpleasant consequences, and diaries or correspondence were not guaranteed to remain one's private affair. Even as late as 1969 the freshly banned satiric journalist Stefan Kisielewski contemplated the risk of his diary's falling into the hands of the security forces.¹⁸

In *The Captive Mind* written in 1951 the former communist diplomat Czesław Miłosz pointed to how *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had been treated as a serious threat to the safety of the Soviet regime in Poland: 'it is both difficult to obtain and dangerous to possess'.¹⁹ A former party journalist and later one of the main Polish collaborators of the USA book programme recollected in 1984 how his father had brought *Animal Farm* from a foreign trip in 1956 and this sole copy served a few dozen clandestine readers in his home city.²⁰ Indeed, for a long time Orwell would remain the author of *Animal Farm* and 'the book', often synonymous with his name, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. And initially, not even the elite were necessarily familiar with these works either.

Miłosz claimed that Orwell fascinated party officials, yet many knew him only by hearsay.²¹ It would not have been much different among intellectuals. 'Orwell' for many would be a myth. Such an elite intellectual as the composer and journalist Zygmunt Mycielski recorded in his diary under 13 February 1956 his indignation at the lack of freedom of speech, exacerbated by changes enforced on his presentation before a Mozart concert, and went on to reflect on parallels between the Inquisition and the current policing state. His bitter conclusions on chances for a 'reformation' on a par with that which had granted more liberty to Christians summoned thoughts about the reality of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: 'To think that Erasmus of Rotterdam or Voltaire could exist here now! They tried, but no trace has been left of them! Even their names are being erased from encyclopaedias, places on photographic films are being wiped out. Orwell – 1984!'.²² He would call on Orwell in his diary again a few months later when for treasured twenty-four hours he had in his hands a copy of Khrushchev's secret speech. One of his reflections was

that '[a]ny descriptions by Koestler (*Zéro et l'infini*), Orwell or Miłosz fade beside this brochure'.²³ The real life document seemed more important and revealing than a fictional one, but clearly Orwell appeared as a leading unmasker of totalitarian systems. It is illustrative therefore to learn that Mycielski, the elite of the elite, to use Paweł Kłoczowski's description, had not in fact read the novel until 1958, but would have still used references to the descriptive shortcuts its fictional world offers.²⁴ The myth of 'Orwell' and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* could have a strong resonance even with those who were not familiar with the actual text.

A diary in a totalitarian or authoritarian regime could constitute a sensitive document. House searches and confiscations were experiences that many Poles went through and many more took into account. Such circumstances unmistakably conjure up the situation of the character Winston Smith, undoubtedly a projection of Orwell's own experiences like the search of his hotel room and confiscation of his notebook by the communists in Spain or the seizure of the 'pornographic' Henry Miller's books received over the post in Britain. It is easy to imagine that particularly in the Stalinist period, which came soon after the traumatic experiences of wartime occupations, many would be wary to produce records that could potentially incriminate oneself or those they mention. Although carnivalesque rather than literal, Leopold Tyrmand's *Diary 1954* is therefore an interesting document of the time, recording the first three months of 1954 when this somewhat epicurean journalist and writer appreciative of Western rather than Eastern culture was for a while debarred from publishing.²⁵ It itself has some Orwellian taste: stories spread that for fear of confiscation the diary got out of Poland either hid in Tyrmand's car chassis or smuggled by a foreign diplomat or correspondent;²⁶ the first published version also stops right when Tyrmand got an official book contract, as if the diary was a 'thoughtcrime' that could endanger it. From dingy houses smelling of boiled cabbage to the overpowering presence of the leader, Tyrmand's acute observations of the communist reality, particularly its aesthetics, at times echo much *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which had just been published in Polish, besides referencing it directly:

The radio centre of this radiophonised edifice blared from all speakers with Bierut's congress speech. I suddenly felt like in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, it was terrifyingly Orwellian, this atmosphere of stupefaction under the deafening hammer of Bierut's voice's monotony, in which people didn't stop working. They were supposed to listen and work at the same time. Nightmare! A true phantasmagoria from the genius Englishman's book, communism as devilishly organised madness!...²⁷

That day, luckily, Tyrmand had an antidote to this oppression: he managed to book a room in this Orwellian hotel for a romantic encounter – '[a]nd this precisely breaks the Orwellian concept of the whole, at least for now', he mused.²⁸

As much as literary influence on Tyrmand, the resemblances may also convey Orwell's keen vision and – similarity between the two realities. And Tyrmand was not alone to notice it. Countless events, procedures, speeches and details encountered in daily life provoked associations with *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. A prominent historian claimed to have been 'cured' from Marxism when in the mid-1950s he surreptitiously accessed some documents of the early Polish socialist movement and verified how they differed from those republished in the Stalinist time as supposedly historical sources. His *ex post* comment was that back then 'I still didn't know Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, but I was a bit of a historian already and my hair stood on end'.²⁹ Sometimes even portentous parallels just needed to be taken more lightly, like when Stefan Kisielewski teased the official press over a communist holiday in his diary:

there is no word about politics, even the July [1944 Communist] Manifesto, which this whole holiday is about, cannot be printed, because people would go crazy – described there is a model of a liberal three-sector and multi-party country, with private enterprises of up to forty workers, sheer revisionism. So then, we commemorate a document the contents of which nobody knows. This is the correcting of history backward, typical of communists – Orwell described it in 1984 presenting that 'Ministry of Archives' where new versions of old newspapers are printed. Hi, hi!³⁰

Conversely, trivial events could equally trigger a link to Orwell, like the writer Maria Dąbrowska's official function spent in a tiring company of people whose refinement did not seem to have caught up with their sudden social advancement – 'Orwell came to mind with his "proles"', or Mieczysław Jastrun's encounter with fellow writers at the National Library's café – 'This is reminiscent of the Orwell's Chestnut Tree Café. Complete craziness'.³¹

Just as in the West, the noun 'Orwell' with the *Nineteen Eighty-Four* connotation would thus become a quasi-concept helping to capture a situation taking place in the Soviet regime, just, undoubtedly, felt with an even greater immediacy. 'Orwell' could express an amplified mixture of exasperation, irritation and disbelief at events observed in this close reality. Similarly to Mycielski's earlier recapitulation on the amputation of some historical figures from collective memory as 'Orwell – 1984!', Maria Dąbrowska protested in her diary at how in a publication on the history of progressive journalism the Institute of Literary Research simply removed the name of the defector Czesław Miłosz from the list of a pre-war periodical's collaborators – falsifying it 'in Orwell's "no facts" style'.³² Mieczysław Jastrun recorded in his diary that he thought he just came to witness 'how a utopia ends' when a party member proclaimed: 'it happens "that the truth kills, and the lie nourishes"'. The calling of a writer is "to stir up dust and cover up the truth". Jastrun avowed that 'Nobody has yet endorsed Orwell here so openly'.³³

The many parallels between the fictional world and the world outside thus led to an anxious probing of how far these two realities aligned. Zygmunt Mycielski posed himself this very question on his return from a trip to Britain: 'Is this world going towards an Orwellian world?'.³⁴ Mycielski's sombre query did not prompt a completely dark diagnosis however. He evidently felt that the 'Orwellian world' had not been fully actualised, but it was the intellectuals' responsibility to prevent it and it was important to act on two fronts. During his stay in Britain he had refused to see such intellectuals as Juliusz Mieroszewski, Stephen Spender, Angus Wilson or Graham Greene, since he thought he 'didn't go [there] in order to mount some verbal and unsubstantiated cultural front against the world in which I live of my free will'. And this voluntary choice was connected with where he saw his own responsibility: 'It is us who must, by the fact of our existence here, make it difficult to realise this Orwellian world. And they need to fight there so that it becomes impossible. The game needs to be on two tables, but the players need to be different, and each at their own table'.³⁵ Kisielewski was not always so optimistic. In moments of annoyance and despair, he described Poland as an 'Orwellised country'.³⁶

Orwell's book shaped or prompted to revise one's political outlook like few others. As Mieczysław Jastrun's son points out in the introduction to the new edition of his father's diary, fear of the secret or public police might not have been the only reason keeping people from compiling such records in the Stalinist period. Sometimes it was too demanding to face one's conscience in this way in the time of 'the oppression of history'.³⁷ Jastrun's diary starts in 1955 and quickly logs the momentous encounter: 'I've started reading *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell'. Next day, the poet records his reflections – reflections sparked by an anxiety that his friend not repeat his heretic words 'where one shouldn't': 'Taking away the freedom of speech, and so also of thought – is a terrible demoralisation. A crime'.³⁸ This was when this poet formerly lending his pen to the Stalinist indoctrination machine would hesitantly start to distance himself from the party until finally joining the opposition. One of the leading young dissidents, Adam Michnik, claimed that what in turn prompted Leszek Kołakowski to set off on a 'revisionist' course in 1955 was having read Orwell, Koestler and Alexander Weissberg-Cybulski.³⁹ Kołakowski apparently used to say that he loved England – undoubtedly meaning the UK – for three reasons: David Hume, Jonathan Swift and George Orwell⁴⁰ and in his landmark treatise *Main Currents of Marxism* written after leaving Poland he claimed that Orwell was one of the few British intellectuals who 'formed an idea of Communism in action from empirical facts instead of from doctrinaire assumptions', for which he was 'met with hatred and indignation', and that his Western critical and philosophical literature about Marxism and communism informed Polish revisionists.⁴¹ Back in 1956 Poland, he wrote perhaps one of his most marking essays: 'The Death of Gods', a damning analysis of the false myths with which the communist system, which he himself had helped to sanction, endeavoured

to justify its brainwashing and brutal practices. Already here he found *Nineteen Eighty-Four* a convenient and illuminating reference: 'One could go on expanding this long and sad list of lost illusions, each exposing a successive stretch of the fast lane to 1984'.⁴² The essay was suppressed by censorship but, as Michnik explains, of all Kołakowski's articles this one became 'the most laden with the myth of a forbidden fruit' and circulated in manuscript during many years to come.⁴³

For some, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was a revelation in a political, but also literary-professional sense. One of the most striking early responses comes from the poet and thinker Aleksander Wat recorded in Poland between 1953 and 1957:

A book inadvertently comes to your hand – and suddenly with admiration and despair you see that the most important which you had to say has been said, that you could give some insignificant improvements, variants, supplements, particular cases. That, in brief, it is not worth writing anymore [...].

Such a book was for me *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell. I kept promising myself that if I survived and my time did not run up, I would write such a *Hauptwerk*. And to think that I was forestalled by someone who had never been to the place, hadn't done time. It is impossible to express more precisely, more genially the essence of Stalinism.⁴⁴

Not many could make such a profound impression on an erudite witness of the 20th century: the co-founder of Polish futurism, editor of the leading pre-war communist literary journal and survivor of Soviet purges, numerous prisons, deportation to Soviet Asia and refusal to accept a Soviet passport there, and, back in Stalinist Poland, a 'renegade'. The commendation is the greater as Wat does not consider Orwell a great writer as such ('Kafka, for example, is a much better "writer", a more subtle stylist and visionary'⁴⁵). What is more significant is Orwell's political perspicacity and the novel's forcefulness and clarity of formula and expression, issues very close to Wat's own heart. A sagacious student of language himself, Wat must have appreciated also Orwell's concise rules of newspeak.⁴⁶

A similarly important landmark was Orwell's book for Kisielewski, only here its effect seemed not so much disabling as conceptually useful. Stefan Kisielewski (1911-1991) was a composer and a colourful satiric journalist, and an iconic censorship warrior at times sentenced to silence, like after his legendary indictment of 'a dictatorship of dimwits' in Polish cultural life dispensed at a 1968 Writers' Union meeting, shortly after which the typically 'unknown perpetrators' happened to beat him up. He was also a politician in the Catholic alliance Znak. By own admission not a natural fiction writer, he wrote singular political novels, since he felt it his duty to record life under the regime for posterity in this way. His journalism and prose were sometimes likened to

that of Orwell's, for example by the clandestine translator of Orwell's essays or émigré commentators.⁴⁷ This Orwellian streak was not lost either on a censor employed in the regime's efforts to determine which home writer evidently familiar with the party's functioning published in the Parisian Institute the iconoclastic novel 'Seen from Above' that exposed 'the mechanics of the party authorities, the methods of internal, personal, [and] departmental political games "seen from above" in an Orwellian fashion'.⁴⁸ The perceived relation was not unsubstantiated. Only Kisielewski's émigré-published novels – often playful and robust extended essayistic forms rather than typical fiction striving for artistry – entertain many intertextual references to 'Orwell', mostly meaning *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. In his next and arguably most accomplished one, 'Shadows in a Cave' (1971), Orwell almost overlooks the protagonist's shoulder as he dispassionately unmasks the abnormal normality of the regime in Poland, finding constant confirmation of Orwell's projections in the dysfunctional economic system and the corruptive effects on the elites, individual moral choices, social relations, science and memory. Noticing that the 'ruling philosophers' decided to cut the new generation off from history, the protagonist Roman thinks it 'something like that Ministry of Archives in the famous Orwell's novel'. Explaining that if 'Roman did not believe in historical causation and world-ordering myths, he could not deny however that that minor communist Orwell turned out quite a prophet', correct even in trifles 'like the description of the filthy ministerial canteen'. When Roman scrutinised Polish newspeak, he could 'unmistakably identify all the features of that Orwellian one: it substituted facts with words and rhythmic sets of words, taking great care that they be resoundingly uniform and have nothing to do with the complex, atypical, entangled in space, time and concepts Polish reality'.⁴⁹

This intertextuality may be scarcely surprising. Many of Orwell's preoccupations were Kisielewski's own, and his diaries and émigré and clandestine articles reveal an unceasing fascination with Orwell's thinking: from admiring his 'prophetic' and, like Wat, 'genius' insights in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to admiring his courage in the intended introduction to *Animal Farm* (when published in *Kultura*).⁵⁰ 'Orwell' becomes a concept, authoritative reference, amplifier, summary and interjection in impulsive comments on certain phenomena, news or examples of Polish or foreign doctoring of history: 'I've just browsed through Orwell's *1984* again – after all, he described this method of inculcating false things in people just brilliantly'; 'The liquidation of words and concepts causes a change in thinking – exactly like genius Orwell described it'; 'So then the revolution corrects its own history censoring it itself, exactly as per Orwell's rule'; 'Sheer comedy, simply Mrozek, surrealism in the world so real, Orwell'; 'a prophet better than Marx'; 'An absolutely prophetic and genius bloke!'.⁵¹

The title of the highest genius in capturing the onerous Soviet reality was sometimes disputed. Recording his impressions after seeing Sławomir Mrożek's new satiric play just about tolerated by censorship, a leading writer ironically commented in the diary: 'Mrożek's grotesque is shocking, it gives the creeps. Especially *Karol*. It is a "monument of the epoch". For what Koestler and Orwell needed whole volumes, Mrożek encloses in one sketch. A vivisection of intelligentsia in a totalitarian system'.⁵² Kisielewski himself once derided: 'Kafka, Orwell, Čapek were people with no imagination – nobody will match the grotesqueness of life!'.⁵³ Stanisław Lem disputed it less mockingly.

Nineteen Eighty-Four appears to have constituted a common comparison base when it came to unmasking the totalitarian character of Soviet communism in practice. And this seemed an important matter not only in the Polish, but also international context. Some intellectuals looked at authors such as Orwell, Koestler and Burnham as a sort of translators who explained (meaningfully, the same word can express both 'translate' and 'explain' in Polish) the Soviet system to the Westerners who had not experienced it on their own and sometimes failed to grasp its perverse nature even if presented with undeniable facts. Kisielewski's sarcastic remark that certain things were beyond Western understanding 'even if [someone] would have read Orwell'⁵⁴ may only corroborate the near all-explanatory appearance of Orwell's two books. Lem appeared to subscribe to this perception of Orwell, only thought that he and his imitators explained it – wrongly. While in, for instance, his 1961 futuristic satire *Memoirs Found in a Bathtub* he targeted some of the misconceptions in a way veiled enough to satisfy censorship, he elaborated on his designs plainly in a compelling letter to his US translator.⁵⁵ Lem's main point of divergence was similar to Argentine-based Gombrowicz's, who had censured cold warriors in *Kultura* for bestowing on the regime fantastic, awe-inspiring qualities after the novel rather than seeing its real-life faulty ordinariness. Lem denounced that Stalinism fomented a false faith in a perfect mechanism and in an Absolut, whereas 'The reality was much worse, because it was not so superbly consequent at all'. As he explained, the reality 'was in fact wishy-washy, full of slovenliness, wastefulness, disorder, complete chaos even, mess' and the system was nobody's individual Machiavellian invention, but simply evolved from one phase to another. These two dogmas nonetheless led people to admit absurd crimes in show trials, to instinctively repress individuality and blend in or to take nonsense and mess no longer for what they were but see in them a puzzle of the system's perfect workings beyond their understanding. Lem felt that the likes of Orwell only reinforced these dogmas. If Mieroszewski argued that 'Communism for Orwell is not rationalism carried out to a logical consequence – but on the contrary, a corruption of rationalism', Lem forcefully reiterated in his letter: 'In this perception of the demonic as the main rule and the first plan people of the West of the type of Orwell got stuck, quite falsely, because

they tried to rationalise it, whereas there was nothing to rationalise in this take whatsoever. [...] Hence all those nonsenses by Orwell'.⁵⁶

Some living under the regime saw such Western 'translators' like Orwell as 'outsiders' with less authority to explain Russia's regime than first-hand witnesses, for example, Soviet camps' veterans Herling-Grudziński or Czapski, or Russian Solzhenitsyn; some in the West, conversely, credited outsider analyses more, dismissing insider testimonials as possibly unreliable.⁵⁷ Orwell and Koestler themselves discussed Czapski's 'reliability' and 'authenticity' (and a recommendation from a former Soviet commissar in Spain seemed to help Koestler).⁵⁸ Still, even an outsider's regime-unmasking could provide inspiration in the imperative to unmask the system 'from the inside'. And the perceived difference in perspective would not necessarily lead to simplistic value judgements. Having read a Kisielewski's early novel manuscript, Tyrmand reflected:

Most importantly, new great anti-communist literature is being created in countries of communism, how different from anti-communist literature of the West. I'm not detracting from the merits and weight of literature by Orwells, Koestlers, Miłoszes, but I see a fundamental difference between their writing – conceptual, speculative, visionary, synthesising, ideological and perspectivistic, and writing by Kisiel[ewski], Jaś [Jan Józef] Szczepański, mine – analytical, empirical, [...] examining the communist world in its direct, detailed context and not in perspectivistic shortcuts.⁵⁹

Even if questioned, Orwell's 'translation' and unmasking of a totalitarian regime in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* seemed a common reference frame for thinking about the nature of the Soviet system. Orwell might have felt compensated for his nearly heroic efforts to complete it shortly before his last breath if knowing that it possibly contributed to – regardless of judgements on 'correctness' – the retaining of intellectual integrity and liberating many minds under the oppressive system on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

3.2.2 A Homo Sovieticus Vaccine

Nobody knew when and how the Soviet subjugation of Poland and its neighbours would end, whether this was a matter of years, decades or centuries. In 1979, poet Anna Kamieńska marked Orwell's words written in 1945: 'We may be heading not for general breakdown but for an epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity'.⁶⁰ 'Sovietisation' of the Polish society was a growing concern. This seemed unlike previous occupations: the partitions or even the war-time German invasion when the oppression of Slavic 'sub-Aryans' was more psychological and material. This time the conquest was also ideological, it wanted to control not only the physical

being, but also the mind and the soul, turn its subjects into the enslaved, inert and uncritical *Homo sovieticus*. The older generation frequently alerted to two interrelated elements of this process: the questions of memory and lie, seeing them often in Orwellian terms. For instance, Kołakowski would discuss these in the commemorative Orwell year essay.⁶¹ Both issues stood behind the novelistic émigré career of Stefan Kisielewski, deeply preoccupied with the younger generation:

The papers write lies, but so advanced and deeply rooted that to prove the falsity of one short sentence one would have to use ten such sentences – and who would want to listen to this. [...] for the appropriately raised future generations (hammering into the head from childhood) it will stop being lies: nobody can live with the thought that they are constantly lying, nobody will dispute every word of the radio, television, the press. So then the lie will become the truth – the head goes spinning. Orwell was right – he was a great prophet.⁶²

And voices from the Generation '68 affirm the relevance of such preoccupations. A leading representative of the New Wave poets who found inspiration also in Orwell recalled how initially 'Censorship was for me a part of nature. Like lime trees, oaks, the sky and rain. [...] So, I believe, does a totalitarian system work: it wants to convince us that it is "natural"'.⁶³

If the pre-war generation that still remembered a different Poland was struck by Orwell's book encapsulating the various phenomena observed in the new regime, it could possibly have had an even greater impact on the younger generation born into the new system. A 1970s Poznań student later active in the underground vividly remembered the experience of reading *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: 'for the first time in my life I felt as if sick, psychologically poisoned after reading a book'.⁶⁴ Such literature could help notice some elements and mechanisms of oppression that the system intended to disguise as 'natural' and aim to resist and disarm them. Krzysztof Dorosz, later an émigré *Aneks* collaborator, host of the Polish BBC section's commemorative Orwell talk with e.g. Leszek Kołakowski and its famous *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s broadcast lector (1984), recalled that 'Thanks to my knowledge of English I could read various books – and probably in my university's third year I got to know Orwell's book. For a few days I lived in a shock, that here I have in front of me a description of the reality in which I was stuck, but I hadn't realised it. [...] So my life's attitude became: "the furthest from it"'.⁶⁵

Books like Orwell's not only helped raise awareness of certain phenomena, they also offered an easy conceptual apparatus to describe them and communicate the observations. The dissidents' bard remembered the tremendous difference the first encounter with a banned *Kultura*'s book made to him, which in his case was Milovan Djilas's *The New Class*: 'I suspected it looked exactly like that, but I lacked the language to describe the political reality in which I lived'.⁶⁶ A younger

historian of ideas Paweł Kłoczowski points out that in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Orwell depicted totalitarianism in a 'pure form' as it were that in Poland lasted possibly only for a short time. Even so, for Kłoczowski, the book still applied splendidly for studying the reality in which they lived too, since it provided precisely a basic, 'pure', template of tools used in the quest for controlling the minds and hearts, not least the use of language as aggression. Speaking years later, he still claimed: 'One can dispute the details, but these concepts remain basic instruments for the description of this system until now. [...] Assimilating these "first rules" was an absolute necessity for all those who were concerned with the matter of overthrowing communism and restoring freedom'.⁶⁷

Back in the late 1950s and early 1960s overthrowing communism might not have been an immediate goal of all dissenters yet, whether because to some the idea seemed too far-fetched, because an improved version of socialism seemed conceivable or otherwise. But Orwell's book again became an important reference for readers of various intellectual, political and artistic circles on the other side of the Iron Curtain a generation or more Orwell's junior whose dissent with the political and economic status quo was present or soon to germinate. And this assumed different colours and different forms of manifestation. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* constituted the arsenal of Krzysztof Dorosz's less pacific fellow Warsaw students, later dubbed 'the commandos'. These groups of well-read and sometimes well-connected young people (e.g. children of party officials), mostly left-wing and drawing on the legacy of October 1956, would disrupt or even hijack various university and party meetings with politically inconvenient questions and comments. Orwell would undoubtedly be a protagonist of such discussions, like in that on mass culture held on 17 February 1967 at the Philosophy Department where a 'commando' imputed: 'in the West the mass media are in the hands of a financial oligarchy, in Poland in the hands of a political oligarchy. The Polish society receives only this information, which "the political oligarchy wants to feed it with. If to this you add censorship, then the picture of the society you get is close to that portrayed by Orwell"'.⁶⁸ 'Commandos' would play a central role in March '68, the nationwide protests sparked by the take-down of the staging of a Romantic-era dramatic work by the national bard Mickiewicz on account of its anti-Russian tones. It is symptomatic of Orwell's importance to that – as they are often perceived – new generation of 'revisionists', and equally to the younger historian Jerzy Eisler, that in his study of the events of 1968 Eisler makes a point of mentioning that 'Most [commandos] read *Darkness at Noon* by Koestler or *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell not in the eighties, but precisely in the sixties'.⁶⁹

The regime's 'little stabilisation' was visibly heading in a disastrous direction as it had viciously repressed the 1968 demonstrations and launched anti-intellectual and anti-Semitic campaigns

that drove thousands to emigrate, and meanwhile had yet sent Polish tanks against the 'sister party' of Czechoslovakia. In this bleak lead-in to the December 1970 massacre of protesting workers, a young intellectual Wojciech Karpiński mounted a cry of despair coming from the core of a beleaguered being, aired in *Kultura*.⁷⁰ His gripping 'defence response' denounced the mental and political subjugation, appealed for freedom and called on intellectuals to preserve national values against Sovietisation, take responsibility and plan for eventualities. Among references to the tradition of conservative thought (by Jan Kucharczyński, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Marian Zdziechowski or Astolphe de Custine), Orwell was summoned to bear witness through his novel's imagery. Years later this dissenting Warsaw cultural historian of rare at that time conservative affinities would claim that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was 'one of the most marking readings in [his] life'.⁷¹

If *the* book by Orwell could mark one's life and foment concise insights and incisive vocabulary for describing the regime, it did not quite offer easily applicable solutions for an open official discussion. This still needed other forms of expression, to avail itself of the tradition by then well-rooted in Polish culture of the Aesopian language of allusions and perform balancing acts which in his case Karpiński (publishing also in official periodicals) later described as searching for own language that would tell his truth but at the same time evade 'committing a public thoughtcrime'.⁷² Various young poets from across the country also searching for their own voice found it in New Wave (*Nowa Fala*), a loose formation tied above all by the generational experiences of the year 1968 and December 1970. As discussed, its linguistic strain in particular drew on Orwell and postulated straight and authentic communication. The reflections on language and the reality thus presented could be grey and oppressive and the citizen helpless, like in the world of Winston Smith, but much of their poetry (by nature reaching a limited audience) managed to establish own balance with censorship. But if for some censorship initially seemed 'natural', the generation's perhaps leading poet and a rising star of Polish humanities, Stanisław Barańczak (later to succeed Wiktor Weintraub at Harvard), was still in the communist party and publishing officially whilst composing an accusatory anti-epic collection whose publication would have undoubtedly constituted a public thoughtcrime. Like Kołakowski earlier, he circulated it in manuscript unofficially before having it published abroad by post-March 1968 exiles from *Aneks*.⁷³ *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* influence here is undeniable. Entitled 'Artificial Respiration', it features a nameless and faceless hero N.N. (short for 'name unknown'), and the poem 'N.N. Considers the Meaning of the Word "Between"' refers to Orwell's book explicitly:

Between birth and death
 a lot can happen: [...]
 you can suddenly wake up with the index finger
 tucked between 'New Roads' (*Nowe Drogi*)⁷⁴ and *Brave*

New World, standing next to each other on the shelf; [...]
 you can suddenly awaken yourself between the smell
 of a deodorant from an import shop and the icy stench from a barrack
 between the year 1944
 and 1984
 you can suddenly wake and feel that you are still
 between: between a family dinner
 and a party meeting, between the sheets
 of the diary, which you write at night, and the duvet of the daily,
 which you buy in the morning; between the right hand, which
 pounds the fist on the table, and the left, which lifts itself
 like on strings in order to vote aye [...]⁷⁵

The reference to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* plays on several layers of meaning, such as the oppositions between the different forms of totalitarianism depicted in the two banned books by Orwell and Huxley or between the seemingly free word in the West and its suppression by the Eastern regime. Year 1984's pairing with 1944, which marks such a critical event as the beginning of the Soviet rule in Poland, implies something about the weight ascribed to that symbolic future date. A decade before it, 1984 already looms as an anxiously anticipated landmark: perhaps calling for verification, for facing the question of whether the Soviet subjugation with all its corrupting consequences would have petrified by then or, worse, deteriorated into something like Orwell's vision indeed. It also suggests the young poet's personal projection of the future and enquiry into own place and role in this possible process. In a few years, risking their careers, Barańczak with other intellectuals would become involved in forming the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR), predecessor of Solidarity, initially set on organised solidary self-defence and exploring open and legal means of dissent.

If 1968 saw worldwide turmoil and experiences marking a generation, it was also a special year for Orwell's legacy. Owing to the publication of the four volumes of *CEJL*, much of his previously scattered oeuvre became more easily accessible. The collection did find some impact also among intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain and contributed to his Polish reception gaining in scope. Barańczak himself recalled that 'by some miracle' he had acquired the collection in the early 1970s and asserted to have read it 'from cover to cover'.⁷⁶ On its basis, Wojciech Karpiński and the historian of ideas Marcin Król would soon prepare the summer 1974 Orwell issue of the émigré quarterly *Aneks*, which presented the first Polish translations of 'Notes on Nationalism' (slightly abridged), 'Catastrophic Gradualism', 'Second Thoughts on James Burnham', 'You and the

Atom Bomb', 'Writers and Leviathan', two 'As I Please' columns and a new translation of 'Prevention of Literature'. Importantly, Król's nearly 2000-word introduction finally allowed the Polish reader to learn more about Orwell and his complex views.⁷⁷ The publication would prove quite consequential for Orwell's clandestine history in Poland too, serving multiple reproductions.⁷⁸ Whether by chance or a mindful decision, this selection excluded texts directly related to Poland but which could potentially reignite resentment toward the West, such as the 'As I Please' column on the Warsaw uprising or Orwell's letter in defence of the Polish statesmen abducted and prosecuted in a Soviet court in favour of presenting Orwell's reflections on world politics, freedom and literature.

Following the world trend of contesting groups claiming him, Orwell's early Polish clandestine reception exemplifies also how specific political conditions attenuated his followers' seeming incompatibilities. Orwell-the essayist would be reintroduced (first introduced by *Kultura* in the late 1940s) to the Polish reader partly owing to the circle of intellectuals (Karpiński and Król) who were rescuing the tradition of a conservative thought and were affiliated with the Catholic press (then enjoying more censorial leeway than other official papers). Their material was published by *Aneks*, a young émigré journal of primarily former Marxist or Trotskyist 'commandos' or second-wave 'revisionists', yet open to a wide range of views. Thinking affinities between Orwell and many New Wave poets are evident, particularly the humanist Barańczak who would declare that 'Orwell had, I hope he had, an enormous influence on me' and for whom 'Notes on Nationalism', with its criticism of the *totum pro parte* mechanism in which an individual evades responsibility by 'sinking' into a group identity, had apparently been one of the most important readings of his youth.⁷⁹ Król's introduction to *Aneks*'s essays brought to the fore the same leitmotif of Orwell's thinking: the avowal of the importance to preserve one's individual freedom and independence of thought in order to avoid the risk of inadvertently joining an evil cause. As so many times in history, the question of potentially irreconcilable beliefs and convictions moves aside when there is a more pressing issue at stake that demands a united front. Dissidents' defiance and unity of purpose would consolidate more each time the authorities decided to curtail public pressure for liberating reforms. Even the dissident left and the Catholic Church would many times join ranks. After 1968, various even previously hopeful revisionists concluded the impossibility of the system's reform and that before them was 'a long march' to regaining liberty, rather than a swift revolution, and so former communists or liberal leftists would dialogue with liberal Catholic circles. Support networks were key in standing up to the system. As in previous epochs, a long march was expected to be sustained by ideas, literature and intellectual heroes, and Orwell was among the top choice. In these circumstances, Orwell would largely evade a fierce antagonistic contestation amongst his followers as sometimes happened in the West, since the foremost

values projected onto his name and works, an uncompromising anti-communism and veneration of freedom, were values treasured by the underground in great consensus.⁸⁰

Certainly already for various representatives of the older generation like for example Mycielski, Wat and Kisielewski *Nineteen Eighty-Four* appeared to be not simply political literature but a political treatise in literary form, possibly even quite independently of the influential Irving Howe's claims on this subject.⁸¹ At least for some, the novel lost nothing of its relevance over the years. When the 1980-81 Solidarity carnival of unheard freedoms was in full swing, Mycielski still enumerated Orwell's among three most important books published abroad, even though the question enquired about Polish authors, and recapped that the 'seemingly outdated' novel shows the dangerous ways of organised thinking. When the freedom carnival was cut short by a military coup, Mycielski thought: 'Orwell is tightening up'.⁸² Different members of the younger generation of intellectuals shared such views and placed Orwell as much among writers as among thinkers of the growing studies on totalitarianism. The future founder of another notable émigré literary journal in Paris from the 'commando' circles asserted that 'Our *maîtres à penser* next to Kołakowski [...] became: Miłosz, Wat, Orwell, Hannah Arendt, Raymond Aron – intellectuals who tried to define the characteristics of an ideological dictatorship'.⁸³ In Karpiński and Król's studies on history of ideas such as freedom and power and the individual Orwell appeared amidst the Greeks, Machiavelli, Baron de Montesquieu, Alexis de Tocqueville, F. A. Hayek, Arendt, Isaiah Berlin and Nicola Chiaromonte.⁸⁴ Pointing to many Western critics' fault in treating *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as a literary novel, Karpiński argued that 'this book is one of the great warnings placed before humanity, before the European culture. Such a warning as was Swift, as was Voltaire, in our [20th] century is this book'.⁸⁵

A writer-philosopher, Orwell sometimes appeared simply a genius maverick because of his political insight. For some Polish clandestine readers, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* particularly read like 'written by someone from here'. Recognising his limited first-hand experience of a totalitarian system, 'How did he know all that?' was a staple astonished wonder of both his younger and older readers.⁸⁶ This often went hand in hand with a perception of him as barely short of a secular 'saint' too. The clandestine essayist and translator Piotr Pieńkowski recalls that Orwell 'was a crystalline figure for me in those times' and that 'I liked that he didn't mean a partisan gain, he solely cared for the problem in question'.⁸⁷

Orwell's audience in Poland was steadily growing thanks to the stream of copies posted or smuggled from abroad (in the 1970s, for example, foreign travel became easier than before). Large libraries were amassing collections of uncensored works, libraries at Western diplomatic posts were also places of a possible encounter with banned texts. Nonetheless, this could still

reach only a limited audience. Stanisław Barańczak wrote a memorable essay for the 1977 Venice Biennale del dissenso, 'The Façade and the Backs', about how the Polish culture became split in 'an Orwellian doublethink' into a frontal official sphere and a hidden clandestine one. This is how he described there the situation of a Polish author: 'printing abroad means nonetheless removing oneself to the margin. A book published in Paris or London might be quite famous here, in Poland, might be passed from hand to hand, but anyway it will not be read by many'.⁸⁸ The situation of foreign banned authors would be similar. Orwell's readers would consist essentially of intellectual circles: owners of such treasured books and their milieu;⁸⁹ those aware that such a writer existed and in a position to access 'prohibita' collections, specialist libraries or underground libraries; those knowing of and determined enough to risk coming on a security services' radar by ordering a free book from an émigré institution; or, alternatively, those able to regularly tune in to a 'freedom' radio broadcast. While Orwell was present in Poland in all those inconspicuous forms, this was by no means a mass or popular reception yet.

There were indeed individuals outside such milieus just as inquisitive or as determined so as to access him. A clandestine magazine essay prize contestant narrated his journey to discovering Orwell.⁹⁰ It led precisely through 'signals' encountered over the years in official publications, but also libraries, second-hand bookshops – another window to unorthodox thought which escaped censorial control – and state confiscations, which material sometimes gained a life of its own. From the first cryptic mention found in 1967, 'as it happens in other black anti-utopias of various Orwells'⁹¹ to another found three years later, 'Joyce Cary proved attractive to more investors than competing firms, but many showed a preference for Graham Greene or Georg [sic] Orwell',⁹² he gathered that: 'there exists a writer called Georg [sic – Polish declension system not aiding the search] Orwell, close to Greene's class, probably English-speaking'. He realised though: 'I don't know what he wrote'.⁹³ Lem's history of science-fiction offered scant, but some help: 'such works are usually under a strong influence of the famous in its time Orwell's novel (*Nineteen Eighty-Four*) and *Fahrenheit 451* 'is merely a pale shadow of Orwell's novel'.⁹⁴ Armed with a title, he discovered that the Jagiellonian Library indeed had it, but classified 'res', out of bounds for ordinary readers. As if reinforcing Lem's theory about Orwell's mistake in portraying the Soviet regime as a perfect machine, this eager reader noticed that a Russian émigré edition was 'res' free. This apparently was not of much help to him, though. A trip to Paris, however, seemed to offer an opportunity to obtain the book in one of the two Polish bookshops there. Yet, in 1972, *Rok 1984* was sold out and a successfully smuggled back copy in inscrutable French offered little consolation. Serendipity soon had it, however, that an English edition appeared in a second-hand bookshop, which he could about read and even embarked on translating with a friend. The job proved arduous but was allowed to halt only when a friend showed up with a worn *Kultura's* edition, whose long clandestine journey had originated with a customs officer, i.e. likely a product

of confiscation. The determined Orwell aficionado solemnly noted how his road to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* culminated 'twenty-seven years from the moment of my birth, twenty-four since the publication in London, twenty since the publication of the Polish translation in Paris, eight years since coming across the term "various Orwells", three after getting to know the title and eleven before the mythical date 1984'.⁹⁵

Another Orwell devotee presented a Kraków's foundation with a unique edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* dating from around 1976. As he explained:

The manuscript came from a Radio Free Europe watch, which every day broadcast fragments of the novel and which I every day wrote on my typewriter in 6 copies. When the novel's broadcast ended, I had the manuscripts bound by a trusted bookbinder Mr Stanclik, Kraków ul. Wrzesińska 3 and then gave the bound copies to my friends for possible further reproduction.⁹⁶

3.3 After the Paper Revolution

3.3.1 Top of the Charts

The year 1976 is commonly perceived as breakthrough in the development of organised political opposition and independent publishing that provided the Polish society with a wider access to uncensored information, thought and literature. The life of the 'second circulation' of prints and information divides into three periods of distinct political circumstances: 1976 to mid-1980 – the beginnings; mid-1980 to 13 December 1981 – the 'carnival of Solidarity' when the independent trade union became legal and took advantage of its right to issue 'internal prints', and when other clandestine groups' works were distributed semi-openly; and 13 December 1981 to 1989/1990 – when the military coup outlawed Solidarity and independent publishing too returned underground.

The CIA book programme and other émigré and foreign undertakings fostered the Poles' acquaintance with Orwell. Now, often in collaboration with them too, the clandestine presses and their networks took him beyond the elite to a broader circle of readers. As with the clandestine circulation of prints from abroad, due to its conspiratorial nature the clandestine publishing phenomenon too is elusive to study. It has been established that in years 1976-1989/1990 underground printers produced at least nearly 6,000 different newspaper and periodical titles, thicker or thinner, and over 6,500 titles of books and booklets.⁹⁷ It is rarely possible, however, to ascertain the size of imprints and the extent of distribution and readership. Publishers' own declarations about print runs may not be entirely reliable, some might have wanted to appear larger than in reality. Some prints would be intercepted by the state services, while on the other hand one copy frequently had several readers. Periodicals' print runs varied according to their audience and possibilities. Larger and established ones could have 2,000-3,000 copies, the largest, Solidarity's principal forum *Tygodnik Mazowsze* [Mazovia Weekly], had 50,000-80,000. A book or booklet edition could have 1,000-5,000 copies, but this also could vary depending on the title and the publisher's equipment.⁹⁸ In an early study, Beata Dorosz suggests that 17,000 copies was the upper borderline for books – this record belonging precisely to Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* published jointly by Głosy and Oficyna Liberałów in 1985.⁹⁹ Surveys suggest that possibly as much as 26 percent of mature population had some access, 11 percent of which regular, to clandestine publications in the 1980s, which would mean over 7 million and 3 million people respectively.¹⁰⁰

An indicator of the popularity or importance of a particular title or author to consider can be the number of editions. Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were among the most frequently republished books. Yet, here again counting is not a straightforward matter. The sometimes artisanal manufacture, where the size and type of paper or print, the ink colour and

even the cover could vary within the same editions or further imprints, or the sometimes anonymous and/or undated issues can make distinctions between different editions somewhat blurry. Both the Polish National Library's database of 'Polish Underground Books (1976–1989)' and the *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] bibliography distinguish 45 separate editions of books whose author is Orwell and two comic adaptations of *Animal Farm*, however – symptomatically – the registers do not concur in their entirety.¹⁰¹ The first bibliography registers 16 and the second 23 editions of *Animal Farm*, 18 and 14 editions of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 10 and 7 collections of essays, and one edition of *Homage to Catalonia* each. Using the National Library's database, Paweł Sowiński compiled a list of the most frequently published book and booklet titles with at least ten reeditions.¹⁰² Allowing for mentioned imprecisions and the fact that the list already omits for example *Animal Farm*, it might still help to approximate the position of Orwell's works within the context of the clandestine book market perceived through numbers. Following the *Bez cenzury* bibliography, with 23 editions *Animal Farm* would come third on Sowiński's list, ranking below the interview with colonel Ryszard Kukliński (the CIA informer who defected to the USA) and various fragments and editions of Witold Gombrowicz's diary (*Dziennik*), and ranking above Miłosz's *The Captive Mind* and Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. With 14 editions, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* would come 14th, still preceding such works as, for example, Tadeusz Konwicki's *A Minor Apocalypse* or General Władysław Anders's memoirs, *Bez ostatniego rozdziału* [Without the Last Chapter]. As per the National Library bibliography, with 18 editions *Nineteen Eighty-Four* would come eighth (though Sowiński places it 17th, with 13 editions of *Rok 1984*, possibly missing the five the bibliography records under the title *1984*). If it was not omitted, *Animal Farm* with 16 editions should come 12th. In either case, Orwell would be the only author with more than one work ranked within the 15 most frequently published titles. Orwell's was not a negligible success either in the light of the at least 45 or 47 books published in total. Sowiński places him in the ninth position among authors published most frequently.¹⁰³ According to the National Library bibliography of underground books and booklets, the author issued most frequently had 131 publications to his name (*Bez cenzury* records 178).¹⁰⁴ This was Miłosz whose fame spiked after his 1980 Nobel award. The second most popular author was also Polish, Kołakowski, with 78 book and booklet issues (*Bez cenzury* records 56). Orwell overtook such other Polish émigrés as for example his familiar survivors of the Soviet exile: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński (41) and Józef Czapki (17). Orwell scores fewer books than another popular and censored foreign writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn (55), but much more than his friend Arthur Koestler (9). Orwell's stature among dissident Poles might come into relief also through *Animal Farm*'s popularity set against Władysław Reymont's 'Rebellion' – entirely forgotten by clandestine publishers too (republished only in 2004), even if works of a similar extent were published, including Orwell's own *Nineteen*

Eighty-Four.¹⁰⁵ Rather in keeping with the general cold war trend – the Orwell book publication pattern here reinforces his primary image as the author of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Significant efforts were made nonetheless to indicate Orwell's other, journalistic side, but his other novels would remain much neglected.

Various explanations try to account for why clandestine publishing in Poland started to develop dynamically in 1976-1977 and not earlier, despite both historically distant and recent examples of this tradition. One philologist and book scholar suggested three main reasons for this, such as social expectations being more articulated than before, political opposition structures aiding the setting up of clandestine printing and distribution networks, and generally a lower level of state repressions.¹⁰⁶ Despite vast infrastructural losses and risks, clandestine publishing was a considerably large phenomenon during the war, bringing forth prints by nearly each political party or military organisation, government's instructions and regulations, but also literary periodicals and literature.¹⁰⁷ The liquidation of anti-communist opposition after the war led to the demise of clandestine publishing too by the end of the 1940s. While the 1956 thaw could seem a propitious time for an alternative circulation to have developed, it did not on any large scale, possibly because many opinion-making 'revisionists' who openly questioned the state of affairs wanted to reform the system from within the party ranks and certainly also because of fear of repressions and of provoking a Soviet attack. Sometimes texts found an outlet on émigré forums, samizdat existed on a small scale,¹⁰⁸ and some publishing initiatives did occur too, often with Polish texts rather than foreign.¹⁰⁹ For instance, the security services recorded 2147 leaflets protesting against the 1968 Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia,¹¹⁰ the organisation Ruch [Movement] published a few bulletins in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but various initiatives would be nipped in the bud,¹¹¹ even if by (dissenting) dogmatic communists.¹¹²

The deposition of the discredited First Secretary Władysław Gomułka and ascension of Edward Gierek to his post in 1970 brought new hopes and calmed some social unrest. But not for long. The early relaxation of censorship was soon reverted. Gierek's 'success propaganda' backfired when the vast investments made with Western loans failed to bring expected returns and the economy was receding into crisis. A drastic price rise introduced in June 1976 in response to an alarming inflation pushed around 70-80,000 people to the street in protest the following day, which ended in some deaths, hundreds of arrests and sentences.¹¹³ Shortly before, controversial amendments to the constitution pushed intellectuals to protest. Now attempts to provide assistance to the repressed and their families following the strikes catalysed more organised cross-society dissent (initially much allied under the Workers' Defence Committee, KOR) and publications reporting the state's violence. Other publishing initiatives developed simultaneously. For the first time the regime did not respond with a radical onslaught. Violent measures had sealed the political downfall of the government's predecessor, now moreover the country

depended on foreign credits and, in the midst of international discussions on human rights, maintaining a liberal façade with 'no political prisoners' seemed a higher priority. Rather than launch a vicious pacification, the state intended to, as a high official instructed in autumn 1976, 'do what shall make the lives [and] activity of the people hostile to us more difficult'.¹¹⁴ One of the measures was a yet intensified invigilation. While in 1975 the security service (SB) had less than 19,000 secret collaborators (TW), in 1979 this figure reached over 28,000, and the number of security officers would also keep rising.¹¹⁵

3.3.2 Orwell Published Underground

It would appeal to Orwell that the first literary book aimed at the Soviet regime produced by the renascent Polish clandestine press was probably his *Animal Farm*. It would tickle his sense of history that although nearly half of the future clandestine publishers would operate in Warsaw this was done nowhere else but in Lublin. The capital remaining under German siege, Lublin was the city to which 32 years earlier a group of Polish communists who survived Stalin's purges (unlike e.g. Wiktor Alter and Henryk Erlich whom Orwell once tried to bring into the memory) was dispatched from Moscow to claim the birth of a new communist Poland. Orwell might have raised his brow nonetheless upon learning that the keen amateur publishers were students of a Catholic university soon to embark on issuing a Catholic journal. His sense of irony might also have appreciated the fact that the edition was only a test of the new 'Frenchwoman' duplicator, allegedly not very successful, and the book did not enter circulation.¹¹⁶

Orwell's disappointment might not have lasted long though. Soon the first issue of the first underground literary journal *Zapis* would pay him tribute in its very opening sentence.¹¹⁷ Though again, whilst the journal's second issue would be printed by the Lublin team in what then seemed a massive number of 250-300 copies soon to increase, this first one was a proper samizdat typed in just a few, carefully bound nonetheless. Then again, the journal would be promptly republished by London's Index on Censorship (an organisation sponsored by Orwell's colleagues David Astor and Stephen Spender) and reach back the Polish underground. The title, *Zapis*, played on the homonymy of 'record' and the publishing ban, 'listing', and the journal claimed to be a place to record situations and values of truth suppressed in official circulation. Yet, like many things in that doublethink system, its clandestine status was somewhat ambiguous at the start. The authorities became only too aware of the project and attempted to deter writers from going ahead with it. Set on committing this now open act of defiance regardless, the rebels' anxious thoughts unmistakably drifted towards the Orwellian world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Barańczak's introductory article departs from a brief overview of Winston Smith's job: censoring the past, and

that of his literary colleagues: correcting 'mistakes' in literature. In this text dated 31 December 1976, Barańczak is both reassured and apprehensive to notice that 'Seven years remain between us and the disquieting date of 1984' and, with his typical irony, he doubts that the inefficient system could rise to the Orwellian model of a perfect control of the past, but worries about increasing attempts at a totalitarian control of the present.¹¹⁸ A closing quote from Orwell's stark observations on literature in a totalitarian society (which according to Orwell e.g. 'can never afford to become either tolerant or intellectually stable. It can never permit either the truthful recording of facts or the emotional sincerity that literary creation demands'¹¹⁹) serves Barańczak to motivate potential contributors by implying that it is the writers' national and moral obligation to voice their truths – if unfit for official circulation, then in an alternative outlet like *Zapis*.

The journal's motivational calls resonated with some émigré authors too. The July 1978 issue offered Herling-Grudziński's article that recovered recollections from his anti-communist, or Soviet communism awareness-raising, lecture tour across Burma back in 1952, 'two years after Orwell's death and five after granting Burma independence by Great Britain'. Charmed with Orwell's little essay 'Shooting an Elephant', Grudziński began by offering the Polish clandestine audience his reading of it. In his view, through the final image of the elephant dying in 'some remote world' Orwell conjured up the 'drifting away from each other to an infinite distance' of three different 'parties to the drama': the British Empire of which 'it was not yet known that it was dying', the hated and hateful armed colonial officer, and the colonised locals armed only with the "'invisible will" in their hearts'. The subsequent overview of Burma's political situation 35 years earlier, with its struggles against communist partisans and different conceptions for the recent independence, only added to the bearing of both Orwell's and Grudziński's stories to the Polish circumstances in 1978. Grudziński argued that in Orwell's essay 'every line of description and reflection leads to the word "distant" in the final'; Grudziński's own re-reading of it and reflections on his Burmese episode in Orwell's footsteps seems to lead to the word 'independence'.¹²⁰

Piotr Pieńkowski asserts that still in the 1980s Orwell appeared more like a myth than an author actually read. University students could be familiar with *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* slogans, but this was not always anchored in familiarity with the works, which then only started to appear in the clandestine presses. Paweł Kłoczowski recalls that Orwell's name drew considerable audiences to independent lectures, which on Orwell he delivered a few, but they still demanded synopses of his books. Jadwiga Piątkowska claimed as late as 1987 that many educated Poles outside large cultural centres still knew Orwell only by hearsay.¹²¹ Therefore, it is indicative of an inequality in access to censored sources between the second circulation frontrunners and the society at large when in his 1976 introduction to *Zapis* Barańczak argued that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 'has recently experienced a telling renaissance of popularity in Poland'¹²² or when the driving

force behind NOWa, Mirosław Chojecki, would oppose publishing either of Orwell's two main works, alleging that they were 'easily accessible' in Poland and already 'generally known' through their émigré editions and so he preferred to invest their scarce resources in authors and works known less. Orwell apparently became the subject of heated discussions at NOWa, and Chojecki was persuaded to take up Orwell's fiction only by Andrzej Krauze's drawings, made specially for *Animal Farm*.¹²³

This was the first effective clandestine reproduction of Orwell's work.¹²⁴ With it, Orwell partook in not so much a doublethink cultural split into a façade and a back, like Barańczak saw it, as triple: an official front and two back interlacing columns, underground and émigré, all three ultimately intertwining. Among Orwell's editions, the intertwining was perhaps particularly tangible in this case. All known Polish clandestine publications of *Animal Farm* were reprints of Teresa Jeleńska's translation, chiefly from the 1974 London *Odnowa*'s edition or from other clandestine issues. The edition's cover in turn adorned the front page of the catalogue of the British Library's 1984 exhibition 'Orwell in Eastern Europe'. Andrzej Krauze, known to the English-speaking public through his satiric cartoons in *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Times* or *New York Times*, had been asked to illustrate *Animal Farm*¹²⁵ by the co-founder of another underground literary journal, *Puls*, and co-host of a famous independent artistic 'saloon' in his home, before they would both emigrate from Poland in 1979. Krauze was an enthusiast of animal allegory, a visual Aesop's or La Fontaine's language sometimes successful in smuggling allusions in times of censorship, and the ten drawings that adorned NOWa's *Animal Farm* edition are his characteristically crude and daft-looking beasts. The clandestine pigs wore no camouflage clothing and bore unmistakable resemblance to their cousins from the major official weekly *Kultura* (a homonymous Warsaw competitor of the Parisian one) where Krauze also contributed. Big Brother's surveillance system did not fail since, according to the cartoonist, *Kultura*'s editor had been reprimanded by the party's Central Committee even prior to the publication seeing the light and eventually the *Animal Farm*'s pigs would cost Krauze his official job.¹²⁶

It was probably this *Animal Farm* issued by the commonly perceived as oldest and largest clandestine publisher Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, NOWa (acronym reading 'new' for Independent Publishing House), that opened a new stage in Orwell's Polish reception, heralding many other unofficial publications. The book was printed by offset technique at the beginning of 1979, possibly in a few thousand copies.¹²⁷ Since NOWa evolved from the Lublin students' undertaking, its publication of *Animal Farm* in a way put a closure to the forerunning 1976 project. But students in other places were not idling either.

The independent Student Solidarity Committee (SKS) in Wrocław published another *Animal Farm's* reprint, possibly the only book-form publication in Wrocław in 1979.¹²⁸ Students connected with the Kraków's SKS Committee brought out a screen-printed booklet with the essays 'Writers and the Leviathan' and 'Prevention of Literature' reprinted from *Aneks*, one among only eleven book-form prints known to have been published in Kraków that year.¹²⁹ That year also saw the launch of a political and cultural quarterly *Res Publica*. Officially distancing itself from immediate political debates in favour of a theoretical thought 'neither left, nor right', it leaned towards a conservative-liberal thought, standing out from the opposition's left-wing mainstream. It gathered various conspicuous Orwell enthusiasts, such as Marcin Król and Wojciech Karpiński, a historian of ideas and poet Anna Kamieńska's son Paweł Śpiewak, and Orwell's propagator Paweł Kłoczowski, as well as the older conservative liberal Stefan Kisielewski. As a result, Orwell's ideas never seemed too far away from its pages.

3.3.3 Solidarity Carnival

Res Publica's Marcin Król would argue *ex-post* quite originally that if Miłosz's or Orwell's books helped intellectuals defend themselves against enslaving ideologies, they did so by fomenting their strength as individuals but detracting from their strength as a group of public pressure and removing from the world of social matters. As a result, they failed to foresee that a grassroots workers' movement like Solidarity could take place.¹³⁰ Others saw the books' influence slightly differently. Poland-based critic Krzysztof Dybciak wrote in émigré *Aneks* in 1984:

Orwell exhibited nearly prophetic sagacity indeed in the reflections on the power of the 'proles' [...]. I know how naive reasoning it is to compare literary fiction with historical reality, but did this English writer's assumptions not come true in the summer of 1980? The combination of the power of the working muscles and hearts with the intellectuals' thought produced an explosion which carved out a hole in the monolith of the communist totalitarianism large as never before. Soon it turned out that both these streams of liberating energies are yet too weak to successfully challenge the whole empire, but an example has been given and nothing will prevent the forces from uniting again; this time already on a larger scale. Only today, after the Polish experience of the 'Solidarity' time, does the central scene of Orwell's novel [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*] reveal all [its] senses.¹³¹

The central scene for Dybciak, where Orwell's 'uneven' work reached 'great artistic heights', was Julia and Winston's last date and their arrest, with the memorable pronouncement, among others: 'The future belonged to the proles. [...] [Theirs] would be a world of sanity. Where there is equality there can be sanity. Sooner or later it would happen, strength would change into

consciousness'.¹³² And so it really seemed to be happening in Poland beginning with summer 1980.

Amidst the wearing grey reality of shortages and systemic cronyism, a worker-based trade cum social movement named 'Solidarity' managed to bring out in the society a disciplined team spirit and engender enthusiastic civic initiatives. It gained much support from the society, the Polish Pope and clergy, and intellectuals, who offered expert advice. In its high time, Solidarity would attract a membership of nearly 10 million. Although the implementation of the strikers' 21 demands to which the government acquiesced in theory would require frequent fighting for in practice, Solidarity's publishing infrastructures vigorously implemented the granted censorship exemption for 'internal prints', a freedom closely seconded by existing and new independent publishers. Nearly every Solidarity region and factory committee had the ambition to publish their own information bulletins, booklets and books.¹³³ Parts of older opposition groups fortified Solidarity's ranks, bringing with them also their publishing expertise and bases, and many other clandestine publishers put themselves at Solidarity's disposal or developed symbiotic relations, e.g. providing printing services while benefiting from its news agencies and robust distribution capacities. Unorthodox press and books were sold publicly, for example in factories and street stalls. Unsurprisingly then the Solidarity carnival was also the carnival of banned writers, ideas and versions of history. At least 160 clandestine – or then rather independent – publishing houses were active in 1980-1981, and 1981 saw the peak in the number of uncensored book and booklet publications: 929 according to the National Library.¹³⁴ Among them were at least 11 to 13 issues of Orwell¹³⁵ – his carnival bookwise, unparalleled even in 1984, beside his presence in the independent press.

As per its imprint, the first known edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* published in Poland was issued in December 1980,¹³⁶ just around the time when the USSR, GDR and Czechoslovakia displeased with the Solidarity affair had their armies surround the Polish borders apparently threatening with an intervention, when Washington verbally intervened in Polish defence, and when Polish leaders summoned to Moscow were served with the hence regular type of Orwellian reassurance: '600,000 Soviet soldiers died in the fight for Poland's freedom. Polish adversaries should know that the allies shall not abandon Poland to the mercy of imperialism'.¹³⁷ This *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* timely debut was offered by Głos, a Warsaw politics- and history-focused publisher led by Antoni Macierewicz – somewhat appropriately – Polish Defence Minister of late. Like all known Polish clandestine editions, it was a reprint from *Kultura's* Library series in Juliusz Mieroszewski's translation. The magazine *Głos* around which, typically, a publisher formed was the voice of a Catholic-right faction within the predominantly secular left-wing KOR, which Macierewicz

nonetheless had helped to found and which would become absorbed by Solidarity. It is thus an example of the Orwell phenomenon continuing to work underground. His works could be propagated even by those activists for whom he could hardly remain a long-lasting ally on a political scene. Showing that Głos did not embrace Orwell by accident, it would later publish *Animal Farm* too (1983).¹³⁸

Orwell's thicker novel's debut in Poland was quickly tailed by others, as independent publishers were increasingly able to produce longer works. The Kraków's student publisher that had issued Orwell's essays would reach for Orwell a number of times, and now the first 34-page booklet has been outdone by a 303-page long *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Arranged in two columns per page, it still far exceeded Kraków's 96-page clandestine publications' average in 1981.¹³⁹ It also offered as introduction Skalmowski's informative essay on Orwell from *Kultura*, which the Literary Institute itself used as introduction to its 1979 and 1983 editions.¹⁴⁰ This edition, claimed by two publishers, also testifies to the independent publishing's dynamism: part of the print run bears on the cover a stamp obscuring the 'kos' logo under which the students now operated and displaying the name 'ABC' next to it, which was just the brand new publishing venture of a leaving member of its team.¹⁴¹ Also Gdańsk, the Solidarity's bedrock, could not do without honouring Orwell with its own edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* during the carnival, especially as the city boasted one of the most notable pre-Solidarity publishers run by the Young Poland Movement (RMP).¹⁴² In Orwell's case, nonetheless, two Gdańsk Polytechnic University students used the university's reproduction facilities rather than publisher's own devices, if only to bring out 1,000 copies.¹⁴³ Another offset from the Parisian publications, it displayed a striking front cover: a plain page with just the author's hand-scripted name – acting almost as a symbol – and an equally symbolic neat drawing of a tank about to crush the numeral '1984', before it does the same with the reader. Undoubtedly, it resonated the war of nerves that pervaded the entire Solidarity carnival, during which the Soviet army bases in Poland regularly brandished their strength and got due coverage in the official media. As anticipated, the sight of tanks in the streets would abruptly become reality, and three years before the legendary, and often dreaded, year 1984.

Before that happened, however, during the self-limiting Solidarity revolution (determinedly non-violent: mindful of the catastrophe of the Warsaw uprising and cautious not to provoke Soviet intervention or civil war), Orwell had ample opportunity to experience the increasing decentralisation of the independent means of cultural production. Aside from Warsaw (at least 5 books and/or booklets), Kraków (at least 3) and Gdańsk, his titles appeared in such different parts of Poland as Wrocław, Poznań and Szczecin. He could also witness their increasing democratisation. The Gdańsk's Young Poland Movement was, next to the intellectual *Res Publica*, another nucleus of conservative thought, but more radical and more practically-orientated. In fact, it drew upon the pre-war National Democratic Party, a right-wing formation hardly reflecting

Orwell's politics. As in the case of the right-leaning *Głos*, it must have been Orwell's unmasking of the Soviet-style totalitarianism and defence of freedom and liberty that outshone any other values he espoused, particularly as this movement, in contrast to others, declared national independence their explicit goal. Conversely, in another corner of Poland, Wrocław, *Animal Farm* would be published on a laborious colloid stencil 'frame' by the Wyzwolenie publishing cooperative, established in 1978 by people collaborating with the left-wing KOR.¹⁴⁴ The word 'wyzwolenie' means 'liberation', and in the Polish post-war newspeak it was sometimes preferred over the word 'freedom' and became appropriated to designate also the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1944-45. One could readily expect therefore the name 'Wyzwolenie' to allude to something like 'liberation from the Soviet occupation'. But one would be mistaken. Removed from humdrum politics, the name of this Orwell's publisher connected with Eastern esoteric traditions instead.¹⁴⁵ Also Chojecki of Orwell's first clandestine publisher NOWa had what he called a 'hippie' episode when his political activism saw him expelled from the university.¹⁴⁶ Orwell sometimes threw invectives at non-conformists of the type:

It would help enormously, for instance, if the smell of crankiness which still clings to the Socialist movement could be dispelled. If only the sandals and the pistachio-coloured shirts could be put in a pile and burnt, and every vegetarian, teetotaller, and creeping Jesus sent home to Welwyn Garden City to do his yoga exercises quietly!¹⁴⁷

It remains one's guess then which Orwell would do to a greater extent: applaud his Polish clandestine publishers or demur over the colour of their shirts. By the end of his life, Orwell seemed to have partially 'reconciled' with Gandhi at least.¹⁴⁸

Publishing 'democratisation' went further and, like in the USA with *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the 35-cent 'pulp' series – sometimes touched on the vulgar. Toruń Solidarity's fortnightly magazine illustrated *Animal Farm's* excerpts in pull-outs with an unrelated pair of copulating frogs. A few words of introduction at least spoke about democracy in a surprisingly serious, if idealised way.¹⁴⁹ For a young Kraków student organisation postulating for democratisation within academia *Animal Farm* was the first of only two books. It recycled Krauze's drawings with a striking choice for the back cover. Two nearly identical stocky figures but a pig and a man stand in a very tight embrace – evidently caricaturing the fraternal kisses between Soviet leaders and their communist bloc vassals.¹⁵⁰ A large pig only just fitting on the covers of *Animal Farm* issued by a Poznań student publisher Wprost – which means 'outright', 'straight' and 'direct(ly)' – looks very direct and determined indeed, even if composed of little more than a few circles. The minimalist picture on the back cover perhaps suggests where the class of the imposing pigs the fable depicts might generally hold the reader – as it rests on just two circles, one large and another small located just

beneath a raised curly tail.¹⁵¹ Judging by Orwell's appreciation of the rebellious message behind the saucy seaside postcards of his time or of Henry Miller's novels, who knows if he would not have appreciated such frivolity too.¹⁵²

In all, Orwell's carnival celebration counted with at least five other editions of *Animal Farm*, some student initiatives, one with an identical foreword that again stressed Orwell's 'particularly high' esteem of intellectual honesty and intellectual freedom.¹⁵³ A Warsaw publisher co-founded by Poland's future president Bronisław Komorowski, the Historical and Literary Library (*Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka*), released a particularly noteworthy edition. Collaborating with it was the henceforth tireless Orwell translator and propagator Bartłomiej (Bartek) Zborski who in conspiracy even chose the alias that Eric Blair had considered before opting for 'George Orwell': H. Lewis Allways. Zborski furnished their booklet with a well researched over 2,500-word 'Small Guide to *Animal Farm*', which the popular reader undoubtedly greatly appreciated.¹⁵⁴ It provides a generous excerpt from Orwell's introduction to the Ukrainian edition that accounts for Orwell's motives behind writing the fable. It also indicates – surely much surprising the unsuspecting audience – some of the political convolutions that encumbered its publication in England (p. ii). Pointing out that the popular saying 'all are equal but some are more equal than others' actually comes from Orwell, Zborski ventures that a saying preceding its author is 'maybe the greatest credit that can happen to a writer' (pp. ii-iii). The comment on a 'who's who' exercise that it relies on contemporary 'not falsified' history (pp. iv) is a reminder of the specific reception conditions then. An ordinary reader without access to unofficial sources might have been unable to carry it out satisfactorily without Zborski's help.

Nor was the carnival all about Orwell's fiction. Through a colloid stencil labour, Kraków reprinted the 1974 *Aneks's* essays.¹⁵⁵ As the carnival freedom mood swayed even censors' offices and the official Catholic *Tygodnik Powszechny* suddenly featured Orwell's personal essay 'Why I Write', the underground literary quarterly *Puls* challenged it with its own translation in its last home issue before enduring vast confiscations and subsequently transferring to London. This version would later go into *Puls's* 1985 anthology of Orwell's non-fiction prefaced by Skalmowski.¹⁵⁶ The major carnival non-fiction publishing event for Orwell nonetheless might have been the collection with his twelve texts freshly translated by Zborski for the centre-left *Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka* where the future president collaborated.¹⁵⁷ Zborski might have been then only just polishing his trade, but all the same he must have contributed to expanding Orwell's image beyond two books of fiction ('Orwell was above all an essayist and a journalist') and thrilled many readers with the news that the said work of this near-mythical author conceals various Polish accents. It offered probably the first translations of Orwell's voice on the Warsaw rising and the letter of complaint about biased coverage of the abducted Polish politicians' trial in Moscow, among others. A large Orwell photograph on the front cover and life chronology (later remade for Sadkowski's official

periodical) crowned this, alongside a 1,900-word preface with references to international discussions on Orwell.

The preface lets another local colour of Orwell's reception unfold, adding to the 'democratisation'. It conveys that Orwell was not necessarily an exceptional writer or thinker, but was considered by some a moral force, 'conscience of the generation' in fact and a 'secular saint'. Zborski thought it necessary to qualify this 'sainthood' and prime the reader who might be 'surprised – and maybe even offended – by Orwell's negative attitude towards the Catholic Church', so he hurries to reassure: 'for Orwell the Roman-Catholic Church was above all the dogmas, orthodoxies, hierarchy, erstwhile tortures and repressions employed by the Inquisition, obedience'.¹⁵⁸ Aside from the effects of WWII, it was, ironically, also the consequence of Stalin's own policy that post-war Poland became culturally most homogeneous in centuries, which bequeathed a prominent place among organised religions to Roman Catholic. Not a natural friend of communism, the institution vacillated between maintaining good relations with the state and supporting dissent. The election of a Pole for the Pope strengthened the Church's position in Poland, and his clear support for the opposition bolstered its image as if linked with championing freedom and independence. Therefore, it might have been a cognitive dissonance for some to discover that the classic anti-communist and freedom-fighting writer propagated also by Catholic circles was in fact this Church's fierce antagonist. Anticipating this, Zborski asserts: 'The Catholic Church of the thirties and forties was not [...] what it is today, a force defending the autonomy of an independent individual. But during the civil war in Spain, the Church and George Orwell stood on opposite sides of the barricade...'.¹⁵⁹ As the former president claimed years later, their group and publishing initiative aimed to focus on calm education for a longer perspective for regaining independence, and to distance itself from immediate politics and from the 'godly-motherland-ish' tones of its parent right-wing movement contending KOR.¹⁶⁰ Orwell's two well-elaborated books published in one year must have struck home also here.

An archival document shows that the Solidarity carnival had for Orwell even greater plans. Only the Mazovia region Solidarity intended to set up a new publisher able to produce 150-200 books a year in 20-30,000 copies. The official who appraised these publishing plans and those by some existing independent publishers had no doubts: 'It was about politics, solely and exclusively about politics', since 'one fails to find even the smallest work concerning matters closely related to trade union activity' and, worse still, reprint permissions had been sought from 'such notorious reactionaries, known for pathological anti-Sovietism, as the editor of Parisian *Kultura*'.¹⁶¹ Among these, the new Mazovia Solidarity was to publish a selection of Orwell's essays as its supposedly internal trade union print (item 74), while others sought to splash with *Homage to Catalonia*

(Krag, item 27), *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, essays and *Animal Farm* (ABC, items 8 and 17). If some did materialise (ABC's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*), most did not have time to.¹⁶²

Nor was it all about books. Already the first colloquium of the independent Learning Courses Society (TKN) of 5 October 1978 in Warsaw opened with the philologist Michał Głowiński's paper 'Newspeak (Reconnaissance)', then included in its proceedings and reviewed and noted underground and abroad.¹⁶³ In early 1980, Warsaw PEN-Club welcomed his presentation 'Newspeak – Reconnaissance Continued', published then even by official *Polityka*.¹⁶⁴ Since the Solidarity time, independent courses and lectures on varied subjects boomed, often Solidarity-organised and attended by heterogeneous audiences. Piotr Kłoczowski remembered a lecture on Orwell that lasted nearly five hours evoking great emotions.¹⁶⁵ The carnival mix-up of the unofficial making inroads into the official and implicating Orwell gleams also through the Solidarity-organised seminar on the state of the Polish language at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in January 1981. Its title was – 'Newspeak'. The proceedings would not manage to pass through the official-publishing eye of a needle, but a seminar report would. For that it needed to be cautious and disarm the censor by detaching the discussed phenomenon from the surrounding reality, which it did e.g. with an upfront claim that the term 'is used to describe the phenomenon known since antiquity'.¹⁶⁶ Proper seminar proceedings were divulged underground and abroad – prefaced by *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Principles of Newspeak.¹⁶⁷

This refreshing carnivalesque gulp of freedom lasting from August 1980 was shadowed by ominous premonitions. It was often felt not impossible that a war could soon ensue, a war of an unknown scale in which the Soviet Union could potentially perish, but which would first and foremost bury Poland, home to a part of the Soviet atomic arsenal. Even the intellectual *Res Publica's* commentator could not help a cursory comment that this seemed as if all the more plausible because 'beware – we are approaching the year 1984!'.¹⁶⁸ As a matter of fact, the watershed would not take that long to come: this would be the journal's last issue in its underground life cut short by martial law.

3.3.4 Big Brother's Return: Martial Law

The critic Krzysztof Dybciak, again, affirmed:

Surprisingly, Orwell became intimate to me precisely in that dreadful, also climatically, winter 1981/1982 [...]. His novel as if started to comment directly on what was happening around. Admittedly, he did not help find concrete, tactical solutions, but clarified the situation. The most astonishing was the fact that he had an almost soothing effect [...]. The analytical Orwellian description, the taxonomy of the material reality and

of the totalitarian language, not devoid of humoristic elements, enabled [one] to gain distance, that is, one of the forms of internal freedom.¹⁶⁹

Stacks of internal freedom were certainly in demand after General Wojciech Jaruzelski staged a military coup and on Sunday 13 December 1981 the country woke up to martial law and tanks in the streets. A decree stipulated that the introduction of martial law causes: 'suspension or limitation of [...] basic citizen rights, and particularly: physical integrity [...], confidentiality of correspondence [...], freedom of the word, print, assembly [...]'.¹⁷⁰ All trade unions and most organisations and associations were suspended. Whoever would be found acting 'in the interest of an enemy or to the detriment of the defence of the Polish People's Republic or an allied country' could face at least three years in prison, and whoever would be spreading 'false information' that could cause public unrest – up to five. And whoever would do this through print or other mass media could be sentenced for up to ten years, possibly losing the tools and other property.¹⁷¹

Similarly to Lem or Gombrowicz, Dybciak dismissed the organisational perfection, technical and human, of the totalitarian system portrayed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as unrealistic in relation to the Soviet Union and by extension to Poland, in fact utopian ('How many Poles owed their saving from *The Gulag Archipelago* to the paucity of technical equipment of the Stalinist satrapy.'). This event, however, put his blithe assumption into question: 'Martial law was simply needed to convince us that we are close to Orwellian Oceania. We got convinced by the crippling technical efficiency of the military coup, especially in social communication; violence utilising the newest achievements of the electronic age'.¹⁷² Out of the blue, in the midst of a festival of free word and independent information, all communications were shut, there was curfew and prohibition to leaves one's province. Thousands of dissidents were interned and many opposition printing points, materials and documents raided and confiscated.¹⁷³

Consequently, the generals' counter-revolution, as seen by some, or counter-counter-revolution, as seen by others, particularly those looking from the Soviet perspective, paralysed the work of many independent publishers. Internments, arrests, confiscations, increased street patrols, curfew or the travelling ban matched by shortages and the need for long queueing made conspiratorial publishing and distribution even more taxing physically, aside from any psychological considerations. A member of Krąg, one of the two or three publishers who brought out *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in bleak 1982, recalled 'how hard it was to find a distribution point. [...] the first year or half a year, well, everything was difficult. [...] there was no certainty that this internment wouldn't end in a Russian exile. Or maybe they would shoot us?'.¹⁷⁴ Yet, after the first shock and the number of deadly casualties limited, dissidents started to conspire again,

determined to show that Solidarity had not surrendered. Various artistic and media professionals started boycotting official outlets and many newcomers to the underground life substituted those interned or arrested.

With the clamp on communication, and sometimes the necessity to return to more primitive printing techniques, bulletin- or press-type publications were first to re-emerge. Initially, they often focused on sharing information, recording experiences and showing signs of unity, strength and survival. Heated topics were also assessing the situation and the Solidarity's position and discussing programmes and modes of action for the future. Orwell in these circumstances gained a renewed meaning. His *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* insights on the use of language and propaganda in enslaving the masses remained as relevant as before when after the carnival pause newspeak flooded the official media with a new strength, and in the aftermath of the short-lived triumph of a worker-based movement, his reflections on the power or powerlessness of the proles exhorted renewed scrutiny. To these questions a new Wrocław bulletin tellingly named *Afront* [An Affront] dedicated two pages of its just six-page-long first issue (printed probably on a DIY frame with colloid stencils).¹⁷⁵ Various others saw Orwell's timeliness too.¹⁷⁶ Poetry and satire, helpful in disarming fear, were as welcome during martial law as ever in hard and uncertain times, and Orwell, helpful moreover in disarming newspeak, was evoked on this front of the struggle too. A satiric Orwell accent was not, however, an edition of his satire, *Animal Farm*, for example, but rather of 'Poems and Satires of the Occupation AD 1981' in four parts proudly brought out (not via a rudimentary colloid frame or other manual duplicator, only a computer printout) – by a 'George Orwell Publisher' in Warsaw (Wydawnictwo im. G. Orwella). It was possibly the only publication by a publisher so undersigned; the print run remains unknown.¹⁷⁷

If in the initial period information was a more pressing issue than books and literature, later books reflourished. In the end, as many as 466 books and booklets might have been published in 1982, 218 in the capital.¹⁷⁸ Compared to his earlier carnival, Orwell features here more poorly with 2-3 books, a decrease by over three quarters, while the total number of books dropped by half from the previous year.¹⁷⁹ He would nevertheless catch up doubling or tripling his score, 6-9 books, the following year, when again nearly twice as many clandestine books and booklets were published (National Library records 859).¹⁸⁰ It is unsure which appeared before martial law was officially lifted on 22 July 1983 and which after. In any case, with martial law first suspended on 31 December 1982, the year 1983 already presented a different social and political situation. It is noteworthy that afterwards the number of clandestine books began falling, possibly owing to clandestine firms' increasing competition and professionalisation, connected also with the way funds from abroad were distributed, and to their ability to invest in fewer, but larger works, often of a higher technical quality too. Orwell, nonetheless, was doing consistently well. For around 806 clandestine books and booklets issued in 1984, his were 5-7, and for around 730 in 1985, his were

8-10 plus two comics and a collection of translated essays with a long piece about him. Orwell's clandestine life was affected by the greater official opening of *perestroika* and a sharp drop in clandestine book production: 580 in 1986, where his might have been 2-3 titles, and 556 in 1987, with his two, before the official issues of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1988.¹⁸¹

The small number of Orwell's book publication under martial law does not necessarily reflect on the intensity of purpose or effort associated with his two major works. The mentioned *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* publisher Krag was a splinter from the more practically political right-wing Głos which, like Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, wanted to publish books with lasting values and not as connected with immediate politics. As its co-founder explained, echoing others: 'This approach came from our conviction that the communists are here to stay, so we should print not only for ourselves, but also for our children'.¹⁸² Even if shortage of new materials brought about by obstructed communication lines might have played a role here, it is significant that they decided to replenish the black market with *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in those uncertain circumstances, having just published it at the end of 1980 when still within Głos.¹⁸³ Their independent Orwell edition certainly carries a period mark: the cover portrays a kneeling male figure surrendering in the darkness of Big Brother's all-seeing pupil. The publication was noted, for instance, in the first issue of 'New *Zapis*', the martial-law continuation of *Zapis*: 'A classic already – apocalyptic vision of a totalitarian state', which is followed with the remark: 'At the same time another *pirate* edition of this book came out in Kraków'.¹⁸⁴

The reviewer's remark reminds us of the complexity of the question of legality and illegality in clandestine publishing. Underground activity per se lacks legal recognition, but what did it mean in a system whose very foundations lay upon various violations of national and international law? And did the fact that these were internationally recognised or glossed over have a bearing on the status of Polish clandestine prints of foreign authors? Or did the fact that Orwell was known to eagerly weave royalties for specific publications in the languages of Soviet-dominated countries change anything here? While it is beyond the scope of this work to search for answers to such questions, it seems pertinent to signal them. Many clandestine publishers were not oblivious to them either, nonetheless their reality conditioned their response. While large firms tended to pay royalties to native authors, even though a common protective statement ran: 'Published without the author's knowledge or consent', paying royalties to foreign ones was more problematic, given communication limitations both within and without the Soviet bloc, laws restricting the possession of Western currency or, above all, the disparity in the currency value. Foreign or Polish émigré authors sometimes rescinded fees, sometimes these were covered by émigré intermediaries.¹⁸⁵ The frequent statement explaining unauthorised use of foreign copyrighted

material in today's recollections is: 'such were the times'.¹⁸⁶ Amidst this, nonetheless, there existed specific ideas of 'piracy'. Krąg's co-founder pointed to one in 1986: 'during the legal Solidarity dozens of "firms" appeared that worked like pirates by publishing reprints at exorbitant prices. There were more than 15 editions of Orwell, the same with Miłosz. A regular edition of Orwell was, say 300 złotych; a profiteer's, 800'.¹⁸⁷ Printing the price on the cover aimed at curbing such practices. Krąg's 1982 edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* displays '200 zł' – and a plea: 'Don't speculate!'. But not all Orwell anonymous publishers would necessarily be 'profiteers', some could simply feel that 'Issuing a book in 2 thousand copies was like firing 2 thousand bullets' at the reviled regime, a published book forming 'palpable proof of the existence of resistance and objection', regardless of the publisher's name on it.¹⁸⁸ Some indeed thought that the publisher's name on it can actually make the security services' invigilation job easier.¹⁸⁹

3.3.5 The Orwell Year Looming

The latter part of 1983, as can be expected, saw a growing anticipation before the 'Orwell' or – 'Orwellian' year, a date grown symbolic, fancied to become a breaking point, sometimes awaited with a vague sense of foreboding, sometimes hope for a miraculous change. The award of the Peace Nobel Prize to Lech Wałęsa in late 1983 might have appeared like the first of the wonders to come. The first issue of the new highbrow literary journal *Kultura Niezależna* [Independent Culture] in December 1983 summarised the pre-1984 mood of the Polish press: 'While topic number one in the official press continues to be the war threat and the peace fight, in the underground press next to forecasts for the new year drawing freely from Orwell and [Andrei] Amalrik, dominates the subject of political prisoners'.¹⁹⁰ And political prisoners themselves were scarcely immune to the ambivalent Orwellomania. Adam Michnik, a forefront 'commando', wrote to Zygmunt Mycielski from his Warsaw cell in August 1983: 'I'd very much want to talk and share silence with you about these poems. When will this happen? I completely don't know. The earliest time is summer next year. But this Orwellian date is such that there might be surprises.'¹⁹¹ The 31 December 1983 issue of a small Warsaw monthly *Słowo* [The Word] wished all those who conspire, shelter hiding dissidents, had been dismissed on political grounds, leak secret official information or support and produce clandestine prints, that is those who 'regardless of repressions work for a Free Poland', that the approaching year 'may be the year 1984 according to Amalrik, and not Orwell'.¹⁹² Previously subtitled '[The Word] of Workers and Young Intellectuals', the magazine explained that Amalrik's answer to the title question of his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?* was negative; evidently, Orwell's case required no explanation.

And so the year 1984 finally came. It brought neither major disasters nor miracles. Neither Orwell's vision associated with total enslavement nor Amalrik's identified with full freedom came

suddenly true. It was rather the same old make-believe ‘normalisation’ promoted by the regime, undreaming yet of the forthcoming *perestroika*. Maybe owing to that, in fact, Orwell could be commemorated in a relative, ‘normalised’, peace (‘War is Peace’ in the end Orwell suggested) accompanied by the amnesties. And commemorated he was – in a myriad of forms and well beyond the symbolic year. Few clandestine press titles would probably pass without a comment on this occasion. At least four intellectual periodicals in 1984 had an issue dedicated to Orwell that offered his newly translated texts and texts about him, his works and reception.¹⁹³ Several smaller papers provided biographical sketches.¹⁹⁴ Orwell’s two main books were published,¹⁹⁵ as were proceedings of the 1981 conference on newspeak.¹⁹⁶ Besides, other forms were used to pay tribute to the author and his work of such a singular title. Kraków region Solidarity issued contribution stamps worth 30 złotych featuring Orwell’s face, the numeral 1984 and Solidarity’s logo; Kraków’s new industrial district Nowa Huta issued an envelope with an index finger pointed at the looker above ‘1984 Orwell’ and the stamp saying: ‘Solidary [friends] – ours is this year...’. At least two Orwell-themed 1984 calendars were on offer: a desktop ‘Orwell calendar’ in Polish and English by NOWa,¹⁹⁷ and a wall ‘Calendar dedicated to G. Orwell’ by Liberta, former Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, with a collage of images and texts from different Polish and foreign publications, partly translated by Zborski. Zborski so recalled the circumstances: ‘We decided to commemorate the Orwell year with something special. Maybe a wall calendar? [...] some colleagues thought it a shame to spend on it the art paper, others – including the undersigned – that it was worth it. [...] The calendar sold brilliantly and – despite difficulties caused by the arrest of one of us – there were two reprints’.¹⁹⁸ There were yet other commemorative transcriptions’. An underground theatre staged a *Nineteen Eighty-Four*’s adaptation in three closed shows at a hired state theatre room in Opole.¹⁹⁹ Teatr Domowy (‘home theatre’) clandestinely recorded in the Warsaw Music Academy’s studio its audio adaptation of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, subsequently published by NOWa on two 60-minute cassette tapes. These were then smuggled to Munich and broadcast back to Poland by Radio Free Europe on Christmas Day.²⁰⁰

As elsewhere – or perhaps particularly – the year was a looking-glass anniversary. This aspect came best expressed in the more traditional publishing forms. The cry ‘*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell – A Black Utopia or a Black Reality?!’ in the last issue of a Kraków socio-political periodical is one form of the classic question. Their diagnosis, based on Orwell’s hope in the proles, Kołakowski’s reflections and recent history – was a hope in the power of educated masses.²⁰¹ Only so often the commemorated novel’s readers in democratic and undemocratic states saw reflected in this looking glass quite different things. Paweł Kłoczowski recalled that his introduction to the Orwell issue of *Arka* – rather claiming him a neoconservative – was ‘a reaction to the interpretation of Orwell promoted in the circles of the so-called “New Left” which

fashioned him not as an antagonist of the USSR but the USA: 'It irritated me terribly. Of course Orwell did not like capitalism. But to claim that in the cold war he did not univocally declare for one of the sides?'.²⁰² But then again reflections could sometimes differ even within communist strongholds. In a rather symbolic act of defiance, the intellectual quarterly *Veto* published a special Orwell issue following a wholesale confiscation by the militia of the preceding number. There it included a panoramic view of voices about North Korea, Iran, Cambodia, Romania and Czechoslovakia, the latter a translation of the journalist Milan Šimečka's introduction to the first Czech clandestine edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.²⁰³ An articulate cover story 'The Year 1984' in the Orwell issue of the Warsaw publishers' Solidarity periodical *BMW* offered a stark inventory of 'scattered, fragmentary elements' of the Orwellian world present in the 1984 world:

A ubiquitous, centrally steered propaganda, maintaining the myth of an external and internal enemy, attempting to enclose the society in some unreal world in which experience, knowledge, memory and common sense become meaningless [...]. An invasion of newspeak [...]. A developed apparatus of invigilation and repressions. Symptoms of social apathy, fear, feeling of isolation and separation from the external world. Subjection to state bureaucratic control of nearly all fields of life, from work and sciences to information and culture. Even particulars caught by Orwell are accurate: common pauperisation, rationing of basic goods, degradation of man's material surroundings, alcohol as the only available form of escape from the conditions of a grim vegetation or these acts of contrition and devotion, forced still not so long ago under the form of the so-called declaration of loyalty.²⁰⁴

Scholars from even less literary areas were tempted to play the looking-glass game too. By taking Orwell's novel as a political, philosophical or sociological treatise, they tested its 'theses' from within their fields. In *Veto* (and émigré *Aneks*), the philosopher Leszek Nowak experimented with reconstructing the social model of Oceania according to his theory of non-Marxian historical materialism and probing its aptness for describing socialist realism.²⁰⁵ The aptness of Orwell's socio-political projections and concepts was similarly taken up by another *Veto* article 'Orwell, That Is an Anatomy of Pathology',²⁰⁶ whereas a 'Friend of Science' magazine voiced a sociologist's already four-year-old test of a 'holistic' interpretative method by comparing the conceptions of societies' historical development by Alexis de Tocqueville, John Kenneth Galbraith and Orwell. Orwell's concept represented an ideal totalitarian society in pure form, that is, one which allegedly does not occur in reality.²⁰⁷

The curious Orwell anniversary was by no means the only or even main impetus for Polish dissidents to look inward at this time. In early 1984 the editorial team of *Kultura Niezależna* [Independent Culture] discussed the spontaneous martial-law cultural boycott, deliberating

whether it should aim to ultimately extend to all official outlets and patronage and move the entire cultural production underground or, to the contrary, dissidents should penetrate official posts and cultural space as much as possible. Here too a reference to Orwell's year seemed inevitable. Admiring the solidarity and social integration shown (the greatest since 'maybe around the January uprising'), a speaker disgruntled with voices proclaiming Orwell's vision's great actuality declared that Solidarity's victory was precisely the creation of 'an antithesis of the Orwellian society'.²⁰⁸ The journal's columnist too thought that the 'Orwell year' was 'a very good moment' for rethinking not only the boycott, but also the everyday practice of refusing to participate in the officially imposed lying so that the collective memory of Solidarity is not erased by the post-martial law official new normal.²⁰⁹

Indeed, AD 1984, in many minds Orwell and solidarity, as well as Solidarity the movement, came together. A *Veto's* author who calls for solidarity of independent, free-thinking individuals and professionals notes that 'To the awakening of such solidarity few contemporary writers contributed equally strongly as George Orwell'.²¹⁰ In *Arka*, Kłoczowski succinctly points to Orwell's relevance to his contemporary Polish audience: 'Orwell gets to the crux of our dilemmas, helps articulate clearly our pursuits and aspirations', and Kłoczowski sees that on three planes, such as showing the essence of the enemy: totalitarianism, showing the imperative ideal: freedom, which distances other political considerations, and – most notably – Orwell being a *precursor* for the formation of Solidarity.²¹¹ That relation between Orwell and Solidarity would be acknowledged in yet another memorable form, which reiterates their strong association with the questions of freedom, truth and memory. If in 1984 Solidarity was still in disarray and driven underground, it was not annihilated. It tried to reassemble its strength also through recourse to common values and past achievements. The seizures of Solidarity documentation during martial law proved to some that 'the communists always endeavour to manipulate history in an Orwellian fashion' and want to erase Solidarity 'not only from the social reality, but also from social memory'.²¹² Hence documenting the triumphs and weaknesses of this largest and longest-lasting rebellion against the communist system in history seemed paramount, as it was noted, not only for the benefit of history, but also national and international studies on communism and aspirations of societies under its rule, which normally had little chance to express them. Initial spontaneous safeguarding efforts developed into a more systematic research project 'Solidarity Archive' that produced a series of over thirty publications launched in 1984 issued by different publishers as community service. Their back covers invariably reminded the reader about the project's import and underlying preoccupations – fervently evoking Orwell and *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* tropes:

Chapter 3

The year 1984 has passed...	May this date
George Orwell's	Forever remain a warning
Prophecy has not come true...	So that its evil prophecy shall never come true
The protagonist of his novel	
Was rewriting history in such a way	So that not a smallest trace
As not to leave behind	Shall be lost
The smallest trace of truth...	Of what is important in our history...
In the year 1984	We are working for you
We started publishing	Do work for us too –
The Solidarity Archive	– For all of us!

Preserving national memory and history had been a concern of various authors, organisations and publishers for years, not least teachers. During martial law a teachers' periodical achieved a very chilling effect when extending a vision of a new generation brought up under the regime by quoting from the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Appendix and highlighting particular phrases, e.g.: 'Whereas, when it comes to the youth, the difference of one generation was sufficient to erase from memory any relations of Newspeak with Standard English' and 'people brought up in Newspeak since childhood' would be unable to commit 'crimes' non-existent in vocabulary and thus in the human mind and imagination. Owing to Mieroszewski's translation refractions and a slight text reorganisation, they seem to read even more emphatically menacing in Polish than in the original.²¹³ A teachers' Solidarity regional paper would be anxious to alert their colleagues to Orwell's reflections in 'Politics and the English Language'; a high-school targeted magazine published fragments of *Animal Farm*.²¹⁴ The Independent Education Fund issued a series of textbooks for self-study groups in 1982-89. In a complementary companion to contemporary literature, among masses of officially 'unperson' home authors to choose from, there is space for Orwell, save the poet Joseph Brodsky, the only foreign author with a separate chapter.²¹⁵

Teachers' efforts were sometimes rewarded, and maybe they need not have worried that much. Some young people proved well aware of the prevailing manipulation and attempts at the free word. Some schools became places where dissident attitudes manifested as well, and where clandestine books and press were circulated and even produced. And Orwell as a symbol of defiance could be just as handy for adolescents as for adults. A 1980s secondary-school rebel remembered how he had 'boasted' about having read Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as an act of rebellion in front of his headmaster, allegedly strongly engaged with the system.²¹⁶ In a Gdańsk school it was none other than Orwell's biographical note 'The Prophet of Our Times' accompanied by an overview of clandestine reading matter that appeared in the second issue of a new school

magazine.²¹⁷ The new magazine was an official enterprise set up to challenge another long-standing independent pupil paper, its second issue was – a forgery concocted by pupils in protest. Repercussions for such transgressions could vary; while the first student's teacher laughed him out, Gdańsk pupils were expelled in their final year.²¹⁸

The Orwell year was in the end a perfect occasion to try to dispel – or add to – some of the myths and mystery shrouding the author of *the book*. *Veto* resorted to Marcin Król's 1974 *Aneks* essay on Orwell.²¹⁹ The inter-publisher bulletin offered 'Orwell's Testimony', a note-review of the 'book of the number': an edition of Orwell's three essays from *Kultura*. There, Orwell appears as an undeterred fighter for free thought and unmasker of myths, almost a secular saint – the side of Orwell 'mythology' Zborski drew attention to earlier – and a competent judge – quite like the 'sage' in Florian Znaniecki's typology of the people of knowledge.²²⁰ Various periodicals expanded the Orwell horizon a little further beyond his two most hailed books. Next to 'Why I Write', a Poznań's ephemeral periodical offered possibly the first translation from *Homage to Catalonia*.²²¹ Kraków's *Arka* also touched this so far underrepresented aspect of Orwell's experience with possibly the first translation of 'Looking Back on the Spanish War', an essay which would suddenly gain at least three other translations and be shortly followed by the first Polish edition of *Homage to Catalonia*.²²² *Arka*'s special Orwell issue in fact tried to offer a cross-section view of Orwell's essayistic and critical output in original translations: 'A Hanging', 'Inside the Whale', 'England your England', 'Arthur Koestler', 'Reflections on Gandhi' and 'Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of *Gulliver's Travels*', the latter reprinted in official *Znak* signed by the translator's full name as opposed to initials and pseudonyms used in clandestine *Arka*.²²³ The translator, academic Piotr Pieńkowski, asserted in our conversation that his desire back then was to show indeed that there was much more to Orwell than his two works of fiction:

Even some people who knew who Orwell was had no idea about his essays. I thought that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was very important, that *Animal Farm* was equally important, but his essays were completely unknown, while Orwell is a superb literary critic and a superb critic of ideas. He is not monothematic, he doesn't deal only with totalitarianism, but writes very interesting things on very diverse subjects. That is why I wanted so much that these essays see the light of day.²²⁴

The only English philologist on *Arka*'s editorial board, Pieńkowski also highlighted the responsibility resting with those selecting Orwell's works for the public largely unable to access much of it otherwise.²²⁵ The Orwell issue co-ordinator, Piotr Kłoczowski, endorsed that he had 'endeavoured to choose literary texts (the essay on Swift!) and patriotic (England Your England)

and generally show that Orwell was a great writer, and not only a pamphleteer, what [*the party organ*] *Trybuna Ludu* constantly suggested'.²²⁶

Arka was a young but soon one of the leading socio-cultural periodicals counting with such patronage abroad as Alain Besançon, François Bondy, Melvin Lasky, Norman Podhoretz, Saul Bellow and Leszek Kołakowski.²²⁷ Next to Orwell's essays, the issue included translations of essays on Orwell by the journal foreign patrons, the suppressed article by the official *Tygodnik Powszechny's* editor, and Orwell's life 'Chronology' from *CEJL*. It might have thus provided one of the most elucidating clandestine voices on Orwell so far. But – it was not without pitfalls. Kłoczowski's concise and eloquent introduction discussed Orwell as a public intellectual, his values and political views which a Polish intellectual reader in 1984 must have thought highly relevant. Kłoczowski saw Orwell's complicated 'socialism' from an ethical rather than strictly political perspective, thought that *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* despair indeed came partly from his disappointment with the ideological bankruptcy of the left, and allowed for an evolution of Orwell's views, particularly the realisation that freedom might be incongruous with equality and, after reading the economist and philosopher F. A. Hayek, that centralised economy might lead to tyranny. Kłoczowski later avowed that the introduction 'attempted to show that for Orwell the division totalism/freedom was more important than the division left/right'.²²⁸ That intention might have succeeded, but only partly, as the issue's choice of accompanying texts and comments produced a rather neoconservative bias. Podhoretz's disputed essay from *Harper's Magazine* laid neoconservative claims on Orwell. The editors introduced a note (later rectified²²⁹) to the confiscated *Tygodnik Powszechny's* article stating they were unaware of Orwell's declaration that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was not 'anti-communist' but denounced 'totalitarian concepts spread by intellectuals "of all colours", on the left or right'. The introduction itself stated that 'a change of position would not necessarily mean betrayal of the ideals of solidarity with the oppressed' and Orwell could have by then turned neoconservative like many US intellectuals did.²³⁰ When the introduction was republished in a young émigré journal in Paris, responses came from around the world to defend Orwell's socialism.²³¹

3.3.6 Life After 1984

If *Arka* offered a look from a more conservative stance, it would be soon balanced by one from the left – although these could on many issues as well converge. Roman Zimand was a well-known literary critic, former party member and editor of the famously rebellious *Po prostu* of the mid-1950s. By now, he was an active dissident and great Orwell enthusiast, who even presented a paper on Orwell's essay writing at an official literary association's conference.²³² In mid-1985, he had his monograph 'Orwell and about Him' published. It contained skilful translations of another handful of Orwell's essays and a long article turned rather seminal on Orwell himself, 'Nine Small

Essays on Orwell'.²³³ Eloquent and laced with punchlines, it exposed some absurdities of the communist regime and censorship which deformed Orwell's reception in Poland but, similarly to *Arka* and perhaps in Orwell's own spirit: criticising his own camp, it censured political peers from the New Left in the West alike for doing Orwell a similar disservice. Overall, it attempted two things: to distil Orwell's worldview and 'rescue' him from limiting legends.

If *Arka* attempted to rescue the essayist and literary critic, Zimand focused primarily on the writer: 'There is the author of two famous books – there is no writer. There is a legend of a man' (p. 9). Observing that 'Orwell is, and will perhaps forever remain, an author whom we read "backwards"', he recommends his audience reach for early Orwell (p. 5). And so did he start. Mocking that his readers would be 'interested only in one thing: how to get a go "at the Red"' and dismiss any mention of misery existing in the West as communist propaganda, he nonetheless started from 'rescuing' the young Orwell concerned with poverty and destitution, human dignity and enslavement before getting to totalitarianism (p. 9). Of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* – rather originally – he examined also the origins and Orwell's unique achievements in it. On discussing the characteristics of Orwell's writing (lucid and forceful style, humour and alleged pessimism and sadism), he quotes also from leading Orwell international critics (Irving Howe, George Woodcock, Malcolm Muggeridge, Herbert Read, Lionel Trilling or Philip Rahv²³⁴). Likely much appreciated, the 'nine small essays' also attempted to distil Orwell's values and worldview, such as a belief in that even if the truth may be obvious, corrupt language might obscure it, that inequality is a cardinal evil which demoralises both those at the top and the bottom, that humans have an innate capacity to tell the right from wrong, that they possess the ordinary human decency, and that they are usually motivated by two opposite forces: the desire for comfort and for heroism or that any progress tends to be slow, and usually disappointing. On assessing Orwell's political views, however, Polish dissident right and left of the time were not always that distant. Both the Catholic-leaning *Arka* and left-leaning Zimand attempt to extricate Orwell from the ill-fitting dual division and, while duly affirming he called himself a socialist, they half-jokingly suggest that Orwell had embodied the conservative-liberal-socialist idea a whole quarter of a century before Leszek Kołakowski formulated it.²³⁵ Both *Arka's* introduction and Zimand's nine essays (condensed) would be republished in an Orwell issue of 'Political Review (*Przegląd Polityczny*) in 2000, suggesting a lasting value beyond their derivation.

Despite a growing number and variety of voices on Orwell breaking through the official censorship barrier, unofficial press interest in Orwell endured. Even in 1988 there would still be an Orwell issue of a periodical supporting radically liberal capitalism but looking up to socialist Orwell as a 'cure' for totalitarianism: 'Maybe a reminder of Orwell will break off from us the habituation to

living in totalitarianism and open our eyes to manipulations. / If Orwell does not cure us then probably nothing will save us from *believing* in perestroika and loving Big Brother!!!'.²³⁶ A remark that the 'author's surname speaks for itself' or that he 'requires no recommendation'²³⁷ frequently married observations that 'although so many people treat him almost like a "pope of anticommunism"', the oeuvre of this brilliant writer and one of the most lucid and most unorthodox-thinking European intellectuals is generally not widely known'.²³⁸ Hence, there would be new translations and reprints of Orwell's essays and letters,²³⁹ and sui generis guides to his opinions on a variety of topics.²⁴⁰ There would be more attempts at clarifying Orwell's persona by reprinting texts about him²⁴¹ and reflecting anew on his life and origins of his works.²⁴² *Animal Farm* would prove pliable to paraphrasing: a small Chinese clandestine 'new animal farm' would be presented, preceded by a miniature native attempt signed by Dżordż Orłel, a phonetic graphy of Orwell's name; it would be perfect also as a prize in a crossword puzzle competition.²⁴³ Indefatigable reflections on Orwell's other famous book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, would appear, from analysing the main character,²⁴⁴ through taking inspiration to reflect on language ('until now, nobody has probably demonstrated to us more markedly to what great ills and pathologies the human language is susceptible'),²⁴⁵ to analysing its meaning for the contemporary time of *perestroika*, sometimes taken for another smokescreen.²⁴⁶ While some would claim that Huxley's warning about the suppression of freedom in *Brave New World* based on pleasure and coming 'from the inside' could be more pertinent than Orwell's, based on punishment and coming 'from the outside',²⁴⁷ *Antyk* in 1988, another year of mass protests, would still feel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* acutely relevant and ominously ask: what if, like Winston Smith's rebellion, any rebellion in present totalitarianism is only a mirage, set up, approved and controlled by the party that needs an enemy?²⁴⁸

Of course, there would be scoffing and incredulity when reporting on Orwell's official editions. 'Publishers subject to the authorities [...] are beginning to print books for which not so long ago the same authorities were sending independent printers, editors and distributors to prisons', sneered the magazine of the last *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s clandestine publisher.²⁴⁹ 'Hacks of different contingents burying their heads in the sand for long years suddenly cry out loud about how "they had always been convinced about the exceptional literary value of Orwell's works"' – it 'doesn't befit' to gloss over 'merely with a sly regret' that Orwell's books had been suppressed, disparaged an artzine.²⁵⁰ Of course, the official publications would undergo close scrutiny. By stating that *Animal Farm* criticised authoritarian tendencies also in Britain and encountered censorship there, the introduction to its serialisation in the official *Konfrontacje* was deemed 'crying to heaven for vengeance'.²⁵¹ The artzine, a genre considered to belong to an alternative politically-disengaged 'third circulation', lectured the other two circulations that 'The mechanism of distortion works both ways'. Dismissing two extremes of Orwell's misrepresentation, as an

author of solely anti-communist libels and of works so universal that they bear no relation to the reality, the outsider's eye notes how Orwell's books were revealing of the communist system also through the authorities' reaction to them: 'a war against sheets of paper', not only through their proper content. A casual, bracketed remark from spring 1989: 'as we can see, the system hasn't fallen because of' publishing officially such content very soon proved invalidated by the late-spring partially free elections and Solidarity's landslide win of votes precluding the 1989 Autumn of Nations.²⁵²

Orwell's last big time underground might have thus come around his anniversary year. Next to Zimand's paper on literature and politics in Orwell's essays presented at an official conference and published underground,²⁵³ and some other post-1984 looking-glass reflections,²⁵⁴ the post- or belated Orwell-year celebrations in 1985 were above all about books, despite the security services' raids on tens of printing houses and confiscation of some 25,000 copies worth of unprinted books in paper alone.²⁵⁵ Next to Zimand's book with Orwell's essays mentioned earlier,²⁵⁶ the London anthology might have been reprinted for the first time,²⁵⁷ certainly Herling-Grudziński's 'Journey to Burma' was, soon republished at least twice with the addition of his 1967 article reminiscing Orwell from a Polish London socialist journal.²⁵⁸ The good old *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* got a special time too. Alongside at least three new *Animal Farm's* editions,²⁵⁹ two comic adaptations appeared, both based on Jeleńska's now nearly 40 years old translation.²⁶⁰ Particularly Gilosz & Azyl's comic played with updating the language, drawing freely on colloquial speech and communist newspeak with its mix of high and low registers, as well as with implementing observations from the surrounding socialist (sur)realism.

As for *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Kraków-based Pieńkowski recalls how 'everyone I knew listened to' Krzysztof Dorosz read it on the BBC. A Beckett expert and writer inspired also by Orwell reported back to Dorosz how he could allegedly hear his Orwell interpretation through the windows of the springtime Warsaw streets.²⁶¹ Among at least two new *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* book editions was the one which declared the phenomenal print run of 17,000 copies, issued by Officyna Liberatów and Głosy, probably in a few goes.²⁶² It had also one of the first Orwell covers in colour. On top of this, the edition is a true testament to Orwell's idiosyncratic reception. Officyna Liberatów belonged to Janusz Korwin-Mikke, a dissident of ultra-conservative and ultra-liberal convictions, later a politician hanging on political margins before finally becoming an MEP. There he perhaps outperformed UK's own Nigel Farage in efforts to dismantle the European Union, some of his criticism of European colonialist mentality nonetheless resonates much with Orwell's own. Mikke's afterword to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 'the battle for St George',²⁶³ argues passionately about political implications of translation and non-translation of foreign names. By domesticating

Orwell's first name, Jerzy instead of George, this record-breaking edition was supposed to be more accessible to the public, if not more patriotic, than others by despised 'elitist lefties'. Yet, the goals proclaimed in 'the battle for St Jerzy' might have just been diffused by Mikke's far less inclusive price guidelines in his autonomous, non-joint publishing undertakings. For example, the back cover of *Brave New World* (with an Orwell-related afterword, where Mikke claims that Orwell had 'converted' from a socialist to a liberal) instructs the reader: 'You too... can become a *profiteer*: buy – read – and sell *more expensively!*'.²⁶⁴

In 1985, quite a revolution came from above with the completely legal edition of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* in Kraków. Kraków underground pre-empted it and retaliated with a vengeance. Among the biggest Orwell's events of the year was the publication of *Homage to Catalonia* by Oficyna Literacka, another incarnation of the former student publisher that had previously published Orwell's essays and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and had by now dominated the regional clandestine publishing market.²⁶⁵ This was the first and only Orwell's book translated underground. Singularly, this was done – quite commendably – by a non-linguist: an economist and versatile Solidarity activist (repeatedly detained and even heavily beaten in prison), today a General Electric CEO for Central Europe.²⁶⁶ As mentioned, archival documents show *Homage to Catalonia* listed in the publishing plans of Krąg already back in the Solidarity carnival days.²⁶⁷ Its eventual appearance in 1985 seemed no less timely, though: 'It was a big event in Kraków because the story described there, the betrayal of the cause by the Soviets, evoked strong feelings at the time of Solidarity – a workers' movement suppressed by the supposedly workers' party', explains Paweł Kłoczowski who had collaborated in its publication too.²⁶⁸

Some indeed tried to make workers aware that they had their own Catalonia (on the flip side, 'the Poles' is the Catalans' nickname in Spain). The new version of the high-imprint social-democratic *Robotnik* [The Worker] annihilated under martial law, *Magazyn Robotnika* [The Worker's Magazine], published yet another translation of the fifth chapter of *Homage to Catalonia* in its first number.²⁶⁹ Others tried to make workers aware of other issues that Orwell had raised. Testimonials suggest that Orwell's works were distributed not only in intellectual circles, but also in some factories and villages.²⁷⁰ Whereas next to a nuclear researcher or history professor scavenging for paper and experimenting with washing paste to produce ink, or a Home Army veteran doing the typing, factory workers, mechanics, farmers and housewives could be working on printing and distributing Orwell's books and texts as well.²⁷¹ In this context, Orwell's simple, direct and convincing prose might have found its rewards.

Arguably the biggest event of all, however, was the publication of *Animal Farm* by the same Oficyna Literacka. The same humble fable in the same old translation and even printed in offset from typescript, the publication had a charming twist: ten colourful lithographs by Jan Lebenstein

reproduced on art paper and a clean hard cover with embossed fine golden lettering.²⁷² A historian and back then the Kraków-based *Arka's* head of distribution writes:

The book [...] brought the publisher the greatest fame [...]. Among pamphlets often with smudgy letters, uncut or cut unevenly, *Animal Farm* appeared like a book out of this world. No wonder that it was commonly thought that 'it couldn't have been made in Poland' and that illustrations must have been smuggled from abroad. Whereas the book from beginning to end was printed on flatbed printers in Poland, with the illustrations made, like a big part of all publishers' prints then, through so-called access in normal [state] printing houses.²⁷³

Richly illustrated prints were a rarity underground, and illustrated in colour – a gem. It was the impossibility of printing in colour, vital in Lebenstein's lithographs, that precluded their use in *Animal Farm's* first clandestine edition in 1979.²⁷⁴ The Kraków's creation reaped accolades even in the capital's press: 'The book has been issued remarkably carefully and is a treat not only for bibliophiles',²⁷⁵ including the largest Solidarity's weekly *Tygodnik Mazowsze* distributed nationally: 'terrific editorial level', 'a genuine bibliophile rarity'.²⁷⁶ Paweł Kłoczowski, again involved in the publishing works, reminisced: 'We were very proud of this edition. [...] There were many independent publishers then already and a healthy, capitalist rivalry started between us. We had the impression that we had beaten the competition'.²⁷⁷

Finally, there is yet another – fundamental – reason for Oficyna Literacka's publications being special, which illustrates a certain Orwellian lining of the whole dissident activity and clandestine publishing market. Since 1978, the publisher had been run by Henryk Karkosza, who took the fledgling student undertaking into a more professional direction, until it became the dominating publisher of the region. Paralleling the experience of *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* protagonists of a deferred discovery of the truth, only after the fall of the system did it turn out that Karkosza had been a security services' secret collaborator (TW) all along.²⁷⁸ And that he was not alone. Only at this publisher's editorial team there was at least one more secret collaborator active on many fronts, from the periodical *Arka* to representing a Kraków dissident group at top dissident leadership talks.²⁷⁹ Somewhat paralleling again the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* uncertain reality, where hopeful protagonists were allowed to conspire for some time closely watched, it appears that when the clandestine publishing in Poland grew to an extent where it seemed impossible to eradicate it, since new groups would keep replacing those suppressed, the authorities preferred to let the infiltrated ones operate rather than liquidating them and staying in the dark about likely new ventures. Sometimes they even set up new underground presses themselves aiming to attract genuine dissidents and keep them under radar.²⁸⁰ Through informers, the security services

of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were able to monitor in varying degrees publishers' publications, equipment, materials and distribution networks, sometimes to influence publishing plans and, above all, penetrate into the clandestine publishing market and dissident circles. Once inside, they could act towards disintegrating more radical groups. When successfully infiltrating a clandestine publishing regulatory body, they could get some control over contacts with supporters abroad and the contraband of funds and equipment and their distribution in Poland.

Hence, *Antyk's* angst about parallels between the *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* world and the Polish reality, and the Polish rebellion being a mirage, set up, approved and controlled by the party like Winston Smith's one was, was not a complete abstraction.²⁸¹ How far were Orwell's clandestine presence and reception steered by Polish O'Briens? What other Orwell's texts or works about him might have been prevented from coming out? We might not be able to find out definitively. The extent of official penetration and control of the underground has not been precisely established, also for some documentation was destroyed or went missing during the transition. Still, it is possible that we will learn more about Orwell's Polish reception in the future, since the inherited archival documentation is so vast that nearly thirty years on and research, its ordering and indexing continues. Certainly, information, particularly that related to official prescriptions, will not be complete until records from Russia, the source of a large part of Polish policy, are thoroughly examined too.

Possibly, the larger and more prominent the publisher, the greater the chance for implanting a mole. Clearly, many major clandestine publishers, and so publishers of Orwell, were infiltrated to different degrees, from Oficyna Literacka (earlier KOS) and Kraków region publishers, through Warsaw's NOWa or Wydawnictwo Konstytucji im. 3 Maja, to Gdańsk's Young Poland. Various dissidents involved in publishing were subjects of operational invigilation, including from Orwell-publishing circles of Głos, Krąg or Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka.²⁸² Historian Jerzy Eisler thus reflected on this Big Brother aspect of Polish history:

The reading of Security Services' documents has considerably influenced my thinking about People's Poland. I repeatedly publicly opposed the view that after 1956 it was a totalitarian country. I maintained that it was rather an authoritarian regime [...]. In the context of what I have found in the archive of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), I have concluded however that in the sphere of the authorities' plans and intents until actually the end of People's Poland we are dealing with Orwell in a pure form.²⁸³

Still – obviously – the position of the underground in Poland was not remotely as bleak and ineffectual as in Oceania. The system seemed to just confirm the science-fiction satirist Stanisław Lem's words: there was no perfect machine with an Absolute behind, 'The reality was much worse, because it was not so superbly consequent at all'. The system's real-life execution was

ambiguous and unreliable. Some known official documents in fact decry the insufficiency of state surveillance of the underground and reveal lack of coordination. A mid-1987 report states that 58 percent of journals and only 15.2 percent of functioning publishers then were being actively investigated.²⁸⁴ The reverse was also possible, e.g. the Gdańsk publisher of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Young Poland, received intelligence from Security Service officers for some years before these got arrested.²⁸⁵ Ultimately, if Orwell published underground did not always remain a full mystery to Big Brother's diligent spies, this detracts neither from the activists' courage and dedication, nor from George Orwell's message and impact. Significantly, even such a widespread surveillance backed by executive organs did not prevail over the power woken up in the society to self-organise and demand changes. If the resulting, arguably successful, bloodless revolution of the late 1980s might, as in *Animal Farm*, have quickly aligned itself with the self-serving interests of world powers, the suggestion remains that there is hope in the 'proles' if they are woken up and supported by liberating ideas. 'Orwell ammunition' might have played a meaningful role in this – just as Orwell might have hoped and wished.

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The memory and ideas of the old friend, Orwell, living on could rekindle an intimate conversation even decades later. In 1981, Czapski still noted in his diary: ‘When I read Broński’s chapter on Orwell yesterday, I read how Orwell saw in any faith in God, in forelife [possibly: afterlife], an incomprehensible for him infantilism and how when reading that I felt those thoughts, as if the background of my so oftentimes felt thoughts, like my own’.¹ The Goldstein-like book of censorial rules smuggled out of Polish Oceania was published abroad and underground. It also got an English edition – aptly out in the Orwell year 1984, which Barańczak irresistibly reviewed under the title ‘Big Brother’s Red Pencil’.² The Lublin student once single-mindedly set on acquiring a duplicator achieved his goal facilitating clandestine printing for his associates, himself never using it underground. He remained in Paris, setting up – of course – publishing and related smuggling undertakings. A chance encounter in the Polish Library in Paris with some peculiar publications from the times of Mickiewicz, Chopin and the Polish Great Emigration, miniature books adapted for smuggling to the then occupied Poland, resulted in a new publishing line of his own. And he thinks he might have inspired Jerzy Giedroyc and thus *Kultura’s* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four’s* miniature editions smuggled in a myriad of ways to Poland too.³

These follow-up stories may recapitulate the diversity of Polish response and action taken in response to Orwell and his work during the studied period. Orwell faced a comprehensive censorship in communist Poland and could not be published officially for forty years. This, however, did not prevent him from enjoying a Polish reception, not only since the system’s decline, but at least since the peak of his career. His main texts were promptly translated and published abroad not only to serve the expatriate community much of which hoped this status to be temporary but also with a view to smuggling them across the Iron Curtain. And the author might have been able to receive some feedback on these efforts’ success in his lifetime too. In occupied Poland, Orwell’s reception went underground, where it drew upon both émigré and foreign publications. Still, it has been possible to unlock also traces of Orwell’s ‘official’ reception despite the ban, from references in the press, books and art, through presence in libraries to a specific type of reception reflected in official documents. It has also been possible to notice how the three facets of this tripartite reception: émigré, official and clandestine often interacted with and influenced one another.

Not only did Orwell’s reception begin early, but also his two last books very promptly entered the Polish canon – in all three facets. Despite their diverging and sometimes incompatible visions on how to work towards regaining independence from abroad, many Polish émigrés agreed on Orwell’s import for this cause. Circles as different as the ‘pragmatic’ Paris and ‘indomitable’

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London both published translations of his books and favourable articles. For the new illegitimate communist establishment in post-war Poland seeking legitimisation, he quickly became persona non grata, sometimes the enemy the system required, if often only dimly specified. Recollections, diaries and letters point to Orwell's early clandestine presence too. Despite risks involved with owning, lending and reading unorthodox works, his ideas and two last books were slowly entering private life and clandestine discourses among the elite since early days. Later, his two flagship books promptly turned into clandestine publishing staples, accompanied by efforts to expand the repertoire.

Even before *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, to various Polish émigrés Orwell appeared a friend and a political ally for, among others, his contestation of pro-Russian bias and censorship in the crucial for Poland's post-war future latter phase of the war. Personal contacts brought him even closer, while leaving a mark on his own work too. The later reception for a long time focused disproportionately on the two works, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, heavily exploited in the cold war by the former allies to the detriment of his other writings that sometimes considered Polish matters more directly but were often critical of the allied politics. These two works nevertheless sufficed to make much of Polish émigré and clandestine audiences feel as if he was an ally in their freedom cause anyway. For many clandestine readers in particular they seemed to provide some kind of liberation. They helped open the eyes about the nature of the regime and offered simple metaphors and terms to describe and name its ills. Poignantly encapsulating clandestine readers' reality, they also seemed to suggest as if this British author had spoken of them, to them and for them – not only understanding their predicament himself, but also helping others in the West understand it too, bringing thus solace in the hope of gendering feelings of fraternity and aiding changes. For some Soviet communism apostates, Orwell also seemed to offer a liberating absolution. Conversely, Polish puppet politicians and the new system supporters needed to heed to the Soviet lead and brand Orwell a pathological reactionary and enemy of the humankind, regardless of any personal fascination. Such fascinations sometimes indeed transpired, particularly in moments of the regime's pendulum-like swings in oppressiveness toward a laxation. Orwell's deep resonance with Polish readers prompted great émigré and clandestine exertions in order to disseminate his works, sometimes through ingenious smuggling and printing techniques. Yet, some participants in the regime's official life seemed just as eager to smuggle him within the official framework too when an opportunity arose and courage sufficed. Even if disguised under malevolent epithets, such 'signals' could still serve to navigate the public towards Orwell.

Over time, Orwell's émigré and clandestine receptions broadened, particularly with the publication of *CEJL* in 1968. This easier access to his other works beyond the most famous two translated into articles about him of a broader scope and into new text translations themselves. If

these did not necessarily manage to balance the Orwell myth constructed on the two flagship books, they often reinforced his image as a perspicacious political observer, nearly a genius, but also a secular saint, a lonely hero fighting for the truth, independent thinking and the underdog. Yet, articles connected more directly with Poland like Orwell's column on the Warsaw rising, for example, itself a subject of a zealous communist control and manipulation, were still largely ignored. The idea that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 'was about the West', or at least also about it, was not new, but gained strength around the Orwell year. This finally allowed an official avenue to tame Orwell's threat by timidly appropriating him as a socialist friend. For decades stanchly controlled and censored on one side and promoted regardless of obstacles and risks on the other, Orwell sometimes appears as if almost credited with the power to single-handedly topple the regime altogether. Whether by correlation or synchronicity, the official publication of his most feared works seems to have indeed announced the system's end.

For some more critically engaged, making sense of Orwell's writing, views and interpretations helped making sense of their own historical reality, their place in it and obligations and possibilities for action. For many, Orwell became one of the symbols with which to 'fire' at the regime from within and without, and around which to rally in preserving inner and striving for outer independence. The nation's predisposition towards rebelliousness, stemming perhaps from the times when the Renaissance 'land of heretics' welcoming Europe's deportees was overcome by the Counter-Reformation and reinforced by partitions, formed a fertile ground for Orwell's satire and rebelliousness of spirit too. Although his most impactful work, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, displayed a horrifying vision of what might develop under the system their country was subject to, dubbed even 'a requiem for freedom',⁴ many perceived there an underlying hope. Besides, that there was an author on the other side who understood their situation so profoundly seemed to indicate that they were not alone and forgotten: there was hope already. Even with his most chilling projections then, Orwell seemed to somehow subscribe to the tradition from an analogous period of partitions where Polish writers aimed to reach the common reader with works 'for uplifting the heart' (*ku pokrzepieniu serc*) and liberating the spirit – like before: on emigration and in the country. His work like that of the Romantic bard Adam Mickiewicz a century before, was smuggled also in miniature form to similarly uplift and reinforce the Polish spirit.

Then, Orwell was not only English. From friendly favours like sending him news or, conversely, hoping for support in obtaining copyrights for another translation,⁵ through *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s translator avowing that the book should have been written by a Pole,⁶ to the feelings as though the book had been written not only about them and their reality but for them – Orwell had been claimed by the Poles too. Also those claimed him who tested the limits of his accepted official presence by supplying not quite orthodox material for publication, by attempting to order his publications e.g. from the CIA-subsidised distribution points abroad, by smuggling them across

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the border or adding to state library collections. Certainly those claimed him who risked their safety and career prospects and toiled clandestinely transcribing his works, e.g. from a radio broadcast, printing them at home, freezing bunkers or state institutions and circulating in order to produce and fire the 'Orwell ammunition' as their message to the society and the authorities. As seen, the Polish claiming of Orwell went beyond just the two Soviet-bashing books. His essays were generally duly appreciated too by those who could access some for offering not only anti-totalitarian but also universal values. Essay translations starting in 1946, lectures, émigré editions for smuggling and serving clandestine reprints, poignant diary references, getting *CEJL* 'by some miracle'⁷ and organising its university library purchase⁸ may testify to such a wider claiming. A belief in the right to claim him is also evident in the sometimes passionate defence of preconceived ideas of 'Orwell' and the meaning of his work, abroad and in Poland. This claiming, however, did not mean that his 'Englishness' was lost. If sometimes marvelling at his 'continental perspicacity',⁹ various commentators reminisced how 'English' he was even in personal encounters and how love for his England transpired even in criticism.¹⁰ His Polish appropriation did not seek uprooting.

In many aspects Orwell's Polish history will have reflected his story in other Soviet-subjugated countries and Soviet Russia itself.¹¹ In many others, it will have differed. If Polish clandestine reproduction picked up later than in the USSR, it would embrace more a mass reproduction and circulation than typed samizdat. Official prohibitions also seemed to push the restriction gates open slightly more than in the big neighbour, for example the official editions and discussions in Poland sometimes heralded rather than followed similar phenomena in the USSR. On the other side of the border, in East Germany, in many aspects still freer than Poland, the situation was also different: having now a new neighbour country which spoke, and published, in the same language. Following the experience of the Warsaw rising, Poland averted, if sometimes only by the skin of her teeth, catastrophes which befell Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, catastrophes which endure in the social tissue and condition social acts for years. Still, in Hungary former clandestine print apprentices might have ultimately exceeded their Polish instructors in print quality.¹² In Yugoslavia, in turn, Orwell would be published in the mid-1980s all-out officially. Suggesting similarities and specificities, the organiser of the British Library's 1984 exhibition 'Orwell in Eastern Europe', for example, did find it more difficult to locate Orwell's clandestine publications from other Soviet-occupied countries than Poland.¹³

If Orwell's reception across the West varied, from the French watered-down by the strength of the communist party, through the Spanish punctured and deformed under General Franco's censorship, to the fiercely debated, promoted and affronted, but possibly much more documented, Anglophone ones, the Polish history also confirms certain universalities in Orwell's reception. If to early Polish émigrés Orwell had offered himself up – or was taken – as a friend and

political ally, to much of his later Polish audience he already came with the baggage of cold-war reputation and two books overshadowing his profile. The Polish reception certainly does reinforce also his heritage's aptness for remoulding and his figure serving as an intellectual patron for even divergent political stances, worldviews and ideologies. Even with only a limited access to his oeuvre and criticism in Poland, similar trends and disputes developed in underground discussions, most saliently perhaps the neoconservative versus the left of centre (e.g. highlighting his 'socialism' versus claiming it to be more ethical than theoretical). Perhaps a Polish specificity was that the British New Left type of critique would be – if dubiously – enacted by the official establishment. Ultimately, though, even part of the communist propaganda came to mould him into a fellow traveller. If neoconservative claims much echoed Anglophone trends, a distinctly Polish colour seemed the strength of his embrace and promotion by Catholic circles, seeing in him a defender of traditional and fundamental ethical values and – individual freedom, values whose defender the Roman Catholic Church itself came to represent in many eyes at that specific time and conditions.

Likewise, Orwell seemed almost 'good for all' abroad and underground, from indomitable London, through CIA-sponsored Free Europe employees and neoconservative *Survey* to the independent pragmatic *Kultura*. Even to academics he could appear as not only a genius political observer (e.g. Kołakowski), but also 'a crystalline figure' who was not there to make a political capital only genuinely expose the wrongs.¹⁴ Some claimed his intentions 'pure and beautiful' (at least in Spain)¹⁵ and himself a paradigm of intellectual courage and integrity as well as of 'ordinary human decency' (an expression which infatuated Grudziński even taught his *Kultura* readers in English¹⁶). He was an inspiring figure not solely for his perceived anti-communist unmasking, but also for his universal reflections which indeed seem to have exerted much influence on Polish intellectuals and dissenters, from the 1950s and 1960s 'revisionists' such as Kołakowski and 'commandos', to the later opposition from the left, conservative, nationalist or esoteric. If in 1962 Konstanty Jeleński argued that *Animal Farm* and *Darkness at Noon* 'probably did more to make Western public opinion *feel* the unique Stalinist combination of equality myth and new privileges than any historical or sociological explanation', already in 1983 Grudziński claimed that 'The Soviet myth has almost crumbled, and Orwell has some small merit in it'.¹⁷ He might as well have contributed to the truly remarkable feat in the European history: the peaceful transformation of the late 1980s.

A history of reception speaks not merely about the object itself but also about the audience situated in a specific socio-historical moment. In the first place, this history brings into relief the crucial role of agents and organised action enabling the reception to happen. These are individual actors (e.g. Jeleńska, Giedroyc, clandestine printers, intellectuals willing to put their careers at play) backed by fellow agents and organised institutional support (e.g. US and CIA, Polish and

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foreign institutions abroad such as the Polish Library in London or *Kultura* in Paris, clandestine representatives raising funds abroad for clandestine prints and equipment, organising smuggling and clandestine distribution). Furthermore, this is as much a history of Orwell's influence on his Polish audiences as of their projections on his works and name and their 'usage'. For Orwell's being an author so intrinsically political, his reception too has proved largely politically underscored and politically motivated. Important layers to the study of Orwell's reception and perception come from analysing sources and artefacts with a humanistic coefficient, letting involved actors speak of their experience as modulated through their own perspective and memory, which serve as mirrors of values and attitudes towards the political and social circumstances subscribing their situation. Some actors turned both subjects of analysis and contributors to it (e.g. the interviewees or other commentators, e.g. Kotakowski or clandestine publishers who offered self-reflection).

Ultimately, it is also a study of intellectual reception, in Orwell studies perhaps so far advanced most prominently by John Rodden, who focused predominantly on Anglophone publics while venturing also to West and East Germany and presenting 'The Soviet Union's Orwell'.¹⁸ The present work might show that Orwell's Polish reception sounded with a much fuller voice in this period than these works or occasional mentions of the region's clandestine editions¹⁹ may have so far conveyed. It also offers a methodological model for studying transnational reception where a regulatory censorship acts as a formative force for émigré and clandestine efforts at times employed in tandem to circumvent it. The model approaches the reception from the three potentially inter-related modalities: émigré, official and clandestine, and studies artefacts with their history of production, also translation, and distribution, and treats not only publications and other transcriptions but also letters and diaries, and institutional files as testaments of reception and dissemination too. This cultural and intellectual history also adds to the study of British-Polish cultural and intellectual relations in the 20th century. A rediscovery of historical, cultural and intellectual connections might be timely for enhancing transcultural understanding and revisiting questions of integration at the time of British severance of the ties with the European Union and a large community of Polish nationals once more calling Britain their home. In this context, it has been of interest to rediscover connections between Orwell and communities of Polish settlers in Britain of two generations ago, and the input or influence they might have had on the work of one of Britain's most quoted authors. Ultimately, for the phenomenon of Orwell's fame and its repercussions, both Orwell's works and the history of his reputation and reception seem an important testimony to the whole epoch not only in the western world. This thesis expects to add a layer to that testimony. And gathering varied responses, reputations and receptions from across not only Europe would seem a highly desirable and edifying project. It would tell us as much about Orwell as about the complex and entangled history of the 20th century in its cultural,

intellectual and political dimensions. Further research would be needed to study Orwell's Polish post-1989 reception with its likely appropriations and misappropriations, which continue to this day.²⁰

As to possible further meanings beyond academia, although Orwell's Polish reception history presented here might testify of different times, it seems to suggest something powerful also for our 21st century. Fulfilling Orwell's own attitude, for whom politics was professedly the 'Desire to push the world in a certain direction, to alter people's idea of the kind of society that they should strive after',²¹ his Polish history seems to provide a heartening testament to the power of the word to penetrate even if officially unwelcome and to foster independent thought and mobilise for self-organisation and action that can pave the way even for earlier unimaginable changes.

Appendix A

Orwell's response to *Wiadomości's* survey, 'Ankieta *Wiadomości*' on 'Conrad's Place and Rank in English Letters', *Wiadomości*, 10 April 1949, p. 1.

Wiadomości's question sent out to several British writers:

First, what do you believe to be his permanent place and rank in English letters? When Conrad died, some critics were uncertain of his final position, and Virginia Woolf, in particular, doubted whether any of his later novels would survive. Today, on the occasion of the publication of a new edition of his collected writings, Mr. Richard Curle wrote in *Time and Tide* that Conrad's works now rank among the great classics of the English novel. Which of these views, in your opinion, is correct?

The other question to which we would like to have your answer is whether you detect in Conrad's work any oddity, exoticism and strangeness (of course, against the background of the English literary tradition), and if so, do you attribute it to his Polish origin?

George Orwell's published reply:

¹I cannot answer at great length, as I am ill in bed, but I am happy to give you my opinions for what they are worth.

1) I regard Conrad as one of the best writers of this century, and – supposing that one can count him as an English writer – one of the very few true novelists that England possesses. His reputation, which was somewhat eclipsed after his death, has risen again during the past ten years, and I have no doubt that the bulk of his work will survive. During his lifetime he suffered by being stamped as a writer of 'sea stories', and books like *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* went almost unnoticed. Actually Conrad only spent about a third of his life at sea, and he had only a sketchy knowledge of the Asiatic countries of which he wrote in *Lord Jim*, *Almayer's Folly*, etc. What he did have, however was a sort of grown-upness and political understanding which would have been almost impossible to a native English writer at that time. I consider that his best work belongs to what might be called his middle period, roughly between 1900 and 1914. This

¹ *Wiadomości* omitted here letter formalities in print: 'Dear Sir, Many thanks for your letter dated the 22nd February'. Orwell's reply dates 25 February 1949, see Orwell, letter to (the Editor), *Wiadomości*, 25 February 1949', in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 47-48.

period includes *Nostromo*, *Chance*, *Victory*, the two mentioned above, and several outstanding short stories.

2) Yes, Conrad has definitely a slight exotic flavour to me. That is part of his attraction. In the earlier books, such as *Almayer's Folly*, his English is sometimes definitely incorrect, though not in a way that matters. He used I believe to think in Polish and then translate his thought into French and finally into English, and one can sometimes follow the process back at least as far as French, for instance in his tendency to put the adjective after the noun. Conrad was one of those writers who in the present century civilized English literature and brought it back into contact with Europe, from which it had been almost severed for a hundred years. Most of the writers who did this were foreigners, or at any rate not quite English – Eliot and James (Americans), Joyce and Yeats (Irish) and Conrad himself a transplanted Pole.

Appendix B

Kazimierz Wierzyński, 'Moralitet o czystej grze' [A Parable on Fair Play], in *Czarny Polonez* [Black Polonaise] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1968)

Czeka
N.K.W.D.
Gestapo
U.B.
I da capo.

Waits
NKVD
Gestapo
UB¹
And da capo.

Dawniej nocne pukanie do drzwi,
Teraz czekamy w południe, najlepiej
prywatnie,
Dawniej godzinami twarzą do ściany,
Teraz prosimy siadać, pomówmy poufnie,
Dawniej piwnica, karetka i przepaść,
Teraz niech pan się zastanowi, bo jakże inaczej,
Czasy unormowane, nie jest tak źle,
Mieszkanie z puli premiera,
Paszport konsularny na lata,
Stypendia, kongresy,
Pan widzi, wszystko się zmienia,
Żadna deprawacja, denuncjacja,
Żaden Orwell, to informacja,
Nasze prywatne okno na świat,
Kto i z kim, tak czy nie.

In the past – a knocking at night,
Now we wait at noon, best privately,
In the past – hours facing the wall,
Now please sit down, let's talk in confidence,
In the past – a basement, an ambulance and
gone,
Now think it over, sir, how else,
Normalised times, it's not so bad,
A flat from the Prime Minister,
A consular passport for years,
Grants, congresses,
You see, everything changes,
It's no depravation, denunciation,
It's no Orwell, it's information,
Our private window to the world,
Who and with whom, yes or no.

Niech pan się zastanowi,
Ustawi się moralnie,
Nam chodzi o szczerłość,
O czystą, jasną grę.

Think it over, sir,
Position yourself morally,
We care for sincerity,
For clean, fair play.

*

*

Mówi się – *double talk*,
Śni się – *double dreams*,
Żyje się – *double life*,
Ale skacze się z okna tylko raz.

One speaks – *double talk*,
One dreams – *double dreams*,
One lives – *double life*,
But one jumps from the window only once.

¹ Polish Security Services.

Appendix C

Orwell's Polish clandestine book editions (1976-1989)

Compiled on the basis of Biblioteka Narodowa, *Książki polskie podziemne (1976-1989)* [Polish Underground Books (1976-1989)] (database) and *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], ed. by Kandziora and Szymańska.

Comic: *Folwark zwierzęcy: Według Orwella opracowali i narysowali* [*Animal Farm: Elaborated and Drawn According to Orwell*] by Maciek Biały [Robert Śnieciński] and Karol Blue [Fernando Molina] (Warsaw: ReKontra, 1985), 44 p., 29 cm

Comic: *Folwark zwierzęcy komiks wg Orwella* [*Animal Farm: A Comic According to Orwell*] ([Warsaw]: Gilosz & Azyl, 1985), 31 p., 15 x 21 cm [second publisher: 'Słowo']

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Andrzej Krauze (Warsaw: NOWa, 1979)

Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa [*Writers and the Leviathan. Prevention of Literature*] (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979), 34 p.

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Głos, December 1980)

Eseje [Essays], introd. by Andrzej K. Drucki [Marcin Król] ([Warsaw]: Odnova, [1981]), 47 p.

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Andrzej Krauze (Kraków, Po Prostu Bis; Warsaw: Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3 Maja, 1981)

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Szczecin: Akademicka Agencja Wydawnicza; Warsaw: NOWa, [19]81)

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981)

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*] [trans. by Teresa Jeleńska] (Warsaw: n. pub., 1981)

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska ([Warsaw]: Zbliżenia, 1981)

I ślepy by spostrzegł: wybór esejów i felietonów [*In Front of Your Nose: a Selection of Essays and Feature Articles*], trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981), 120 p.

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski ([Gdańsk]: Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska, [1981])

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski introd. by M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kos, 1981) [part of imprint: 'kos' stamped over with 'ABC']

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski introd. by M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo ABC, 1981)

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Krąg, 1982)

Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (n.p.: n. pub., 1982)

Eseje [Essays] (Poznań: Głosy, 1983), 30 p. [Library of student monthly *Głosy* 2]

3 eseje [3 Essays], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Oficyna WE [1983]), 48 p. [repr. from *Kultura*] [National Library lists a separate edition without '3' in the title]

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- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*] [trans. by Teresa Jeleńska] (Warsaw: Głos, 1983)
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*] [trans. by Teresa Jeleńska] (Warsaw: n. pub., 1983) [National Library lists another anonymous edition in Warsaw in 1983]
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Braterstwo, [1983])
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (n.p.: n. pub., 1983?)
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Lublin: n. pub., 1984) [possibly unsigned publication by Aut 82 / XXX; not listed by the National Library]
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (n.p.: n. pub., 1984)
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Stop, 1984)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Liberta [i.e. continuation of Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka], 1984)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Zbliżenia, 1984)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, [10 colour] il. by Jan Lebenstein ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska ([Warsaw]: Wolność, 1985)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (n.p.: n. pub., 1984) [not listed by *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship]]
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Wrocław: Akademia Sztuk Wszelakich, 1985)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Oficyna Liberałów; Poznań: Głosy, 1985) [the author's name: Jerzy Orwell] [National Library lists three different editions, *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] lists two]
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: n. pub., 1985)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: n. pub., 1985)
- W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*], trans. by Leszek Kuzaj ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985)
- Eseje* [Essays] (n.p.: n. pub., post-1985), 291 p. [repr. of London: Puls, 1985]
- Eseje* (wybór) [Essays (Selection)], trans. by Anna Husarska (Wrocław: Ruch Społeczny Solidarność 'Kret', 1986), 82 p.
- Zabójcy słowa: Eseje* [*Prevention of Literature: Essays*] ([Warsaw]: LOS, 1986), 34 p.
- Eseje* [Essays], trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987]) [repr. of London: Puls, 1985], 291 p.
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Siedlce: Metrum, 1987)

Appendix D

Selected Polish translations of Orwell's essays and shorter pieces

Arranged by the translation chronology. They are clandestine publications unless marked:

* – Émigré publication

° – Official publication

'Decline of the English Murder', *Tribune*, 15 February 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 108-110

° 'Rozkwit i zmierzch angielskiej powieści kryminalnej', trans. by J. Bułakowska, *Odra* (Katowice-Wrocław-Szczecin), 26 May 1946, pp. 4-5

'England your England', fragment of *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1941), in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 391-434 (pp. 392-409)

* 'Lew i nosorożec [sic]: Anglia, twoja Anglia', trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, *Kultura*, 4 (1948), 41-62

Repr. in *3 Eseje* (Warsaw: Oficyna WE, 1983)

Review: e.g. drak, [Jan Wojnowski], 'Świadectwo Orwella' [Orwell's Testimony], *Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy BMW*, 4 (1984), 23

'Anglia twoja Anglia', trans. by A.J. [Andrzej Jaroszyński], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 27-40

'Prevention of Literature' (*Polemic*, January 1946 (and *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1947), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 369-381)

* 'Środki zapobiegawcze w literaturze', trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, *Kultura*, 5 (1948), 4-14

Repr. in *3 Eseje* (Warsaw: Oficyna WE, 1983)

Review: e.g. drak, [Jan Wojnowski], 'Świadectwo Orwella' [Orwell's Testimony], *Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy BMW*, 4 (1984), 23

* 'Zabójcy słowa', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 80-99

Repr. *Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa* (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979)

Repr. *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]), pp. 39-48

Repr. 'Literatura w ustroju totalnym', in *Eseje* (Poznań: Głosy, 1983)

* Repr. in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 161-173

Repr. in *Zabójcy słowa: Eseje* ([Warsaw]: LOS, 1986), pp. 3-15

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Raffles and Miss Blandish', *Horizon*, October 1944; *Politics*, November 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 345-358

* 'Raffles i panna Blandish', trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, *Kultura*, 9-10 (1948), 48-58

¹ According to *Kto był kim w drugim obiegu?: słownik pseudonimów pisarzy i dziennikarzy: 1976-1989* [Who Was Who in Second Circulation? A Dictionary of Writers' and Journalists' Pennames: 1976-1989], comp. by Cecylia Gajkowska *et al.*, ed. by Dobrośława Świerczyńska, introd. by Andrzej Friszke (Warsaw: IBL PAN, 1995), p. 24.

Repr. in *3 Eseje* (Warsaw: Oficyna WE, 1983)

Review: e.g. drak, [Jan Wojnowski], 'Świadekstwo Orwella' [Orwell's Testimony], *Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy BMW*, 4 (1984), 23

'The Art of Donald McGill', *Horizon*, September 1941, in *CWGO*, XIII: 1941-1942, pp. 23-31

* 'Twórczość Donalda Mac Gilla [sic]', trans. by Teresa Skórzewska, *Kultura*, 1 (January 1950), 75-84

'The Freedom of the Press', introduction intended for *Animal Farm*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 September 1972, in *CWGO*, XVII: 1945, pp. 253-260

* 'O wolności prasy', trans. by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Kultura*, 5 (May 1973), 3-14

'Notes on Nationalism', *Polemic*, 1 ([October] 1945), in *CWGO*, XVII: 1945, pp. 141-157

* 'Uwagi o nacjonalizmie', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 13-35 [slightly abridged]

Repr. *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 5-16

* Repr. in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 126-140

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Catastrophic Gradualism', *C[ommon] W[ealth] Review*, November 1945, in *CWGO*, XVII: 1945, pp. 342-345

* 'Gradualizm katastroficzny', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 36-41

Repr. *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 17-20

* Repr. in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 154-157

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Second Thoughts on James Burnham', *Polemic*, 3 (May 1946), and *James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution* (London: Socialist Book Centre, Summer 1946), in *CWGO* XVIII: 1946, pp. 268-284

* 'Refleksje nad Burnhamem', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 42-60

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 20-29

Repr. in *Eseje* (Poznań: Głosy, 1983)

* Repr. in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 186-197

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Burnham i "Rewolucja menadżerska"', anon. trans. from *Aneks*, 6 (1974) amended by Roman Zimand, in Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 58-70 [Zimand states the translation was from *Arka* 8 (1984)]

'You and the Atom Bomb', *Tribune*, 19 October 1945, in *CWGO*, XVII: 1945, pp. 319-321

* 'Ty i bomba atomowa', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 61-64 [abridged]

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 29-31

* Repr. in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 151-154

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

º 'Orwell o... [Orwell on...] Bombie atomowej', trans. by Paweł Śpiewak, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 118-123

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 24 December 1943, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 34-37

* 'Z "As I Please"', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 65-67

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 31-32

* Repr. as 'Jak mi się podoba (24 XII 1943)', in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 90-92

º 'Orwell o...[Orwell on...] O neopesymizmie' [On Neo-Pessimism], trans. by Paweł Śpiewak, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 136-139 [fragm.]

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 8 December 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 495-497

* 'Z "As I Please"', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 67-69

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 32-33

* Repr. as 'Jak mi się podoba (8 XII 1944)', in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 111-113

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Writers and Leviathan', *Politics and Letters*, Summer 1948, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 288-293

* 'Pisarze i Lewiatan', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 70-79

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Warsaw]: Odnova, [1981]), pp. 34-38

* Repr. in *Eseje* trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 282-288

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

Preface to the Ukrainian edition of *Animal Farm* [March 1947], in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 86-89

'O sobie', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 13-19

* 'Przedmowa autora do ukraińskiego wydania *Folwarku zwierzęcego*', in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 145-48

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

Editorial, *Polemic*, 3 (May 1946), in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 263-268

'Etyka na opak wywrócona', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 20-31

* 'Artykuł wstępny w *Polemic*', trans. by Anna Husarska, in *Eseje* trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 180-185

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

'Toward European Unity', *Partisan Review*, July-August 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, 163-167

'Ku jedności europejskiej', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 32-44

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 1 September 1944 [on Warsaw rising], in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 363-366

'Powstanie i krytycy', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 45-52

* 'Jak mi się podoba', trans. by Sławomir Mrożek, in, *Kultura*, 3 (1983), 48-51

* 'Jak mi się podoba (1 IX 1947) [sic]', in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 223-226

Repr. in *Eseje* (Wrocław: Ruch Społ. Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

Repr. in *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 31-32

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 4 February 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 88-91

'Prawdę tworzą zwycięzcy' [History Is Written by the Winners], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 53-57

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 27 December 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 521-524

'Ziemia jest płaska' [The Earth Is Flat], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 58-61

'Notes on the Way', *Time and Tide*, 30 March and 6 April 1940, in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 121-127

'Notatki w drodze', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 62-70

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 24 March 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 131-134

'Co to jest faszyzm' [What Is Fascism], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 71-80

'As I Please', *Tribune*, 19 May 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 193-197

'Jak grochem o ścianę' [On Deaf Ears], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 81-83 [second part of article]

Unpublished Letter to *Tribune*, 26[?] June 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 193-194

'Szesnastu Polaków przed sądem moskiewskim' [Sixteen Poles before the Moscow Tribunal], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 84-88

'Reflections on Gandhi', *Partisan Review* (January 1949), in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 5-12

'Rozważania o Gandhim', in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 89-106

'Refleksje o Gandhim', trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 68-72

º 'Refleksje o Gandhim', trans. by Adam Chmielewski, *Odra* (Wrocław), 2 (February 1986), 58-62

'In Front of Your Nose', *Tribune*, 22 March 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 161-164

'I ślepy by spostrzegł' [Even a Blind Would Notice], in *I ślepy by spostrzegł*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: BHiL, 1981), pp. 107-114 [the essay collection title]

* 'Przed samym nosem', in *Eseje*, trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 177-180

Repr. in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Panaceum, [1987])

° 'Orwell o... Paradoksach politycznych' [Orwell on... Political Paradoxes], trans. by Paweł Śpiewak, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 123-126

'Why I Write', *Gangrel* [4, Summer] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 316-321

° 'Dlaczego piszę', trans. by Elżbieta Jasińska, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 12 April 1981, p. 3 (omits the poem)

'Dlaczego piszę', trans. by Anna Przestrzelska, and Paweł J. Krasucki and Piotr Krasucki (poem), *Puls*, 11-12 (Spring-Summer 1981), 87-91 (contains a small biographical note yet with some errors)

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5. Orwell's Writing

i) Polish Émigré Publications

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'O wolności prasy' [*The Freedom of the Press*], trans. by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Kultura*, 5 (May 1973), 3-14, orig. publ. *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 September 1972, introd. by Bernard Crick

'Pisarze i Lewiatan' [*Writers and Leviathan*], *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 70-79

'Raffles i panna Blandish' [*Raffles and Miss Blandish*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, *Kultura*, 9-10 (1948), 48-58

'Refleksje nad Burnhamem' [*Second Thoughts on James Burnham / James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution*], *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 42-60

[Six writing rules] *Wiadomości*, March-April 1981, 'Silva rerum', p. 19

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'Ty i bomba atomowa' [*You and the Atom Bomb*], *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 61-64

'Uwagi o nacjonalizmie' [*Notes on Nationalism*], *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 13-35

'Wspomnienia z wojny hiszpańskiej' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], trans. by Stanisław Barańczak, in Orwell, *Eseje* [Essays], trans. by Anna Husarska et al. (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 74-83

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Eseje [Essays], trans. by Anna Husarska et al., introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), 291 p.

Folwark zwierzęcy [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Wojciech Jastrzębowski (London: Światpol, 1947)

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Rok 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1953)

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ii) Polish Official Publications

- 'Birmańskie dni' [*Burmese Days*] (frgm.), trans. by Ju-Ru [Jerzy Chociłowski], excerpts titled: 'Niewola nienawiści' [Captivity of Hatred], *Kontynenty*, 6 (August 1982), 32-33; 'Zebranie w klubie' [Meeting in the Club], *Kontynenty*, 7 (September 1982), 32-33; 'Bunt' [Rebellion], *Kontynenty*, 8 (October 1982), 32-33
- 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], trans. by Elżbieta Jasińska, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 12 April 1981, p. 3
- 'Filiżanka dobrej herbaty' [*A Nice Cup of Tea*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Pismo Literacko-Artystyczne* (Kraków), 2 (February 1986), 71-73
- 'Hołd Katalonii' [*Homage to Catalonia*] (frgm.), trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986)
- 'Orwell o...' [Orwell on...], selected and trans. by Paweł Śpiewak, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 118-139: 'Bombie atomowej' [The Atom Bomb], 'Paradoksach politycznych' [Political Paradoxes], 'Naszej cywilizacji' [Our Civilisation], 'O nacjonalizmie' [On Nationalism] [from a letter to Noel Willmet, 18 May 1944], 'O zmierzchu nieśmiertelności' [On the Decline of Immortality], 'O dylemacie politycznym' [On a Political Dilemma], 'O *Mein Kampf*' [On *Mein Kampf*], 'O antysemityzmie' [On Antisemitism], 'O dyktaturze' [On Dictatorship]; O neopesymizmie [On Neopessimism]; O cierpieniu [On Suffering]
- 'Polityka a literatura: spojrzenie na *Podróż Gullivera*' [*Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of 'Gulliver's Travels'*], trans. by Piotr Pieńkowski, *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1186-1204
- 'Polityka i język angielski' [*Politics and the English Language*] (frgm.), trans. by Krystyna Roszak, in *Almanach Literacki Iskier*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Iskry, 1985), pp. 52-67
- 'Ponowne odkrycie Europy' [*The Rediscovery of Europe*],], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 70-87
- 'Powieszenie' [*A Hanging*], trans. by Paweł Prokop, *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1205-1209
- 'Przywilej kleru, kilka uwag o Salvadorze Dalim' [*Benefit of Clergy*],], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 88-104
- 'Refleksje o Gandhim' [*Reflections on Gandhi*], trans. by Adam Chmielewski, *Odra* (Wrocław), 2 (February 1986), 58-62
- 'Rozkwit i zmierzch angielskiej powieści kryminalnej' [*Decline of the English Murder*], trans. by J. Bułakowska, *Odra* (Katowice-Wrocław-Szczecin), 26 May 1946, pp. 4-5. Notable is the speedy translation of this essay published in London just months earlier: *Tribune*, 15 February 1946
- 'Schronisko dla włóczęgów' [*The Spike*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986), 53-69
- 'Tołstoj i Shakespeare', trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Dialog*, 5 (May 1987), 120-122;
- 'Vivat aspidistra!' [*Keep the Aspidistra Flying*] (frgm.), trans. by Jadwiga Piątkowska, introd. by WR [Włodzimierz Rydzewski], *Zdanie*, 11/12 (November/December 1983), 67-79
- 'W brzuchu wieloryba' [*Inside the Whale*] (frgm.), trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5-6 (May-June 1987)
- 'Zabicie słonia' [*Shooting an Elephant*], trans. by Elżbieta Jasińska, *Więź*, 8 (August 1982), 111-116
- 'Zaczerpnąć oddechu' [*Coming Up for Air*] (frgm.), trans. and introd. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Ład*, 17 October 1982, p. 6, and *Ład*, 24 October 1982, p. 6
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, serialised in *Konfrontacje*, 1-13/1 (January 1988-January 1989)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, afterword by Waclaw Sadkowski (Warsaw: Alfa, 1988)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Ewa Grabarska, serialised in *Argumenty*, 13 March-9 October 1988
- Rok 1984*, trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, afterword by Artur Sandauer (Warsaw: PIW, 1988)
- Wiwat aspidistra* [*Keep the Aspidistra Flying*], trans. by Jadwiga Piątkowska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985)

iii) Polish Clandestine Publications

- '1984' (fragm.), *Promieniści* [The Radiants], 2, 1 November 1982, p. 1
- 'Anglia twoja Anglia' [*England Your England*], trans. by A.J. [Andrzej Jaroszyński], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 27-40
- 'Arthur Koestler', trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 62-68
- 'Arthur Koestler', trans. by Roman Zimand, in *Orwell i on nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 45-51
- 'Burnham i rewolucja menadżerska' [*James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution*], anon. trans. amended and completed by Roman Zimand, in *Orwell i on nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 58-70
- 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 12-15 [repr. from *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985)]
- 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], trans. by [Piotr Kasznia], *Bez Debitu* [Without Right to Circulate], 1 (1984/85), 20-25
- 'Gandhi i pacyfizm (list)' [Gandhi and Pacifism (A Letter)] [fragm. of Orwell's letter to Rev. Iowerth Jones, 8 April 1941], *Ogniwo*, 41 (September 1987), 25
- 'Gdy wspominam wojnę hiszpańską' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], anon. trans., *Krytyka*, 19/20 (1985), 271-283 [omits the poem]
- 'Hołd dla Katalonii' [*Homage to Catalonia*] [fragm. of ch. 5], trans. by [Piotr Kasznia], *Bez Debitu* [Without Right to Circulate], 1 (1984/85), 7-19
- 'Intelektualiści o wiele bardziej niż ludzie prości skłaniają się ku totalitaryzmowi. Wybór myśli i cytatów' [*Intellectuals Are more Totalitarian in Outlook than the Common People. A Selection of Thoughts and Quotes*] by ar [Robert Bogdański], *Obóz*, 15 (1988), 54-61
- 'Jak mi się podoba (1.IX.1947) [sic]' [*As I Please*, 1 September 1944 (on Warsaw uprising)] *Antyk*, 6 (1988) [repr. from *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985)]
- 'List do duchownego Kościoła anglikańskiego "Gandhi i pacyfizm"' [fragm. of Orwell's letter to Rev. Iowerth Jones, 8 April 1941], *Kontur*, 1 (Spring 1988), 76
- 'Literatura a lewica' [*Literature and the Left*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 31-33 [repr. from *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985)]
- 'Polityka a język angielski' [*Politics and the English Language*] (fragm.), *Solidarność Nauczycielska. Dodatek* [Teachers' Solidarity. Supplement] (Lublin), special issue, [2] (1985), 7-8
- 'Polityka a język angielski' [*Politics and the English Language*], trans. by Maria Wirska, *Krytyka*, 22 (1987), 183-192
- 'Polityka a literatura: spojrzenie na *Podróże Gullivera*' [*Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels*], trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 51-61
- 'Powieszenie' [*A Hanging*], trans. by Adam Waksman [Adam Szostkiewicz], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 6-8
- 'Powstanie i krytycy' [The Rising and Its Critics] [i.e. 'As I Please' on the Warsaw rising], in Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł: wybór esejów i felietonów* [*In Front of Your Nose: a Selection of Essays and Feature Articles*], trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981), pp. 45-52
- 'Privilegium fori: notatki o Salvadorze Dali' [*Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali*], trans. by Roman Zimand, in *Orwell i on nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 52-57, published simultaneously by *Kultura Niezależna*, 9 (May 1985), 16-25
- 'Recenzja z *The Portrait of the Antisemite* by Jean-Paul Sartre' [review of '*Portrait of the Antisemite*' by Jean-Paul Sartre], trans. by Roman Zimand, in Roman Zimand, *Orwell i on nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 71-72
- 'Refleksje o Gandhim' [*Reflections on Gandhi*], trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 68-72
- 'W brzuchu wieloryba' [*Inside the Whale*], trans. by Wanda Stanisławska [Jadwiga Piątkowska], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 8-26
- 'Wspominając wojnę w Hiszpanii' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], trans. by J. Z., in Roman Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him], pp. 33-44
- 'Wspomnienie z wojny w Hiszpanii' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], trans. by Alfred [Andrzej Branny], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 40-45 [omits the poem]
- 1984 [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Siedlce: Metrum, 1987)
- 1984: *Powieść* [1984: A Novel; i.e. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski ([Warsaw]: n. pub. [1985])
- 3 eseje [3 Essays], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Oficyna WE [1983]), 48 p. [reprints from *Kultura* *Eseje* [Essays], introd. by Andrzej K. Drucki [Marcin Król] ([Warsaw]: Odnova, [1981]), 47 p.

- Eseje* [Essays] (Poznań: Głosy, 1983), 30 p.
- Eseje* (wybór) [Essays (Selection)], trans. by Anna Husarska (Wrocław: Ruch Społeczny Solidarność 'Kret', 1986), 82 p.
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*] (fragm.), *Promieniści*, 9/10, 11 February 1985, p. 1
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Andrzej Krauze (Warsaw: NOWa, 1979)
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- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska ([Wrocław]: Kooperatywa Wydawnicza Wyzwolenie, [1981])
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska ([Warsaw]: Zbliżenia, 1981)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Poznań: Wprost, [19]81)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Głos, 1983)
- Folwark zwierzęcy* [trans. by Teresa Jeleńska] as a supplement to the special Orwell issue of *Veto*, 13 (1984)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Stop, 1984)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska ([Warsaw]: Wolność, 1985)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Wrocław: Akademia Sztuk Wszelakich, 1985)
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, afterword by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (fragm. of Skalmowski's introduction to *Rok 1984* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979))
- Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Jan Lebenstein ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985)
- I ślepy by spostrzegł: wybór esejów i felietonów* [*In Front of Your Nose: a Selection of Essays and Feature Articles*], trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981), 120 p.
- Nineteen Eighty-Four* (fragm.): G. Orwell "Zasady nowomowy": Fragmenty książki Orwella pt. *Rok 1984* ['The Principles of Newspeak': Fragments of Orwell's Book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], *Tu Teraz*, 15 May 1983, p. 6
- Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa* [*Writers and the Leviathan. Prevention of Literature*] (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979), 34 p.
- PWA Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* [Agency News Review], 'Nasze dedykacje' [Our Dedications], no. 8, 23 February 1986, p. 2 [selection of quotes from Orwell dedicated to various collectivities]
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Głos, December 1980)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski ([Gdańsk]: Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska, [1981])
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Krąg, 1982)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski introd. by M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kos, 1981)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski, introd. by M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Kraków: ABC, 1981)
- Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski [Kraków: n. pub., c. 1976] [transcription of a Radio Free Europe broadcast by Andrzej Kostrzewski, held by Kraków, Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego (FCDCN) [Foundation of the Centre for the Documentation of Struggles for Independence], ID 8354 A, shelfmark AR 4175 III RARA]
- Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Liberta [i.e. continuation of Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka], 1984)
- Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Zbliżenia, 1984)
- Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Oficyna Liberałów; Poznań: Głosy, 1985) [the author's first name is translated: Jerzy Orwell]
- W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*] (fragm.), anon. trans., *Magazyn Robotnika*, 1 (October 1985), pp. 47-55
- W hołdzie Katalonii*, trans. by Leszek Kuzaj ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985)
- Zabójcy słowa: Eseje* [*Prevention of Literature: Essays*] ([Warsaw]: LOS, 1986), 34 p.
- Zwierzęcy folwark* [*Animal Farm*] (fragm.), *Rota 80* [Oath Wording 80], 2-3 (1981)

iv) Other Orwell's Writing

- 'Anglia twoja Anglia' [*England Your England*] (fragm.), *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000), 106-107 (repr. of clandestine trans. by A.J. [Andrzej Jaroszyński], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 27-40)
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 14 July 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 284-287
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 1 September 1944 (on the Warsaw rising), in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 363-366
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 26 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 2 February 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 37-39
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 15 November 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 481-484
- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 24 January 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 23-27
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- 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 14 February 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 43-46
- 'BBC Talks Booking Form, 5.3.42' (no script provided), in *CWGO*, xiii: 1941-1942, pp. 201-202
- 'Charles Dickens', in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (London: Gollancz, 1940), see in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 20-57
- 'Dlaczego piszę' [Why I Write] (fragm.), *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000)
- 'English News Commentary, 51, 12 December 1942' (for BBC Eastern Service), in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 231-234
- 'English News Commentary, 52, 19 December 1942' (BBC Eastern Service), in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 241-245
- 'Guess or Prediction', *Tribune*, 7 February 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 297-299
- 'In Front of Your Nose', *Tribune*, 22 March 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 161-164
- 'La censure en Angleterre' [Censorship in England], *Monde*, 6 October 1928, in *CWGO*, x: 1903-1936, pp. 117-119 and pp. 148-150
- 'Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool', *Polemic*, 7 (March 1947), in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 54-67
- 'London Letter, 15-16 August 1945', *Partisan Review*, Fall 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 245-250
- 'London Letter', *Partisan Review*, July-August 1943, in *CWGO*, xv: 1943, pp. 106-111
- 'London Letter', *Partisan Review*, Summer 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 285-289
- 'Notes for "Evelyn Waugh"', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 77-79
- 'Notes on Nationalism', *Polemic*, 1 ([October] 1945), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 141-157
- 'Notes on the Way', *Time and Tide*, 30 March and 6 April 1940, in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 121-127
- 'Orwell's List of Crypto-Communists and Fellow-Travelers', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, Appendix 9, pp. 240-256
- 'Our Opportunity', *The Left News* (organ of the Left Book Club), 55 (January 1941), in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 343-350
- 'Personal Notes on Scientifiction', *Leader Magazine*, 21 July 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 221-224
- 'Politics and the English Language', *Horizon*, April 1946, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 421-432
- 'Politics and the English Language', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 421-432
- 'Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of *Gulliver's Travels*', *Polemic*, 5 (September-October 1946), in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, pp. 417-432
- 'Reflections on Gandhi', *Partisan Review*, January 1949, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 5-12
- 'Review of Pamphlet Literature', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 January 1943, in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 300-303
- 'Second Thoughts on James Burnham', *Polemic*, 3 (May 1946), in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, pp. 268-284
- 'Skotskii ugolok' [*Animal Farm*] (two chapters), *Izvestia*, 16 September 1988, supplement *Nedelya*, pp. 22-23
- 'Takie to były radości' [*Such, Such Were the Joys*] (fragm.), *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000)
- 'The Art of Donald McGill', *Horizon*, September 1941, in *CWGO*, xiii: 1941-1942, pp. 23-31
- 'The Cost of Letters', *Horizon*, September 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 382-384
- 'The Freedom of the Press' (intended preface to *Animal Farm*), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 253-260
- [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*] (serialised), *Kodry* [Kishinev], September 1988-January 1989
- [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*] (fragm.), *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 11 May 1988
- [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*] (serialised), *Novyi mir*, February-April 1989
- Skotnyi dvor* [*Animal Farm*] (serialised), *Rodnik* [Latvia], 3-6 (1988)
- 'The Prevention of Literature', *Polemic*, 2 (January 1946) (and *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1947), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 369-381

- 'Toward European Unity', *Partisan Review*, July-August 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, 163-167
- 'Uncertain Fate of Displaced Persons', *Observer*, 10 June 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 174-175
- 'Why I Write', in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 316-321
- 'World Affairs, 1945', *Junior: Articles Stories and Pictures*, [I] 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 228-234
- 'Writers and Leviathan', *Politics and Letters*, Summer 1948, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 288-293
- 'Wspominając wojnę w Hiszpanii' [Looking Back on the Spanish War] (repr. of clandestine trans. by J. Z., in Roman Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985)), *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000), 33-44
- Animal Farm* (London: Longman, 1959) purchased in 1960 and 1967, French:
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9. Broadcasts

- 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year], *Program specjalny*, Radio Free Europe, Polish Section, 1 January 1984, hosted by Tadeusz Nowakowski, with Bolesław Wierzbiański, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Konstanty Jeleński, Wojciech Karpiński and Mirosław Chojecki <<http://www.polskieradio.pl/68/2461/Audio/325265,Program-specjalny>> [accessed 5 November 2019]
- 'Rok 1984 Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell], *Moim zdaniem* [In My Opinion], BBC Radio, Polish Section, 15 November 1984, hosted by Krzysztof Dorosz, with Leszek Kołakowski, Wojciech Karpiński and Aleksander Smolar <<https://www.polskieradio.pl/68/2461/Audio/288152,Rok-1984-Orwella>> [accessed 5 November 2019]
- 'Rok 1984. Słuchowisko radiowe na podstawie powieści George'a Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Radio Drama Based on the Novel by George Orwell], Radio Free Europe, Polish Section, 25 December 1984 <<https://www.polskieradio.pl/68/862>> [accessed 5 November 2019]
- 'Rok 1984' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, read by Władysław Kowalski, Polskie Radio III [Polish state radio], 29 August-25 October 1988, 50 episodes, recorded 27 August-17 October 1988, 7.50pm
- Helbrecht, Bożena, 'Czytamy Orwella' [We Are Reading Orwell], Polskie Radio III [Polish state radio], 30 August 1988, length 19:30
- Kołodziejka, Aldona, 'George Orwell', *Audycja literacka* [Literary Programme], Polskie Radio IV [Polish state radio], 27 January 1989, length 29:30
- Szopska, Hanna, 'George Orwell: *Folwark zwierzęcy*' [George Orwell: *Animal Farm*], *Książka tygodnia* [Book of the Week], Polskie Radio III, 16 January 1989, length 16:55

10. Artefacts and Transformations

- Audio adaptation: *1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski, adapt. by Maria Krzesińska [Maryna Miklaszewska], prod. by Andrzej Radomski [Andrzej Piszczatowski], i.e. Teatr Domowy (Warsaw: NOWa Kasety, 1984), two 60-minute cassettes

- Calendar: 'Kalendarz poświęcony G. Orwellowi' [Calendar Dedicated to G. Orwell], prepared by Bartłomiej Zborski *et al.* (Liberta, 1984)
- Calendar: desktop 'Kalendarz orwellowski' [Orwell calendar] for 1984, designed by Tomasz Kuczborski and Blanka Kuczborska, il. by Zygmunt Januszewski, texts by Jan Zieliński (NOWa, 1984)
- Comic: *Folwark zwierzęcy komiks wg Orwella* [*Animal Farm: A Comic According to Orwell*] ([Warsaw]: Gilosz & Azyl, 1985), 31 p.
- Comic: *Folwark zwierzęcy: Według Orwella opracowali i narysowali* [*Animal Farm: Elaborated and Drawn According to Orwell by*] Maciek Biały [Robert Śnieciński] and Karol Blue [Fernando Molina] (Warsaw: ReKontra, 1985), 44 p.
- Envelope: Envelope by Kraków Nowa Huta Solidarity, 'Solidary [friends] – ours is this year...' (1984)
- Music: 1984, *Ferma hodowlana* [*Animal Farm*] (Rozgłośnia Harcerska, 1988)
- Music: Bowie, David, *Diamond Dogs* (RCA Records, 1974)
- Music: Eurythmics, 1984 (*For the Love of Big Brother*) (UK: Virgin; USA: RCA Records, 1984)
- Music: Maanam, 1984, side B of single *Cykady na Cykladach* [Cicadas on Cyclades] (Tonpress KAW, 1981)
- Music: Republika, 1984 (Mega Organization, 1984)
- Paintings: Lebenstein, Jan, *La fattoria degli animali: omaggio a George Orwell*; title variants: *Animal Farm: To the Memory of George Orwell* and *République des animaux: hommage à George Orwell* (Pollenza, Italy: La Nuova Foglio, 1974), ten lithographs, 70 cm
- Pastiche: Ortel, Dżordż, 'Nowy folwark zwierzęcy' [New Animal Farm], *PWA Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* [Agency News Review], 9 November 1986, pp. 2-3; repr. in *Biuletyn Dolnośląski* [Lower Silesian Bulletin], 6 (October-December 1986), 32
- Prawicowy Orwell [The Rightist Orwell] [a Facebook profile set up to denounce right-wing claims on Orwell in social media]
- Screen adaptation: *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, film, Columbia Pictures, 1956
- Screen adaptation: *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, screen adaptation, NBC television, 1953
- Stamp: Stamp featuring Orwell's face by Solidarność Małopolska (Kraków region Solidarity), 30 złotys (1984)
- Theatre: *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], dir. by Jan Machulski, Teatr Ochoty, Warsaw, opening night: 22 February 1990
- Theatre: *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], dir. by Marek Pękala, Teatr Lalki i Aktora Kacperek, Rzeszów, 22 June 1990
- Theatre: *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], dir. by Piotr Cieślak, Teatr im. Stefana Jaracza, Łódź, opening night: 19 May 1990
- Theatre: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* according to Orwell, *Gyubal Wahazar* by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz and own texts, dir. by Tomasz Uniwersał (Teatr Zamknięty), Teatr im. Kochanowskiego, Opole, three unofficial showings, May 1984

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⁷ E.g. Richard Rees, *George Orwell: Fugitive from the Camp of Victory* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1961); Woodcock, *Crystal Spirit...*; Bernard Crick, *George Orwell: A Life* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1980); Gordon Bowker, *George Orwell* (London: Little, Brown, 2003); D. J. Taylor, *Orwell: The Life* (London: Vintage, 2004 [2003]); Jeffrey Meyers, *Orwell: Life and Art* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2010) or Robert Colls, *George Orwell: English Rebel* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).

⁸ Jadwiga Piątkowska, ‘On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception’, *Lublin Studies in Modern Languages and Literature (Lubelskie Materiały Neofilologiczne)*, 15 (1987), 119-128

<<http://www.lsmll.umcs.lublin.pl/issues/15-1987/piatkowska.pdf>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; Paweł Kłoczowski interviewed by Wojciech Duda, ‘Tropy obecności’ [Traces of Presence], *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000), 126-129; Andrzej Stoff, ‘Huxley i Orwell jako konkurenci w ostrzeganiu przed niebezpieczeństwami ideologii’ [Huxley and Orwell as Rivals in Warning against Dangers of Ideology], in *Kultura – język – edukacja: dialogi współczesności z tradycją*, ed. by Beata Gromadzka, Dorota Mrozek and Jerzy Kaniewski (Poznań: Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, 2008), pp. 67-96.

⁹ George Orwell, ‘La censure en Angleterre’ [Censorship in England], *Monde*, 6 October 1928, in *CWGO*, x: 1903-1936, pp. 117-119 and pp. 148-150.

¹⁰ E.g. *New Statesman* rejected the pre-accepted article ‘Eye-Witness in Barcelona’ as well as the subsequently commended review of a book on Spain (finally published in *Time and Tide*); Gollancz refused to publish *Homage to Catalonia* even before Orwell started writing it. See e.g. Michael Shelden, *Orwell: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), pp. 227-279; *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Jeffrey Meyers (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1975; also eBook 2002), p. 14.

¹¹ They have been commended e.g. by Noam Chomsky who often mentions Orwell in his books. See also e.g. Chomsky interviewed by Andrew Marr, BBC, 14 February 1996

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GjENnyQupow>> or <<https://archive.org/details/NoamChomsky-1996-xx-xx-InterviewWithAndrewMarr>> [accessed 5 November 2019] or Chomsky in ‘Noam Chomsky on George Orwell, the Suppression of Ideas and the Myth of American Exceptionalism’, *Democracy Now! Special*, 22 September 2015

<https://www.democracynow.org/2015/9/22/noam_chomsky_on_the_myth_of> [accessed 5 November 2019]; a Brazilian lawyer supporting the curtailing of the spread of ‘fake news’ through the WhatsApp

- application in the run-up to the 2018 presidential elections argued: 'The democracy cannot succumb to modern mechanisms which resemble archaic techniques from the book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, by George Orwell, under the risk of Brazilian institutions' legitimising a joke, an installation of an illegal manipulation regime.', in Fernando Martines, 'Juristas apresentam carta contra fake news e pedem audiência no TSE' [Jurists Present a Letter Against Fake News and Request a Meeting at the Supreme Electoral Tribunal], *Consultor Jurídico*, 5 November 2019 <<https://www.conjur.com.br/2018-out-19/juristas-manifestam-fake-news-pedem-audiencia-tse>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; the beginning of Donald Trump's term as US president often evoked Orwell into discussion, e.g. Jean Seaton, Tim Crook and DJ Taylor, 'Welcome to dystopia – George Orwell Experts on Donald Trump', *Guardian*, 25 January 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/25/george-orwell-donald-trump-kellyanne-conway-1984>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹² Orwell, 'Why I Write', *Gangrel*, [4, Summer] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 316-321 (p. 319).
- ¹³ Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 421-432 (p. 428).
- ¹⁴ Rees, *Fugitive*.
- ¹⁵ Roman Ingarden, *The Literary Work of Art: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Ontology, Logic, and Theory of Literature*, trans. by George G. Grabowicz (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1973 [1931]) or *The Cognition of the Literary Work of Art*, trans. by Ruth Ann Crowley and Kenneth R. Olson (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1973 [1937]). The concept was later elaborated on e.g. by Wolfgang Iser.
- ¹⁶ Michał Głowiński, 'Świadectwa i style odbioru' [Testaments and Styles of Reception], *Teksty: teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* [Texts: Literary Theory, Criticism, Interpretation], 3.21 (1975), 9-28.
- ¹⁷ See e.g. Antonina Kłoskowska, 'The Common Reception of Literature as Exemplified by Stefan Żeromski's Works', *Literary Studies in Poland*, 2 (1978 [1976]), 15-46 (p. 16).
- ¹⁸ James L. Machor, *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America: Informed Response and Reception Histories, 1820-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2011), p. 331.
- ¹⁹ *Readers in History: Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Contexts of Response*, ed. by James L. Machor (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1993), p. xi.
- ²⁰ See e.g. *ibid.* or James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein, *New Directions in American Reception Study* (USA: Oxford University, 2008).
- ²¹ See e.g. Philip Goldstein, *Communities of Cultural Value: Reception Study, Political Differences and Literary History* (Lanham: Lexington, 2001).
- ²² See e.g. *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, ed. by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (John Benjamins, 2007) for a discussion on a sociological trend in translation studies.
- ²³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
- ²⁴ See e.g. Florian Znaniecki, *Cultural Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1919); *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934); *Social Actions* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936); *Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1952) or *Modern Nationalities: A Sociological Study* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1952).
- ²⁵ Raymond Williams, 'Base and Superstructure', *New Left Review*, 82 (1973), 3-16.
- ²⁶ Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1998), p. 152, pp. 154-155.
- ²⁷ See Znaniecki's works, e.g. 'The Object Matter of Sociology', *American Journal of Sociology*, 32.4 (January 1927).
- ²⁸ The point also noted e.g. by James Machor, e.g. in *Reading Fiction*, p. ix.
- ²⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life', *Untimely Meditations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997 [1874]), pp. 59-123.
- ³⁰ Znaniecki, *Cultural Reality*, p. 15.
- ³¹ See the section 'Original Archival Sources' in Bibliography and the list of Archives Consulted for details.
- ³² One of the letters (of 23 August 1946) has been published in Konstanty A. Jeleński, *Chwile oderwane* [Separate Moments], ed. by Piotr Kłoczkowski (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2007), insert between p. 438 and p. 439, while another scholar mistakenly located them as held by the Beinecke Library, Yale University, in Constantine Jelenski Papers Collection. See Konstanty Aleksander Jeleński, *Listy z Korsyki do Józefa Czapskiego* [Letters from Corsica to Józef Czapski], ed. by Wojciech Karpiński (Warsaw: Zeszyty Literackie, 2003), p. 63.
- ³³ Today, *PBL* for years 1944-1988 is available online <<https://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication/79343>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ³⁴ National Library (Poland, i.e. Biblioteka Narodowa), *Książki polskie podziemne (1976–1989)* [Polish Underground Books (1976–1989)] (database) <<http://mak.bn.org.pl/cgi-bin/makwww.exe?BM=2>> [dated 28 November 2007]; *Bez cenzury 1976-1989 (Literatura – ruch wydawniczy – teatr. Bibliografia)* [Free of Censorship 1976-1989: Literature, Publishing Houses, Theatre. Bibliography], ed. by Jerzy Kandziora and

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⁷⁵ Michael Rank, 'Orwell and China, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Chinese' <<http://perma.cc/7CAJ-9QSE>> and Rank, 'Orwell in China', *The Orwell Society Journal*, 5 (December 2014).

⁷⁶ E.g. Tony Shaw, 'Some writers are more equal than others': George Orwell, the state and cold war privilege', *Cold War History*, 4.1 (2003), 143-170 <DOI: 10.1080/14682740312331391774> (pp. 149-152); Andrew N. Rubin, *Archives of Authority: Empire, Culture, and the Cold War* (Princeton UP, 2012), e.g. pp. 39-43; briefly also Scott Lucas, *The Betrayal of Dissent*, p. 33; Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?* (London: Granta, 1999), pp. 293-301.

⁷⁷ Arlen Blyum, 'George Orwell in the Soviet Union: A Documentary Chronicle on the Centenary of his Birth', *The Library*, 4 (2003), 402-415; Marina Kulinich, 'George Orwell as Un-Person: the History of Censorship in Soviet Russia, in *Censorship Across Borders*, ed. by O'Leary and Lázaro, pp. 73-81; Vladimir Shlapentokh, 'George Orwell: Russia's Tocqueville', in *Orwell: Into the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Cushman and Rodden, pp. 267-285; Andrea Chalupa, *Orwell and the Refugees* (2012), eBook.

⁷⁸ Robust press and periodical responses, e.g. Anna Małeczka, 'George Orwell w czterdziestą rocznicę śmierci' [George Orwell on the Fortieth Death Anniversary], *Przekrój*, 18 February 1990, pp. 15-16; a note on the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Animal Farm: Nowe Książki* [New Books], 10 (October 1995), 'Kronika' [Chronicle], 73; on the publicisation of the 'Orwell's list': Ewa Turska, 'Lista Orwella. Autor *Folwarku zwierzęcego* tropił komunistów' [Orwell's List. The Author of *Animal Farm* Hunted Communists], *Rzeczpospolita*, no. 145, 1998, p. 27, but also a defence in a large and sympathetic essay on Orwell's life: Wojciech Orliński, 'Mądrze spóźniony' [Wisely Late], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 21-22 November 1998, pp. 15-16; on the discovery of a cache of Eileen's letters: David J. Taylor, 'Jeszcze jeden element układanki...' [Another Piece of the Puzzle], trans. by Michał Warchał, *Res Publica Nowa* (spring 2006), pp. 68-73 [orig. publ. *Guardian*, 10 December 2005]; review of a reedition of *Coming Up for Air*: Krzysztof Masłoń, 'Najgorsze nastąpi potem' [The Worst Will Come Later], *Rzeczpospolita*, 24 November 2004, among many others.

⁷⁹ E.g. Jolanta Tambor, 'Wpływ języka na postrzeganie rzeczywistości w 1984 George'a Orwella' [The Influence of Language on the Perception of Reality in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], in *Językowy obraz świata*, ed. by Jerzy Bartmiński (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1999), pp. 245-258; Anna Cichoń, 'Two Blueprints of Society', *Anglica Wratislaviensia*, 18 (1990), 35-49; Stanisław Mróz, 'Wizje nowego społeczeństwa – *Brave New World* i 1984' [Visions of a New Society: *Brave New World* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], in *Science fiction w kulturze współczesnej* [conference proceedings], ed. by Jakub Daszkiewicz (Rzeszów: Politechnika Rzeszowska, 1991); Dariusz Wojtczak, *Siódmy krąg piekła. Antyutopia w literaturze i filmie* (Poznań: Rebis, 1994) or Przemysław Czaplński, 'Wątpliwe rozstanie z utopią' [A Doubtful Parting with Utopia], *Teksty Drugie*, 40 (1996), 92-105.

⁸⁰ Emilia Truskolaska-Kopeć, 'Problematyka ideologiczna w twórczości George'a Orwella i jej polskich przekładach' [Ideological Questions in George Orwell's Works and Their Polish Translations] (doctoral dissertation, University of Warsaw, Faculty of Artes Liberales, 2014 <<https://depotuw.ceon.pl/handle/item/1019>> [accessed 5 November 2019]); Katarzyna Sidorowicz, 'Porównanie i ocena dwóch wersji tłumaczenia powieści George'a Orwella pt. *Rok 1984*' [Comparison and Assessment of Two Versions of the Translation of George Orwell's Novel Entitled *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], in *Tłumaczenie – rzemiosło i sztuka*, ed. by Jerzy Snopek (Warsaw: Węgierski Instytut Kultury, 1996), pp. 143-154; Urszula Dąmbska-Prokop, *Stylistyka i przekłady: Conrad, Orwell, Beckett* [Stylistics and Translations: Conrad, Orwell, Beckett] (Kielce: Wyższa Szkoła Umiejętności im. S. Staszica 2007); Walter Żelazny, 'U źródeł nowomowy' [At the Origins of Newspeak], *Teksty Drugie*, 4 (1990), 129-135.

⁸¹ Maria Edelson, 'Allegory as Satire: George Orwell's *Animal Farm*', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis*, 15 (1985): 'Allegory in English Fiction of the Twentieth Century', 83-108.

⁸² Aleksandra Kędzierska, *Orwell i John Cornford: angielscy kombatanci o wojnie domowej w Hiszpanii 1936-1939* [Orwell and John Cornford: English Veterans about the Civil War in Spain 1936-1939], in *Człowiek wobec rewolucji i terroru*, ed. by Eugenia Łoch (Lublin: Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe 2005), pp. 157-165.

⁸³ E.g. *Nie tylko Zachód. Recepcja literatur obcych w czasopiśmie polskich XX wieku* [Not Only the West. Reception of Foreign Literature in Polish 20th-Century Periodicals], ed. by Agata Zawiszewska and Aneta Borkowska (Łask: Leksem, 2007); Magdalena Lasowy-Pudło, *Recepcja literatury NRD w Polsce w latach 1949-1990* [Reception Of GDR's Literature in Poland in 1949-1990] (Wrocław: Atut, 2010); Polish contributions to the RBAE project e.g. Urszula Terentowicz-Fotyga, 'From Silence to a Polyphony of Voices: Virginia Woolf's Reception in Poland', in *Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe*, ed. by Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 127-147, or Andrzej Juszczyk, 'H. G. Wells's Polish Reception' and Juliusz K. Palczewski, 'On Translations of H. G. Well's Works into Polish', in *Reception of H. G. Wells in Europe*, ed. by Patrick Parrinder and John S. Partington (London: Continuum, 2005), pp. 126-151 and pp. 152-164; reference works e.g. Alina Szala, 'Anglosaskie literatury w Polsce' [Anglophone Literatures

in Poland], in *Słownik literatury polskiej XX wieku* [A Dictionary of Polish 20th-Century Literature], ed. by Alina Brodzka et al. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1992), pp. 24-34. See also Robert Looby, *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015) with perfunctory Orwell references p. 18-19, 30, 70, 125, 166-168, 175, 185n4, 198.

⁸⁴ The adaptation's manuscript kept at: New York, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, Lechoń Jan Papers, collection 005, file 113, 'George Orwell / Rok 1984 / Adaptacja / Jana Lechońia' [George Orwell / *Nineteen Eighty-Four* / Adaptation / by Jan Lechoń], see in Beata Dorosz, 'Orwell według Lechońia (polska premiera)' [Orwell According to Lechoń], *Archiwum Emigracji*, 2.19 (2013), 7-28 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/AE.2013.016>>. See Rodden, *The Politics*, p. 202, footnote, and Crook, 'G. O.: Cold War Radio Warrior?' (p. 105). See also Tony Shaw, 'Some Writers...', p. 153 and p. 167, n. 45, erroneously attributing Davison a confirmation of the broadcasts in *CWGO*, VIII (mistakenly claimed as vol. XIII): *Animal Farm* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1998), pp. 115-124. See Dorosz, 'Orwell według Lechońia' [Orwell According to Lechoń] (pp. 10-11).

⁸⁵ *Encyklopedia Solidarności* [Solidarity Encyclopaedia]; *Duplicator Underground: The Independent Publishing Industry in Communist Poland, 1976-89*, ed. by Gwido Zlatkes, Paweł Sowiński and Ann M. Frenkel (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2016); Małgorzata Ptasieńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów Biblioteki Kultury: 1946-1966* [From the History of 'Kultura's Library': 1946-1966] (Warsaw: IPN, 2006); Iza Chruślińska, *Była raz Kultura... Rozmowy z Zofią Hertz* [There Was Once Kultura... Conversations with Zofia Hertz], introd. by Czesław Miłosz, 2nd rev. and extended edn (Lublin: UMCS, 2003); Anna Nasalska, 'Śladami Orwella. O Podróż do Burmy Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego' [In Orwell's Footsteps. About *Podróż do Burmy*] [The Travel to Burma] by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński], in *Etos i arcyzm. Rzecz o Herlingu-Grudzińskim*, ed. by Seweryna Wyśtouch and Ryszard K. Przybylski (Poznań: a5, 1991), pp. 186-194; Dariusz Pawelec, *Debiuty i powroty: czytanie w czas przełomu* [Debuts and Returns: Reading in a Time of Watershed] (Katowice: Para, 1998), e.g. p. 27, p. 35; Jakub Kozaczewski, *Polska tradycja literacka w poetyce Nowej Fali* [Polish Literary Tradition in the Poetics of New Wave] (Kraków: Akademia Pedagogiczna, 2004), p. 18; Jerzy Eisler, *Polski rok 1968* [The Polish Nineteen Sixty-Eight] (Warsaw: IPN, 2006), e.g. p. 56, p. 211; Michał Głowiński, *Nowomowa i ciągi dalsze. Szkice dawne i nowe* [Newspeak Continued. Old and New Essays] (Kraków: Universitas, 2009); 'newspeak' gave the name to a symposium at the Jagiellonian University during the Solidarity carnival in January 1981.

⁸⁶ E.g. K.Z. [Krzysztof Zabłocki], 'Orwell George', in *Leksykon pisarzy świata – XX wiek* [Lexicon of World Writers – 20th Century], ed. by Waław Sadkowski et al. (Warsaw: Fundacja Literatura Światowa, 1993), pp. 261-262 (p. 262) and . K.Z. [Krzysztof Zabłocki], in *Leksykon pisarzy świata XX wieku* [Lexicon of 20th-Century World Writers], ed. by Waław Sadkowski et al. (Warsaw: Fundacja Literatura Światowa, 1997), pp. 472-474; a right-wing encyclopaedia attempting to 'fill in the blanks': Rev. Andrzej Zwoliński, 'Orwell George', in *Encyklopedia 'białych plam'* [An Encyclopaedia of 'Blank Spots'] (Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne, 2000), vol. 13, pp. 313-317. Though there are post-1989 reeditions of English literature histories which had spoken of Orwell previously that saw amends not necessary, e.g. Przemysław Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury angielskiej: zarys* [History of English Literature: An Outline], 3th complemented edn (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1993), pp. 563-564, and Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury angielskiej: zarys* [History of English Literature: An Outline], 4th edn complemented by Elżbieta Wójcik-Leese and Peter Leese (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1999), pp. 507-508 – in both these amendments on Orwell concerned virtually only the inclusion the titles of Polish translations.

⁸⁷ Waław Sadkowski, *W drzwiach Europy* [In Europe's Door] (Kielce: STON 2, 2006) (p. 163) and Waław Sadkowski, *Odpowiednie dać słowu słowo. Zarys dziejów przekładu literackiego w Polsce* [To Give a Word an Appropriate Word. An Outline History of Literary Translation in Poland] (Warsaw: Prószyński, 2001), pp. 149-150; Waław Sadkowski, *Proza świata. Szkice do obrazu powieściopisarstwa wieku XX* [World's Prose. Essays for the Picture of 20th-Century Fiction Writing] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1999), section 'Międzysławie XI'.

⁸⁸ Bronisław Baczko, 'Orwell i Sołżenicyn: sprzeciw wobec totalitaryzmu' [Orwell and Solzhenitsyn: Opposition to Totalitarianism], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28-29 March 1992, pp. 14-15, later included in *Primum philosophari. Księga pamiątkowa Stefanowi Morawskiemu ofiarowana*, ed. by Jolanta Brach-Czaina (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 1993) and, as 'Orwell Sołżenicyn', in *Przegląd Polityczny*, 43 (2000), 86-93.

⁸⁹ Andrzej Stoff, 'Huxley i Orwell jako konkurenci w ostrzeganiu przed niebezpieczeństwami ideologii' [Huxley and Orwell as Rivals in Warning about Dangers of Ideology], in *Kultura – język – edukacja: dialogi współczesności z tradycją*, ed. by Beata Gromadzka et al. (Poznań: Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, 2008), pp. 67-96;

⁹⁰ *Przegląd Polityczny* [Political Review], 43 (2000), section 'Orwell dziś' [Orwell Today] comprised: Paweł Kłoczowski, interviewed by Wojciech Duda, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence], 126-129; and Paweł Śpiewak, 'Polityka jako fatum' [Politics as Fate], 80-85, later an introduction to Orwell, *Jak mi się podoba:*

eseje, felietony, listy [*As I Please: Essays, Journalism, Letters*], trans. by Anna Husarska, Marcin Szuster and Bartłomiej Zborski, select. and introd. by Paweł Śpiewak (Warsaw: Aletheia, 2002), pp. 5-19; reprinted articles on Orwell: Baczek, 'Orwell Sołżenicyn' [Orwell Solzhenitsyn], 86-93 [orig. publ. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28-29 March 1992, pp. 14-15]; Wiktor Weintraub, 'Orwell', 104-106 (repr. of 'George Orwell', *Kultura*, 4 (April 1950), 87-92); Roman Zimand, 'Światopogląd Orwella' [Orwell's Worldview], 130-133 (repr. of fragm. of 'Dziewięć małych prób na temat Orwella' [Nine Small Essays on Orwell], in Roman Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him] (Warsaw: Przedświt, 1985), pp. 3-27 (pp. 12-19)); Paweł Kłoczowski 'Spór o Orwella' [The Dispute over Orwell], 134-135 (repr. of clandestine P.M.K. [Paweł Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 2-5); and also translated Bernard Crick's introduction to Orwell's essays (Penguin, 1992), 'Sztuka pisania o polityce' [The Art of Writing about Politics], trans. by Anna Maria Mydlarska, 94-102. It also reprinted some fragments of translations of Orwell's texts: 'Why I Write' ('Dlaczego piszę', 78), 'England Your England' ('Anglia twoja Anglia', 106-107); 'Such, Such Were the Joys' ('Takie to były radości', 108); and 'Looking Back on the Spanish War' ('Wspominając wojnę w Hiszpanii'), and reproduced Jan Lebenstein's Orwell-related illustrations and covers of Orwell's books.

⁹¹ Though it has been argued that the term 'Afterlife' used in English is a mistranslation of Walter Benjamin's term 'Fortleben' in 'The Task of the Translator'. See e.g. Caroline Disler, 'Productive (?) Mistranslation In Memoriam Daniel Simeoni', *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, 24.1 (2011), 183-221 <<http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1013259ar>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁹² Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, trans. by Jane Zielonko (London: Penguin, 2001 [1953]), pp. vii-viii.

Chapter 1

¹ Wiktor Weintraub, 'George Orwell', *Kultura*, 4 (April 1950), 87-92 (p. 91)

<<http://kulturaparyska.com/pl/historia/publikacje/1950>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

² Based on e.g. Józef (Joseph) Czapski's diary, Kraków, National Museum, 5 July 1980, pp. 13-14 – the bulk of Czapski's handwritten diaries is available online <<http://czapski.mnk.pl/dzienniki>> [accessed 5 November 2019], I am grateful to Janusz S. Nowak of the museum for supplying me with his unpublished yet transcriptions of Czapski's diaries and letters – and Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 136-137 (p. 136). Orwell's letter is dated following *CWGO* and the catalogue of Edinburgh University Library, Papers of Arthur Koestler <http://lac-archives-live.is.ed.ac.uk:8081/repositories/2/archival_objects/67399> [accessed 5 November 2019] where it is kept (MS 2345.2.26-27), although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946 – see footnote 74 in this chapter.

³ Based on e.g. Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, Kultura Archive, Listy Georga Orwella do Reny Jeleńskiej [Letters of George Orwell to Rena [i.e. Teresa] Jeleńska], SKAJ 20; letters to and from Melchior Wańkowicz's family, in Aleksandra Ziółkowska-Boehm, *Na tropach Wańkowicza* [On the Trail of Wańkowicz] (Warsaw: Prószyński, 1999), in English as *Melchior Wańkowicz: Poland's Master of the Written Word*, foreword by Charles S. Kraszewski, trans. by Agnieszka Maria Gernand (Lanham: Lexington, 2013); Gustaw Herling-Grudziński in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year], *Program specjalny*, Radio Free Europe, Polish Section, 1 January 1984, hosted by Tadeusz Nowakowski, with Bolesław Wierzbiański, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Konstanty Jeleński, Wojciech Karpiński and Mirosław Chojecki <<http://www.polskieradio.pl/68/2461/Audio/325265,Program-specjalny>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; Jerzy S. Majewski, 'Imponujący gmach z XIX wieku. Inspirowany Wenecją' [A Grand Edifice from the 19th Century. Inspired by Venice], *Gazeta Wyborcza. Warszawa*, 29 January 2012 <http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/1,54420,11040548,Imponujacy_gmach_z_XIX_wieku__Inspirowana_ny_Wenecja.html> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁴ The Polish journalist accompanying Czapski was Czesław Poznański, a journalist and editor of *Journal des Nations* (Geneva), in exile after 1939, correspondent of the Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT) in Paris and contributor to Polish papers in London (*Wiadomości, Robotnik, Polska Walcząca*) – I thank Janusz S. Nowak of the National Museum in Kraków for this information. Czapski's diary notes that it was Poznański who had arranged this lunch with Orwell (entry of 5 July 1980, pp. 13-14). For information on Orwell's meeting with Kister, see Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.

⁵ Czapski's diary, Kraków, National Museum, 5 July 1980, pp. 13-14. For more on Czapski, see e.g. Eric Karpeles, *Almost Nothing: The 20th-Century Art and Life of Józef Czapski* (New York: New York Review Books, 2018). For more information on Orwell's end-of-war assignments in Europe, see e.g. Richard Keeble,

'Orwell as War Correspondent: a Reassessment', *Journalism Studies*, 2.3 (2001) 395-396 (393-406) <DOI: 10.1080/14616700119467>.

⁶ Zofia Kossak, *Blessed Are the Meek*, trans. by Rulka Langer (New York: Roy Publishers, 1944) was the-Book-of-the-Month Club selection for April 1944; *Animal Farm* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946) was the selection for September 1946.

⁷ Paweł Machcewicz, *Druga Wielka Emigracja: Emigracja w polityce międzynarodowej* [The Second Great Emigration: Emigration in the International Politics] (Warsaw: Więź, 1999).

⁸ Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 20 September 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 206-207 (p. 207).

⁹ E.g. Bowker, p. 75; e.g. Raymond Williams, 'George Orwell', in Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Hogarth, 1993 [1958]), pp. 285-294 (pp. 289-291); Terry Eagleton, *Émigrés and Exiles* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970).

¹⁰ According to Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

¹¹ See e.g. Orwell, 'As I Please' (on the Warsaw rising), *Tribune*, 1 September 1944: 'At present, so slavish is the attitude of nearly the whole British press [towards the USSR] that ordinary people have very little idea of what is happening, and may well be committed to policies which they will repudiate in five years' time.', in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 363-366 (p. 365).

¹² Weintraub, 'George Orwell', *Kultura*, 4 (April 1950) (p. 87); Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; Orwell, *The English People* (London: Collins, 1947).

¹³ Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (p. 87); Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; Nowakowski was dubbed 'a Polish Orwell' by Janusz Kowalewski regarding his novel *Happy-end* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1970) read as satirising mechanisms of propaganda in Warsaw and the 'Western Poland' of Radio Free Europe alike, see Kowalewski, 'Czy rzeczywiście ...happy end? Powieść Tadeusza Nowakowskiego o wolności i niewoli' [Is It Really ...a Happy Ending? Tadeusz Nowakowski's Novel about Freedom and Slavery], *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily*, 5 January 1972, quoted in Kazimierz Adamczyk, 'Happy-end – historia z drugiej ręki' [Happy-End – A Second-Hand History], *Archiwum Emigracji*, 9.1 (2007), 121-128 (p. 123). Herling-Grudziński recollected the encounter in conversation with Leszek Czarnecki of the Kultura Literary Institute (Czarnecki, conversation with Krystyna Wieszczyk, September 2015).

¹⁴ Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

¹⁵ Bolesław Wierzbiański in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

¹⁶ See Isaac Deutscher mentioning the room share in his '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty', in Isaac Deutscher, *Heretics and Renegades and Other Essays* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955), pp. 35-50 (p. 48, n. 1). See the Orwell's list passed to his friend Celia Kirwan of the Foreign Office's Information Research Department in 1949: 'Orwell's List of Crypto-Communists and Fellow-Travelers', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, Appendix 9, pp. 240-256 (p. 245).

¹⁷ Konstanty Jeleński to Jonathan Brent, 7 August 1985, in Konstanty A. Jeleński, *Chwile oderwane* [Separate Moments], ed. by Piotr Kłoczowski (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2007), pp. 499-505 (p. 501). Piotr Kłoczowski claims the acquaintance started in 1942, see Kłoczowski, 'Jerzy Giedroyc – Konstanty Jeleński', in *Jerzy Giedroyc: Kultura, polityka, wiek XX* [Jerzy Giedroyc: Culture, Politics, 20th Century], ed. by Andrzej Mencwel et al. (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2009), pp. 203-207 (p. 205).

¹⁸ See e.g. Giedroyc's correspondence with Zofia Hertz with accounts of the journey and conference 24-30 June 1950, in Chruślińska, pp. 149-169, particularly Giedroyc to Hertz, 24 and 27 June 1950, pp. 149-150 and pp. 157-159 (p.158).

¹⁹ E.g. the recent discovery of a cache of Orwell's letters from the 1930s to his intimate friend Eleanor Jaques. See e.g. DJ Taylor, 'Don't Fear That I Will Leave Your Letter Lying About – George Orwell's Notes for His Lover', *The Times*, 10 July 2018.

²⁰ E.g. Giedroyc's closest collaborator Zofia Hertz, London representative Maria Prądyńska, writer Witold Gombrowicz, second secretary to the French embassy in Poland Georges Sidre, author and critic Jan Bielatowicz, friends and supporters like Andrzej Bobkowski, Wacław Zbyszewski, Aniela Mieczysławska or James Burnham.

²¹ Konstanty Jeleński in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

²² Teresa Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie o Orwelle', *Wiadomości*, 4 May 1968, p. 3; *Wiadomości* are now available online via Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library <<http://kpbk.umk.pl/publication/10430>> [accessed 5 November 2019], for Jeleńska's article see <<http://kpbk.umk.pl/dlibra/publication?id=3197&tab=3>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

²³ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 13 November 1945, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20; other lunch arrangements are mentioned in Orwell's letters of 7 January 1946 and 18 January 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.

²⁴ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 17 January 1947, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.

²⁵ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 18 January 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French). See also Crick, *Orwell: A Life*, p. 349. This could possibly have been on 12 February 1946 – a Tuesday, see Orwell, letter to

Arthur Koestler, 11 February 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 105: 'I am seeing Russell to-morrow' – to discuss the League for the Rights of Man.

²⁶ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 4 May 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French).

²⁷ Orwell to Jeleńska, 10 May 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French).

²⁸ E.g. Jeleńska mentions Orwell's visits to a common female friend (unidentified) in a letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, London, British Library, Western Manuscripts, George Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fols 105-108 (fol. 108) (in French); see also note 128 in this chapter. See Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (p. 87).

²⁹ Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie' [A Memoir]. Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (p. 91). Letter of Andrzej Ciołkosz to Adam Ciołkosz, 19 March 1948 – the son sought advice from his father 'What subject should I give to Orwell?', quoted in Zdzisław Kudelski, 'Andrzej Ciołkosz (1929-1952). Szkic do portretu' [Andrzej Ciołkosz (1929-1952). A Sketch to a Portrait], *Życie literackie drugiej emigracji niepodległościowej* [Literary Life of the Second Independent Emigration], vol. 2, ed. by Barbara Czarnecka *et al.* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2004), p. 173. The lecture is unlikely to have taken place, since Orwell was ill and hospitalised for several months after which he remained in Jura till January 1949. Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

³⁰ Quoted e.g. in Krystyna Kersten, *The Establishment of Communist Rule in Poland, 1943-1948*, trans. John Micgiel and Michael H. Bernhard, foreword by Jan T. Gross (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California, 1991), p. 123.

³¹ *Wiadomości*, 28 September 1947, 'Miscellanea', p. 3. Tadeusz Bielecki of the Polish National Democratic Party, letter to Orwell, 25 August 1945, London, University College London, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z, ORWELL/H/. See 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 14 February 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 43-46 (p. 43, p. 45, n. 1); letter from John M. Sunderland [to Zygmunt Nagórski], 16 September 1946, London, University College London, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z, ORWELL/H/2; 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 24 January 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 23-27 (p. 26, n. 3). Tadeusz Katelbach of 'Help Poles in Germany' Polish Social Committee, letter to Orwell, February 1947, London, University College London, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell, V, May 1946-February 1963.

³² See e.g. Michael Fleming, *Auschwitz, the Allies and Censorship of the Holocaust* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2014), p. 195.

³³ Gertrude Mary Godden, *The Soviets 'Liberate' Poland* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1939); Natalia Zarembina, *The Camp of Death*, foreword by Jennie L. Adamson, M.P. (London: WRN [Movement of the Polish Working Masses – a Socialist Party in the Polish Underground State]; Liberty, [1944]) [orig. publ. *Obóz śmierci*, 1942]; Stanisław Mackiewicz, *Britain and Poland in October* (London: the author, 1945); Zbigniew Grabowski, *Creative Peace, Integration of Europe a Necessity* (Glasgow: Maclellan, 1944); Oswald Balzer, *The Anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald* (London: Polish Ministry of Information, 1941). Orwell's pamphlets are held at London, British Library, A Collection of Pamphlets, Mainly Political, Formed by George Orwell, 1899 ss 1-21, 23-26 and 28-49, see its inventory 'George Orwell Collected Pamphlets – Inventory' at <www.bl.uk/pdf/orwell-pamphlets-inventory-final.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See also 'Poland' followed by several items in Orwell's own inventory, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, Appendix 10, p. 277.

³⁴ Among the publications whose reviews Orwell ordered included an anthology of prose *Polish Short Stories* (London: Minerva, 1943), containing texts by Żeromski, Konopnicka, Makuszyński, Goetel *et al.*, ordered on 1 March 1944, published in *Tribune*, 21 April 1944 (see Orwell, letter to Lydia Jackson, 1 March 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, p. 108) or Flight-Lieutenant Herbert [Janusz Meissner], *G for Genevieve* (Edinburgh: Polish Book Depot, 1944) ordered on 11 September 1944, published in *Tribune*, 29 December 1944 (see Orwell, letter to Lydia Jackson, 11 September 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, p. 402). In early 1945 Orwell for example probed also a Russian exile Gleb Struve about reviewing Polish books instead of Soviet, see Orwell, letter to Gleb Struve, 23 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 26.

³⁵ [Władysław Stanisław Reymont], *Polish Folk-Lore Stories* (Birkenhead: Polish Publications Committee [1944]). Orwell ordered the review on 26 June 1944, it was published in *Tribune* of 22 September 1944, see Orwell, letter to Lydia Jackson, 26 June 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, p. 268. See also Władysław Stanisław Reymont, *Bunt [Rebellion]*, first serialised in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (1922) and later published in book form (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1924). There is indeed some speculation whether Orwell had read or known of Reymont's work, which was soon translated into German: W. St. Reymont, *Die Empörung: Eine Geschichte vom Aufstand der Tiere*, trans. by Jean Paul d'Ardeschah (Basel: Rhein-Verlag [1925]). See e.g. Wiesiek Powaga, 'Władysław Reymont's Revolt of the Animals', British Library European studies blog, 17 January 2018 <<https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2018/01/animal-revolt.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

³⁶ Czapski's book was published in Rome by the Polish 2nd Corps in Polish: Józef Czapski, *Wspomnienia starobielskie* [Starobielsk Memoirs] ([Rome]: Oddział Kultury i Prasy 2. Korpusu, 1944 and 1945), French: Joseph Czapski, *Souvenirs de Starobielsk* ([Rome], 1945) and Italian: Giuseppe Czapski, *Ricordi di Starobielsk* ([Rome], 1945). See Orwell, letter to the Secretary, Freedom Defence Committee (George Woodcock), 28

February 1947, and Orwell, letter to George Woodcock (as Secretary, Freedom Defence Committee), 7 March 1947, both in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, p. 54 and p. 71. See Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

³⁷ See, e.g. Orwell, 'Diary of Events Leading Up to the War', '1.8.39' and '2.8.39', in *CWGO*, xi: 1937-1939, pp. 380-384 (p. 383 and p. 384); 'Diary of Events Leading Up to the War', '4.8.39' and '6.8.39', in *CWGO*, xi: 1937-1939, pp. 385-390 (p. 385 and p. 386); or 'Diary of Events Leading Up to the War', '12.8.39', '14.8.39', '28.8.39', '30.8.39', in *CWGO*, xi: 1937-1939, pp. 393-403 (p. 393, p. 394, p. 400, p. 402).

³⁸ E.g. 'English News Commentary, 51, 12 December 1942' (for BBC Eastern Service), in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 231-234 (p. 234), it also shows Orwell's up-to-datedness with Polish publications: 'The Polish Government has just published the full facts about the systematic massacre of the Jews in German-occupied Poland'; 'English News Commentary, 52, 19 December 1942' (BBC Eastern Service), in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 241-245 (p. 245); 'London Letter', *Partisan Review*, July-August 1943, in *CWGO*, xv: 1943, pp. 106-111 (p. 110); 'Notes on the Way', *Time and Tide*, 30 March and 6 April 1940, in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 121-127 (pp. 121-122).

³⁹ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 14 July 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 284-287 (p. 284). See also Orwell's review of *The Revolution in Warfare* by B. H. Liddell Hart, *Manchester Evening News*, 4 April 1946, where he restates this: 'The first act of the war—some hours before any declaration of war was made—was the bombing of Warsaw, and years earlier the Germans had made heavy raids on quite defenceless civilians in Madrid and Barcelona.', in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 220-222 (p. 222).

⁴⁰ Orwell, review of *Polish Profile* by Princess Paul Sapieha, *New Statesman and Nation*, 13 July 1940, in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 216-217 (p. 217). See also Virgilia Sapieha, *Polish Profile* (London; Toronto: Heinemann, 1940).

⁴¹ See e.g. Orwell, 'Notes on Nationalism', *Polemic*, 1 ([October] 1945), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 141-157 (p. 153); Orwell, 'The Prevention of Literature', *Polemic*, 2 (January 1946) (and *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1947), in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 369-381 (p. 374).

⁴² See Orwell, 'To the Secretary, Freedom Defence Committee (George Woodcock), 28 February 1947', in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, p. 54, footnote 1.

⁴³ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 2 February 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 37-39 (p. 38); and Orwell, 'Uncertain Fate of Displaced Persons', *Observer*, 10 June 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 174-175 (p. 175).

⁴⁴ Orwell, 'London Letter, 15-16 August 1945', *Partisan Review*, Fall 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 245-250 (p. 246).

⁴⁵ Machcewicz, *Druga Wielka Emigracja* [The Second Great Emigration], p. 38. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), an agency for the relief of victims of war, sometimes coerced Polish returns. British Prime Minister's letter, 'Bevan's leaflet', distributed among the Polish army in the West in 1945 also urged veterans to go to Poland after the war. Its broken Polish might have undermined its effectiveness.

⁴⁶ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 15 November 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 481-484 (p. 482). See also 'In Front of Your Nose', *Tribune*, 22 March 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 161-164 (p. 161): 'Many recent statements in the press have declared that it is almost [...] impossible for us to mine as much coal as we need [...] because of the impossibility of inducing a sufficient number of miners to remain in the pits. [...] Simultaneously [...] there have been statements that it would be undesirable to make use of Poles or Germans because this might lead to unemployment in the coal industry.'

⁴⁷ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 24 January 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 23-27 (pp. 24-25).

⁴⁸ E.g. the intended preface to *Animal Farm*, 'The Freedom of the Press', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 253-260 (p. 255).

⁴⁹ Michael Scammell, *Koestler: The Indispensable Intellectual* (London: Faber, 2010).

⁵⁰ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 1 September 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 363-366 (p. 363).

⁵¹ See Orwell, "'As I Please,'" 40, *Tribune*, 1 September 1944', in *CWGO*, xvi, pp. 362-376 (pp. 366-367).

⁵² Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 1 September 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi, pp. 363-366 (p. 365).

⁵³ See Orwell, "'As I Please,'" 40, *Tribune*, 1 September 1944', in *CWGO*, xvi, pp. 362-376, especially responses in *Tribune*, 8 September 1944, from Douglas Goldring (pp. 370-371) and Kingsley Martin (pp. 371-372). See Orwell, letter to Dwight Macdonald, 15 October 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 449-451 (p. 450 and p. 451, n. 3). See Crick, *Orwell: A Life*, p. 305.

⁵⁴ E.g. Jan Mieczysław Ciechanowski, *The Warsaw Rising of 1944* (London: Cambridge UP, 1974), p. 314; Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland in Two Volumes*, rev. edn (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2005), II: 1795 to the Present, p. 355.

⁵⁵ Orwell, review of (new editions of) *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, *Typhoon*, *The Shadow Line* by Joseph Conrad; *Within the Tides* by Joseph Conrad', *Observer*, 24 June 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 190-191 (p.190). See also how Orwell explained the cuts made to the review on his claims that 'with his Polish

background Conrad had a remarkable understanding of the atmosphere of revolutionary movements – an understanding which very few Englishmen would have’ in Orwell, letter to C. E. de Salis, 29 June 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 200-201 (p. 200). For more on Orwell’s fascination with Conrad, see particularly Douglas Kerr, ‘George Orwell’s Conrad’, *George Orwell Studies*, 1.1 (2016), 21-36. See also Orwell’s effort to reply to *Wiadomości’s* 1949 survey on Conrad despite being unable to ‘answer at great length, as I am ill in bed’, Orwell, ‘Conrad’s Place and Rank in English Letters’, *Wiadomości*, 10 April 1949, p. 1, reprinted in Orwell, letter to (the Editor), *Wiadomości*, 25 February 1949, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 47-48. See Appendix A for Orwell’s reply.

⁵⁶ The apparent importance of *Wiadomości* to Stalin, and by consequence to the British authorities, may be illustrated by the fact that in October 1943 the British Foreign Office sent a report on a conversation with one of its editors to its embassies in Moscow and Washington as well as to Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; the unruly weekly was eventually closed in February 1944. See e.g. an article based on British Home Office documentation by Hanna Świdorska, ‘Z dziejów polskiej prasy opozycyjnej w Londynie 1941-45’ [From the History of the Polish Opposition Press in London 1941-45], *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 101 (1992), 56-82.

⁵⁷ *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily (Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza)*, ‘Przeciw bezmyślności’ [Against Thoughtlessness], 4 September 1944, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Czapski, [Open Letter to Jacques Maritain and François Mauriac], originally published in Polish, ‘List otwarty do Jaques Maritain’s i do François Mauriac’a’, *Orzeł Biały [White Eagle]*, 15 October 1944, p. 1, 4, and in French, Joseph Czapski, ‘Lettre ouverte à Jacques Maritain et François Mauriac’, and Italian by ([Rome]: Drukarnia Polowa Armii Polskiej na Wschodzie, 1944), later republished in Polish e.g. as ‘List otwarty do Maritaina i Mauriaka’, *Więź*, 3 (March 1993), pp. 19-24, the Polish and French versions available at *Kultura Paryska*, ‘List otwarty Czapskiego do Jacquesa Maritaina i Françoisa Mauriaka’, <<http://www.kulturaparyska.com/pl/idee-i-mysli/list-otwarty-czapskiego-do-jacquesa-maritaina-i-francoisa-mauriaka>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; here, own translation from Polish. If Orwell had been unfamiliar with the letter, he likely received it from Arthur Koestler (in French) and it remained among his papers at his death. See ‘Lettre ouverte à Jacques Maritain et François Mauriac’, A Collection of Pamphlets [...] by George Orwell, 1899, 1899 ss 23, pamphlet 2; see also the British Library’s note that Czapski’s letter to Koestler, 26 March 1946 (though the catalogue mistakenly gives the addressee as ‘Jérôme Jenalton’), which also remains in Orwell’s Papers (London, British Library, Western Manuscripts, George Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fol. 135^{r+v}), was ‘removed from pamphlet 1, Box 23’, that is, *Souvenirs de Starobielsk* (1899 ss 23, pamphlet 1); and see ‘Arthur Koestler to Orwell, 3 April 1946’, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 215.

⁵⁹ Czapski’s diary, Kraków, National Museum, 4 July 1976, p. 60.

⁶⁰ Orwell, letter to John Middleton Murry, 5 August 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 319-321 (p. 320).

⁶¹ *Orzeł Biały [White Eagle]*, 1 July 1945.

⁶² Orwell, ‘Unpublished Letter to *Tribune*, 26[?] June 1945’, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 193-194.

⁶³ Orwell, ‘Unpublished Letter’, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945 (p. 193).

⁶⁴ E.g. Katharine Stewart-Murray, the Duchess of Atholl, Interim Chairwoman of the British League for European Freedom; see Orwell, ‘As I Please’, *Tribune*, 26 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33 (pp. 29-30), see also Orwell, letter to Katharine, Duchess of Atholl, 15 November 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 384-385.

⁶⁵ Orwell, letter to George Woodcock, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 287; see also Judith Listowel, *Listowel’s Bulletin (East Europe)*, 43, 15 August 1945, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶ Orwell, ‘As I Please’, *Tribune*, 26 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33 (p. 30).

⁶⁷ Orwell, letter to Woodcock, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 287; see also Vernon Bartlett, ‘Mikołajczyk Revives His Peasant Party’, *News Chronicle*, 8 September 1945.

⁶⁸ Orwell, ‘As I Please’, *Tribune*, 26 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33 (p. 30).

⁶⁹ Joseph Czapski, letter to Arthur Koestler, 26 March 1946, London, British Library, Western Manuscripts, George Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fol. 135^{r+v} (fol. 135^r) (in French; the British Library catalogue mistakenly lists it as letter to ‘Jérôme Jenalton’).

⁷⁰ Czapski, *Wspomnienia starobielskie [Starobielsk Memoirs]*, *Souvenirs de Starobielsk* and *Ricordi di Starobielsk*. See Juliusz Mieroszewski, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 11 March 1945, *Kultura* Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 1.

⁷¹ Orwell so described Potocki’s case to illustrate British censorship laws to his French translator of *Down and Out in Paris and London*, see Orwell, letter to R. N. Raimbault, 13 July 1935, in *The Lost Orwell*, comp. and annot. by Peter Davison (London: Timewell, 2006), pp. 53-55 (p. 53). It related to Władisław Potocki de Montalk, *Snobbery with Violence. A Poet in Gaol* (London: Wishart, 1932), which Orwell positively mentioned in his ‘Review of Pamphlet Literature’, *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 January 1943, in *CWGO*,

xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 300-303 (p. 302). See [Władysław Potocki de Montalk], *Proclamation to the English, the Poles, the Germans and the Jews* [sic], etc. ([Little Bookham: The Author], 1943).

⁷² Joseph Czapski, letter to Orwell, 11 December 1945, London, University College London, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: A-L, ORWELL/H/1 (in French). For Czesław Poznański, see note 4 in this chapter.

⁷³ Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 136-137. Letter reconstructed (parts in angle brackets) following *CWGO* and dated following *CWGO* and the Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946 – see note below and Czapski, letter to Koestler, 26 March 1946.

⁷⁴ Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 136-137. Letter reconstructed (parts in angle brackets) following *CWGO* and dated following *CWGO* and the catalogue of Papers of Arthur Koestler (MS 2345.2.26-27), although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946, for the following reasons. Czapski wrote to Koestler from France on 26 March 1946 enclosing a copy of his memoirs *Souvenirs de Starobielsk* and his Open Letter to Jacques Maritain and François Mauriac (regarding their silence on the Warsaw rising, the terror introduced in Poland under the new Soviet occupation and campaigns against Poland and the Polish resistance across the Western press). In a letter from 3 April 1946, Koestler wrote to Orwell, as the editor of *CWGO* notes, that he was sending him ‘a letter and two pamphlets from a Polish officer who survived Katyn’ and was anxious that Orwell should use some of the material in an article in *Tribune* or possibly get Secker & Warburg to publish something (xviii, p. 215). This was likely Czapski’s letter to Koestler, his Open Letter and *Souvenirs de Starobielsk*, all three remaining in Orwell’s papers (Czapski to Koestler, 26 March 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fol. 135^{rv}; A Collection of Pamphlets [...] by George Orwell, 1899 ss 23, pamphlets 1 and 2). In the letter to Koestler quoted in the text here Orwell also wrote: ‘It’s funny you should send me Czapski’s pamphlet, which I have been trying for some time (to get) someone to translate and publish. [...] Do you want this copy back?’. The Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue adds that Orwell’s letter mentions ‘Czapski, Joseph’ and was ‘Accompanied by photocopy of letter’, possibly Czapski’s to Koestler which Orwell must have returned but kept the pamphlet (MS 2345.2.26-27). To this, Koestler replied: ‘Do keep Czapski’s pamphlet for your collection [...]. If your attempts to get it published fall through, let me know and I will tell Peters [...] to get steam behind it’. This exchange appears to follow Czapski’s letter of 26 March and Koestler’s of 3 April rather than precede it by a month – as the currently proposed dating would suggest: 5 March 1946 (*CWGO*, xviii, pp. 136-138; Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, MS 2345.2.26-27) and ‘c. 6 March 1946’ (*CWGO*, xviii, p. 138) or only ‘March 1946’ (Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, MS 2345.2.28) respectively. If this is not a case of the date being unclear on the earlier letter, it is possible that Orwell misdated it, typing 5.3.46 instead of – likely – 5.4.46. Both Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue and *CWGO* do mark as unclear the date of Koestler’s reply. *CWGO*’s dating of ‘c. 6 March 1946’ is conceivably guided by the (mis)dating of Orwell’s earlier letter. Conceivably then: Czapski wrote to Koestler on 26 March 1946; Koestler forwarded Czapski’s material to Orwell in a letter of 3 April 1946; Orwell responded on 5 April 1946 (as opposed to ‘5 March’); and Koestler replied subsequently c. 6 April 1946 (as opposed to ‘c. 6 March’). This chronology seems also corroborated by other details in that correspondence, e.g. Orwell’s letter dated ‘5 March’, i.e. possibly 5 April, says: ‘The Observer say, will you write for them some (reviews. I am) scouting round for people to do the main review, wh(ich must be done) by the same person every week’; Koestler’s letter dated ‘c. 6 March 1946’, i.e. possibly c. 6 April, says: ‘About the Observer, I am in two minds. [...] The best thing would be if you would ask them to make me a hard offer for two monthly pieces [...]’ (*CWGO*, xviii, p. 138); Orwell’s letter of 13 April 1946 says: ‘I have passed on to David Astor your suggestion that you might do two pieces a month for the Obs[erver]’ (Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 13 April 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 244).

⁷⁵ British War Office, cipher to General Headquarters Central Mediterranean Forces (CMF) in Italy, 6 March 1946, quoted in Mark Ostrowski, ‘“To return to Poland or not to return” – the Dilemma Facing the Polish Armed Forces at the End of the Second World War’ (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1996), p. 94.

⁷⁶ Józef Czapski, *The Inhuman Land*, trans. from French by Gerard Hopkins (London: Chatto & Windus, 1951), orig. publ. *Na nieludzkiej ziemi* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1949). See also e.g. Anna M. Cienciala, Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski, *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2007), particularly pp. 159, 332-339, 343-345, 493 n. 148 and 529 n. 329.

⁷⁷ Orwell, ‘Have not been able to keep up the diary, as I have been away’, Orwell noted under 28 September 1939 in Domestic Diary, see *CWGO*, xi: 1937-1939, Appendix 4, ‘28.9.39’, pp. 455-456 (p. 455), see also editor’s note 6 on that he might have been away seeking war work (p. 456).

⁷⁸ Orwell, letter to John Middleton Murry, 5 August 1944, in *CWGO*, xvi: 1943-1944, pp. 319-321 (p. 320); Orwell, ‘Our Opportunity’, *The Left News* (organ of the Left Book Club), 55 (January 1941), in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 343-350 (p. 344).

- ⁷⁹ My emphasis. Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1941), in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 391-434 (p. 400).
- ⁸⁰ Orwell, *Tribune*, 23 April 1943, see in *CWGO*, xv: 1943, 'Comment on Robert Duval's *Whitehall's Road to Mandalay* and Correspondence on Nationalism, *Tribune*, 2 April 1943', pp. 47-55 (p. 49).
- ⁸¹ Orwell, 'War-time Diary', '8.12.40', in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, p. 305.
- ⁸² 'BBC Talks Booking Form, 5.3.42' (no script provided), in *CWGO*, xiii: 1941-1942, pp. 201-202.
- ⁸³ Orwell, 'World Affairs, 1945', *Junior: Articles Stories and Pictures*, [I] 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 228-234 (p. 229).
- ⁸⁴ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 2 February 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 37-39 (p. 38).
- ⁸⁵ Orwell, 'Personal Notes on Scientifiction', *Leader Magazine*, 21 July 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 221-224 (p. 223); Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 26 January 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33 (p. 29); Orwell, 'London Letter', 15-16 August 1945', *Partisan Review*, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 245-250 (p. 245).
- ⁸⁶ Orwell, letter to the Secretary, Freedom Defence Committee (George Woodcock), 28 February 1947, and letter to George Woodcock (as Secretary, Freedom Defence Committee), 7 March 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, p. 54 and p. 71.
- ⁸⁷ E.g. about Lady Judith Listowel's sources, see Orwell, letter to George Woodcock, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 287, relative to *Listowel's Bulletin (East Europe)*, 15 August 1945.
- ⁸⁸ See e.g. London, British Foreign Office 371/31083, C 4568, Ministry of Information to Orme Sargent of Foreign Office, 7 May 1942, quoted in, Świdarska, 'Z dziejów' [From the History] (p. 64). E.g. *Wiadomości* was finally closed in early 1944, Światpol's news bulletin saw its paper allotment reduced by over 80 percent in April 1944 (FO 371139438, C 1692; FO 371139440, C 5660, quoted in Świdarska, 'Z dziejów' [From the History] (p. 81)).
- ⁸⁹ Orwell, 'Personal notes on Scientifiction', *Leader Magazine*, 21 July 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 221-224 (p. 223).
- ⁹⁰ Czapski to Koestler, 26 March 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083 (fol 135'), a letter which Koestler forwarded to Orwell (enclosing Czapski's *Souvenirs de Starobielsk* and 'Lettre ouverte...' on the Warsaw rising), see Arthur Koestler, letter to Orwell, 3 April 1946, in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 215, and A Collection of Pamphlets [...] by George Orwell, 1899 ss 23, pamphlets 1 and 2.
- ⁹¹ Bolesław Wierzbiański in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].
- ⁹² Orwell, 'War-time Diary', '8.12.40', in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, p. 305
- ⁹³ Quote from Orwell, 'Review of Pamphlet Literature', *New Statesman and Nation*, 9 January 1943, in *CWGO*, xiv: 1942-1943, pp. 300-303 (p. 302); for known examples of materials Poles sent Orwell directly, see e.g. letters to Orwell from Nagórski (see note 31 in this chapter), Bielecki, 25 August 1945 (Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z, ORWELL/H/2), Katelbach, February 1947 (Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell, V, May 1946-February 1963); censored material in Orwell's possession, e.g. Zarembina, *The Camp of Death*, see note 32.
- ⁹⁴ Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 136-137 (p. 137). Letter dated following *CWGO* and the Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946 – see note 74 in this chapter. Likewise, two copies of Czapski's book are found in Orwell's collection today.
- ⁹⁵ See Arthur Koestler, letter to George Orwell, 3 April 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 215 and the editorial comments; Orwell's translator Bartłomiej Zborski argues that 'A sketch of this book has been reportedly preserved. There are people who have seen it, but the current owner of the text refuses contact over this matter'. See Zborski and Anna Lisiecka, 'Orwell planował powieść o Katyniu: Bartek Zborski o George'u Orwellu' [Orwell Planned a Novel about Katyn: Bartek Zborski about George Orwell], *Polskie Radio II*, 21 January 2015, <<http://www.polskieradio.pl/8/3669/Artykul/1358405,Orwell-planowal-powiec-o-Katyniu>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ⁹⁶ Orwell, 'Personal notes on Scientifiction', *Leader Magazine*, 21 July 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 221-224 (p. 223).
- ⁹⁷ Orwell, 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 14 February 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, p. 43; see note 31 in this chapter.
- ⁹⁸ Deutscher, '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty', p. 48, n. 1. Deutscher writes there: '[Orwell] was, for instance, unshakably convinced that Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt consciously plotted to divide the world, and to divide it for good, among themselves, and to subjugate it in common. [...] 'They are all power-hungry', he used to repeat. When once I pointed out to him that underneath the apparent solidarity of the Big Three one could discern clearly the conflict between them, already coming to the surface, Orwell was so startled and incredulous that he at once related our conversation in his column in *Tribune*, and added that he saw no sign of the approach of the conflict of which I spoke.' The Marxists Internet Archive suggests this refers to 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 26 January 1945. See n. 1

<<https://www.marxists.org/archive/deutscher/1955/1984.htm>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. This would possibly mean the following Orwell's text: 'It is very hard to believe that people like this [speakers at a League for European Freedom meeting] are really interested in political liberty as such. They are merely concerned because Britain did not get a big enough cut in the sordid bargain that appears to have been driven at Teheran. After the meeting I talked with a journalist whose contacts among influential people are much more extensive than mine. He said he thought it probable that British policy will shortly take a violent anti-Russian swing, and that it would be quite easy to manipulate public opinion in that direction if necessary. For a number of reasons I don't believe he was right, but if he did turn out to be right, then ultimately it is *our* fault and not that of our adversaries.' See *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 29-33 (p. 30).

⁹⁹ Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 136-137 (p. 136). Letter reconstructed (parts in angle brackets) following *CWGO* and dated following *CWGO* and the Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946 – see note 74 in this chapter.

¹⁰⁰ My emphasis. Orwell, letter to Roger Senhouse (of Secker & Warburg), 17 March 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 90. This fragment follows the windmill explosion at the Battle of the Windmill. The typescript and proof actually read: '[...] all the animals, Napoleon included, flung themselves flat on their bellies and hid their faces' and was amended to: '[...] all the animals, except Napoleon, flung themselves flat on their bellies and hid their faces'. See *CWGO: Animal Farm: A Fairy Story* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1987), p. 69 and p. 202, n. 69/22.

¹⁰¹ *Orwell and Politics*, ed. by Peter Davison, introd. by Timothy Garton Ash (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 439.

¹⁰² See e.g. 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 2 February 1945, which presents already some of the ideas later employed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 37-39 (p. 39); Nowakowski in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; Stefania Zahorska, 'Wyjątki z "Historii Trójimperium"', wydanej w roku 2445' [Excerpts from 'A History of the Tri-Empire', Published in 2445], *Święty płomień* [Sacred Flame], [ed. by Mieczysław Grydzewski] (London: J. Rolls, 1945), pp. 42-50.

¹⁰³ Brendan Bracken at House of Commons Sitting, 2 June 1943, 'Foreign Language Newspapers, Great Britain', *Commons and Lords Hansard Report*, HC Deb 02 June 1943 vol. 390 cc194-5 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1943/jun/02/foreign-language-newspapers-great-britain>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See also e.g. Karol Zbyszewski, *Polacy w Anglii* [Poles in England] (London: Biblioteka Polska w Wielkiej Brytanii, 1947), p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. the response of *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily* (*Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*) to 'As I Please' on the Warsaw rising: 'Przeciw bezmyślności' [Against Thoughtlessness] or its review of *Animal Farm's* Polish edition declaring Orwell's opinions about the Poles 'exceptionally friendly', see 'Nowe książki' [New Books], 24 February 1947, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁵ Bielecki to Orwell, 25 August 1945 (Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z, ORWELL/H/2).

¹⁰⁶ See Orwell, 'London Letter', *Partisan Review*, Summer 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 285-289 (p. 288) or 'Guess or Prediction', *Tribune*, 7 February 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 297-299 (p. 298).

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. *Aneks*, 6 (1974); *Aneks*, 35 and 36 (1984); West Berlin-based *Archipelag*, e.g. Włodzimierz Nechamkis, 'Teleekrany a wolność jednostki' [Telescreens and Individual Freedom], *Archipelag*, 3 (March 1985) 103-105; Puls's anthology: Orwell, *Eseje* [Essays], trans. by Anna Husarska *et al.*, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (London: Puls, 1985), 291 p., among others.

¹⁰⁸ Orwell, 'Charles Dickens', in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (London: Gollancz, 1940), see in *CWGO*, xii: 1940-1941, pp. 20-57 (p. 20).

¹⁰⁹ Theates [Wiktor Weintraub], 'Czasopisma krajowe' [Home Magazines], part concerning *Kuźnica*, *Wiadomości*, 7 April 1946, p. 2; see also Orwell, 'Notes on Nationalism'; *Wiadomości*, 28 September 1947, 'Miscellanea', p. 3; Theates [Wiktor Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 23 June 1946, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ Theates [Weintraub], 'Czasopisma krajowe' [Home Magazines]; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism brytyjskich' [Among British Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 28 April 1946, p. 2; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 3 November 1946, p. 2; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 11 May 1947, p. 2. See also Orwell, 'Notes on Nationalism'; 'The Prevention of Literature'; 'Second Thoughts on James Burnham', *Polemic*, 3 (May 1946), in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, pp. 268-284; 'Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of *Gulliver's Travels*', *Polemic*, 5 (September-October 1946), in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, pp. 417-432; 'Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool', *Polemic*, 7 (March 1947), in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 54-67. See in particular Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 3 November 1946, referred to Randall Swingler, 'The Right to Free Expression', *Polemic*, 5, September-October 1946.

¹¹¹ Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 11 May 1947, and Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 23 June 1946; Stanisław Baliński, 'O

wolność myślenia, o wolność słowa' [For Freedom of Thought, for Freedom of Speech], *Wiadomości*, 2 June 1946, p. 2, opening speech at Polish PEN Club meeting, London, 10 April 1946.

¹¹² E.g. Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 31 August 1947, p. 2, see also Orwell, 'Toward European Unity', *Partisan Review*, July-August 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, 163-167; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 8 June 1948, p. 4, see also Orwell, 'Writers and Leviathan', *Politics and Letters*, Summer 1948, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 288-293; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 2 January 1949, p. 4, see also Orwell, review of *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* by T. S. Eliot, *Observer*, 28 November 1948, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 473-475; or commenting on Orwell's last completed review: Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 17 July 1949, p. 3, see Orwell, review of *Their Finest Hour* by Winston Churchill, *New Leader*, 14 May 1949, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 110-113.

¹¹³ Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 15 December 1946, p. 2, see also Orwell, 'As I Please', 15 November 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 481-484; Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 16 February 1947, p. 2, see also Orwell, 'As I Please', 24 January 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 23-27.

¹¹⁴ *Wiadomości*, 28 September 1947, 'Miscellanea', p. 3; Wiktor Weintraub, 'Książki angielskie' [English Books], *Kultura*, 2-3 (1947), 165-166.

¹¹⁵ Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 20 October 1946, p. 2; see also Orwell, 'The Cost of Letters', *Horizon*, September 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 382-384. Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 8 February 1948, p. 3; see also Orwell, Questionnaire: Three Best Books of 1947, *Horizon*, December 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 232-233.

¹¹⁶ Wit Tarnawski, 'Ankieta *Wiadomości*' [*Wiadomości's* Survey], *Wiadomości*, 11 April 1948, p. 3; Zygmunt Haupt, 'Ankieta *Wiadomości*' [*Wiadomości's* Survey], *Wiadomości*, 4 April 1948, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Orwell, 'Conrad's Place and Rank in English Letters', *Wiadomości*, 10 April 1949, p. 1, reprinted in Orwell, letter to (the Editor), *Wiadomości*, 25 February 1949, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 47-48. See Appendix A for Orwell's reply to *Wiadomości's* survey.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Weintraub asserted 'a misunderstanding' Orwell's accusation of Shaw of sadism, argued that Orwell's excellent sensitivity to social problems often overshadowed his perception of artistic questions (see Weintraub, 'Shaw o sobie' [Shaw about Himself], *Kultura*, 2 (1949), 150-155 (p. 155)) or that Evelyn Waugh's *Scott-King's Modern Europe* was 'more amusing [...] livelier, more concrete' than *Animal Farm* (see Weintraub, 'Książki angielskie' [English Books], *Kultura*, 4 (1948), 129-135 (p. 135)); another commentator once remarked in passim that Orwell's novels, while 'very wise, very useful', lacked 'the God's spark' (see Wacław Solski, 'Ankieta *Wiadomości*' [*Wiadomości's* Survey], *Wiadomości*, 23 April 1950); a young critic in a large posthumous article noticed how Orwell's 'desire to surprise and provoke' led him to unsubstantiated assertions and overgeneralisations sometimes lacking a clear hierarchy of importance, how insistence on social aspects in all literature at times resulted in humourless attacks on the level of communist journalism and how sometimes he focused on the fight itself for lack of a realistic vision for a political system, but how nevertheless Orwell displayed uncommon political insight: a 'continental perspicacity', and provided many 'original thoughts' (see Andrzej Ciołkosz, 'Pogrobowiec liberalizmu' [An Epigone of Liberalism], *Wiadomości*, 13 May 1951, p. 3).

¹¹⁹ Published by Secker & Warburg. It had been rejected by Victor Gollancz, T. S. Eliot (Faber) and Jonathan Cape, the latter, changed his mind following a consultation with an official from the Ministry of Information, later revealed a Soviet spy (see e.g. Orwell, letter to Celia Kirwan, 2 May 1949, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, p. 103, n. 3). It is uncertain whether Secker & Warburg delayed its publication until the end of the war in Europe for political reasons. See e.g. Crick, *Orwell: A Life*, p. 318.

¹²⁰ Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie' [A Memoir]. See Orwell's reply of 1 September 1945 to a letter dated 28 August from Gleb Struve, a Russian émigré: 'At about the same time as your letter a Pole wrote wanting to do the book into Polish. I can't, of course, encourage him to do so unless I can see a way of getting the book into print and recompensing him for his work, and ditto with yourself', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 275. In her 'Wspomnienie' Jeleńska says that Orwell had initially assumed his Polish correspondent's masculinity: '[Orwell] suggested a meeting, inviting me for a meal to a small restaurant in the city centre. I replied describing my appearance and gender, because owing to my unclear signature he thought I was a man'.

¹²¹ Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 286; Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, *Kultura* Archive, SKAJ 20.

¹²² Orwell to Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, *Kultura* Archive, SKAJ 20.

¹²³ Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 286. *Animal Farm* was published in the USA on 26 August 1946 by Harcourt, Brace, whose representative met Orwell's agent on 21 December 1945, agreeing that the book not be sold at more than \$2.00, see 'Negotiations for the U.S. Edition of *Animal Farm*', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 256-257.

- ¹²⁴ Orwell to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹²⁵ Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 9 January 1946, in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 24. Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 10 January 1946, in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 28.
- ¹²⁶ Orwell to Teresa Jeleńska, 13 November 1945, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹²⁷ Orwell to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 January 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20, mentioned as a response to Jeleńska's letter of 4 January; Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 9 January 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 24.
- ¹²⁸ Teresa Jeleńska, letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, London, British Library, Western Manuscripts, George Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fols 105-108 (fol. 105) (in French). The date on the letter could be read either as 9 February (Roman numeral 'II') 1946 or 9 November (Arabic numeral '11') 1946. What points towards February, besides the Polish common dating convention, are the facts that consulted Światpol documents indicate that the book was 'in print' by September 1946 (see London, Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum (IPMS), World Association of Poles Abroad, 1940-1962, A17/1A/55, fol. 300, 'Sprawozdanie Światowego Związku Polaków z Zagranicy za okres od dnia 17.X.1939 do 1.IX.1946 r.' [Report of the World League of Poles Abroad for the Period from 17/10/1939 to 1/09/1946], 8 September 1946), that Orwell himself wrote to his agent in February: 'The woman who is doing the Polish one has I believe completed it' (see Orwell, 'To Leonard Moore, 23 February 1946', in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 122-123 (p. 123)) and that by May 1946 Jeleńska had already sought to begin translating other Orwell's texts (see Orwell's letters to Jeleńska of 4 and 10 May 1946, and subsequent, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20).
- ¹²⁹ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Wojciech Jastrzębowski (London: Światpol, 1947). The edition is dated 1947, while Światpol advertised it 'Available in all Polish bookshops and kiosks and the publisher' in *Wiadomości* already in December 1946, see *Wiadomości*, 29 December 1946, 'Nowe książki Światpolu' [Światpol's New Books], p. 2; and Jeleńska's dedication to – notwithstanding Orwell's mockery of the church through the raven Moses – the priest Stanisław Betch, founder of the Veritas Foundation and Publishing House in London, on one copy bears the date December 1946 too, see Muzeum Wolnego Słowa [Museum of the Free Word], 'Polskie wydawnictwa niezależne 1976–1989' [Polish Independent Publications 1976–1989] <http://www.incipit.home.pl/bibula/_bzor.html> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹³⁰ Bolesław Wierzbiański in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.* See also e.g. Irena Huml, 'Wojciech Tadeusz Jastrzębowski', in *Internetowy polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary Online] (Filmoteka Narodowa) <<http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/wojciech-tadeusz-jastrzebowski>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹³² E.g. at the time *Animal Farm* in Polish was being published, Światpol's acting director Nagórski (with whom Orwell would correspond) reported to the Prime Minister in exile: 'The World League of Poles Abroad has found itself in a difficult situation due to the delay that took place with the endorsement of the budget we had presented. May I also remind [you] that in the year 1946 Światpol did not benefit from government subsidies and that this circumstance has to a considerable extent contributed to the depletion of all its other funds'. See London, Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum (IPMS), A48/11/B, Civil and Military Chancelleries of the President of the Polish Republic, 1939-1991, The World League of Poles Abroad (Światpol) 1944-1947, Zygmunt Nagórski to Tomasz Arciszewski, 15 January 1947, fol. 112. Światpol would cease to function within decade. See e.g. IPMS, World Association of Poles Abroad, 1940-1962, A17/1A/55, 'Sprawozdanie' [Report], 8 September 1946, fols 134-135, or Światpol's advertis, e.g. in *Wiadomości*, 29 December 1946, 'Nowe książki Światpolu' [Światpol's New Books], p. 2; Wierzbiański in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]. The first British edition was bounded by greater paper shortages earlier on.
- ¹³³ Orwell to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 January 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹³⁴ Jeleńska, Wspomnienie [A Memoir]; Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 18 January 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French).
- ¹³⁵ Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 18 January 1946, SKAJ 20, in French. Turning to a three-language correspondence, Jeleńska explained that 'Squealer is called *Gueulard* – "Krzykała", the little pig that tasted Snowball's dishes "Rożuś" – equivalent of pinkie', see Jeleńska, letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083 (fol. 108) (in French).
- ¹³⁶ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 7 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹³⁷ I thank Ksenya Kiebuszinski of the University of Toronto Libraries for drawing my attention to it when sharing my findings for her article 'Not Lost in Translation: Orwell's *Animal Farm* Among Refugees and Beyond the Iron Curtain', *The Halcyon*, 59 (June 2017), 3-6 <https://fisher.library.utoronto.ca/sites/fisher.library.utoronto.ca/files/halcyon_june_2017_web_rev.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See also Orwell's comment around the time Jeleńska handed in her translation to the publisher: 'certainly it would be nice to have it [*Animal Farm*] illustrated', but Orwell was

yet to 'run across some young artist whose style would be suitable', in a letter to Leonard Moore, 23 February 1946.

¹³⁸ *Folwark zwierzęcy* (with the mistake: 'zwierzeczy') [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Wojciech Jastrzębowski (London: Światpol, 1947), printers, as per the imprint: F. C. Charters, Ltd., 58 Porchester Road, London, W.2. The title page in this edition in fact also inverted the title's word order: *Zwierzeczy folwark*, but the cover maintained the more natural word order, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, and so has it entered the Polish émigré and clandestine canon, to be eventually sanctioned by the new official translation in 1988. The Polish edition followed such foreign 1946 editions as Farsi (Teheran), Portuguese (Lisbon), Swedish (Stockholm), English in the USA (New York), German (Zürich) and Norwegian (Oslo), preceded such editions as French (Paris), Ukrainian (Neu Ulm, Germany), and possibly Estonian in Sweden, Danish, Dutch, Telugu, and Italian, all published in 1947; a Czech (Prague) translation was suppressed in 1948 (though the catalogue of the Czech National Library does list it in its holdings as of 1946, see <<http://www.en.nkp.cz>> [accessed 5 November 2019], see also Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 17 December 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1949-1950, pp. 234-235). See *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, p. 365, p. 457; and *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 24, pp. 235-237, p. 325, p. 365, p. 387, pp. 452-453, pp. 467-468.

¹³⁹ Wiesława Piątkowska-Stepaniak, 'Od Światpolu do Światpolu' [From Światpol to Światpol], *Studia Śląskie*, 59 (2000), 257; Wierzbiański in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]. *Zwierzeczy folwark* at the end of 1946 cost 7s 6d, mid price range of Światpol's sixteen books advertised in *Wiadomości*, 29 December 1946 ('Nowe książki Światpolu' [Światpol's New Books], p. 2).

¹⁴⁰ *Wiadomości*, 12 January 1947, 'Nowe książki' [New Books], p. 2, also there Wiktor Weintraub, 'Świnie w polityce' [Pigs in Politics], p. 2; *Polish Daily & Soldier's Daily (Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza)*, 24 February 1947, 'Nowe książki' [New Books], pp. 2-3.

¹⁴¹ Maria Rothert (signed as 'Polish Forces 606, C. M. F.') to Orwell, 1 May 1946, London, UCL, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z, ORWELL/H/2 (originally in English).

¹⁴² For *Animal Farm's* early difficulties in the USA, see e.g. Orwell, letter to Hamish Hamilton, 27 June 1945, or Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 8 September 1945, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1945, p. 195 and p. 286; Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 7 September 1945, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.

¹⁴³ *Dziennik Żołnierza 1. Dywizji Panczernej* [Soldier's Daily of the 1st Armoured Division], then based in Quakenbrück, British-occupied Germany; Jeleński's editorial colleague was Andrzej Vincenz, a future journalist and professor of Slavonic Studies at the Universities of Heidelberg and Göttingen; Ihor Szewczenko, *Zakorzeniony kosmopolita: Ihor Szewczenko w rozmowie z Łukaszem Jasińq* [A Rooted Cosmopolitan: Ihor Szewczenko in Conversation with Łukasz Jasina] (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2010), p. 81; 'Ihor Szewczenko to George Orwell, 11 April 1946', in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, pp. 235-238.

¹⁴⁴ Szewczenko, *Zakorzeniony kosmopolita* [A Rooted Cosmopolitan], p. 81.

¹⁴⁵ Orwell, *Kolhosp tvaryn: Kazka* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Ivan Černjatyn's'kyj [Ihor Szewczenko] (Neu Ulm: Prometej [1947]). See also Szewczenko's letter requesting that Orwell write an introduction, 'From Ihor Szewczenko to Orwell, 7 March 1947', in *CWGO* xix: 1947-1948, pp. 72-73, and the introduction intended to the original *Animal Farm*, 'The Freedom of the Press', in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, pp. 253-260. See Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 20 September 1947 (p. 207); Szewczenko reported that some 1,500 copies had been seized (*ibid.*, p. 206), Secker & Warburg that 5,000 (see Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 24 July 1949, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, p. 151, n. 1).

¹⁴⁶ Jeleńska, letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fols 105-108 (in French).

¹⁴⁷ Maja Prądzyńska, letter to Zofia Hertz, 22 January 1947, Kultura Archive, Korespondencja Instytutu Literackiego w Rzymie [Correspondence of the Literary Institute in Rome], KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Prądzyńska M r.

¹⁴⁸ See e.g. Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 23 February 1946 (p. 123).

¹⁴⁹ Władysław Potocki de Montalk, Count, to Orwell, 26 July 1949, UCL, George Orwell Archive, Letters to Orwell: M-Z 1928-1950, ORWELL/H/2. French edition: *Les Animaux partout*, trans. by Sophie Dévil, introd. by Jean Texcier ([Paris]: Odile Pathé, 1947).

¹⁵⁰ Czapski, letter to Koestler, 26 March 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fol. 135^{r+iv} (in French). The Literary Institute's Italian name was Casa Editrice 'Lettere'. For more information, see the *Kultura* Archive's website <www.kulturaparyska.com> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹⁵¹ Piotr Kłoczowski, interviewed by Tomasz Fijałkowski, 'Konstelacja Kultury', *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 1 October 2006, *Redaktor*: supplement dedicated to Jerzy Giedroyc, p. 23.

¹⁵² My emphasis. Ptasińska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów* [From the History], p. 163.

¹⁵³ E.g. 'Ihor Szewczenko to George Orwell, 11 April 1946' (p. 237, n. 2).

¹⁵⁴ Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 6 August 1946, in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 366.

- ¹⁵⁵ My emphasis. Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 7 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20, fol. 8. 'The book of essays' must refer to his *Critical Essays* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1946), in the USA published as *Dickens, Dali & Others* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946).
- ¹⁵⁶ Orwell, letter to Teresa Jeleńska, 23 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20. See also 'No correspondence with Orwell about these translations, nor the giving of his authorisation has been traced', in 'Ihor Szewczenko to Orwell, 11 April 1946', p. 237, n. 2. See also e.g. note 160 in this chapter.
- ¹⁵⁷ See note 150 in Chapter 1.
- ¹⁵⁸ Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 4 May 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French).
- ¹⁵⁹ Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 10 May 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20 (in French).
- ¹⁶⁰ The late spring of 1946 appears the right context of Orwell's letter which *CWGO* date to two years later, '8 June 1948', and conjecture about the unfitting return address from Jura (since Orwell spent months at a Lanarkshire hospital then). See Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 8 June 1948 [sic], in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 391-392 and n. 1. This presumption might be verified by a renewed inspection of the dating on Orwell's handwritten letter kept by the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. However, this Orwell's letter being of the turn of May and June 1946 and not 8 June 1948 seems further corroborated by the letter to Jeleńska (misspelt 'Zielenska') from Orwell's agent of 13 June 1946 – who has 'now heard from Mr. Orwell': 'Referring again to your letter of the 24th ultimo [i.e. 24 May 1946], I have now heard from Mr. George Orwell who is willing that you shall make a Polish edition of *Burmese Days* and *Coming Up for Air*. | I send you herewith a copy of the Penguin edition of *Burmese Days* but I have not got a copy of *Coming Up for Air*, nor has Mr. Orwell'. See Christy & Moore Ltd., letter to Teresa Zielenska [sic], 13 June 1946, Kultura Archive, Korespondencja Reny Jeleńskie; listy od różnych osób [Rena Jeleńska's Correspondence; Letters from Various Persons], SKAJ 19.
- ¹⁶¹ Christy & Moore Ltd., letter to Teresa Zielenska [sic, i.e. Jeleńska], 13 June 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 19; Orwell's letter to his agent: 'The people she [Jeleńska] works for don't want *Burmese Days*, as it is too specialised a subject', Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 6 August 1946, in *CWGO* xviii: 1946, p. 366.
- ¹⁶² Orwell to Jeleńska, 7 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹⁶³ Orwell to Jeleńska, 7 and 23 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20. For more on Orwell's war dispatches, see e.g. Keeble, 'Orwell as War Correspondent', which defends their quality.
- ¹⁶⁴ Orwell to Jeleńska, 23 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹⁶⁵ Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 23 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹⁶⁶ Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 17 January 1947, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹⁶⁷ Orwell, letter to Leonard Moore, 8 June 1948 [sic] (p. 392) (see note 160); Christy & Moore Ltd., letter to Teresa Zielenska [sic, i.e. Jeleńska], 13 June 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 19; Wiktor Weintraub reported to Giedroyc of a lodged royalty enquiry, see Weintraub, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 6 August 1946, Kultura Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED Weintraub, vol. 1.
- ¹⁶⁸ Zofia Hertz, letter to Maja Prądyńska, 20 February 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Pądyńska M r; Giedroyc, letter to Jan Bielatowicz, 13 February 1948, Kultura Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED, Bielatowicz Ja.
- ¹⁶⁹ See the above Orwell's letters to Jeleńska and the publisher's correspondence, e.g. Weintraub reporting to Giedroyc on 6 January 1947: 'Today I should get Orwell's essays', but confirming: 'The translation of Orwell's *Essays*, ready now, is with me at this moment' only on January 22, after on January 17 Orwell belatedly addressed Jeleńska's translation doubts. See Wiktor Weintraub, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 6 January 1947 and 22 January 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1, and Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 17 January 1947, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20.
- ¹⁷⁰ See e.g. Weintraub, letter to Giedroyc, 2 July 1946 (reporting on the selection and September deadline), 5 December 1946 (he has seen what had been done, the translation should be ready for early January), Giedroyc to Weintraub, 12 December 1946 ('very happy' and 'would print him February-March'), Weintraub, letter to Giedroyc, 22 December 1946 ('Orwell will be ready already next week'), Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1.
- ¹⁷¹ Weintraub, 'Świnie w polityce' [Pigs in Politics]; Weintraub, letters to Giedroyc, 22 January and 28 January 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1.
- ¹⁷² Tymon Terlecki – an author and theatre critic exiled in London, unhurried concomitant translator of Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* for the Literary Institute, published only in 1949 (see *Kultura*, 16-17 ([February-March] 1949), 1-165). Two typescripts with Jeleńska's translations of Orwell's texts with corrections in hand are among papers he donated to the Polish Library POSK archive in the 1960s.
- ¹⁷³ See Truskolaska-Kopec; manuscripts of Jeleńska's translations of 'England Your England' and 'The Prevention of Literature' with amendments introduced by hand donated to the Polish Library by Tymon Terlecki in 1965, London, POSK, 248/Rps C and 269/Rps; Stefania Zahorska, letter to Giedroyc, 26 February

1947, Kultura Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED ILR, vol. 4, Zahorska S r. See also Maja Prądyńska, letter to Zofia Hertz, 15 February 1947, Kultura Archive, Korespondencja Instytutu Literackiego w Rzymie [Correspondence of the Literary Institute in Rome], KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Prądyńska M r.; and Waclaw Zbyszewski, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 24 February 1947, Kultura Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED, Zbyszewski W, vol. 1.

¹⁷⁴ See Zofia Hertz, letter to Maja Prądyńska, 12 February 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Prądyńska M r.; Giedroyc, letter to Weintraub, 11 February 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED Weintraub, vol. 1; see also Maja Prądyńska, letter to Zofia Hertz, 27 January 1947 and 15 February 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Prądyńska M r.

¹⁷⁵ See Giedroyc, letter to Weintraub, 12 December 1946, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Giedroyc, letter to Weintraub, 4 February 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1.

¹⁷⁷ *Kultura*, 1 (1947), 84; *Wiadomości* still noted in September that ‘the Rome Literary Institute announces the publication of a Polish translation of a selection of his [Orwell’s] essays’, see *Wiadomości*, 28 September 1947, ‘Miscellanea’, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Zofia Hertz, letter to Giedroyc, 19 August 1947, Kultura Archive, Hertz Zofia, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia [Hertz Zofia, Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc], PoJG 08.04/1 Hertz. See also Orwell, letter to Jeleńska, 7 August 1946, Kultura Archive, SKAJ 20, concerning Orwell, ‘Second Thoughts on James Burnham’.

¹⁷⁹ Giedroyc, letter to Weintraub, 13 February 1948, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1; e.g. a UK-exiled poet refused a request to tidy them up, see Giedroyc, letter to Jan Bielatowicz, 13 February 1948, and Jan Bielatowicz, letter to Giedroyc, 19 February 1948, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Bielatowicz Ja.

¹⁸⁰ The texts were to be, as per Weintraub’s instruction on their best order: “‘England, Your England”, then maybe the things about Burnham and the freedom of the word [i.e. ‘The Prevention of Literature’], and then already the literary studies, which in the original edition of *Critical Essays* go in the following order: Dickens, Wells, Donald McGill, Koestler and Raffles and Miss Blandish’ (see Weintraub to Giedroyc, 28 January 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1). The book might have also featured ‘As I Please’ on the Warsaw rising ‘either as an introduction or excerpts from it on the cover insides’ (see Prądyńska, letter to Zofia Hertz, 27 January 1947, Kultura Archive, KOR RED ILR, vol. 3, Prądyńska M r).

¹⁸¹ Orwell, ‘Lew i nosorożec [sic]: Anglia, twoja Anglia’ [*The Lion and the Unicorn: England Your England*], *Kultura*, 4 (1948), 41-62, i.e. *Kultura*’s first issue of 1948, now a monthly. A typographical error, ‘nosorożec’ instead of ‘jednorożec’, rendered the unicorn a ‘rhinoceros’, a mistake reproduced by some unsuspecting readers, including *Wiadomości*’s advert of *Kultura* (see *Wiadomości*, 14 March 1948, p. 4). A preserved translation manuscript suggests that this one was not Jeleńska’s mistake, see London, Polish Library POSK, 248/Rps C, ‘Orwell, George: Lew i jednorożec’). The other three essays were: Orwell, ‘Środki zapobiegawcze w literaturze’ [*The Prevention of Literature*], *Kultura*, 5 (1948), 4-14; Orwell, ‘Raffles i panna Blandish’ [*Raffles and Miss Blandish*], *Kultura*, 9-10 (1948), 48-58, i.e. the summer double number; and Orwell, ‘Twórczość Donalda Mac Gilla [sic]’ [*The Art of Donald McGill*], *Kultura*, 1 (January 1950), 75-84, the translation claimed author’s authorisation too but was signed by Teresa Skórzewska, not Teresa Jeleńska, although Jeleńska had translated this essay as well (see e.g. footnote above).

¹⁸² Such was the print run foreseen for Koestler’s *Darkness at Noon*, see Jerzy Giedroyc, letter to A. D. Peters, 1 May 1946, Kultura Archive, Korespondencja Instytutu Literackiego w Rzymie [Correspondence of the Literary Institute in Rome], KOR RED ILR, vol. 2, Peters r (original in English); *Kultura*’s print run with Orwell’s first essay was 1,000 copies and the other 1948 essays 1,600 copies (see Rafał Habielski, quoted on *Kultura*’s website, ‘Z historii Instytutu Literackiego’ [From the Literary Institute’s History] <<http://kulturaraparska.com/pl/historia/kalendarium>> [accessed 5 November 2019]). See a review of *Kultura* commenting on translation of ‘Raffles and Miss Blandish’ in light of *Kultura*’s low sales then, alluding to lack of readerly support for quality publications: Jarosław Horski, ‘Czytając *Kulturę*...’ [Reading *Kultura*...], *Kronika* (Munich), 5 September 1948. Conversely, Anders’s Army demobilisation meant the primary readership’s dispersal and its decreasing means for spending on culture, the period also corresponded with the institute’s transfer to Paris and working in initially dire conditions where some materials got damaged, as they did in a London’s storage, see e.g. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 24 April 1950, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 1.

¹⁸³ [Juliusz Sakowski], ‘Miscellanea’ (citing a *News Review* article), *Wiadomości*, 20 February 1949, p. 3. See also [Juliusz Sakowski], ‘Miscellanea’, *Wiadomości*, 6 March 1949, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ [Mieczysław Grydzewski], ‘Silva rerum’, *Wiadomości*, 3 July 1949, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ Juliusz Mieroszewski, ‘Pochlebcy znużenia’ [Flatterers of Ennui], *Kultura*, 7 (1949), 131-135. See also Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 20 June 1949; Giedroyc, letters to Mieroszewski, 25 July 1949, and 13 September 1949, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Wiktor Sukiennicki, ‘W połowie drogi’ [Midway], *Kultura*, 4 (1950), 42.

- ¹⁸⁷ [Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum', *Wiadomości*, 3 July 1949, p. 4. See also e.g. Mieroszewski's comments on British press' criticism of Koestler's presentation at the Congress of Cultural Freedom in Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 14 July 1950, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 1.
- ¹⁸⁸ *Orzeł Biały* (*White Eagle*), 'Orwella wizja przyszłości' [Orwell's Vision of the Future], 25 June 1949, p. 7 (retranslated from Polish), refers to an article by Orville Prescott.
- ¹⁸⁹ Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 21 August 1949, p. 6. See also Philip Rahv, 'The Unfuture of Utopia', *Partisan Review*, 16.7 (July 1949), 743-749, and Lionel Trilling, 'Orwell on the Future', *New Yorker*, 18 June 1949.
- ¹⁹⁰ Wiktor Weintraub, '1984', *Wiadomości*, 4 September 1949, p. 2.
- ¹⁹¹ [Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum', *Wiadomości*, 19 December 1949, p. 3; [Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum', *Wiadomości*, 19 November 1950, p. 4. Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 26 February 1950, p. 3. See also Oksana Kasenkina, *Leap to Freedom* (e.g. Philadelphia; New York: Lippincott, [1949]). Puszka [Stefania Zahorska and Adam Pragier], 'Paczka gazet z kraju' [A Package of Newspapers from Poland], *Wiadomości*, 26 November 1950, p. 3. Paweł Hostowiec [Jerzy Stempowski], 'Hitler i jego szef sztabu' [Hitler and His Chief of Staff], *Kultura*, 7 (October 1949), 121-130 (p. 127). See also Franz Halder, *Hitler als Feldherr* [*Hitler as War Lord*] (München: Münchener Dom, 1949). Waclaw Solksi, 'Kartki z dziennika' [Pages from the Diary], *Wiadomości*, 12 February 1950, entry of 30 December 1949, p. 2.
- ¹⁹² Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik pisany nocą' [Diary Written at Night], *Kultura*, 9 (September 1993), 12-27, 17 May 1993 (p. 18); Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (p. 91); Czapski, letter to Giedroyc, 18 May 1951, Kraków, National Museum, I thank Janusz S. Nowak of the museum for the transcription.
- ¹⁹³ Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie' [A Memoir]; Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (p. 87, p. 89), see also Orwell on his preoccupation with the Karen minority e.g. in 'As I Please', *Tribune*, 7 February 1947, in *CWGO*, xix: 1947-1948, pp. 39-42 (p. 41).
- ¹⁹⁴ [Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum', *Wiadomości*, 30 April 1950, p. 4.
- ¹⁹⁵ Juliusz Mieroszewski, 'Listy z wyspy' [Letters from the Island], *Kultura*, 5 (May 1950), 85-92 (p. 88).
- ¹⁹⁶ Juliusz Mieroszewski, 'O międzynarodową brygadę europejską' [For a European International Brigade], *Kultura*, 11 (November 1951), 75-82 (p. 82).
- ¹⁹⁷ P. Z., 'Śmierć autora Roku 1984' [Author of Nineteen Eighty-Four Dies], *Orzeł Biały* (*White Eagle*), 4 February 1950, p. 3.
- ¹⁹⁸ See letters: Giedroyc to Weintraub, 5 February 1950; Weintraub to Giedroyc, 19 February 1950; and Weintraub to Giedroyc, 24 February 1950, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Weintraub, vol. 1, and see the obituary: Weintraub, 'George Orwell'.
- ¹⁹⁹ Theates [Weintraub], 'Wśród czasopism' [Among Magazines], *Wiadomości*, 26 February 1950, p. 3. See also Koestler, 'A Rebel's Progress'.
- ²⁰⁰ Lector [Gustaw Herling-Grudziński], 'Zamiast przeglądu prasy: George Orwell' [In Lieu of the Press Review: George Orwell], *Wiadomości*, 18 June 1950, p. 3; the article was remembered 25 years later: "'25 lat temu Wiadomości'" Londyn, 30 lipca 1950', *Wiadomości*, 3/10 August 1975, p. 8; see also *World Review*, new series 16 (June 1950), ed. by Pole-Russian Stefan Schimanski, publ. by Edward Hulton.
- ²⁰¹ Towards the end of his life Orwell discussed possibilities of anti-communist propaganda actions also in Burma with friend Celia Kirwan of Information Research Department, see Kirwan's report of 30 March 1949 in 'Orwell and the Information Research Department', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, Appendix 14, pp. 318-321 (p. 320 and n. 7). Grudziński's activities in Burma were sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. See his accounts 'Podróż do Burmy' [Journey to Burma] in *Wiadomości*: 14 December 1952, p. 1; 18 January 1953, p. 2; 15 February 1953, p. 2 (e.g. there under 18 May 1952, a record of meeting the Burmese translator of *Animal Farm*, U Ba Thaug); 8 March 1953, p. 3; 12 April 1953, p. 3; 26 April 1953, p. 2; 17 May 1953, p. 2; collected in: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Podróż do Burmy. Dziennik* [Journey to Burma. Diary] (London: Puls, 1983). See his later essay in a clandestine journal: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Śłoń i... niepodległość' [The Elephant and... Independence], *Zapis*, 7 (1978), 63-66; see also Nasalska, 'Śladami Orwella' [In Orwell's Footsteps], in *Etos i arcyzm*, ed. by Wystouch and Przybylski.
- ²⁰² Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 16 September 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.
- ²⁰³ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 23 January [1953], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.
- ²⁰⁴ Witold Gombrowicz, *Trans-Atlantyk. Ślub* [*Trans-Atlantyk. The Marriage*]; Orwell, *Rok 1984*; Czesław Miłosz, *Zniewolony umysł* [*The Captive Mind*]; James Burnham, *Bierny opór czy wyzwolenie?* [*Containment or Liberation?*], all: (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1953).
- ²⁰⁵ Giedroyc, letter to Czesław Miłosz, 13 August 1956, quoted in Ptasieńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów* [From the History], p. 172.
- ²⁰⁶ Giedroyc, letter to Andrzej Bobkowski, 18 September 1952, in Jerzy Giedroyc, Andrzej Bobkowski, *Listy 1946-1961* [Letters 1946-1961], selected, ed. and introd. by Jan Zieliński (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1997), pp. 221-223 (p. 222). Memorandum of Agreement between Sonia Blair, c/o A.M. Heath & Co., and *Kultura*, for the

Polish translation of '1984' by George Orwell, 22 October 1951, Kultura Archive, Materiały związane z działalnością wydawniczą spółki 'Libella' [Materials Related to Publishing Activities of 'Libella'], ILK Libella 3, Gryf Publications; Ptaśńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów* [From the History], p. 164, p. 343. Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, [undated, likely late September 1951], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2, part 3, fol. 119.

²⁰⁷ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 23 January [1953], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4; Giedroyc, letter to Waław Zbyszewski, 19 January 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Zbyszewski W, vol. 1.

²⁰⁸ See e.g. 'Juliusz Mieroszewski Biography', *Kultura Paryska* <http://kulturoparyska.com/en/ludzie/pokaz/m/juliusz_mieroszewski> [accessed 5 November 2019].

²⁰⁹ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, undated, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2, part 1, fol. 44. This letter in which Giedroyc offered Mieroszewski the job of translating Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* must date from between 9 and 14 April 1951, rather than 30 March and 4 April 1951 as its insertion as the last folio in vol. 2, part 1, would suggest. Mieroszewski's letter to Giedroyc of 15 April 1951 (a Sunday) states: 'I'm very interested in translating Orwell and [...] I think I will be able to do it in a Stakhanovite tempo. Your letter arrived on Saturday afternoon and I already couldn't buy the book whereas a friend borrowed my copy and then left with it for... Australia. On Monday morning I'll buy a copy and start translating immediately.' Conversely, Mieroszewski's letter to Giedroyc of 4 April 1951 appears a reply to Giedroyc's of 30 March with no letter exchanged in between, see e.g. the mention of Winkiewicz in both, but no mention of Orwell. Giedroyc's subsequent letter to Mieroszewski of 5 April discusses their questionnaire project and mentions a 'confidential translation'. Mieroszewski's reply of 11 April continues the questionnaire discussion and says: 'About the translation you mention I can't say anything about unseen'. Meanwhile, there is still no mention of Orwell in Giedroyc's letter to Mieroszewski of 9 April, which asks e.g. about Łukasiewicz, and no mention in Mieroszewski's to Giedroyc of 13 April, which delivers a reply e.g. about Łukasiewicz. Giedroyc's undated letter, which must have been the one supposedly reaching Mieroszewski on Saturday 14 April 1951, explains that the confidential translation did not crystallise yet, but Orwell came up, it mentions also e.g. that 'You've provoked a storm [...] the barrel with letters broke', to which Mieroszewski's letter of Sunday 15 April responds also: 'Indeed, I've provoked a storm with the last List z Wyspy [Letter from the Island]'.

²¹⁰ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 20 and 16 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 22 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 25 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹¹ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 17 July 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹² Original emphasis. Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, undated [between 19 and 28 June 1951], KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2, part 2, fols 86-87 (fol. 86).

²¹³ See e.g. Mieroszewski, letters to Giedroyc, 12 and 17 July, or 10 August 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 29 July 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹⁴ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, '7 April 1951' [must be 7 May], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 26 January 1954, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 5.

²¹⁵ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, '11 April 1951' [must be 11 May], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 8 May 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹⁶ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 29 July 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹⁷ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 20 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.

²¹⁸ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 30 January 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.

²¹⁹ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 4 February 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.

²²⁰ E.g. Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 27 February 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.

²²¹ See also translated by Mieroszewski e.g. Milovan Đilas, *Nowa klasa wyzyskiwaczy* [Đilas, *The New Class*, 1957] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1957) or Howard Fast, *Król jest nagi* [*The Naked God*, 1957], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1958). See e.g. Truskolaska-Kopec versus Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence].

²²² Witold Gombrowicz, letter to Giedroyc, 21 April 1953, in Jerzy Giedroyc, Witold Gombrowicz, *Listy 1950-1969* [Letters 1950-1969], selected, ed. and introd. by Andrzej Kowalczyk (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1993), pp. 112-113 (p. 112).

²²³ Bobkowski, letter to Giedroyc, 15 June 1953, in Giedroyc, Bobkowski, *Listy* [Letters], pp. 232-237 (p. 234).

²²⁴ Giedroyc, letter to James Burnham quoted in Ptaśńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów* [From the History], p. 167, n. 362, as of 23 February 1953, but the date might be mistaken as a letter from this date does not mention

- Orwell. Giedroyc, letter to Aniela Mieczysławska, 14 April 1953, Kultura Archive, Listy do Redakcji [Letters to the Editor], KOR RED Mieczysławska, vol. 1.
- ²²⁵ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 1 September 1954, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 5. Refers to Lech Budrecki, 'Milczenie i "ucho igielne"' [Silence and 'the Eye of a Needle'], *Nowa Kultura*, 22 August 1954, p. 4.
- ²²⁶ Giedroyc, letter to Burnham, see note 224 above. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 19 January 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 28 January [1953] Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.
- ²²⁷ Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 19 May 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.
- ²²⁸ *Ostatnie Wiadomości* (Mannheim), 8 February 1953, 'Polityka na wesoło' [Politics with Fun], p. 105.
- ²²⁹ J. J., 'Wśród książek i wydawnictw' [Among Books and Publications], *Orzeł Biały* (*White Eagle*), 11 April 1953, p. 6; [Mieczysław Grydzewski], 'Książki nadesłane' [Books Sent in], *Wiadomości*, 12 April 1953, p. 8
- ²³⁰ A brief survey returned no findings and *Kultura's* archive stores no related press clippings from *Polish Daily & Soldiers' Daily*.
- ²³¹ E.g. *Narodowiec* [The Nationalist] (France), 'Wiadomości wydawnicze: Biblioteka *Kultury*' [Publishing News: *Kultura's* Library], no. 56, 1953; *Polak w Kalifornii* [A Pole in California], 'Nowe książki: Biblioteka *Kultury*' [New Books: *Kultura's* Library], no. 3-4/20, 1953; *Dziennik Chicagowski* [Chicago Daily], 'Z teki wydawniczej: Nowe wydawnictwa Polski' [From the Publishing File: Poland's New Publications], 28 April 1953, quoted in Ptasieńska-Wójcik, *Z dziejów* [From the History], p. 164, n. 343; *Związkowiec* [The Unionist] (Toronto), 'Wydawnictwa *Kultury* do nabycia w *Związkowcu*' [*Kultura's* Publications Available for Purchase at *Związkowiec*], 22 March 1953; adverts in *Orzeł Biały* (*White Eagle*): 'Orwell's famed work' e.g. 14 March 1953, p. 6 and p. 7, 21 March 1953, p. 2, 28 March/5 April 1953, p. 7.
- ²³² Klaudiusz Habryk, 'Potworna wizja przyszłości' [A Terrifying Vision of the Future], *Dziennik Polski* [*Polish Daily*] (Detroit), 3 March 1953. *Głos Polski* [Voice of Poland] (Toronto), 9 April 1953, 'Nowe wydawnictwa polskie' [New Polish Publications]. Józefa Radzyńska, 'Requiem wolności' [A Requiem for Freedom], *Głos Polski* [Voice of Poland] (Buenos Aires), 15 May 1953, p. 5; see also Józefa Radzyńska, 'Requiem wolności', *Ostatnie Wiadomości* (Mannheim), 2 August 1953.
- ²³³ Deutscher, '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty'.
- ²³⁴ Mieczysławska, letter to Giedroyc, 3 March 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED Mieczysławska, vol. 1.
- ²³⁵ J. J., 'Wśród książek i wydawnictw' [Among Books and Publications]. Maria Danilewiczowa, 'Czytelnik polski w W. Brytanii' [The Polish Reader in Great Britain], *Kultura*, 9 (September 1953), 72-83 (pp. 77-78).
- ²³⁶ *Głos Polski* (Toronto), 9 April 1953, 'Nowe wydawnictwa polskie' [New Polish Publications].
- ²³⁷ About the Soviet covers, see e.g. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 4 February 1953, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4, or Chruślińska, p. 58; for Giedroyc's use of the diplomatic bag of the second secretary of the French embassy in Poland, Georges Sidre, as a smuggling medium, also for *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the 'Soviet cover', see e.g. Giedroyc to Georges Sidre, 5 March or 9 April [1953], Kultura Archive, Listy do Redakcji [Letters to the Editor], KOR RED, Sidre; *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* new 1979 edition and 1983 reprint had conspiratorial size twins (12 x 8 cm) for smuggling across the Iron Curtain, some might have made it to Poland among prints smuggled in from secret car compartments, sea cargos to factory-sealed pea or meat tins, see e.g. 'Józef Gawłowicz Biografia', at *Kultura Paryska* <http://www.kulturaparyska.com/pl/ludzie/typ/publicyści/jozef_gawlowicz> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²³⁸ Jeleńska, letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fols 105-108 (fol. 103) (in French); Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 15 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.
- ²³⁹ Deutscher, '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty'.
- ²⁴⁰ Giedroyc, letter to James Burnham, 23 February 1953 [sic], see note 224 in this chapter; 'To Attack with the Book' inclusively became title of the publisher's autobiography: Jerzy Kulczycki, *Atakować książką*, ed. by Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska and Paweł Ziętara, introd. by Andrzej Paluchowski (Warsaw: IPN, 2016); Jeleńska, letter to Orwell, 9 February 1946, BL, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083 (fol. 107) (in French).
- ²⁴¹ It is unclear whether Lechoń made or translated an adaptation, dated November 1949; it was initially to be a series of five episodes. See Dorosz, 'Orwell według Lechońia' [*Orwell According to Lechoń*]. In a letter to the director of the Voice of America of 4 November 1949 Celia Kirwan listed Polish among the languages into which the Foreign Office was having *Nineteen Eighty-Four* translated (see Rubin, *Archives of Authority*, p. 42). It is unknown whether this referred to Lechoń's adaptation.
- ²⁴² Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 18 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2. The subsidy, he claimed, allowed Giedroyc to offer a French 'syndical' translation payment rate of 250 francs per page, which to Mieroszewski in the English context seemed very modest though (*ibid.* and Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 16 April 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2).

- ²⁴³ E.g. Giedroyc, letters to Mieroszewski, 14 May and 19 June 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2; e.g. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 29 July 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2.
- ²⁴⁴ Original highlight, Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, September 1951, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 2, part 4, fols 115-116 (fol. 116); see Memorandum of Agreement, 22 October 1951, Kultura Archive, ILK Libella 3, Gryf Publications; and A. M. Heath & Company Ltd, letter to Mieroszewski, 13 November 1951, Kultura Archive, Libella 1947-1961, LIB 3, mentioning enclosing 'the agreement for the Polish rights in "1984" signed by the proprietor'.
- ²⁴⁵ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 6 May [1952], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 3.
- ²⁴⁶ Giedroyc, letters to Mieroszewski, 16 June, 7 August, 26 October [1952], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 3; Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 16 January [1953], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 4.
- ²⁴⁷ Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 5 May [1952], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 3. Compare Goldstein's original name suppressed in two US *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s screen adaptations, the first screen version broadcast on the NBC television in 1953, where Goldstein features as 'Cassandra', and the 1956 Columbia Pictures' film, where Goldstein becomes 'Callidor'. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 10 March [1952], Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 3, see also letter of 5 May [1952]; Mieroszewski, letter to Giedroyc, 7 March 1952, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 3.
- ²⁴⁸ E.g. Machcewicz, *Druga [Second]*, pp.-112-115; Adam Bromke (the head of the Polish 'balloon war' editorial team), 'Towarzysze, posprzątajcie' [Clean It Up, Comrades], *Polityka*, 15 August 1998, pp. 56-57. Historians dispute the role this action played in the 1956 Hungarian uprising.
- ²⁴⁹ George Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy [Animal Farm]*, 'A Special Edition by "Free Europe" authorised by the World League of Poles Abroad' ([n.p.]: Free Europe, [1956]); Bromke, 'Towarzysze, posprzątajcie' [Clean It Up]; overall, over 13 million prints of various extent were sent by balloons in total (*ibid.*), while a communist internal report stated that over three thousand balloons and 500 thousand prints in Polish were seized by the authorities, see Alicja Paczoska, 'Wojna balonowa w powiecie chojnickim' [Balloon War in the Chojnice District], *Zeszyty Chojnickie* 29 (2014), 106-113 (p. 113). For the book-mailing programme, see e.g. Alfreid A. Reisch, *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Book Distribution Program Behind the Iron Curtain* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2013), pp. 26-27; for comparison, 100 copies of Czesław Miłosz's *The Captive Mind* were sent during this time.
- ²⁵⁰ Konstanty Jeleński, letter to Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, 17 September 1956, in Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Teresa Jeleńska and Konstanty A. Jeleński, *Korespondencja [Correspondence]*, ed. by Radosław Romaniuk (Warsaw: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską; Wiąż, 2008), pp. 25-27 (p. 27).
- ²⁵¹ Deutscher, '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty' (pp. 48-49).
- ²⁵² Juliusz Mieroszewski, 'List z Wyspy' [A Letter from the Island], *Kultura*, 1 (January 1953), 63-70 (p. 64). See also Orwell, in 'Charles Dickens' (p. 22): 'The truth is that Dickens's criticism of society is almost exclusively moral. Hence the utter lack of any constructive suggestion anywhere in his work. He attacks the law, parliamentary government, the educational system and so forth, without ever clearly suggesting what he would put in their places'.
- ²⁵³ Witold Gombrowicz, 'Fragmenty Dziennika' [Fragments of the Diary], *Kultura*, 9 (September 1953), 45-57, Wednesday (pp. 50-53).
- ²⁵⁴ Czesław Miłosz, 'Nad polską prasą' [On the Polish Press], *Kultura*, 6 (June 1957), 3-12 (pp. 10-11).
- ²⁵⁵ Czesław Miłosz, letter to Giedroyc, [June 1954], in Jerzy Giedroyc, Czesław Miłosz, *Listy 1952-1963 [Letters 1952-1963]*, ed. and introd. by Marek Kornat (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 2008), p. 173 (pp. 173-174).
- ²⁵⁶ Called so by e.g. the former director of Free Europe Press's European operations John P. C. Matthews, see Matthews, 'The West's Secret Marshall Plan for the Mind', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 16.3 (July-September 2003), 409-427 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/713830448>>.
- ²⁵⁷ Marek Rudzki, 'Akcja masowych przekazów książek do Polski w latach 1956-1994', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 134 (2000), 217-224 (p. 218). The programme initially ran under the aegis of the Free Europe Press, later of a bogus organisation International Advisory Council and then International Literary Centre.
- ²⁵⁸ E.g. 'Orwell: Pamiętnik Kataloński (po ros.)' [Orwell: Catalan Diary (in Russian)] taken 20 May 1974, see London, Polish Library POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek do Polski i krajów postsowieckich [Action of Sending Books to Poland and Post-Soviet Countries]*, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy stycznia 1974 do połowy stycznia 1975' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-January 1974 to Mid-January 1975], 2136/RPS 1/13, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy maja do połowy czerwca 1974'; 'As I Please' e.g. taken 9 August 1972 or 20 August 1972, POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek [Action of Sending Books]*, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy stycznia 1972 do połowy stycznia 1973' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-January 1972 to Mid-January 1973], 2136/RPS 1/11, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju od połowy lipca do połowy sierpnia 1972'

and 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju od połowy sierpnia do połowy września 1972' respectively. See e.g. Tom Hopkinson, 'George Orwell', trans. by Gustaw Radwański, in *Portrety pisarzy angielskich* [Portraits of English Writers], ed. by Maria Danilewiczowa, introd. by Bonamy Dobrée, trans. by Adam Czerniawski *et al.* (London: Świderski, 1962) (twelve essays from the British Council series: Writers & Their Work), pp. 305-334. See registered as given away and sent to Poland e.g. in POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy – Czerwiec grudzień [sic] 1962' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-June December [sic] 1962], 2136/RPS 1/1.

²⁵⁹ POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], e.g. 'Wykaz książek przesłanych do kraju w roku 1984' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in 1984], 2136/RPS 1/23.

²⁶⁰ Max Broda [J. Demborz], 'Mój Orwell' [My Orwell], *Myśli Nieinternowane*, 21 (January-February 1986), 20-26 (p. 22). The Polish Library records too indicate that its book distribution stock lacked Orwell e.g. on 1 August 1969, see POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], 'Listy publikacji przeznaczonych do rozdawnictwa (Stock) pol. + ang.; 1969-1991', 2136/RPS/5.

²⁶¹ Original emphasis. Jeleński, letter to Iwaszkiewicz, 17 September 1956 (p. 27).

²⁶² POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], 'Wykaz [...] od połowy stycznia 1974 do połowy stycznia 1975' [Register [...] from Mid-January 1974 to Mid-January 1975], 2136/RPS 1/13, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy sierpnia do połowy września 1974' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-August to Mid-September 1974].

²⁶³ POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy stycznia 1972 do połowy stycznia 1973' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-January 1972 to Mid-January 1973], 2136/RPS 1/11, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju od połowy grudnia 1972 do połowy stycznia 1973' [Register of Books Sent to the Country [Poland] from Mid-December 1972 to Mid-January 1973]. See also e.g. POSK, *Akcja wysyłki książek* [Action of Sending Books], 'Wykaz [...] od połowy stycznia 1974 do połowy stycznia 1975' [Register [...] from Mid-January 1974 to Mid-January 1975], 2136/RPS 1/13, 'Wykaz książek wysłanych do kraju w okresie od połowy grudnia 1974 do połowy stycznia 1975' [Register of Books Sent to [Poland] in the Period from Mid-December 1974 to Mid-January 1975], or 2136/RPS 1/23, 'Wykaz [...] w roku 1984' [Register [...] in 1984].

²⁶⁴ E.g. three-year prison sentence for Anna Rewska in 1958 for allegedly distributing *Kultura*; a year's imprisonment for Anna Rudzińska in 1961 for liaising with *Kultura*; long-term harassments and processes of writers, journalists and former politicians in the mid- and late 1960s for criticism of the authorities and publishing and passing information about the Soviet bloc abroad, which sometimes led them to death, e.g. Stefan Kisielewski, Paweł Jasienica, Jan Nepomucen Miller, January Grzędziński or Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz and Kister's former associate Melchior Wańkiewicz; or processes of a group of young people smuggling *Kultura*'s prints and books through the Tatra Mountains. See the expulsion of the second secretary to the French embassy Georges Sidre mentioned e.g. in Rafał Habielski, *Polityczna historia mediów w Polsce w XX wieku* [A Political History of the Media in Poland in the 20th Century] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, 2009), p. 249.

²⁶⁵ Rodden, *The Unexamined Orwell*, pp. 324-326; Juliusz Mieroszewski, 'MBFR plus CSCE' [Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) Plus Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)], *Kultura*, 9 (1972), 47-57 (p. 50 and p. 56).

²⁶⁶ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 7-8 (1974), 21-31, 3 May [1974] (p. 25).

²⁶⁷ See e.g. Rodden, *The Politics*, pp. 284-285.

²⁶⁸ Aleksandra Stypułkowska, 'Proces Janusza Szpotańskiego' [Janusz Szpotański's Trial], *Wiadomości*, 31 March 1968, supplement *Na Antenie*, no. 60, p. III. K[onstanty] A. Jeleński, 'Notatki o "Majowej Rewolucji"' [Notes about the 'May Revolution'], *Kultura*, 6-7 (1968), 17-32 (p. 25).

²⁶⁹ Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Pół miliona żołnierzy przeciw 2000 słów' [Half a Million Soldiers Against 2000 Words], *Kultura*, 253 (October 1968), special Czechoslovakia issue, 13-19, p. 16. Londyńczyk ['Londoner', i.e. Juliusz Mieroszewski], 'Kronika angielska' [English Chronicle], *Kultura*, 12 (December 1960), 57-63 (p. 60), and Juliusz Mieroszewski, 'Technologiczne pojmowanie dziejów' [History Perceived Technologically], *Kultura*, 4 (April 1973), 73-83 (p. 82).

²⁷⁰ Andrzej Łuczaj, 'Zniewolony język' [*The Captive Language*], *Kultura*, 12 (1980), 100-106 (p. 106). See e.g. Jan Nowicki [Jakub Karpiński], 'Mówi Warszawa... (dok.)' [This Is Warsaw Speaking... (Conclusion)], *Kultura*, 10 (1972), 107-138, particularly section 3, 'Język i myślenie: George Orwell' [Language and Thinking: George Orwell] (pp. 126-133); *Kultura*, 12 (December 1979), cover headline: 'Trójgłos o nowo-mowie' [A Trio on Newspeak] comprising M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'Totalitarny język komunizmu' [Totalitarian Language of Communism], 91-99; Michał Heller, 'Język sowiecki a język rosyjski' [Soviet Language versus Russian Language], 99-103; and 'Język propagandy' [Propaganda Language], 103-106 (a review of an independent colloquium in Poland and its proceedings opened by a paper on 'Newspeak').

²⁷¹ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (London: Odnova, 1974), it would serve as a model for multiple clandestine editions, the publisher Odnova was owned by Jerzy Kulczycki; Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Paris: Instytut Literacki, '1953' [1972]) – a limited photographic reprint of the 1953 edition, and *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979) – an ordinary 22x13 cm edition and a miniature 12x8 cm edition.

²⁷² Zdzisław Broncel, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 12 January 1958, in Małgorzata Ptasieńska-Wójcik, 'W cieniu Października. Listy Jerzy Giedroyc-Zdzisław Broncel, styczeń 1958' [In the Shadow of the October], *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 155 (2006), 136-180 (p. 165).

²⁷³ M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'George Orwell', *Kultura*, 10 (October 1973), 3-26; Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski, introd. by Broński [Skalmowski] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979) and *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski, introd. by Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1983), an ordinary edition and a miniature impression (title page dated equally 1979 but the printing marked as of 4 July 1983).

²⁷⁴ Orwell, 'O wolności prasy' [*The Freedom of the Press*], trans. by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Kultura*, 5 (May 1973), 3-14, orig. publ. *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 September 1972, introd. by Bernard Crick.

²⁷⁵ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], 3 May [1974] (p. 24); see also Lebenstein's sketches (pp. 24-28); Jan Lebenstein, *La fattoria degli animali: omaggio a George Orwell*; title variants: *Animal Farm: To the Memory of George Orwell* and *République des animaux: hommage à George Orwell* (Pollenza, Italy: La Nuova Foglio, 1974), ten lithographs, 70 cm.

²⁷⁶ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], 3 May [1974] (p. 24).

²⁷⁷ Magdalena Szafkowska in 'Obrazy i gwasze Jana Lebensteina' [Paintings and Gouaches by Jan Lebenstein], *Poranek Dwójki*, Polskie Radio II <<https://www.polskieradio.pl/8/1874/Artykul/1088194,Obrazy-i-gwasze-Jana-Lebensteina>> [last modified 30 March 2014]; Mirosław Chojecki in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

²⁷⁸ E.g. Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 12 (December 1972), 9-22, 4 September [1972] (p. 11), see also 11 October (pp. 21-22); *Kultura*, 1-2 (January-February 1974), 45-53, 3 December [1973] (pp. 50-51); *Kultura*, 1-2 (1980), 17-34, 24 October [1979] (pp. 23-24); *Kultura*, 7-8 (1973), 17-29, 14 May [1973] (pp. 27-28); *Kultura*, 1-2 (January-February 1979), 37-50, End of September [1978] (pp. 47-48).

²⁷⁹ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 1-2 (1974), 3 December [1973] (pp. 50-51); *Kultura*, 7-8 (1973), 14 May [1973] (p. 28); Jan Kott, 'Witkiewicz albo realizm nieoczekiwany', *Wiadomości*, 3/10 August 1975, p. 1, translated: 'Witkiewicz, or the Dialectic of Anachronism', in Kott, *The Theater of Essence*, introd. by Martin Esslin (Evanston, Northwestern UP, 1984), pp. 61-83 (p. 78).

²⁸⁰ Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Wścieklizna lewicy' [Rabies of the Left], *Kultura*, 11 (November 1970), 13-16; refers to Mary McCarthy, 'The Writing on the Wall', *New York Review of Books*, 30 January 1969 <www.nybooks.com/articles/1969/01/30/the-writing-on-the-wall> [accessed 5 November 2019] or in Mary McCarthy, *The Writing on the Wall, and Other Literary Essays* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970); recollection: Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 3 (March 1993), 28-44, 19 November 1992 (p. 31).

²⁸¹ Broński [Skalmowski], 'George Orwell'. See Idesbald Goddeeris, 'Kultura and Belgium (1947-2000). With particular attention to Maciej Broński', in *For East Is East: Liber Amicorum Wojciech Skalmowski*, ed. by Tatjana Soldatjenkova and Emmanuel Waegemans (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 45-73 (p. 64).

²⁸² Broński [Skalmowski], introduction to Orwell, *Rok 1984* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979), p. 33 and p. 32.

²⁸³ Broński [Skalmowski], 'George Orwell' (p. 25; p. 6 and p. 7); Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'George Orwell jako krytyk literacki' [George Orwell as a Literary Critic], in Broński [Skalmowski], *Teksty i preteksty* [Texts and Pretexts] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1981), pp. 215-225 (p. 217-219).

²⁸⁴ Jeleńska, 'Wspomnienie' [A Memoir]; *Wiadomości*, March-April 1981, 'Silva rerum', p. 19.

²⁸⁵ Antoni Słonimski, interviewed by Andrzej Jagodziński [Adam Michnik], 'O Nowej Polsce' [About *Nowa Polska*], *Więź*, 6 (1974), 112-115 (p. 114).

²⁸⁶ Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature*, 2nd edn (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1983), p. 395; Kazimierz Wierzyński, 'Moralitet o czystej grze' [A Parable on Fair Play], in Wierzyński, *Czarny Polonez* [Black Polonaise] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1968), p. 14, see Appendix B for the entire poem.

²⁸⁷ E.g. for Zygmunt Bauman Orwell and Huxley were some of the most important vocalisers of pre-liquid times' fears of totalitarian dangers and thus regular references, see e.g. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), e.g. chapter 'Individuality', pp. 53-90, or *Society under Siege* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), p. 61; Kołakowski highly appreciated Orwell too, see Chapter 3; Bronisław Baczko would warmly and personally speak of Orwell in his entry on 'Utopia' in the Italian *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, vols. 1-20 (Torino: Einaudi 1977-1988).

- ²⁸⁸ *Aneks*, 6 (1974). For more on *Aneks*, see its archive 'Archiwum Aneksu' at <<https://aneks.kulturaliberalna.pl>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²⁸⁹ Labedz, 'Will George Orwell Survive 1984?'. See also Simon Leys [Pierre Ryckmans], *Orwell ou l'horreur de la politique* (Paris: Hermann, 1984) ; for more on Leys see e.g. Stephen Jessel, 'Pierre Ryckmans Obituary', *Guardian*, 28 August 2014 <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/28/pierre-ryckmans>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²⁹⁰ Leszek Kolakowski, 'Totalitarianism and the Virtue of the Lie', in *1984 Revisited*, ed. by Howe, and Leszek Kolakowski, 'Totalitarianism & the Lie', *Commentary*, 1 May 1983 (my emphasis). See also Podhoretz, 'If Orwell were Alive Today'.
- ²⁹¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Freedom* (Milton Keynes: Open UP, 1988), p. 6 (my emphasis).
- ²⁹² Jan Kott, 'The Serpent's Sting', in Kott, *The Theater*, pp. 189-206 (p. 203).
- ²⁹³ Hanna Świdorska, letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, 3 January 1984, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska H, vol. 2.
- ²⁹⁴ Correspondence of Hanna Świdorska with Jerzy Giedroyc between 3 January 1984 and e.g. 24 April 1985, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska vol. 2, particularly Świdorska's letter of 20 June 1984. See the exhibition catalogue: *The Works of George Orwell in the Languages of Eastern Europe: An Exhibition in the British Library, Great Russell Street, London WC1 (17 August-18 November 1984)*, 8 p., though the constantly incoming materials turned the catalogue outdated already at the moment of printing (see Świdorska, letter to Giedroyc, 16 July 1984, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska H, vol. 2).
- ²⁹⁵ Świdorska, letter to Giedroyc, 20 June 1984; Giedroyc, letter to Świdorska, 26 June 1984; Świdorska, letter to Giedroyc, 7 September 1984, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska H, vol. 2.
- ²⁹⁶ W. Figlewicz, 'Wystawa orwellowska w Londynie' [Orwell Exhibition in London], *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily (Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza)*, 19 October 1984, p. 6; A. Bobowski, *Puls* (London), 24 (1985), 153-154; Giedroyc, letter to Świdorska, 13 September 1984, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska H, vol. 2.
- ²⁹⁷ See e.g. Świdorska, letters to Giedroyc, 7 November 1984, 4 February 1985, and 24 April 1985, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdorska H, vol. 2.
- ²⁹⁸ Clandestine translation of 'As I Please' on the Warsaw rising: 'Powstanie i krytycy' [The Rising and Its Critics], in Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł: wybór esejów i felietonów [In Front of Your Nose: a Selection of Essays and Feature Articles]*, trans. and introd. by H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981), pp. 45-52; émigré translation: Orwell, 'Orwell nadal aktualny' [Orwell Still Timely], section 'Jak mi się podoba', trans. by Sławomir Mrożek, *Kultura*, 3 (1983), 48-52 (pp. 48-51) (there also fragment of 'Notes on Nationalism' on pacifism ('O pacyfizmie', trans. by Mrożek, pp. 51-52); Broński [Skalmowski], 'George Orwell' (p. 3, no. 1).
- ²⁹⁹ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 3 (March 1984), 14-24, 1 January 1984 (p. 14), 2-3 January [1984] (pp. 14-16); *Kultura*, 10 (October 1983), 28-34, 18 August [1983] (pp. 30-32).
- ³⁰⁰ Herling-Grudziński in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; the Smithsonian Institution (USA), Eighth International Symposium 'The Road After 1984: High Technology and Human Freedom', 7 December 1983; Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 3 (1984), 2-3 January [1984] (pp. 14-16); *L'Unità*, 18 December 1983.
- ³⁰¹ Simon Leys [Pierre Ryckmans], 'Orwell, czyli wstręt do polityki' [Orwell or Horror of Politics], abridged trans. by Maria Li of Leys [Ryckmans], *Orwell ou l'horreur...*, *Aneks*, 35 (1984), 53-70; Leszek Kołakowski, 'Totalitaryzm i zalety kłamstwa' authorised trans. by K. D., *Aneks*, 36 (1984), 97-110 (trans. of 'Totalitarianism...', in *1984 Revisited*, ed. by Howe); Ihor Ševčenko, 'Eschatologia Orwella' [Orwell's Eschatology], trans. by Stanisław Barańczak, *Aneks*, 36 (1984), 111-123 (as per *Aneks*: presentation at New England Slavic Association meeting, March 1984).
- ³⁰² Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'Przedmowa' [Preface], in Orwell, *Eseje [Essays]* (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 3-10 (p. 8). The collection includes reprints of 'Dlaczego piszę' [Why I Write], trans. by Anna Przestrzelska (essay), and Paweł J. Krasucki and Piotr Krasucki (poem), *Puls*, 11-12 (Spring-Summer 1981, published still clandestinely in Łódź), 87-91 (pp. 11-16); 'Zabicie słonia' [Shooting an Elephant], trans. by Elżbieta Jasińska, (official) *Więź*, 8 (August 1982), 111-116 (pp. 20-26); and of earlier translations in *Aneks*, 6 (1974): 'Uwagi o nacjonalizmie' [Notes on Nationalism], pp. 126-140; 'Gradualizm katastroficzny' [Catastrophic Gradualism], pp. 154-157; 'Refleksje nad Burnhamem' [Second Thoughts on James Burnham]; 'Ty i bomba atomowa' [You and the Atom Bomb]; 'Jak mi się podoba' [As I Please], 24 December 1943, pp. 90-92; 'Jak mi się podoba' [As I Please], 8 December 1944, pp. 111-113; 'Pisarze i Lewiatan' [Writers and Leviathan]; 'Zabójcy słowa' [Prevention of Literature], as well as new translations even of text meanwhile translated (e.g. in clandestine Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł [In Front of Your Nose]* (BHiL, 1981); *Arka*, 8 (1984), official *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984)): 'Przedmowa autora do ukraińskiego wydania *Folwarku zwierzęcego*' [Introduction to the Ukrainian edition of *Animal Farm*]; 'Artykuł wstępny w *Polemic*' [editorial in *Polemic* (3, May 1946)]; 'Jak mi się podoba' [As I Please] of 1 September 1944 [on Warsaw uprising, misdated as '1 IX 1947']; 'Przed samym nosem' [In Front of Your Nose]; 'Wieszanie' [A Hanging]; 'W brzuchu

wieloryba' [*Inside the Whale*]; 'Arthur Koestler'; 'Polityka a literatura. Rozważania nad *Podróżami Guliwera*' [*Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels*]; 'Wspomnienia z wojny hiszpańskiej' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], trans. by Stanisław Barańczak; and new translation of the following: 'Wspomnienia księgarskie' [*Bookshop Memories*]; 'Spanish Testament Arthura Koestlera' [review: *Spanish Testament by Arthur Koestler*]; 'Nowe słowa' [*New Words*]; 'Mein Kampf Adolfa Hitlera' [review: *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler]; 'Literatura a totalitaryzm' [*Literature and Totalitarianism*]; 'Niemasz sprawiedliwego' ['No, Not One'. *Review of No Such Liberty by Alex Comfort*] (misdated as *Adelphi*, October 1940 instead of October 1941); 'Pacyfizm a wojna' [Pacifism and the War]; 'Literatura a lewica' [*Literature and the Left*]; 'Kim są zbrodniarze wojenni?' [*Who are the War Criminals?*]; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 3 March 1944; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 14 July 1944; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 13 October 1944; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 17 November 1944; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 1 December 1944 (abridged); 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 12 January 1945; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 2 February 1945; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 3 January 1947; 'Jak mi się podoba' [*As I Please*], 24 January 1947; 'Antysemityzm w Wielkiej Brytanii' [*Antisemitism in Britain*]; 'Londyński list do *Partisan Review*' [*London Letter to Partisan Review* (5 June 1945)]; 'Gorzki smak zemsty' [*Revenge is Sour*]; 'Braterska atmosfera sportowa' [*The Sporting Spirit*]; 'My J. I. Zamiatina' [*Freedom and Happiness* (re Zamyatin's *We*)]; 'Wyznania recenzenta' [*Confessions of a Book Reviewer*]; 'Jak umierają biedni' [*How the Poor Die*]; 'Jak mi się podobało' [*As I Liked It*], 31 January 1947; 'Lear, Tołstoj i błazen' [*Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool*]; 'Takie to były radości' [*Such, Such Were the Joys*]; 'W obronie towarzysza Zilliacusa' [*In Defence of Comrade Zilliacus*]; 'Portret antysemity Jean-Paul Sartre'a' [review of 'Portrait of the Antisemite' by Jean-Paul Sartre]; 'Miejsce i znaczenie Conrada w literaturze angielskiej' [*The Place and Importance of Conrad in English Literature*] [*Wiadomości's* survey].

³⁰³ Broński [Skalmowski], 'G. O. jako krytyk' [G. O. as a Literary Critic], in Broński, *Teksty* [Texts] (p. 215).

³⁰⁴ See Orwell's biographical note under Mrożek's translations in *Kultura*, 3 (1983), 48-52 (p. 52); and Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 10 (October 1981), 30-45, 17 August [1981] (p. 37). See also Grudziński's earlier article on Orwell in the Polish Socialist Party organ in London: Herling-Grudziński, 'Orwell', *Lewy Nurt*, 2 (Winter 1967/68), 131-134.

³⁰⁵ Broński [Skalmowski], 'Przedmowa' [Preface] (p. 9).

³⁰⁶ Sławomir Mrożek, *Dziennik* [Diary], vol. 3, 1980-1989, trans. of fragm. from French by Magdalena Kamińska-Maurugeon, from English by Krzysztof Obłucki (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2013), 14 December 1982, p. 309; Broński [Skalmowski], 'Przedmowa' [Preface] (pp. 9-10).

³⁰⁷ Czesław Miłosz, *Nieobjęta ziemia* [*Unattainable Earth*] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1996), p. 77 (orig. publ.: Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1984).

³⁰⁸ P.M.K. [Paweł Kłoczowski], 'Orwell', *Zeszyty Literackie*, 9 (Winter 1985), 156-160; Irena Grudzińska-Gross, 'Spór o Orwella' [The Dispute over Orwell], *Zeszyty Literackie*, 10 (Spring 1985), 161-162; Jerzy Boniecki, '...jeszcze o Orwelle' [...Once More about Orwell], *Zeszyty Literackie*, 11 (Summer 1985), 160-161. See also P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 2-5.

³⁰⁹ Józef Podlaski [Krzysztof Dybciak], 'Przed i po 1984' [Before and after 1984], *Aneks*, 36 (1984), 124-137, and Leszek Nowak, 'Społeczeństwo orwellowskie' [An Orwellian Society], *Aneks*, 36 (1984), 138-152.

³¹⁰ 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; and 'Rok 1984 Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell], *Moim zdaniem* [In My Opinion], BBC Radio, Polish Section, 15 November 1984, hosted by Krzysztof Dorosz, with Leszek Kołakowski, Wojciech Karpiński and Aleksander Smolar <<https://www.polskieradio.pl/68/2461/Audio/288152,Rok-1984-Orwella>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

Chapter 2

¹ Based e.g. on Tomasz Strzyżewski, *Matrix czy prawda selektywna? Antycenzorskie retrospekcje* [Matrix or Selective Truth? Anti-Censorial Retrospections] (Wrocław: Wektory, 2006) and Tomasz Strzyżewski, *Wielka księga cenzury PRL w dokumentach* [The Great Book of the Censorship of People's Poland in Documents] (Warsaw: Prohibita, 2015).

² *Księga zapisów i zaleceń GUKPPIW* [Book of Rules and Regulations of the Main Office for the Control of the Press Publications and Performances]. A selection of these documents was first published as *Czarna księga cenzury PRL* [The Black Book of People's Poland's Censorship], vols 1-2 (London: Aneks, 1977) and partially reissued underground ([Warsaw]: NOWa, 1981; Wrocław: NZS UWr, 1981). Excerpts appeared in English as *Black Book of Polish Censorship*, trans. by Aleksandar Niczow (South Bend: And Books, 1982) and in English translation in the symbolic year as *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*, trans. and ed. by Jane Leftwich

Curry (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), reviewed e.g. by Stanisław Barańczak, 'Big Brother's Red Pencil', *New Republic*, 2 April 1984, pp. 33-35 (reprinted in Stanisław Barańczak, *Breathing Under Water and Other East European Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1990). Complete version: Strzyżewski, *Wielka księga* [The Great Book].

³ Decree of the Council of Ministers of 5 July 1946 on the creation of the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Performances (*Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk*), *Dziennik Ustaw* [Polish Journal of Laws], 1946, No. 34, item 210 <<http://dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/1946/s/34/210>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁴ The Press and Information Department at the Stalin-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots, see e.g. *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy: 1945-1949* [The Main Office for the Control of the Press: 1945-1949], ed. by Daria Nałęcz (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 1994), p. 6.

⁵ Decree of 5 July 1946, *Dz.U.*, 1946, No. 34, item 210, art. 2(2).

⁶ Decree of the Council of Ministers of 13 June 1946 on Offences Particularly Dangerous during the State's Restoration, *Dziennik Ustaw* [Polish Journal of Laws], 12 July 1946, No. 30, item 192, arts 23-24.

⁷ E.g. Decree of the Prime Minister of 9 May 1949 on the organisation and powers of the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Performances and Subordinate Offices, *Dziennik Ustaw* [Journal of Laws], 1949, No. 32, item 241; the decree of 22 April 1952 on a partial amendment of the decree of 5 July 1946 among others introduced penalties for evading the control (*Dziennik Ustaw*, 1952, No. 19, item 114, art. 6(a)); other regulations had also an important bearing on censorship, particularly the penal code. The new law on censorship: Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and performances, *Dziennik Ustaw* [Journal of Laws], 1981, No. 20, item 99.

⁸ Leszek Kołakowski, 'Tezy o nadziei i beznadziejności' [Theses on Hope and Hopelessness], *Kultura*, 6 (1971), 3-21 (p. 9, p. 16).

⁹ My emphasis. AAN, KC PZPR (Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party) in Warsaw, XI (Secretariat's Chancellery) / 1008, file 2, fols 1-5 (fol. 2), Artur Starewicz, 'Notatka w sprawie projektu ustawy o prawach i obowiązkach prasy' [A Note Regarding the Draft Bill on the Rights and Obligations of the Press], 1 August 1968.

¹⁰ For more information on legal aspects of communist censorship in Poland, see e.g. Tomasz Mielczarek, 'Uwarunkowania prawne funkcjonowania cenzury w PRL' [*Censorship in People's Republic of Poland (PRP)*], *Rocznik Prasoznawczy* (Annual Volumes of Media), 4 (2010), 29-49 (p. 33).

¹¹ See e.g. Christopher Hollis suggesting Orwell's concern with a declining individual authorship when he writes how Orwell 'complained' about "the extent to which publishers will try by suggestion to rewrite the author's manuscript in the publisher's office and the extent to which the author accepts such suggestions". Hollis thought "arguable that the cumulative effect of them has been to make books increasingly like one another", that "the author today is of less importance to the book than he used to be in the past" and that this could have been a step "taken in the direction of the total elimination of the author", as envisioned in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. See Christopher Hollis, *A Study of George Orwell* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1958), pp. 170-171; see Marta Fik, 'Cenzor jako współautor' [The Censor as a Co-Author], in *Literatura i władza* [Literature and the Authorities], ed. by Bożena Wojnowska (Warsaw: IBL, 1996), pp. 131-147; see Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', *Aspen*, 5-6 (1967) <<http://www.ubu.com/aspens/aspens5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹² Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1941), in *CWGO*, XII: 1940-1941, pp. 391-434 (p. 397).

¹³ E.g. Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*.

¹⁴ E.g. in 1946 circulation permit was officially withdrawn from *Wiadomości* and *Polish Daily & Soldiers Daily* among others, in 1950 from *Kultura* (see Zarządzenie Dyrektora Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk z dnia 8 listopada 1946 r. o odebraniu debitu komunikacyjnego, *Monitor Polski* [Polish Gazette], No. 128, item 236; and Zarządzenie Naczelnego Dyrektora GUKPPIW z dnia 3 lipca 1950 r. o pozbawieniu debitu komunikacyjnego, *Monitor Polski*, 1950, No. 79, item 920).

¹⁵ See e.g. *Cenzura PRL. Wykaz książek podlegających niezwłocznemu wycofaniu 1 X 1951 r.* [Censorship of People's Poland. List of Books Subject to Immediate Withdrawal 1 October 1951], ed. and afterword by Zbigniew Żmigrodzki (Wrocław: Nortom, 2002); Stanisław Adam Kondek, *Papierowa rewolucja: oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948-1955* [Paper Revolution: The Official Book Circulation in Poland during 1948-1955] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1999), particularly pp. 166-168; Dorota Degen "'...szkodliwe, zdezaktualizowane i bezwartościowe...". Zarys działalności Komisji Oceny Wycofywanych Wydawnictw (1954-1956)' ['...harmful, outdated and worthless'. An Outline of Operation of the Commission for the Evaluation of Publications Subject to Withdrawal (1954-1956)] and Małgorzata Korczyńska-Derkacz, 'Książki szkodliwe politycznie, czyli akcja "oczyszczania" księgozbiorów bibliotek szkolnych, pedagogicznych i publicznych w latach 1947-1956' [Books Politically Harmful, i.e. the Action of 'Cleansing' School, Pedagogical

and Public Library Collections during 1947-1956], in *Niewygodne dla władzy. Ograniczanie wolności słowa na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX w.* [Uncomfortable for the Authorities. Limiting the Freedom of the Word on Polish Territories in the 19th and 20th Centuries], ed. by Dorota Degen and Jacek Gzella (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2010), pp. 323-334 and pp. 335-356.

¹⁶ Franz Kafka, 'Before the Law', in Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Literature*, ed. by Derek Attridge (New York; London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 183-184 (p. 183).

¹⁷ Strzyżewski, *Matrix* [Matrix], p. 156, pp. 158-159.

¹⁸ Orwell, letter to Sergei Dinamov (editor of *Internationalnaya literatura* [International Literature], Moscow), 2 July 1937, in *The Lost Orwell*, pp. 99-100 (p. 100), or Blyum (p. 404). The letter, found in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, is kept in a file with a notable heading: 'Letter of Orwell George to Dinamov Sergei in English together with a copy of the letter of the editors of the journal *International Literature* to the Foreign Section of the NKVD concerning George Orwell's membership of a trotskyst organization and the cessation of relations with him. 2-28 July 1937. 5 pages' (Blyum, pp. 403-404).

¹⁹ Blyum (pp. 404-405); Sergei Dinamov, letter to Orwell, 25 August 1937, in Crick, *Orwell: A Life*, p. 231.

²⁰ Igor Shaytanov, email correspondence, 1 November 2011.

²¹ AAN, GUKPPIW, 1273, fols 40-45, *Informacje Instrukcyjne* [Instructional Information] (censorship's internal magazine), 9 (1977), 'Sylwetka George'a Orwella – pisarza antykomunistycznego' [Profile of George Orwell – An Anti-Communist Writer]; AAN, GUKPPIW, 2278, fol. 132 (Orwell entry in censors' index); quoted in Maria Kotowska-Kachel, 'Tomasz Mirkowicz, tłumacz Roku 1984 George'a Orwella, i jego opowiadanie pt. "Tunel"' [Tomasz Mirkowicz, Translator of 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' and His Short Story 'The Tunnel'], in *1984: Literatura i kultura* [1984: Literature and Culture], pp. 31-43 (pp. 34-35).

²² AAN, GUKPPIW, 1273, fols 40-45 (fol. 42), 'Sylwetka' [Profile], quoted in Kotowska-Kachel (p. 35).

²³ See Blyum (pp. 407-409).

²⁴ Orwell, 'Rozkwit i zmierzch angielskiej powieści kryminalnej' [*Decline of the English Murder*], trans. by J. Bułakowska, *Odra* (Katowice-Wrocław-Szczecin), 26 May 1946, pp. 4-5. Notable is the speedy translation of this essay published in London just months earlier: *Tribune*, 15 February 1946.

²⁵ Benjamin Lewinski, 'Mémoires et témoignages. Cinquante ans d'erreurs, un demi-siècle d'horreurs (1936-1986)' [Memories and Testimonies. Fifty Years of Errors, Half a Century of Horrors], part 1, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 5 (1986), pp. 47-52 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/mat.1986.401408>>.

²⁶ Translation of Virginia Woolf's 'The Patron and the Crocus' in *Odra*, 1945, see *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe*, ed. by Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst (London: A&C Black, 2008), p. xxiii.

²⁷ Derek Kartun, 'Literatura kapitalistyczna w oparach zgnilizny (Korespondencja własna z Londynu)' [Capitalist Literature in the Vapours of Rottenness (Own Correspondence from London)], *Kurier Szczeciński*, 1 May 1951, p. 2.

²⁸ Reymont, *Bunt* [Rebellion]. See e.g. Dariusz Gawin, *Polska, wieczny romans: o związkach literatury i polityki w XX wieku* [Poland, an Eternal Affair: About the Relationships of Literature and Politics in the 20th Century] (Kraków: Dante, 2005), 2nd edn.

²⁹ Anthony Powell in 'Pisarze o pisarzach (II)' [Writers about Writers], *Głos Anglii* [Voice of England], 12 February 1949, p. 8. The collection of 'Material for inclusion in *Głos Anglii* published in Krakow' held at The National Archives in Kew (FO 953/560) might hold some more information about Powell's contribution.

³⁰ AAN, GUKPPIW, I/421, file 197/3, fol. 42, Minutes of a meeting with directors of regional censorship offices (WUKPPIW), Warsaw, 4-5 June 1948, in Budrowska, p. 31. Director of GUKPPIW, Antoni Bida, see AAN, GUKPPIW, I/421, file 197/4, fol. 54, Minutes of a meeting with directors of regional censorship offices, Warsaw, 26-28 June 1949, in Budrowska, pp. 31-32.

³¹ AAN, GUKPPIW, 174, 32/50, 'Dokumentacja książek (recenzje) Wydawnictwa od lit. R i różne, rok 1948' [Book Documentation (Reviews) Publishers from Letter R and Miscellanea, Year 1948], review of *Animal Farm* dated 14 August 1948, signed by Rafałowski. I thank Patrycja Krasoń of AAN for this document.

³² Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42.

³³ E.g. Włodzimierz Sokorski, 'Szkołnictwo artystyczne' [Art Education], *Sztuka w walce o socjalizm* [Art in the Struggle for Socialism] (Kraków: PIW, 1950) (essay dated November 1949), pp. 178-193 (p. 185).

³⁴ Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42.

³⁵ Published as Tadeusz Borowski, 'Problemy satyry politycznej. Tezy do dyskusji' [Problems of Political Satire. Theses for Discussion], *Nowa Kultura*, 26 January 1951, pp. 3-4.

³⁶ *bd*, 'Literatura śmierci i rozkładu' [Literature of Death and Decay], *Słowo Ludu*, 31 March 1951, p. 6; published also at least in *Nowiny Rzeszowskie*, 9 April 1951, and *Sprawy i Ludzie*, 14 April 1951, p. 4.

³⁷ Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language' (p. 261).

³⁸ By that time *Animal Farm* and various essays had been translated abroad retaining the author's original penname 'George' rather than use its Polish equivalent 'Jerzy'; phonetic graphy 'Dżordż' resembling the

Russian transliteration 'Джордж' has not been encountered in Polish sources save for a humorous purpose (see note 243 in chapter 3).

³⁹ See e.g. Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Secker & Warburg., 1969), p. 181, as he pondered on some fabrications in a 'malignant' book about British intellectuals published in the USSR.

⁴⁰ E.g. Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42.

⁴¹ Sokorski, 'Szkolnictwo artystyczne' [Art Education] (p. 185), or Włodzimierz Sokorski, 'Problemas del Realismo Socialista' [Problems of Socialist Realism], *Nuestro Tiempo: revista española de cultura*, 2nd ser., 4.5 (January-February 1952), 79-90 (p. 83, p. 84) <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcwm380>> [access 23 November 2018].

⁴² Sokorski, 'Szkolnictwo artystyczne' [Art Education] (p. 185), emphases added in adulterated places. Orwell's original reads: 'Not merely the love of one person but the animal instinct, the simple undifferentiated desire: that was the force that would tear the Party to pieces'. See Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 144.

⁴³ See e.g. the normative monthly for the bloc *Soviet Literature* (*Literatura Radziecka*) issued in a few languages. See e.g. L. Jakowlew, 'Literatura marazmu' [Marasm Literature], *Literatura Radziecka*, 6 (June 1950), 161-167, calling up Orwell out of the blue in an article on Henry Miller: 'Miller can easily enter contest with such pillars of cosmopolitan decadency as traitors of France Sartre and Camus or traitors of the English nation Huxley or Orwell' (p. 162).

⁴⁴ AAN, GUKPPIW, 174, 32/50, 'Dokumentacja' [Book Documentation], review of 14 August 1948.

⁴⁵ Sokorski, 'Problemas' [Problems] (p. 84).

⁴⁶ AAN, GUKPPIW, 174, 32/50, 'Dokumentacja' [Book Documentation], review of 14 August 1948; Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42; Kotakowski in 'Rok 1984 Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell], BBC.

⁴⁷ Budrecki, 'Milczenie' [Silence]. See also chapter 1 and Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 1 September 1954, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 5.

⁴⁸ Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Adam Ważyk, 'Poemat dla Dorosłych' [A Poem for Adults], *Nowa Kultura*, 21 August 1955.

⁵⁰ Ilya Ehrenburg, *Оттепель* [Ottepel; The Thaw] (1954).

⁵¹ Jan Szelaż [Zbigniew Mitzner], 'Nasza kronika' [Our Chronicle], *Świat*, 29 January 1956.

⁵² Paweł Jasienica, 'Obrachunki. W sprawie Conrada' [Reckonings. A propos Conrad], *Przegląd Kulturalny*, 15-21 March 1956.

⁵³ See e.g. Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 22 March 1956, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 7.

⁵⁴ Paweł Jasienica, 'Obrachunki. Czyżby księga święta' [Reckonings. Is It the Holy Book], *Przegląd Kulturalny*, 26 April 1956, p. 5; Giedroyc, letter to Mieroszewski, 2 May 1956, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Mieroszewski, vol. 7.

⁵⁵ Karol Małcużyński, 'Rok 1984 – i rok 1956' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* – and *Nineteen Fifty-Six*], *Trybuna Ludu*, 21 May 1956, p. 6. It was noted e.g. in *Kultura*, see a.n. 'Przegląd czasopism' [Magazines' Review], *Kultura*, 7-8 (July-August 1956), 221-225.

⁵⁶ Krzysztof Wolicki, 'Karola Małcużyńskiego łatwe nad Orwellem zwycięstwo' [Karol Małcużyński's Easy Victory over Orwell], *Po prostu*, 24 (June 1956), 6.

⁵⁷ Notably, the sentence denouncing the other author's weakness before propaganda and the censor itself misses a word or a few, which might be a simple oversight, but could well stem from a censor's cut.

⁵⁸ Jerzy Lisowski, 'Kilka cierpkich uwag' [A Few Acrid Remarks], *Nowa Kultura*, 4 July 1954, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Circulation as of 1957 according to Leszek Szaruga [Aleksander Wirpsza], *Co czytamy: prasa kulturalna 1945-1995* [What Are We Reading?: Cultural Press 1945-1995] (Lublin: UMCS, 1999). Mielczarek indicates a print run of 150,000 around 1956, see Tomasz Mielczarek, 'Czasopisma społeczno-kulturalne i społeczno-polityczne w okresie Polski Ludowej (1945-1989)' [*Socio-Cultural and Socio-Political Periodicals in Poland Under the Communist Regime (1945-1989)*], *Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 5.1 (2002), 149-181 (p. 162).

⁶⁰ E.g. Piotr Mitzner, 'Mój ojciec – konspirator' [My Father – A Conspirator], *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 125 (1998), 17-66; Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki 1914-1965* [Diaries 1914-1965], vol. 13, 1962-1965, ed. by Wanda Starska-Żakowska (Warsaw: PAN, 2009), 19 April 1964, pp. 184-185.

⁶¹ Jan Szelaż [Zbigniew Mitzner], 'Komedia pomyłek' [Comedy of Errors], *Biuletyn Rozgłośni 'Kraj'* [Bulletin of Radio 'Kraj'], 23 September 1956, pp. 6-7, originally broadcast on Radio 'Kraj' on 11 September 1956. See also Jan Szelaż [Zbigniew Mitzner], 'Nasza kronika' [Our Chronicle], *Świat*, 23 September 1956; Jan Szelaż [Zbigniew Mitzner], 'Do redaktora *Życia*: Żale autora' [To the Editor of *Życie* [Warszawy]: Author's Grudges], *Życie Warszawy*, 22 September 1956, p. 4; and Zygmunt Szymański, 'Między emigracją i krajem' [Between Émigrés and Poland], *Życie Warszawy*, 19 September 1956, p. 3.

⁶² As per her son's letter, see chapter 1 and Jeleński, letter to Iwaszkiewicz, 17 September 1956, p. 27.

⁶³ Londyńczyk [Mieroszewski], 'Kronika angielska' [English Chronicle], *Kultura*, 11 (November 1956), 100-106 (p. 102).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Zygmunt Kałużyński, 'Makulatura wielkiego konfliktu I' [Pulp Literature of the Great Conflict I], *Nowa Kultura*, 7 October 1956, p. 1 and Zygmunt Kałużyński, 'Makulatura wielkiego konfliktu II' [Pulp Literature of the Great Conflict II], *Nowa Kultura*, 14 October 1956, p. 3, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Kałużyński, 'Makulatura... I' [Pulp Literature... I].

⁶⁷ Kałużyński, 'Makulatura... II' [Pulp Literature... II] (p. 3).

⁶⁸ Kałużyński, 'Makulatura... I' [Pulp Literature... I].

⁶⁹ Leopold Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954* [Diary 1954] (Warsaw: MG, 2009), p. 47.

⁷⁰ E.g. 'newspeak' at times becomes 'nowo-mowa' and at others 'nowo-mów', 'war is peace' 'wojna jest pokojem' but also 'pokój jest wojną', i.e. 'peace is war', 'good-think' is sometimes misspelt as 'good-thing', 'Ing-soc' as 'Ing-coc', among other inconsistencies. While this might not affect the meaning and understanding, it renders these terms fuzzy and less memorable.

⁷¹ E.g. Tomasz Chrzęstek, 'Ilościowa analiza zawartości prasy na przykładzie tygodnika społeczno-kulturalnego *Nowa Kultura*' [A Quantitative Content Analysis of the Press on the Example of the Social-Cultural Weekly *Nowa Kultura*], *Studia Bibliologiczne Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego*, 11 (2008), 127-142 (pp. 134-135; p. 130).

⁷² See Budrecki, 'Milczenie' [Silence].

⁷³ Zygmunt Kałużyński, 'Horror polityczny XX wieku: Druga Zimna Wojna (II)' [Political Horror of the 20th Century: Second Cold War (II)], *Polityka*, 5 June 1982, pp. 1, 8-12.

⁷⁴ Andrzej Kuśniewicz, 'Makulatura, historia czy ostrzeżenie' [Pulp Literature, History or a Warning], *Biuletyn Rozgłośni 'Kraj'* [Bulletin of Radio 'Kraj'], 9 December 1956, p. 12.

⁷⁵ Kazimierz Dziewanowski and Andrzej Mularczyk, 'Wielki konflikt i... makulatura' [A Great Conflict and... Pulp Literature], *Świat*, 18 November 1956, pp. 20-21.

⁷⁶ Kuśniewicz, 'Makulatura' [Pulp Literature].

⁷⁷ Budrowska, p. 59

⁷⁸ AAN, GUKPPIW, 490, 38/30, fol. 21. 'Sprawozdanie z kontroli prewencyjnej Nr. 3' [Report from Preventive Control No. 3] of the regional censorship office (WUKPPIW) in Poznań, 2 January 1957. It refers to a suppressed article 'Pranie mózgu' [Brainwashing], trans. by P. Guzy, intended for *Tygodnik Zachodni*, 22 December 1956, unpublished there or in following issues consulted. I thank Patrycja Krasoń from AAN for sharing this censorial file with me.

⁷⁹ Aleksander Ziemny, 'Świat przy Nowym Świecie' [Magazine Świat at Nowy Świat Street], *Rzeczpospolita Plus Minus*, 14 January 2006.

⁸⁰ Kałużyński, 'Makulatura... I' [Pulp Literature... I].

⁸¹ MK [Marcin Król], 'Nowe pytania, stare odpowiedzi' [New Questions, Old Answers], *Res Publica*, 8 (1981), 1-13 (p. 8).

⁸² Marian Promiński, 'Hiszpania – oczami Nelsona i Orwella' [Spain – through Nelson's and Orwell's Eyes], *Życie Literackie* (Kraków, Katowice), 24 February 1957, pp. 4-5; refers to Steve Nelson, *The Volunteers*, and Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*.

⁸³ Zygmunt Lichniak, *Raptularz literacki* [Literary Diary], il. by Krystyna Maślanka (Warsaw: Pax, 1957), pp. 29-30.

⁸⁴ George Chandos Bidwell, *Pół wieku literatury angielskiej (1900-1950)* [Half a Century of English Literature (1900-1950)] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957). See also Bidwell's autobiography: George Chandos Bidwell, *Wybrałem Polskę* [I Chose Poland], trans. from English manuscript by Anna Bidwell (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1950).

⁸⁵ As per book's imprint: 2 January 1957.

⁸⁶ Bidwell, *Pół wieku* [Half a Century], pp. 228-229, p. 209.

⁸⁷ Bidwell, *Pół wieku* [Half a Century], pp. 224-232.

⁸⁸ See e.g. Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language'.

⁸⁹ As per book's imprint.

⁹⁰ Isaac Deutscher, 'Rok 1984 – czyli mistycyzm okrucieństwa' [orig. publ. '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty'], *Zeszyty Teoretyczno-Polityczne*, 3-4 (March-April 1957), 232-241.

⁹¹ See e.g. the history of another Deutscher's publication soon thwarted first intended by *Polityka* and then the above journal as recalled by Deutscher's wife in the early 1980s: Tamara Deutscher, 'Introduction' to Isaac Deutscher, 'The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party', *Socialist Register*, 19 (1982), 125-127.

⁹² Relates to Marek Hłasko, see Skiz [Zbigniew Wasilewski], 'Primadonna jednego tygodnia' [A One-Week Primadonna], *Trybuna Ludu*, 5 April 1958.

⁹³ Michał Komar, 'Uwaga na jajogłowych' [Beware of Eggheads], *Współczesność*, 11-24 September 1968, p. 1, p. 11. See also a polemic to it: Andrzej Kojder, 'Korespondencja: Uwaga na jajogłowych' [Correspondence: Beware of Eggheads], *Współczesność*, 25 September-8 October 1968, p. 11.

- ⁹⁴ Słonimski, interviewed by Jagodziński [Michnik], 'O Nowej Polsce' [About Nowa Polska].
- ⁹⁵ Komar, 'Uwaga na jajogłowych' [Beware of Eggheads]; Kojder, 'Korespondencja' [Correspondence], see reference in *PBL* for 1968 (Warsaw: PWN, 1971), p. 411, item 5662.
- ⁹⁶ Wojciech Nosek of the Ideological-Pedagogical Work Department (Wydział Pracy Ideowo-Wychowawczej), Warsaw 1977, 'Omówienie treści i wymowy tekstów antysocjalistycznych, oprac. na podstawie materiału przygotowanego przez IBWPK' [Description of Contents and Tenor of Anti-Socialist Texts Elaborated on the Basis of Material Prepared by the Contemporary Problems of Capitalism Research Institute], in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce w świetle akt KC PZPR 1976-1980: wybór dokumentów* [Democratic Opposition in Poland in the Light of the Party's Central Committee Files 1976-1980: Document Selection], selected, introd. and ed. by Łukasz Kamiński and Paweł Piotrowski, preface by Wojciech Wrzesiński (Wrocław: Gajt, 2002), p. 50.
- ⁹⁷ AAN, GUKPPIW, 1273, fol. 45, fol. 49; AAN, GUKPPIW, 2278, fol. 132, quoted in Kotowska-Kachel (pp. 34-35). The inclusion was spurred by censoring a tricky translation, Julij Kagarlicki, *Co to jest fantastyka naukowa* [What Is Science-Fiction], trans. from Russian by Krzysztof W. Malinowski (Warsaw: Iskry, 1977), see Kotowska-Kachel (p. 34).
- ⁹⁸ AAN, KC PZPR, XI/994, file 7, fols 308-353 (e.g. fols 325, 346, 347), 'Charakterystyka zwartych wydawnictw bezdebitowych kolportowanych w 1985 r. w Polsce' [Characteristic of Unlicensed Non-Serial Publications Distributed in 1985 in Poland] by Zespół Analiz MSW, 12 December 1985.
- ⁹⁹ AAN, GUKPPIW, 956, file 127/1, fol. 68, 'Wytyczne postępowania przy weryfikacji książek na XVI Międzynarodowych Targach Książki w 1971 r.' [Procedure Guidelines on Book Verification for the 16th International Book Fair in 1971]. I thank Patrycja Krasoń of AAN for this document.
- ¹⁰⁰ See AAN, KC PZPR, XI/1012, fol. 86, 'Materiał informacyjny' [Information Material] by Ośrodek Badania Stosunków Wschód-Zachód, 'Kultura Paryska. Ocena numeru 5/308, maj 1973 r.' [Parisian *Kultura*, Review of Issue 5/1973, May 1973], 4 June 1973. Refers to Orwell, 'O wolności prasy' [Freedom of the Press].
- ¹⁰¹ AAN, GUKPPIW, file 1335 (229/14), fol. 56, quoted in Wiktor Henryk Gardocki, 'Cenzura wobec literatury polskiej w latach osiemdziesiątych XX wieku' [Censorship Versus Polish Literature in the Nineteen Eighties of the 20th Century] (doctoral dissertation, University of Białystok, 2017), pp. 117-118 <http://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/5655/1/W_Gardocki_%20Cenzura_wobec_literatury_polskiej_%20w_latach_osiemdziesiatych.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See also Andrei Amalrik famous essay: *Will the Soviet Union survive until 1984?*, introd. by Henry Kamm and Sidney Monas (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).
- ¹⁰² See e.g. Labeledz, 'Will George Orwell Survive 1984?', in Labeledz, *The Use and Abuse* (p. 174).
- ¹⁰³ AAN, KC PZPR, Department of Culture, LVI-1822, file 31 B, Międzynarodowe Targi Książki (International Book Fair) 1981, 1982, 'Sprawozdanie z weryfikacji eksponatów na XXVI Międzynarodowych Targach Książki 1981 r. [Report on Exhibit Verification at the 26th International Book Fair 1981], 21 May 1981, pp. 1-2, and Annex 1, 'Wykaz książek zdjętych z wystawy XXVI MTK 1981 r.' [List of Books Withdrawn from the 26th International Book Fair Exhibition 1981], p. 2, items 23-24.
- ¹⁰⁴ AAN, KC PZPR, Department of Culture, LVI-1823, file 37 B, XXVII Międzynarodowe Targi Książki (27th International Book Fair), 1982, e.g. 'Sprawozdanie z weryfikacji eksponatów na XXVII Międzynarodowych Targach Książki 1982 r. [Report on Exhibit Verification at the 27th International Book Fair 1982], 20 May 1982, p. 2, and Annex 1, 'Wykaz książek zdjętych z wystawy XXVII MTK 1982 r.' [List of Books Withdrawn from the 27th International Book Fair Exhibition 1982], p. 2, item 15. See also there 'Notatka o przebiegu i wynikach XXVII Międzynarodowych Targów Książki w Warszawie' [A Note on the Course and Results of the 27th International Book Fair in Warsaw], 28 May 1982, pp. 2-3, point 6.
- ¹⁰⁵ AAN, KC PZPR, Department of Culture, LVI-860, file 102 B, Główny Urząd Kontroli Prawy Publikacji i Wydawnictw, 'Sprawozdanie z weryfikacji wystawy XXIX MTK w Warszawie: maj 1984' [Report on the Verification of the 29th International Book Fair Exhibition in Warsaw: May 1984], p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ KC PZPR, Department of Culture, LVI-860, file 102 B, Główny Urząd Kontroli Prawy Publikacji i Wydawnictw, 'Sprawozdanie [...] 1984' [Report [...] 1984], Annex 1, 'Wykaz publikacji zachodnich nie dopuszczonych do ekspozycji na XXIX MTK w Warszawie: maj 1984' [List of Western Books Prevented from Exhibition at the 29th International Book Fair in Warsaw: May 1984], p. 1, items 1-2, p. 2, item 14, p. 3, item 18.
- ¹⁰⁷ AAN, KC PZPR, Department of Culture, LVI-860, file 102 B, 'Sprawozdanie [...] 1984' [Report [...] 1984], p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁸ Russian émigré editions: Orwell, *Skotskij hutór* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Maria Kriger and Gleb Struve (Frankfurt am Main: Posev, 1971); *Pamjati Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*] (Paris: Editions de la Seine, post-1949). Clandestine publications of *Animal Farm*: e.g. at least five copies by [Warsaw]: Zbliżenia, [1981] or by Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981, purchased or donated the same year, among others; of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: e.g. at least four copies of Warsaw: Głos, December 1980 purchased the following

year or five copies by Kraków: ABC, 1981, among others, purchased the same year; *Eseje* [Essays] by [Warsaw]: Odnowa, [1981] and Poznań: Głosy, 1981 – at least five copies of each in 1981. Martial law period publications, e.g. four copies of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Warsaw: Krag, 1982), at least three purchased the same year; essay collection Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [*In Front of Your Nose*] (BHiL, 1981), at least three copies purchased in 1982.

¹⁰⁹ *Animal Farm*: e.g. English (London: Longman, 1959) purchased in 1960 and 1967, French *La république des animaux* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964) donated in 1967, Russian *Skotskij hutor* (Frankfurt am Main: Posev, c. 1966) gained via exchange in 1968 and another (Frankfurt am Main: Posev 1971) in 1972, and German *Farm der Tiere* (Zurich: Diogenes, 1974) donated in 1978. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: e.g. Russian *Tysjača devjat'sot vosemdesjat četyre* (n.p., post-1961) exchange in 1968 and (Rome, c.1969) in 1971. *Homage to Catalonia*: French *La Catalogne libre (1936-1937)*, trans. by Yvonne Davet (Paris: Gallimard, 1955) purchase in 1962, Russian *Pamjati Katalonii* (Paris: Editions de la Seine, post-1950), exchange in 1971. *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1959), purchased in 1960 and (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), donated by the British Council the same year.

¹¹⁰ Orwell, *The Orwell Reader. Fiction, Essays and Reportage*, introd. and ed. by Richard H. Rovere (New York: Harcourt, Brace, [1956]); Orwell, *Collected Essays* (London: Mercury, 1961).

¹¹¹ *Ten Contemporary Thinkers*, ed. by Victor Earl Amend and Leo Thomas Hendrick (Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), it contained Orwell's: 'Shooting an Elephant', 'Politics and the English Language', 'The Re-writing of History', 'The Principles of Newspeak'.

¹¹² Rees, *Fugitive*; B. T. Oxley, *George Orwell* (New York: Arco, 1969); John Atkins, *George Orwell. A Literary Study* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1971); Bernard Crick, *George Orwell: A Life* (Secker & Warburg, 1981).

¹¹³ Peter Quennell, *A History of English Literature* (London: Weinfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 468.

¹¹⁴ William Wallace Robson, *Modern English Literature* (London: Oxford UP, 1970), p. 6 and pp. 149-151. See also Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*, trans. by Gregory Zilboorg (New York: Dutton, 1924), an anti-utopia recommended to Orwell by a Russian émigré Gleb Struve and reviewed by him before his *Nineteen Eighty-Four* took physical existence; it portrays a strictly regulated society living in glass houses and using numbers, not names, ruled by a perpetually reelected Benefactor.

¹¹⁵ Robert Langbaum, *The Modern Spirit: Essays on the Continuity of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Literature* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), p. 50 (my highlight).

¹¹⁶ *The Twentieth-Century Mind. History, Ideas and Literature in Britain*, ed. by C. B. Cox and A. E. Dyson (London: Oxford UP, 1972), p. ix and there: John Lovell, 'History: Economic and Social', pp. 26-56 (p. 46).

¹¹⁷ Eagleton, *Exiles and Émigrés* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972); Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), here quotes from (London etc.: Bodley Head, 1976), pp. 601-602 and p. 376.

¹¹⁸ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, compil. and ed. by Harvey Paul, rev. by Dorothy Eagle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 4 edn, here quotes from the 1973 reprint with corrections, pp. 601-602, p. 29, p. 580; *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*, ed. by Paul Harvey, 2 edn rev by Dorothy Eagle (London, etc.: Oxford UP, 1970), donation to the library recorded as of 1971; R. C. Churchill, 'The comedy of Ideas: Cross-Currents in the Fiction and Drama of the Twentieth Century', in *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, vol. 7, *The Modern Age*, ed. by Boris Ford ([Harmondsworth]: Penguin, 1967 [such date given in the catalogue]), here quote from 1964, 2nd rev. edn, pp. 221-230 (p. 228).

¹¹⁹ E.g. different editions of *Animal Farm* e.g. Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Wrocław, Katowice, Zielona Góra, Szczecin, some more than one copy; in English in Lublin, Łódź, Konin, Szczecin, in French in Wrocław, in Russian in Gdańsk; *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Polish e.g. in Toruń, Wrocław, in English in e.g. Poznań, Silesian University English Library, Lublin, Szczecin, Toruń, in Russian in Łódź; *Homage to Catalonia* held e.g. in Russian in Lublin Catholic University Library, in French in Lublin, in English in Łódź, Katowice, Zielona Góra; *The Orwell Reader* held e.g. in Poznań, Łódź, or Toruń; *Collected Essays* (London: Mercury, 1961) held in at least nine different libraries and six cities; other collections of essays in Warsaw, Kraków, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Katowice; various *CEJL* volumes aside from Warsaw and Kraków, held in Łódź; among other works.

¹²⁰ E.g. Anna Gabłońska, 'Czasopisma drugiego obiegu w zbiorach BU KUL' [Second Circulation Press in the Collections of the Catholic University of Lublin Library], 16 June 2003

<http://www.bu.kul.pl/art_10686.html> [accessed 5 November 2019]; Świdowska, letter to Giedroyc, 27 March 1984, Kultura Archive, KOR RED, Świdowska H, vol. 2.

¹²¹ E.g. Jadwiga Czachowska, 'Zmagania z cenzurą słowników i bibliografii literackich w PRL', in *Piśmiennictwo* [Writing], vol. 2, pp. 214-236; Krystyna Tokarzówna, 'Cenzura w Polskiej Bibliografii Literackiej' [Censorship in the Polish Literary Bibliography], in *Piśmiennictwo* [Writing], vol. 2, pp. 239-250.

¹²² *PBL* [Polish Literary Bibliography] for 1947 (Wrocław: Ossolineum; PAN, 1956), foreword dates to 1953 and imprint indicates typesetting send-off in June 1955 and print sign-off in May 1956; *PBL* for 1948

(Wrocław: Ossolineum; PAN, 1954) imprint indicates typesetting send-off in January 1954 and print sign-off in August 1954.

¹²³ *Polska Bibliografia Literacka za rok 1949 oraz dodatek za lata 1944-1949* [Polish Literary Bibliography for 1949 and Supplement for Years 1944-1949] (Wrocław: Ossolineum; PAN, 1958), its foreword dates to September 1956. See *Dodatek* [Supplement], p. 655, item 7054 for the listing of *Animal Farm* and p. 685, item 7487 for the listing of the article dealing with Orwell in *Głos Anglii* (Powell in 'Pisarze' [Writers], p. 8).

¹²⁴ Orwell, 'Rozkwit' [*Decline*], in *PBL* for 1946 (Wrocław: Ossolineum; PAN, 1958), p. 688, item 6514.

¹²⁵ *PBL* for 1956 (Wrocław: Ossolineum; PAN, 1960), listed there among others (p. 387): Zdzisław Broncel, '1984' (film review), *Wiadomości*, 1 April 1956, p. 8 (item 5599); Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska [il. by Wojciech Jastrzębowski] (n.p.: Wolna Europa, n.d.) (item 5596a); and official press articles. *PBL* for 1950-1951 (Warsaw: PWN, 1967) lists e.g.: bd, 'Literatura śmierci' [Literature of Death], *Sprawy i Ludzie*, 14 April 1951, p. 4 (p. 316, item 4157), but also émigré (p. 327): Orwell, 'Twórczość' [*The Art*] (item 4364), Pandora [Adam Pragier and Stefania Zahorska], 'Ponura utopia' [A Bleak Utopia], *Wiadomości*, 22 October 1950, p. 4 (item 4366), and obituaries P. Z., 'Śmierć autora' [Author], and Weintraub, 'George Orwell' (item 4365).

¹²⁶ Komar, 'Uwaga na jajogłowych' [Beware of Eggheads]; Kojder, 'Korespondencja' [Correspondence], see reference in *PBL* for 1968 (Warsaw: PWN, 1971), p. 411, item 5662.

¹²⁷ See Tokarzówna, 'Cenzura' [Censorship], in *Piśmiennictwo* [Writing] (p. 240).

¹²⁸ Beata Domosławska, head of the *Polish Literary Bibliography's* Current Bibliography Department (email to the author, March 2014).

¹²⁹ Orwell, 'O wolności prasy' [*Freedom of the Press*]; record in: *PBL* for 1973 (Warsaw: PWN, 1976), p. 504, item 7462.

¹³⁰ *Mała encyklopedia powszechna PWN* [The PWN Small Universal Encyclopaedia] (Warsaw: PWN, 1959).

¹³¹ *A-Z encyklopedia popularna PWN* [The PWN A-Z Popular Encyclopaedia] (Warsaw: PWN, 1962).

¹³² *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna PWN* [The PWN Great Universal Encyclopaedia], vol. 8 (Warsaw: PWN, 1966), pp. 318-319. Curiously, it provides daily dates of birth and death, in Orwell's case erroneous (birth as 7 May instead of 25 June 1903 and death as 22 instead of 21 January 1950).

¹³³ *Encyklopedia powszechna PWN* [The PWN Universal Encyclopaedia], vol. 3 (Warsaw: PWN, 1975); *Encyklopedia popularna PWN* [The PWN Popular Encyclopaedia] (Warsaw: PWN, 1980).

¹³⁴ *Encyklopedia popularna PWN* [The PWN Popular Encyclopaedia] (Warsaw: PWN, 1991), 21th edn, p. 601. See also *Encyklopedia popularna PWN* [The PWN Popular Encyclopaedia] (Warsaw: PWN, 1999), 29th edn, p. 604.

¹³⁵ In *Encyklopedia popularna PWN* [The PWN Popular Encyclopaedia], from the first uncensored 21st edition of 1991 to at least the 29th of 1999.

¹³⁶ *Nowy Leksykon PWN* [New PWN Lexicon] (Warsaw: PWN, 1965 [print 1966]), pp. 318-319; *Leksykon PWN* [PWN Lexicon] (Warsaw: PWN, 1972), p. 835.

¹³⁷ *Mały słownik pisarzy świata* [Small Dictionary of World Writers] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1968), p. 141.

¹³⁸ *Mały słownik pisarzy świata* [Small Dictionary of World Writers] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1972), 2nd edn., see 'Od wydawcy' [From the Publisher].

¹³⁹ *Mały słownik pisarzy angielskich i amerykańskich* [A Small Dictionary of English and American Writers], ed. by Stanisław Helsztyński and Elżbieta Piotrowska (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1971). Contributors included Witold Ostrowski, Bronisława Bałutowa, Margaret Schlauch, Przemysław Mroczkowski, Jerzy Strzetelski, Henryk Krzeczowski and Waclaw Sadkowski, author of the entry e.g. on John Osborne which would follow that on Orwell, had Orwell been included, pp. 368-369.

¹⁴⁰ By the leading Polish English philologist Roman Dyboski (1883-1945), *Sto lat literatury angielskiej* [A Hundred Years of English Literature], rev. and introd. by Julian Krzyżanowski (Warsaw: Pax, 1957).

¹⁴¹ E.g. in the chapter 'Fantasy and Reality' or where admitted Waugh is alluded to as a reactionary and accused of having 'little love for the disadvantaged' (p. 352) his contemporary and somewhat parallel author so often defending the underdog, Orwell, also could serve as a reference of opposite standards. Huxley e.g. gets at least a mention (p. 10, p. 334), see Witold Ostrowski, *O literaturze angielskiej* [About English Literature] (Warsaw: Pax, 1958).

¹⁴² Leszek Elektorowicz, *Zwierciadło w okrucinach: szkice o powieści amerykańskiej i angielskiej* [A Mirror in Pieces: Essays on the American and English Novel] (Warsaw: PIW, 1966), quote from the dust jacket blurb.

¹⁴³ Henryk Bereza, *Doświadczenia z lektur prozy obcej* [Experiences from Reading Foreign Prose] (Warsaw: PIW, 1967); Henryk Bereza, *Proza z importu. Szkice literackie* [Prose from Import. Literary Essays] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1979).

¹⁴⁴ Lesław Eustachiewicz, *Między współczesnością a historią* [Between Contemporaneity and History] (Warsaw: Pax, 1973).

- ¹⁴⁵ Aleksander Rogalski, e.g. *Literatura i cywilizacja: eseje i studia* [Literature and Civilisation: Essays and Studies] (Warsaw: Pax, 1956); *Profile i preteksty* [Profiles and Pretexts] (Warsaw: Pax, 1958); *Zbliżenia: szkice z literatury i kultury* [Close-Ups: Essays from Literature and Culture] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1963); *Twórcy. Dzieła, postawy* [Authors. Works and Attitudes] (Warsaw: Pax, 1974).
- ¹⁴⁶ Aleksander Rogalski, *Pasażerowie Arki Noego: o niektórych antyhitlerowskich pisarzach niemieckich* [Passengers of Noah's Ark: About some Anti-Hitlerian German Writers] (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1965), p. 185.
- ¹⁴⁷ See e.g. Joanna Siedlecka, *Kryptonim 'Liryka'* [Codename 'Lirycs'] (Warsaw: Prószyński, 2009), particularly pp. 241-279.
- ¹⁴⁸ Wacław Sadkowski e.g. *Drogi i rozdroża literatury Zachodu* [Roads and Cross-Roads of Western Literature] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1968), extended in 1978; *Kręgi wspólnoty. Szkice literackie* [Circles of Community. Literary Essays] (Warsaw: PIW, 1971).
- ¹⁴⁹ Zygmunt Kałużyński, *Nowy Kaliban: notatki kibica z okresu fermentu* [New Caliban: Notes of a Cheerer from the Period of Ferment] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1961) (some essays dated 1956), p. 89.
- ¹⁵⁰ Kałużyński, *Nowy Kaliban* [New Caliban], p. 159, p. 376.
- ¹⁵¹ Antoni Słonimski, *Alfabet wspomnień* (Warsaw: PIW, 1975), pp. 75-76 and p. 200; the quote comes from Orwell's 'Politics and the English Language', Słonimski says he quotes from periodical *Dialogue* (unidentified).
- ¹⁵² *Antologia literatury powszechnej* [Anthology of World Literature], ed. by Ludwik Rajewski and Witold Władysław Witkowski (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1958), vol. 3; Lesław Eustachiewicz, *Antologia literatury powszechnej* [Anthology of World Literature] (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1968), vol. 2; revised: (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973).
- ¹⁵³ Lesław Eustachiewicz, *Obraz współczesnych prądów literackich* [A Picture of Contemporary Literary Movements] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne: 1976), reissued 1978.
- ¹⁵⁴ Barbara Solecka, *Wybór współczesnych tekstów literackich w języku angielskim: dla studentów Wydziału Filologicznego: grupy zaawansowane* [A Selection of Contemporary Literary Texts in the English Language: for Students of the Philological Department: Advanced Groups] ([Warsaw]: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1969) (photocopied typed dossier).
- ¹⁵⁵ See e.g. Przemysław Czapliński, 'Dziedzictwo niezależności: krótka historia komunikacyjnego podziemia' [The Heritage of Independence: A Short History of the Communication Underground], *Słupskie Prace Filologiczne. Seria Filologia Polska*, 5 (2007), 129-152 (p. 135) <<http://bazhum.muzhp.pl>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹⁵⁶ Przemysław Mroczkowski, *Zarys historii literatury angielskiej (od preromantyzmu do czasów najnowszych)* [An Outline History of English Literature (From Pre-Romanticism to the Present)] (Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1978); Przemysław Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury angielskiej: zarys* [History of English Literature: An Outline] (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1981), pp. 561-562, and Przemysław Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury angielskiej: zarys* [History of English Literature: An Outline], 2nd complemented edn (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1986), pp. 563-564.
- ¹⁵⁷ Jerzy Strzetelski, *Historia literatury angielskiej. Tabele chronologiczne* [History of English Literature. Chronological Tables] (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1965), Table 39. As per the book's imprint, it had a print run of 500 copies.
- ¹⁵⁸ George Sampson and R. C. Churchill, *Historia literatury angielskiej w zarysie* [The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature] (Cambridge: UP, 1961), introd. to 2nd edn. by R. C. Churchill, trans. by P. Graff, introd. to Polish edn by Margaret Schlauch (Warsaw: PWN, 1966); as per the imprint, issued in 10,000 copies, impression the following year.
- ¹⁵⁹ Antonina Kłoskowska, *Kultura masowa: krytyka i obrona* [Mass Culture: A Critique and a Defence] (Warsaw: PWN, 1964), frequently reissued.
- ¹⁶⁰ Andrzej Lam, *Wyobraźnia ujarzmiona* [A Captive Imagination] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1967), p. 85, p. 116.
- ¹⁶¹ Adela Styczyńska, 'The Papers – James's Satire on the Modern Publicity System', *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, 22.4 (1975), 419-436 (p. 430, p. 434).
- ¹⁶² Adam Schaff, *Marksizm a jednostka ludzka* (Warsaw: PWN, 1965); in English: *Marxism and the Human Individual*, introd. by Erich Fromm (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).
- ¹⁶³ Witold Ostrowski, 'Utopia' and 'Anty-utopia', in *Zagadnienie Rodzajów Literackich*, 1 (1958), 193, 224.
- ¹⁶⁴ Witold Ostrowski, 'The Fantastic and the Realistic in Literature: Suggestions on How to Define and Analyse Fantastic Fiction', *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich* 8.1 (1966), 54-71 (pp. 66-67).

- ¹⁶⁵ Andrzej Zgorzelski, 'Is Science Fiction a Genre of Fantastic Literature?', *Science Fiction Studies*, 6.3 (November 1979), 296-303 or 'On Differentiating Fantastic Fiction: Some Supragenological Distinctions in Literature', *Poetics Today*, 5.2 (1984), 299-307.
- ¹⁶⁶ Stanisław Lem, *Fantastyka i futurologia* [Phantasy and Futurology] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1973 [1970]), 2nd edn, vol. 2, p. 424 and p. 432.
- ¹⁶⁷ Lem, *Fantastyka* [Phantasy], vol. 2, p. 567.
- ¹⁶⁸ Jerzy Szacki, *Utopie* [Utopias] (Warsaw: Iskry, 1968); Jerzy Szacki, *Spotkania z utopią* [Encounters with Utopia] (Warsaw: Iskry, 1980), p. 175, see Orwell mentioned also e.g. p. 167, p. 173, p. 182. A revised 2000 edition mostly retained fragments related to Orwell intact, see Jerzy Szacki, *Spotkania z utopią* [Encounters with Utopia] (Warsaw: Sic!, 2000), e.g. p. 189, p. 197, p. 199, p. 207.
- ¹⁶⁹ Broda [Demborz], 'Mój Orwell' [My Orwell] (p. 22).
- ¹⁷⁰ See also such a comment made by the critic Krzysztof Dybciak in 'Systemy komunikacji literackiej wielkich literatur emigracyjnych' [The Systems of Literary Communication of Great Émigré Literatures], *Teksty Drugie*, 3 (1998), 29-41 (p. 36).
- ¹⁷¹ Jerzy Andrzejewski, e.g. *Ciemności kryją ziemię* (Warsaw: PIW, 1957), in English as *The Inquisitors*, trans. by Konrad Syrop (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, [1960]); *Bramy rajju* (Warsaw: PIW, 1960), in English as *The Gates of Paradise: A Novel*, trans. by James Kirkup (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, [1962]).
- ¹⁷² New Wave's flagship members included Stanisław Barańczak, Adam Zagajewski, Julian Kornhauser and Ryszard Krynicki; see more in chapter 3. See Julian Kornhauser and Adam Zagajewski, *Świat nie przedstawiony* [Unpresented World] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1974), seen as a New Wave's manifesto. Stanisław Barańczak, 'Parę przypuszczeń na temat poezji współczesnej' [A Few Assumptions on Contemporary Poetry], in Stanisław Barańczak, *Poezja i duch Uogólnienia* [Poetry and the Spirit of Generalisation] (Kraków: Znak, 1996), p. 6, dated July 1970 (orig. publ. in *Jednym tchem* [In One Breath] (Warsaw: Studencka Agencja Wydawnicza Universitas, 1970)). Compare its resonance with Orwell's declaration in 'Why I Write': 'My starting point is always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice. [...] I write it [a book] because there is some lie that I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing' (p. 319).
- ¹⁷³ See e.g. references to Orwell in his diaries, e.g. 'I ask for a surprise. If there won't be one – it will be exactly as foreseen by S.I. Witkiewicz and George Orwell. (Having read the morning newspaper)', in Sławomir Mrozek, *Dziennik* [Diary], vol. 2, 1970-1979 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2012), 16 May 1978, p. 737, or note 'A poisoning with politics. Even Orwell is too much though he is so good', in vol. 3, 1980-1989 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2013), 15 December 1982, p. 309, a possible allusion to *Coming Up for Air*, 14 February 1983, p. 357, reflections that 'newspeak is beyond zones. Totalitarianism almost rules already here too [i.e. in then in Paris]: by means of concepts, language. [...] They don't need to conquer. Enough if they convince. There are more and more convinced ones. / One could write the simplest one-act play: a tortured man who is advised to change the use of words: when he hates, he calls it: I like [...] pure Orwell of course. But what is left?', 23 April 1983, pp. 406-407.
- ¹⁷⁴ In Marian Załucki, 'Wyrodny syn' [A Wayward Son], published e.g. in *Szpilki*, no. 31, 1961, p. 4, *Nowa Wieś*, no. 47, 1961, p. 3, *Nowa Wieś*, no. 51/52, 1964, p. 11 and *Chłopska Droga*, no. 4, 1969, p. 12, or collected in Marian Załucki, *A nie mówiłem?* [Didn't I Say So?], il. by R. J. Flisak (Warsaw: Iskry, 1961).
- ¹⁷⁵ The original reads: 'Ku demokracji zupełnej / dążymy uparcie i śmiało. / Wszyscy powinni być równi! / Niektórym / już się udało'. See Marian Załucki, 'Dążymy' [We Are Pursuing], published e.g. in *Gromada Rolnik Polski*, no. 43, 1971, p. 3, or collected in Marian Załucki, *Przepraszam – żartowałem* [I Apologise – I Was Joking] (Warsaw: Iskry, 1974).
- ¹⁷⁶ Janusz Zajdel, *Paradyzja* [Paradisialia] (Warsaw: Iskry, 1984); Zajdel's other works bearing a strong Orwell influence include *Cylinder van Troffa* [Van Troff's Cylinder] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1980) or *Limes inferior* (Warsaw: Iskry, 1982, written 1979-1980).
- ¹⁷⁷ David Bowie, *Diamond Dogs* (RCA Records, 1974); Eurythmics, *1984 (For the Love of Big Brother)* (UK: Virgin; USA: RCA Records, 1984). Maanam, *1984*, side B of single *Cykady na Cykladach* [Cicadas on Cyclades] (Tonpress KAW, 1981). Republika, *1984* (Mega Organization, 1984).
- ¹⁷⁸ 1984, *Ferma hodowlana* [Animal Farm], created earlier, recorded by Rozgłośnia Harcerska in 1988, see <<http://1984.serpent.pl/prasa.html>> or <<http://1984.serpent.pl/specjalny.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹⁷⁹ *Encyklopedia powszechna PWN* [The PWN Universal Encyclopaedia], vol. 3 (Warsaw: PWN, 1985), 2nd edn, p. 410.
- ¹⁸⁰ Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury* [History of English Literature] (1981), pp. 561-562. See also Mroczkowski, *Historia literatury* [History of English Literature] (1986), pp. 563-564, and Mroczkowski, *Zarys historii* [An Outline History]. Information on printing and publishing times as per the book's imprint.

- ¹⁸¹ Bronisława Bałutowa, *Powieść angielska XX wieku* [English 20th-Century Novel] (Warsaw: PWN, 1983), p. 142.
- ¹⁸² Bronisława Bałutowa, *Powieść angielska XX wieku* [English 20th-Century Novel] (Warsaw: PWN, 1987), 2nd edn; Bronisława Bałutowa, *Powieść angielska XX wieku* [English 20th-Century Novel] (Warsaw: PWN, 2004), 3 rev. and complemented edn, p. 7.
- ¹⁸³ *Chronological Tables of English Literature = Historia literatury angielskiej: tablice chronologiczne*, ed. by Jerzy Strzetelski et al., 2nd edn (Warsaw: PWN, 1984), p. 94, my highlight. See also the previous edition Strzetelski, *Historia* [History] (1965) and the following editions: *Chronological Tables of English Literature = Historia literatury angielskiej – tablice chronologiczne* (Warsaw; Łódź: PWN, 1987), and subsequent: *Literatura angielska: tablice chronologiczne* [English Literature: Chronological Tables], ed. by Jerzy Strzetelski et al., 4th edn (Kraków: Universitas, 1992). See also Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception'.
- ¹⁸⁴ Orwell, 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], trans. by Elżbieta Jasińska, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 12 April 1981, p. 3. See Orwell, 'Rozkwit' [*Decline*].
- ¹⁸⁵ *Forum*, 17 September 1981, 'Kim był Eric Blair?' [Who Was Eric Blair?], introd. by pm, p. 19 (repr. from *L'Europeo* (Italy), 10 August 1981), with Orwell's photograph and a still from 1956 *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* film adaptation.
- ¹⁸⁶ Orwell, 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], *Tygodnik Powszechny*.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Forum*, 17 September 1981, 'Kim był Eric Blair?' [Who Was Eric Blair?].
- ¹⁸⁸ Kałużński, 'Horror polityczny' [Political Horror].
- ¹⁸⁹ Orwell, 'Birmańskie dni' [*Burmese Days*] (fragm.), trans. by Ju-Ru [Jerzy Chociłowski], excerpts titled: 'Niewola nienawiści' [Captivity of Hatred], *Kontynenty*, 6 (August 1982), 32-33; 'Zebranie w klubie' [Meeting in the Club], *Kontynenty*, 7 (September 1982), 32-33; 'Bunt' [Rebellion], *Kontynenty*, 8 (October 1982), 32-33. Orwell, 'Zabicie słonia' [*Shooting an Elephant*], *Więź*.
- ¹⁹⁰ Orwell, 'Zaczerpnąć oddechu' [*Coming Up for Air*] (fragm.), trans. and introd. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Ład*, 17 October 1982, p. 6, and *Ład*, 24 October 1982, p. 6.
- ¹⁹¹ See a supposed reproduction of an internal review of *Burmese Days* for the publisher Czytelnik dated 19 April 1982 by Wacław Sadkowski, 'Robert Stiller – Unus defensor veritatis', in *Literatura na Świecie*, 2 (February 1987), 384-387 (p. 385, p. 386, p. 387). Published excerpts of *Burmese Days*: Orwell, 'Birmańskie dni' [*Burmese Days*] (fragm.), *Kontynenty*.
- ¹⁹² Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception' (p. 123). Orwell, 'Vivat aspidistra!' [*Keep the Aspidistra Flying*] (fragm.), trans. by Jadwiga Piątkowska, introd. by WR [Włodzimierz Rydzewski], *Zdanie*, 11/12 (November/December 1983), 67-79.
- ¹⁹³ Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception' (pp. 123-124). The literary periodicals the translator enumerates were: *Literatura*, *Literatura na Świecie*, *Nurt* and *Pismo Literacko-Artystyczne*.
- ¹⁹⁴ AAN, GUKPPIW, 3574, file 3/4, fols 205-207, regional censorship office UKPPIW Bydgoszcz, 'Odwołania i decyzje 1982 r.' [Appeals and Decisions 1982], 'Decyzja' [Decision], 24 August 1982; concerns an intended article: WITZ, 'Nie ma nic' [There Is Nothing], *Dziennik Wieczorny*, no. 149, 1982, p. 5. I thank Barbara Tyszkiewicz from the Polish Literary Research Institute (IBL) for sharing this document with me.
- ¹⁹⁵ Szczepan Kalinus, 'George Orwell. Pisarz z poczuciem winy i poczuciem odpowiedzialności. W 80. rocznicę urodzin' [George Orwell. A Writer with the Feeling of Guilt and the Feeling of Responsibility. On the 80th Birth Anniversary], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 4 September 1983, p. 4, 8.
- ¹⁹⁶ Marcin Król, 'Zmysł rzeczywistości' [A Sense of Reality], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2 October 1983.
- ¹⁹⁷ WR [Włodzimierz Rydzewski], 'Dlaczego Orwell...' [Why Orwell...], *Zdanie*, 11/12 (November/December 1983), 67.
- ¹⁹⁸ AAN, GUKPPIW, 1766, file 354/2, fols 34-35, 'Informacje o bieżących ingerencjach' [Information on Current Interventions], 1984, DIN-050, 5 January 1984. The title of the article submitted to the censor read: 'Inny Orwell' [A Different Orwell] (fol. 34). I thank Barbara Tyszkiewicz from the Polish Literary Research Institute (IBL) for sharing this document with me. This censorial control concerned *Zdanie*, 11/12 (November/December 1983) – in a period marked by material shortages which often saw publishing delays; the issue's editorial also apologises for a delay.
- ¹⁹⁹ Jerzy Turowicz, 'Rok 1984' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], published in clandestine *Arka*, 8 (1984), 97-98.
- ²⁰⁰ Articles in: a new high print-run Silesian weekly challenging the present authorities – from a hard-line, dogmatic position: Wojciech Roszewski, 'Ogłaszam Rok 1984 za przebrzmiały' [I Declare *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Outdated], *Sprawy i Ludzie*, 5 January 1984, p. 5; the main party organ: Daniel Luliński, 'Orwell nie przewidział...' [Orwell Didn't Foresee...], *Trybuna Ludu*, 28/29 January 1984; an illustrated weekly: Wilhelm Szewczyk, 'Orwell czyli nowe obszary lęku' [Orwell That Is New Areas of Fear], *Panorama*, 26 February 1984, pp. 4-5. Owing to publishing delays at the time, the time of actual issue might not always correspond to the date featured, particularly affected were publications of lesser frequency. See above e.g. the November-

- December 1983 issue of *Zdanie* still undergoing censorial control in January 1984 (AAN, GUKPPIW, 1766, file 354/2, fols 34-35, 'Informacje o bieżących ingerencjach' [Information on Current Interventions]).
- ²⁰¹ Caption under a picture of the spinning globe in Roszewski.
- ²⁰² E.g. Roszewski.
- ²⁰³ E.g. Luliński; Roszewski; Szewczyk.
- ²⁰⁴ E.g. Roszewski; *Prezentacje*, 5 (May 1984), 'Spór o Orwella', p. 17.
- ²⁰⁵ Roszewski.
- ²⁰⁶ Isaac Deutscher, 'Rok 1984 – czyli mistycyzm okrucieństwa' [1984 – *The Mysticism of Cruelty*], *Colloquia Communia*, 12.1 (January-February 1984), 207-217, repr. from *Zeszyty Teoretyczno-Polityczne*, 3-4 (1957).
- ²⁰⁷ jz, 'Przegląd zagraniczny: Anglia' [Foreign Review: England], *Twórczość*, 11 (November 1984), 130-131 (p. 130). See also Szewczyk and the subheading there: 'Wielkiego Brata zastąpi Wielki Biznes' [Big Brother Will Be Substituted by Big Business].
- ²⁰⁸ Janusz Termer, 'George Orwell: 1984' in: *Wieczór Wybrzeża* (Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia), 17-19 February 1984, p. 3; *Kurier Podlaski* (Białystok), 20 February 1984, p. 5; and *Echo Dnia. Relaks* (Kielce), 24-26 February 1984, p.11. See also bd, 'Literatura śmierci' [Literature of Death].
- ²⁰⁹ See inclusively a similar wording in the preface to excerpts of *Aspidistra*: WR [Rydzewski].
- ²¹⁰ AAN, GUKPPIW, 1273, fols 40-45 (fol. 42), 'Sylwetka' [Profile], quoted in Kotowska-Kachel.
- ²¹¹ E.g. Bohdan Knichowiecki, 'Mija rok 1984... O kim pisał Orwell?' [1984 Is Passing... Who Did Orwell Write About?], *Trybuna Robotnicza*, 21 December 1984, p. 6.
- ²¹² Piotr Gadzinowski, 'O roku ów' [About That Year], *Ita*, 6 January 1985, pp. 18-19. The magazine was an intellectual descendant of the 1950's *Po prostu*.
- ²¹³ Daniel Wójtowicz, 'Orwell w roku 1985' [Orwell in 1985], *Sztandar Młodych*, 17 January 1985.
- ²¹⁴ wr [Witold Różycki], 'Orwell w niełaskach' [Orwell Out of Favours], *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), 19 April 1985, p. 5.
- ²¹⁵ E.g. Szewczyk; Luliński.
- ²¹⁶ Roszewski.
- ²¹⁷ Knichowiecki, 'Mija rok 1984...' [1984 Is Passing...].
- ²¹⁸ Roszewski; *Prezentacje*, 'Spór o Orwella' [The Dispute over Orwell].
- ²¹⁹ Luliński.
- ²²⁰ Szewczyk.
- ²²¹ Roszewski.
- ²²² Roszewski.
- ²²³ Termer and earlier WR [Rydzewski] refer to G[eorgy] Shakhnazarov, *Socjalistyczne perspektywy ludzkości* [Humanity's Socialist Perspectives, possibly: *Социалистическая судьба человечества* (Moscow, 1978)].
- ²²⁴ E.g. Gadzinowski (p. 18) refers to Melor Sturua, '1984 и 1984' [1984 and 1984], *Izvestia*, 15-16 January 1984.
- ²²⁵ Compare e.g. wr [Różycki], among others, with A. Paładin, 'Orwell? Tak! Ale autentyczny...' [Orwell? Yes! But Authentic...], *Forum*, 2 February 1984, p. 22, supposedly a translation from *Sovietskaya Kultura*, 7 January 1984.
- ²²⁶ Paładin.
- ²²⁷ E.g. *Forum*, 2 February 1984 translated large fragments of Crick, 'The Real Message' as 'Orwell: szyderca, fantasta czy artysta? [Orwell: A Mocker, Phantast or Artist?], pp. 21-22; Paładin; Gore Vidal, 'Co odgadł i czego nie przewidział' [What He Guessed and What He Didn't Foresee] (p. 23) from *l'Unità*, 18 December 1983; David Burnham, 'Czy w Ameryce nadszedł już orwellowski Rok 1984?' [Has the Orwellian *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Already Arrived in America?] (p. 23) from *l'Unità*, 18 December 1983. *Prezentacje*, 5 (May 1984) translated large fragments of Raymond Williams, '*Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1984', *Marxism Today*, January 1984 as 'Osiedziesiąty czwarty w 1984 roku', trans. by Adam Rusek (17-25), and Sturua, '1984 и 1984' [1984 and 1984] as Melor Sturua, 'Parodia czy realna rzeczywistość?' [A Parody or an Actual Reality?], trans. by Mieczysław Pisarek (25-32).
- ²²⁸ *Forum*, 6 September 1984, 'Pożegnanie Burtona' [Burton's Farewell], p. 19, trans. of Jack Kroll, *Newsweek*, 20 July 1984, of Robert Cushman, *Observer*, 12 August 1984, and supposedly of Michael Billington, *New York Times*, 12 August 1984, though it possibly refers to 'A Director's Vision of Orwell's 1984 Draws Inspirations from 1948', 3 June 1984.
- ²²⁹ Oss., 'Zekranizowana powieść G. Orwella 1984' [G. Orwell's Novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* on Screen], *Echo Dnia*, 11 December 1984, p. 5.
- ²³⁰ Wojśław Brydak, '1984', *Wybrzeże*, 12 February 1984, p. 47.
- ²³¹ Orwell, 'Dlaczego piszę' [Why I Write], trans. by Jasińska, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 12 April 1981; Orwell, 'Zabicie słonia' [Shooting an Elephant], *Więź* 8 (August 1982); Orwell, 'Zaczerpnąć oddechu' [Coming Up for Air] (fragm.), trans. and introd. by Zborski, *Ład*, 17 and 24 October 1982; Kalinus, 'George Orwell...'

Tygodnik Powszechny, 4 September 1983; Król, 'Zmysł rzeczywistości' [A Sense of Reality], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2 October 1983.

²³² As per the book's imprint, see Orwell, *Wiwat aspidistra* [Keep the Aspidistra Flying], trans. by Jadwiga Piątkowska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985). In 1985, a popular publisher's 'almanac' also published fragments of 'Politics and the English Language': 'Polityka i język angielski', trans. by Krystyna Roszak, in *Almanach Literacki Iskier*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Iskry, 1985), pp. 52-67.

²³³ Orwell, 'Polityka a literatura: spojrzenie na *Podróże Gullivera*' [Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of 'Gulliver's Travels'], trans. by Piotr Pieńkowski, *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1186-1204, see also his translation published underground: *ibid.*, trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 51-61; and Orwell, 'Powieszenie' [A Hanging], trans. by Paweł Prokop, *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1205-1209; see also a different translation underground: Orwell, 'Powieszenie' [A Hanging], trans. by Adam Waksman [Adam Szostkiewicz], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 6-8.

²³⁴ Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception' (p. 127).

²³⁵ Paweł Śpiewak, 'George Orwell pisarz i socjalista' [George Orwell a Writer and a Socialist], *Powściągliwość i Praca*, 1 (January 1984), 11. It featured a large Orwell's photograph and pointed to further reading: Orwell, 'Zabicie słonia' [Shooting an Elephant], *Więź*, and chapter 'Od antyutopizmu do utopii negatywnej' [From Anti-Utopianism to a Negative Utopia], in Szacki, *Spotkania z utopią* [Encounters with Utopia] (1980).

²³⁶ Paweł Śpiewak, 'Rok 1984 i Europa' [Nineteen Eighty-Four and Europe], *Powściągliwość i Praca*, 11 (November 1984), 11-12.

²³⁷ Turowicz – published in underground *Arka*.

²³⁸ Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'George Orwell jako krytyk literacki' [George Orwell as a Literary Critic], *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1176-1185, reprint of Broński [Skalmowski], 'G. O. jako krytyk' [G. O. as a Literary Critic], in Broński, *Teksty* [Texts]. See also Orwell, 'Notes for "Evelyn Waugh"', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 77-79 (p. 79).

²³⁹ M.K. [Marcin Król] 'Socjalista Orwell' [Orwell the Socialist], *Znak*, 5 (May 1985), 158-159, review of Bernard Crick, *George Orwell: A Life* (London: Penguin, 1982).

²⁴⁰ Orwell, *Wiwat aspidistra* [Aspidistra]; print run by the book's imprint.

²⁴¹ Marek Wierusz, 'Syn marnotrawny' [The Prodigal Son], *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 9 February 1986, p. 13; Tomasz Sobeczko, 'Publicystyczny wymiar prozy', *Miesięcznik Literacki*, 9 (September 1986) (note on the cover: 'printing completed in December 1986'), 141-142 (p. 141).

²⁴² Anna Sawicka, 'Ucieczka przed aspidistrą' [A Flight from Aspidistra], *Dziennik Ludowy*, 22 January 1986, p. 5.

²⁴³ Wierusz.

²⁴⁴ Witold Kiedacz, 'Wiwat... *Trędowata*' [Viva... *Trędowata* (reference to a 1909 romance set in aristocratic circles by Helena Mniszek, popular with the public, less with critics)], *Dziennik Polski*, 13 January 1986, p. 4; see also Bernardo Guimarães, *Niewolnica Isaura* [The Slave Girl Isaura] (orig. publ. *A Escrava Isaura*, 1875), trans. by Dorota Walasek-Elbanowska (Warsaw: PIW, 1986). As per the imprint, *Wiwat aspidistra* [Aspidistra] was off the press in September 1985.

²⁴⁵ See e.g. W. Trojanowski, L. Dobrzyński and E. Droste, 'W 20-tą rocznicę awarii Czarnobylskiej elektrowni jądrowej' [On the 20th Anniversary of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station Failure] (Dział Szkolenia i Doradztwa Instytutu Problemów Jądrowych, March 2006), p. 23

<http://www.paa.gov.pl/uploads/pub/strony/strona_163/text_images/czarnobyl.pdf> [accessed 11 December 2019]; USA, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 'The Chernobyl's Accident: Social and Political Implications: A Research Paper', SOV 87-10078X, December 1987, p. v, Declassified in Part – Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2012/09/12: CIA-RDP08S01350R000300900002-04

<<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08S01350R000300900002-4.pdf>> [accessed 11 December 2019]; Serge Schmemmann, 'Delay Reported on Evacuation at nuclear Site', *New York Times*, 7 May 1986, p. 1 <<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/07/world/delay-reported-on-evacuation-at-nuclear-site.html>> [accessed 11 December 2019].

²⁴⁶ About a decrease in censorial interventions at this time, see e.g. Habielski, *Polityczna historia mediów* [A Political History of the Media], p. 339.

²⁴⁷ E.g. Witold Turant, 'Ta niewinna roślinka' [This Innocent Little Plant], *Katolik*, 20 November 1986, p. 6.

²⁴⁸ E.g. Wierusz.

²⁴⁹ Sobeczko; Włodzimierz Jurasz, 'Apoteoza normalności' [An Apotheosis of Normality], *Więź*, 2-3 (February-March 1986), 195-199.

²⁵⁰ Edward Pawlak, 'Buntownik z mlekiem pod nosem' [A Rebel Wet Behind the Ears], *Wprost*, 4 May 1986, p. 23.

²⁵¹ Sobeczko; Kiedacz.

- ²⁵² Sawicka; L.B. [Leszek Bugajski], 'Między książkami' [Among Books], *Życie Literackie*, 15 December 1985, p. 15.
- ²⁵³ Sobeczko.
- ²⁵⁴ L.B. [Bugajski], 15 December 1985; Kiedacz; Sawicka; Pawlak.
- ²⁵⁵ E.g. L.B. [Bugajski], 15 December 1985; Marek A. Kowalski, 'Buntownik ze śliniaczką' [A Rebel with a Bib], *Tygodnik Kulturalny*, 2 March 1986, p. 12; Pawlak.
- ²⁵⁶ Kiedacz; Sobeczko; Sawicka; Pawlak.
- ²⁵⁷ Wierusz; Kowalski; Pawlak.
- ²⁵⁸ Sobeczko.
- ²⁵⁹ Turant.
- ²⁶⁰ Wierusz.
- ²⁶¹ Jurasz, 'Apoteoza normalności' [An Apotheosis of Normality].
- ²⁶² Sobeczko.
- ²⁶³ Kowalski.
- ²⁶⁴ Turant; Kowalski.
- ²⁶⁵ Wacław Sadkowski, 'Dajcie zwiędnąć aspidistrze' [Let the Aspidistra Wither], *Nowe Książki*, 12 (1986), 41-42.
- ²⁶⁶ See Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception'.
- ²⁶⁷ *Literatura na Świecie* [Literature in the World], 5 (May 1986) contained fragments of Orwell's works trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski: 'Hołd Katalonii' [*Homage to Catalonia*] (fragm.) (meanwhile the book appeared in another translation underground); *Schronisko dla włóczędzów* [*The Spike*] 53-69; 'Ponowne odkrycie Europy' [*The Rediscovery of Europe*], 70-87; and 'Przywilej kleru, kilka uwag o Salvadorze Dalim' [*Benefit of Clergy*], 88-104 (other translations appeared underground); it contained excerpts from Orwell on various subjects 'Orwell o...' [Orwell on], selected and trans. by Paweł Śpiewak, 118-139: 'Bombie atomowej' [The Atom Bomb], 'Paradoksach politycznych' [Political Paradoxes], 'Naszej cywilizacji' [Our Civilisation], 'O nacjonalizmie' [On Nationalism (from a letter to Noel Willmet, 18 May 1944)], 'O zmierzchu nieśmiertelności' [On the Decline of Immortality], 'O dylemacie politycznym' [On a Political Dilemma], 'O *Mein Kampf*' [About *Mein Kampf*], 'O antysemityzmie' [On Antisemitism], 'O dyktaturze' [On Dictatorship]; 'O neopesymizmie' [On Neopessimism]; 'O cierpieniu' [On Suffering]; it contained Anthony Burgess, 1985 (fragm.), trans. by Elżbieta Pawełekiewicz, 105-117; Bartłomiej Zborski, 'George Orwell – Kalendarium życia' [Life Chronicle], 164-170; and essays: Alfred Kazin, 'On myśli inaczej' [He Thinks Differently], trans. by Robert Ginalski, 148-163; Paweł Śpiewak, 'Orwella obrona świata współczesnego' [Orwell's Defence of Contemporary World], 140-147; and Wacław Sadkowski, 'Po roku 1984' [After 1984], 171-176.
- ²⁶⁸ Kazin; Śpiewak, 'Orwella obrona' [Orwell's Defence].
- ²⁶⁹ Sadkowski, 'Po roku 1984' [After 1984].
- ²⁷⁰ See Orwell, *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985). Isolated translations of Orwell's texts published in other cultural periodicals included: Orwell, 'Refleksje o Gandhim' [*Reflections on Gandhi*], trans. by Adam Chmielewski, *Odra* (Wrocław), 2 (February 1986), 58-62; 'Filiżanka dobrej herbaty' [*A Nice Cup of Tea*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Pismo Literacko-Artystyczne* (Kraków), 2 (February 1986), 71-73; texts referring to Orwell included: Piotr Bartula, 'Orwell i piłka' [Orwell and Football], *Zdanie* (Kraków), 11 (November 1986), 50-52; Wojciech Lipoński, 'Czekając na rok 2232' [Waiting for 2232], *Nurt* (Poznań), 1 (1986), 28 (on totalitarianism in English literature); or an academic study specifically on Orwell: Maria Edelson, 'Allegory as Satire: George Orwell's *Animal Farm*', in *Allegory in English Fiction of the Twentieth Century* (Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki, 1985), pp. 83-108.
- ²⁷¹ As per imprint of *Literatura na Świecie*, 5 (May 1986) (p. 384).
- ²⁷² Sadkowski, 'Po roku 1984' [After 1984] (p. 171).
- ²⁷³ Sadkowski, *Odpowiednie dać* [To Give a Word], pp. 149-150.
- ²⁷⁴ Eugeniusz Guz, 'Wydać Orwella?' [Publish Orwell?], *Kultura* (Warsaw), 6 August 1986, pp. 3-4.
- ²⁷⁵ Editors, an insert within Guz, 'Wydać Orwella?' [Publish Orwell?], *Kultura* (Warsaw), 6 August 1986, p. 4.
- ²⁷⁶ Artur Sandauer, 'Prawo do prawdy' [The Right to Truth], *Polityka*, 21 February 1987, p. 10; see the front-page line: 'Artur Sandauer – Wydać Orwella' [Artur Sandauer – Publish Orwell].
- ²⁷⁷ E.g. Franciszek Ryszka, 'Sandauer i Orwell' [Sandauer and Orwell], *Polityka*, 28 February 1987, p. 15; Kisiel [Stefan Kisielewski], 'Sam sobie sterem... Gdzie nowi ludzie?!' [Myself at the Helm... Where Are New People?!], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 8 March 1987, p. 8; Artur Sandauer, 'Jeszcze o "poprawiaczach"' [Apropos 'Correctors' Once More], *Polityka*, 14 March 1987, p. 15; Artur Sandauer, 'Krąg kultury oficjalnej' [The Circle of Official Culture], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 29 March 1987, p. 5.
- ²⁷⁸ E.g. AAN, KC PZPR, XI/994, file 7, fol. 346, 'Charakterystyka' [Characteristic], 12 December 1985.
- ²⁷⁹ Kotowska-Kachel (pp. 33-34).

- ²⁸⁰ It is likely that the censorship office ordered an 'appropriate' commentary for *Nineteen Eighty-Four* too, as it did for *Animal Farm*, see AAN, GUKPPIW, 2059, fol. 92, quoted in Kotowska-Kachel (p. 35).
- ²⁸¹ Sadkowski, *Odpowiednie dać* [To Give a Word], p. 150.
- ²⁸² E.g. Orwell, 'Tołstoj i Shakespeare', trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Dialog*, 5 (May 1987), 120-122; Orwell, 'W brzuchu wieloryba' [*Inside the Whale*] (fragm.), trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, *Literatura na Świecie*, 5-6 (May-June 1987), a Henry Miller issue.
- ²⁸³ See e.g. in an independent (Solidarity period) magazine: [Censor 'K-62'], interviewed by Barbara N. Łopieńska, 'Ja, cenzor [I, the Censor]', *Tygodnik Solidarność*, 8 May 1981, p. 6, 15; in a clandestine booklet: *Sprawozdanie cenzora WL* [Censor WL's Report], ed. by WL ([Warsaw]: PWA [1985]) and (Lublin: IRŚW NSZZ 'Solidarność', 1986); see Sadkowski, 'Robert Stiller – Unus defensor veritatis'.
- ²⁸⁴ Piątkowska, 'On the Paradoxes of Orwell's Polish Reception'. Occasionally, earlier studies on Orwell mixed the official and the clandestine modes, e.g. Roman Zimand presented a paper 'Eseistyka Orwella' [Orwell's Essay Writing] at the Literary Criticism Section conference of the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Association (TLAM) on 31 May 1985, which was then published underground in *Kultura Niezależna* [Independent Culture], 13 (October 1985), 3-18, emendated: Roman Zimand, *Kultura Niezależna*, 16 (January 1986), 87.
- ²⁸⁵ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, serialised in *Konfrontacje*, 1-13/1 (January 1988-January 1989); *Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Ewa Grabarska, serialised in *Argumenty*, 13 March-9 October 1988. Other unorthodox works serialised at this time included e.g. Aldous Huxley, *Nowy wschodni świat* [*Brave New World*] (fragm.), trans. by Bogdan Baran, *Kultura* (Warsaw), nos 9-24. In the Soviet Union, excerpts of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* appeared in *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 11 May 1988, which announced its serialisation in *Novyi mir*, delivered February-April 1989; *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was also serialised in a Russian-language Moldavian journal *Kodry* (Kishinev), September 1988-January 1989; *Animal Farm* was serialised as *Skotnyi dvor* in spring and summer 1988 in a Latvian literary journal *Rodnik*, 3-6 (1988), and two chapters, 'Skotskii ugolok', appeared in *Nedelya*, Sunday supplement to *Izvestia*, 16 September 1988, pp. 22-23. See Julian Graffy, 'The Literary Press', in *Culture and the Media in the USSR Today*, ed. by Julian Graffy and Geoffrey Hosking (London: Palgrave Macmillan; School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1989), pp. 107-157 (p. 153 and p. 155); Riitta H. Pittman, 'Perestroika and Soviet Cultural Politics: The Case of the Major Literary Journals', *Soviet Studies*, 42.1 (January 1990), 111-132 (p. 125); and Rodden, *The Politics*, pp. 435-436, n. 92.
- ²⁸⁶ Orwell, *Rok 1984* [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, afterword by Artur Sandauer (Warsaw: PIW, 1988), afterword orig. publ. Sandauer, 'Prawo do prawdy' [The Right to Truth]; and Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski, afterword by Wacław Sadkowski (Warsaw: Alfa, 1988), afterword orig. publ. Sadkowski, 'Po roku 1984' [After 1984]. Print runs given as per imprints. For comparison, Tadeusz Konwicki's *Mała Apokalipsa* [*A Minor Apocalypse*] was issued in 70,000 copies (Warsaw: Alfa, 1988).
- ²⁸⁷ Early comments, see e.g. Jerzy M. Fiedosiejew, 'Teraźniejszość dzieł dawnych' [The Contemporaneity of Old Works], *Głos Robotniczy*, 15 May 1988; Radosław Kot, 'Dziadzio Orwell' [Grandpa Orwell], *Gazeta Poznańska*, 18 March 1988, p. 11; Mariusz Guzek, 'Kiedy pisał, zegar bił trzynastą' [When He Was Writing, the Clocks Were Striking Thirteen], *Kurier Polski*, 1-4 April 1988; later comments, see e.g. Włodzimierz Jurasz, 'Świat jako niewola i wyobrażenie' [The World as Subjugation and Imagination], *Więź*, 7-8 (1989), 88-99.
- ²⁸⁸ Jerzy Tomaszewicz, 'Delicje spod choinki' [Delicacies from under the Christmas Tree], *Dziennik Pojezierza*, 23-26 December 1988.
- ²⁸⁹ Kot, 'Dziadzio Orwell' [Grandpa Orwell]; Fiedosiejew, 'Teraźniejszość' [The Contemporaneity]; L.B. [Leszek Bugajski], 'Między książkami' [Among Books], *Życie Literackie*, 18 December 1988, p. 15.
- ²⁹⁰ Krzysztof Masłoń, 'Wydarzenia' [Developments], *Życie Warszawy*, 16-27 November 1988; Piotr Kajewski, 'Orwellogłosy' [Orwellian Voices], *Odra*, 12 (December 1989).
- ²⁹¹ Masłoń, 'Wydarzenia' [Developments].
- ²⁹² Jan Lewandowski, 'Ważne wydarzenie i niepoważne komentarze' [An Important Event and Flippant Commentaries], *Kierunki*, 15 January 1989, p. 6.
- ²⁹³ E.g. L.B. [Bugajski], 18 December 1988; Masłoń, 'Wydarzenia' [Developments]; Bohdan Knichowiecki, 'Nie taki Orwell straszny' [Orwell's Bark Worse than His Bite], *Trybuna Robotnicza*, 27 January 1989.
- ²⁹⁴ Orwell, '*Rok 1984*' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, read by Władysław Kowalski, Polskie Radio III, 29 August-25 October 1988, 50 episodes, recorded 27 August-17 October 1988, 7.50pm. See Warsaw, Polish Radio Archive, PR III 106507, PR III 106483, PR III 106522, PR III 106550, PR III 106567, PR III 106633, PR III 106652, PR III 106695, PR III 106813, PR III 106820, PR III 106888 and PR III 106920; and D.K., '*Rok 1984* Orwella na antenie Trójki: Ten niesforny Orwell' [Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* on Radio III: This Mischievous Orwell], *Antena*, 29 August-4 September 1988, p. 3.

- ²⁹⁵ Bożena Helbrecht, 'Czytamy Orwella' [We Are Reading Orwell], Polskie Radio III, 30 August 1988, length 19:30, see PR Archive, PR III 106505; Aldona Kołodziejska, 'George Orwell', *Audycja literacka* [Literary Programme], Polskie Radio IV, 27 January 1989, length 29:30, see PR Archive, F 45878; Hanna Szopska, 'George Orwell: *Folwark zwierzęcy*' [George Orwell: *Animal Farm*], *Książka tygodnia* [Book of the Week], Polskie Radio III, 16 January 1989, length 16:55, see PR Archive, PR III 107963.
- ²⁹⁶ *Folwark zwierzęcy* [*Animal Farm*], dir. by Jan Machulski, Teatr Ochoty, Warsaw, opening night: 22 February 1990; dir. by Piotr Cieślak, Teatr im. Stefana Jaracza, Łódź, opening night: 19 May 1990; dir. by Marek Pękala, Teatr Lalki i Aktora Kacperek, Rzeszów, 22 June 1990.
- ²⁹⁷ E.g. Cichoń; Tambor; Żelazny.
- ²⁹⁸ *Literatura współczesna 'źle obecna' w szkole: Antologia tekstów literackich i pomocniczych dla klas maturalnych* [Contemporary Literature 'Badly Present' in School: An Anthology of Literary and Complementary Texts for the Final Secondary School Year], ed. by Bożena Chrzęstowska (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1990), p. 5.
- ²⁹⁹ *Literatura współczesna* [Contemporary Literature], ed. by Chrzęstowska, p. 160.
- ³⁰⁰ See e.g. Ministry of National Education (MEN), *Język polski: szkoła średnia: minimum programowe obowiązujące od 1 września 1992* [Polish Language: Secondary School: A Minimum Programme Effective from 1 September 1992] (Warsaw: MEN, 1992), p. 13.
- ³⁰¹ E.g. author's own experience in the 1990s.
- ³⁰² E.g. *Na dnie w Paryżu i w Londynie* [*Down and Out in Paris and London*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski (Gdańsk: Graf, 1992); *Córka proboszcza* [*A Clergyman's Daughter*], trans. by Bohdan Drozdowski (Warsaw: BGW, 1992); a miniature edition of collected essays and fragments of essays illustrative of the evolution of Orwell's views Orwell, *Historię piszą zwycięzcy* [History Is Written by the Winners], trans. and afterword by Anna Małecka (Kraków: Miniatura, 1991).
- ³⁰³ E.g. Orwell, *W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*], trans. by Leszek Kuzaj (Gdynia: Atext, 1990), 2nd edn.
- ³⁰⁴ E.g. collected essays Orwell, *I ślepy by dostrzegł. Wybór esejów i felietonów* [*In Front of Your Nose: a Selection of Essays and Feature Articles*], trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski (Kraków: KAW, 1990), a revised edition of clandestine Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [*In Front of Your Nose*] (BHiL, 1981).
- ³⁰⁵ Wacław Sadkowski, *Od Conrada do Becketta* [From Conrad to Beckett] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1989), p. 142.
- ³⁰⁶ K.Z. [Zabłocki], 'Orwell George' (1993) (p. 262) and K.Z. [Zabłocki], 'Orwell George', in (1997) (p. 474).
- ³⁰⁷ *Rzeczpospolita*, "'Kanon na koniec wieku' – plebiscyt na najwybitniejsze książki XX wieku" ['End of Century Canon' – a Plebiscite for the Greatest Books of the 20th Century], 1999.
- ³⁰⁸ Marek Bernacki, *Literatura wobec totalitaryzmu* [Literature versus Totalitarianism] (Warsaw: Adamantan, 2002), p. 33.
- ³⁰⁹ Adam Michnik at Round Table Talks, see 'Stenogram z drugiego posiedzenia Podzespołu do Spraw Środków Masowego Przekazu' [Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Mass Media Subcommittee], 25 February 1989, in *Okrągły Stół. Podzespół do Spraw Środków Masowego Przekazu* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Sejmowa, 1990), p. 61 <<http://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/stenOkrStol.xsp>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ³¹⁰ Lewandowski, 'Ważne wydarzenie' [An Important Event].
- ³¹¹ L.B. [Bugajski], 18 December 1988; Masłoń, 'Wydarzenia' [Developments]; Knichowiecki, 'Nie taki Orwell' [Orwell's Bark].
- ³¹² Adam Krzemiński, 'Don Kichot w Ministerstwie Prawdy' [Don Quixote in the Ministry of Truth], *Polityka*, 7 January 1989.
- ³¹³ Jan Lewandowski, review of translation of *Rok 1984* by Orwell, *Świat Książki*, 8 February 1989.

Chapter 3

¹ From a dissident song by Jan Krzysztof Kelus, 'Piosenka patetyczna' [A Pompous Song] (1981); the original wording: 'Tak bez miejskiej partyzantki / z dynamitu prohibicją, / wciąż próbując dojść swych racji / papierową amunicją', trans. by Frank L. Vigoda, in Jan Krzysztof Kelus, Witold Łuczywo and Jan Walc, *Words Like Dynamite*, ed. by Gwido Zlatkes (Riverside: Vigoda, 2014), p. 1 <<http://www.vigodapress.com/books/wld>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

² As remembered by Piotr Jegliński, the student in Paris, see Jegliński, 'Placówka w Paryżu' [The Post in Paris], account of 23 September 2008, recorded by Wioletta Wejman, transcribed by Małgorzata Adamczyk, *Scriptores*, 3.39 (2011), 55-78 (particularly pp. 63-64). The smuggler was Wit Wojtowicz and the printers

Janusz Krupski and Bogdan Borusewicz, students of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). See also e.g. Wit Karol Wojtowicz, "'Francuzka" w Lublinie' [The Frenchwoman' in Lublin] ('The Frenchwoman' was the duplicator's nickname), based on account of 17 May 2005, recorded by Wioletta Wejman, *Scriptores*, 3.39 (2011), 227-238 (particularly p. 229).

³ Commonly perceived as the first, e.g. Janusz Krupski, 'Od początku do końca' [From the Beginning to the End], account of 10, 16, 17 and 24 May 2005, recorded by Wioletta Wejman, transcribed by Magdalena Ładziak, Piotr Krotofil and Wioletta Wejman, *Scriptores*, 3.39 (2011), 93-134 (p. 107), or as 'the first spirit duplicator', see e.g. Paweł Nowacki, 'Niezwyczajna przygoda' [An Unusual Adventure], account of 17 May 2005, recorded by Wioletta Wejman, transcribed by Magdalena Kożuch, *Scriptores*, 3.39 (2011), 147-156 (p. 151). Although, e.g. the suppressed movement Ruch had reproduced their bulletin on a spirit duplicator in the late 1960s.

⁴ Reference to Jan Józef Lipski; according to Barbara Toruńczyk, secretary of *Zapis*, reported by Anna Bikont and Joanna Szczęsna, 'Symboliczny akt wolności' [A Symbolic Act of Freedom], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 3 February 2007.

⁵ E.g. Jan Skórzyński, 'Wolne słowo z powielacza' [Free Word from the Duplicator], *Scriptores*, 1.36 (2009), 16-23 (p. 18), repr. from *Polityka*, 15 September 2007, pp. 78-81.

⁶ Jerzy Giedroyc to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, 2 December 1977, in Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Jerzy Giedroyc, *Listy 1952-1998* [Letters 1952-1998], ed. by Dobrosława Platt (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2001), p. 419.

⁷ E.g. NOWa's case. NOWa also acquired two IBM copiers from the US embassy, although one was quickly lost to the security services. See Skórzyński, 'Wolne słowo' [Free Word] (p. 21) or Paweł Sowiński, "'Printers of the Mind": The Culture of Polish Resistance, 1976-89', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 39-59 (p. 41).

⁸ E.g. enen [Witold Łuczywo], 'A Printer's Handbook', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 347-364; orig. publ. *Poradnik drukarza* (Wrocław, 1984); in English also as 'The Practical Printer', trans. by Frank L. Vigoda, in *Words Like Dynamite*, ed. by Zlatkes, pp. 35-55.

⁹ E.g. a group of Kraków engineers developed a few prototypes for the magazine *Myśli Nieinternowane*, e.g. an offset printer, for more see e.g. Jan Strękowski, 'Łakomiec (the Glutton) and LEGO: Underground Production of Printing Equipment in Poland', *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 201-216, and Tomasz Gugąła, 'Wydawnictwo *Myśli Nieinternowanej*: rys historyczny' [Historical Outline of the *Myśli Nieinternowane* Publisher], *Sowiniec*, 44 (June 2014), 85-114 (p. 98) <DOI: 10.12797/Sowiniec.25.2014.44.05>; Andrzej Fedorowicz constructed an offset machine for the clandestine martial law weekly *Tygodnik Wojenny*, later used for *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych*.

¹⁰ Estimated amount used by the largest Kraków publisher Oficyna Literacka, printing in A6 format. See Wojciech Frazik, 'Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 15 grudnia 1981 roku' [Independent Publishing in Kraków after 15 December 1981], in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie: materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 26 czerwca 1992 roku; Bibliografia druków zwartych wydanych poza zasięgiem cenzury w Krakowie w latach 1978-1990* (Kraków: Secesja, 1993), p. 42.

¹¹ The security services filmed the raid on one such bunker printing house near Kraków, see *Myśli Nieinternowane*, 'Likwidacja przez Służbę Bezpieczeństwa drukarni-bunkra w Wieliczce' [Liquidation by the Security Services (SB) of a Printing Bunker in Wieliczka] <<http://myslinieinternowane.pl/archiwum-mn/filmy/likwidacja-przez-drukarni-bunkra-w-wieliczce>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹² Mirosław Chojecki, 'Jak za pomocą gumy od majtek obaliliśmy komunizm' [How by Means of the Underpants Elastic We Overthrew Communism], in *Drogi do wolności w kulturze Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej 1956-2006* [Roads to Freedom in the Culture of Central and Eastern Europe 1956-2006: Proceedings of a Conference 5-7 November 2006 at the Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa 'Kadry dla Europy' in Poznań], ed. by Bogusław Bakuła and Monika Talarczyk-Gubała (Poznań: WiS, 2007). For more on the environment of underground printing and circulation in Poland see e.g. *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński, and Frenkel, particularly: Jan Walc, 'We, the Free Drum'n'Roller Press', pp. 313-334 (orig. publ. 'My, Wolna Wałkowa', *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 4 (1980), in English also as 'We, the Free-Roller Press, in *Words Like Dynamite*, ed. by Zlatkes, pp. 2-34); Szczepan Rudka, 'Printing Kissel: Printing Technologies for Uncensored Publications', pp. 191-200; 'Just a Worker: An Interview with a Printer from TKO Solidarność', pp. 377-384; or 'As Far as Distribution Goes, I've Worked for a Very Long Time: An Interview with Michał, the Head of Distribution for *Tygodnik Mazowsze* between May 1982 and October 1985', pp. 385-390.

¹³ See e.g. Sowiński, 'Printers in the Mind', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński, and Frenkel, pp. 56-58.

¹⁴ Active dissent often intertwined with the second circulation and clandestine printing seen as instruments in effecting a political change. In many cases these activities resulted in persecution leading to death, see e.g. the profile of a schoolboy involved with printing illicit matter detained and beaten up by the security

services (e.g. Anna Grażyna Kister, 'Emil Piotr Barchański', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Emil_Piotr_Barchański> [last modified 14 April 2016]) or the profile of a contributor to various independent periodicals and editor of what was to become the largest underground weekly, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, a Home Army veteran and survivor WWII camps and imprisonments, yet who committed suicide on the news of martial law (see e.g. Włodzimierz Domagalski, 'Jerzy Zieleński', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Jerzy_Zieleński> [last modified 17 April 2016]). In many cases, clandestine activity resulted in disturbed lives by the very nature of clandestinity and expected invigilation. Typically, activists faced 48-hour detentions and sometimes beatings, threats against self and family, sometimes job loss and other harassment. See the ending of section 3.3.1; see also e.g. Friszke, *Polska* [Poland], e.g. p. 343-347, particularly p. 345; Grzegorz Majchrzak 'Kierunek na nękanie. Działania specjalne SB w walce z opozycją w latach siedemdziesiątych' [Intention on Harassment. Activities of the Security Services in the Fight Against the Opposition in the Nineteen Seventies], *Opozycja demokratyczna w PRL w latach 1976-1981*, ed. by Wojciech Polak, Jakub Kufel and Przemysław Ruchlewski (Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2012) <<https://www.ecs.gda.pl/library/File/nauka/e-booki/Opozycja.pdf>> [accessed 5 November 2019], pp. 349-361 (e.g. p. 356); Paweł Sowiński, 'Wojna na znużenie. NOW-a a aparat przemocy 1982-1989' [*Publishers versus Polish Secret Service, 1982-1989*], *Wolność i Solidarność* 10 <https://www.civitas.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/wis-nr-10_2017_pawel-sowinski.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹⁵ *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 213.

¹⁶ E.g. Paweł Kłoczowski, interview 2 April 2014; Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence].

¹⁷ See Chapter 2 and see e.g. Reisch, *Hot Books; Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism*, ed. by Friederike Kind-Kovács and Jessie Labov (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

¹⁸ Stefan Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], [introd. by Ludwik Bohdan Grzeniewski] (Warsaw: Iskry, 2001), 14 July 1968.

¹⁹ Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42

²⁰ Regards Józef Lebenbaum. See Paweł Sowiński, *Tajna dyplomacja: książki emigracyjne w drodze do kraju 1956-1989* [Secret Diplomacy: Émigré Books on their Way to Poland 1956-1989] (Warsaw: Wiąż, ISP PAN, 2016), pp. 129-130.

²¹ Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, p. 42.

²² Zygmunt Mycielski, *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959] (Warsaw: Iskry, 1999), 13 February 1956, p. 193.

²³ Mycielski, *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959], 22 May 1956, p. 195.

²⁴ Mycielski, *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959], 29 October 1958, pp. 368-369; Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 127).

²⁵ Leopold Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954: wersja oryginalna* [Diary 1954: Original Version], ed. and introd. by Henryk Dasko (Warsaw: Prószyński, 1999); a rewritten and first published book version: Leopold Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954* [Diary 1954] (London: Polonia Book Fund, 1980); the latter is available in English: *Diary 1954*, trans. by Anita Shelton and A. J. Wrobel (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2014).

²⁶ Henryk Dasko, 'Wstęp' [Introduction], in Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954: wersja oryginalna* [Diary 1954: Original Version], p. 25.

²⁷ Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954: wersja oryginalna* [Diary 1954: Original Version], 21 March [1954], p. 274. See how the motif of the smell of boiled cabbage is prominent in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, e.g. it appears already in the second paragraph: 'The hallway smelt of boiled cabbage and old rag mats' (p. 3) and is reiterated various times later.

²⁸ Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954: wersja oryginalna* [Diary 1954: Original Version], 21 March [1954], p. 274.

²⁹ Jerzy Jedlicki, 'Nie marksizm mnie uwiódł' [It was Not Marxism that Seduced Me], interviewed by Magdalena Bajer, in *Blizny po ukąszeniu* [Scars after the [Hegelian] Bite], ed. by Magdalena Bajer (Warsaw: Więzy, 2005), pp. 72-93 (p. 85).

³⁰ Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 24 July 1968.

³¹ Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki powojenne 1955-1959* [Post-War Diaries 1955-1959], ed. by Tadeusz Drewnowski, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1996), 23 July 1955, p. 31; Mieczysław Jastrun, *Dziennik 1955-1981* [Diary 1955-1981] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), 26 September 1963, p. 395.

³² Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki* [Post-War Diaries], vol. 3, 15 May 1957, p. 234.

³³ Jastrun, *Dziennik* [Diary], 9 June 1956, p. 53.

³⁴ Mycielski, *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959], 1 March 1959, p. 401.

³⁵ Mycielski, *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959], 1 March 1959, p. 401.

³⁶ Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 31 January 1971.

³⁷ Tomasz Jastrun, 'Ucisk historii i uczucie poezji' [The Oppression of History and the Sense of Poetry], in Mieczysław Jastrun, *Dziennik* [Diary], p. 5.

- ³⁸ Jastrun, *Dziennik* [Diary], 17 and 18 August 1955, p. 30.
- ³⁹ Krzysztof Masłoń, 'Leszek Kołakowski. Filozof-rewizjonista' [Leszek Kołakowski. A Philosopher-Revisionist], *Rzeczpospolita*, 23 October 2012 <<https://www.rp.pl/artukul/335966-Leszek-Kolakowski--Filozof-rewizjonista.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. Alexander Weissberg-Cybulski (1901-1964) was a Polish-Austrian communist, physics professor in the Soviet Union, Arthur Koestler's friend, prisoner of both the NKVD and Gestapo unsuccessfully defended by the likes of Albert Einstein, multiple German camp fugitive; after the war he incisively exposed the Soviet purges, see his *Conspiracy of Silence*, introd. by Arthur Koestler, trans. by Edward Fitzgerald (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1952).
- ⁴⁰ According to Adam Michnik, in e.g. Michnik and Paweł Smoleński in conversation with John le Carré, 'Z kim twój naród pójdzie do łóżka' [With Whom Your Nation Will Go to Bed], *Gazeta Wyborcza, Magazyn Świąteczny*, 21 March 2012.
- ⁴¹ Leszek Kołakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: Its Origin, Growth, and Dissolution*, vol. 3, *The Breakdown*, trans. by P[aul] S[tephen] Falla (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) (orig. publ. *Glówny nurty marksizmu* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1976-)), p. 116, p. 463.
- ⁴² English translation after: Leszek Kołakowski, 'The Death of Gods', in Kołakowski, *Is God Happy?: Selected Essays* (London: Penguin, 2012).
- ⁴³ Adam Michnik, preface to Leszek Kołakowski, 'Śmierć bogów' [*The Death of Gods*], *Gazeta Wyborcza, Magazyn Świąteczny*, 16 October 2012 <http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,124059,12681635,Smierc_bogow.html> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ⁴⁴ Aleksander Wat, *Dziennik bez samoglosek* [A Diary Without Vowels], ed. by Krystyna and Piotr Pietrych (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 2001), pp. 29-30.
- ⁴⁵ Wat, *Dziennik* [A Diary], p. 30.
- ⁴⁶ E.g. he acutely discussed the deprivation of some aesthetic trends and terms such as Man, Freedom, Happiness, Socialism, Peace or Justice in Soviet literature in a paper 'Quelques aperçus sur les rapports entre la littérature et le réalisme soviétique' [Some Notes on the Relationships Between Literature and Soviet Reality] presented at a 1962 conference on Russian literature in Oxford's St Antony's College (see Ryszard Zajączkowski, 'W Archiwum Aleksandra Wata' [In Aleksander Wat's Archive], *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 98/1 (2007), 145-161 (p. 147)), published posthumously: 'Kilka uwag o związkach między literaturą i rzeczywistością sowiecką', *Świat na haku i pod kluczem* [The World on a Hook and under Key], ed. by Krzysztof Rutkowski (London: Polonia Book Fund, 1985), and some observations included in: 'Klucz i hak' [A Key and A Hook], *Kultura*, 7-8 (July-August 1963), 55-75. For more about Wat, see *My Century: The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual*, ed. and trans. by Richard Lourie, foreword by Czesław Miłosz (New York: New York Review of Books, 2013).
- ⁴⁷ To bring Orwell-the essayist closer to Polish readers, the clandestine translator asserted that Orwell's style in English resembles that of Kisielewski, see H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski], 'Od tłumacza' [From the Translator], in Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [In Front of Your Nose] (BHiL, 1981), pp. 3-12 (p. 11); Wojciech Skalmowski made such a link between their fiction, considering even only Kisielewski's books published officially under his own name, see M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'Stefan Kisielewski – powieściopisarz' [Stefan Kisielewski – a Novelist], *Kultura*, 6 (June 1977), 111-114 (p. 112); commenting on Kisielewski's first émigré book on Radio Free Europe, Tadeusz Nowakowski thought that the Poland-based author had 'attentively read' Koestler and Orwell and the poet Kazimierz Wierzyński that 'in this novel we have as if a fragment of Polish Koestler and a fragment of Polish Orwell' only without 'Orwell's metaphysics of communism' but rather 'Koestler and Orwell down-to-earth, day-to-day, in Warsaw', see 'Najlepsza książka polska z napisanych w Kraju i wydanych w r. 1967. Stenogram dyskusji' [Best Polish Book Written in Poland and Published in 1967. Minutes of Discussion], *Wiadomości*, 25 February 1968, supplement *Na Antenie*, no. 59, pp. iv-v (p. iv) (discussion hosted by Roman Palester on Radio Free Europe).
- ⁴⁸ [Censor 'J'], 'Notatka dot. książki T. Stalińskiego *Widziane z góry*' [Note Concerning by T. Staliński's Book *Widziane z góry*], in Andrzej Friszke, 'Widziane z góry Tomasz Stalińskiego' [*Widziane z góry* by Tomasz Staliński], *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 157 (2006), pp. 113-130 (p. 127). Relates to: Tomasz Staliński [Stefan Kisielewski], *Widziane z góry* [Seen from Above] (Paris: Literary Institute, 1967).
- ⁴⁹ Tomasz Staliński [Stefan Kisielewski], *Cienie w pieczarze* [Shadows in a Cave] (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1971), p. 120 and p. 149.
- ⁵⁰ Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 19 May 1973.
- ⁵¹ See e.g. Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 3 May 1969, 30 May 1972, 13 September 1974, or émigré articles, e.g. Kisiel [Stefan Kisielewski], 'Złote myśli na 60 lat' [Words of Wisdom for the 60th Anniversary], *Kultura*, 1-2 (1978), 179-183 (p. 183); Kisiel, 'Gorczyca dwa ziarna' [Two Mustard Seeds], *Kultura*, 5 (1979), 112-115 (p. 114); Kisiel, 'Batalia o czas zmarły, a teraz zmartwychwstający' [The Battle for the Dead Time Now Resurrecting], *Kultura*, 11 (1979), 111-114 (pp. 111-112), among many others.

- ⁵² Jan Józef Szczepański, *Dziennik 1957-1963* [Diary 1957-1963] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2009), 17 April 1962. Szczepański refers to the staging of Mrożek's three one-act plays: *Postępowiec w trzech aktach: Na pełnym morzu, Karol, Strip-Tease* [A 'Progresser' in Three Acts: *Out at Sea, Charlie, Striptease*].
- ⁵³ Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 4 September 1968.
- ⁵⁴ Kisiel [Stefan Kisielewski], 'Szkoła debilizmu, czyli WTD' [The School of Moronism, i.e. the Great Triumph of Moronism], *Kultura*, 7-8 (1979), 200-204 (p. 203).
- ⁵⁵ Stanisław Lem, *Pamiętnik znaleziony w wannie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1961), English edition: *Memoirs Found in a Bathtub*, trans. by Michael Kandel (New York: Seabury, 1973); Stanisław Lem, letter to Michael Kandel, 9 June 1972, in *Listy albo opór materii* [Letters or the Resistance of Matter], ed. by Jerzy Jastrzębski (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), pp. 109-113.
- ⁵⁶ See Chapter 1 and Gombrowicz, 'Fragmenty Dziennika' [Fragments of the Diary], *Kultura*, 9 (September 1953), 45-57, Wednesday (p. 52); Londyńczyk [Mieroszewski], 'Kronika angielska' [English Chronicle], *Kultura*, 12 (December 1960), 57-63 (p. 60); Lem to Kandel, 9 June 1972, *Listy* [Letters], ed. by Jastrzębski, pp. 109-113.
- ⁵⁷ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview, 3 April 2014. Herling-Grudziński's Gulag memoirs were published in English as *A World Apart*, trans. by Joseph Marek [Andrzej Ciołkosz], introd. by Bertrand Russell (London: Heinemann, 1951), Polish edition: *Inny świat*, 1953; Czapski's second Soviet memoirs were accepted in England in 1951, *The Inhuman Land*. A reviewer of his book, though, argued similarly that the Poles have already read and learnt enough about such war-time experiences in Russia, for the Russians they are nothing exceptional, while western readers might hardly believe them, see dr. sz., 'Człowiek na nieludzkiej ziemi' [A Man in the Inhuman Land], *Polak*, 23 (1949).
- ⁵⁸ See Czapski, letter to Koestler, 26 March 1946, Orwell Papers, Add MS 73083, fol. 135^{r+iv}; Arthur Koestler, letter to Orwell, 3 April 1946, and Orwell, letter to Arthur Koestler, 5 March [sic] 1946, in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, p. 215 and pp. 136-137 (p. 137), the last letter dated following *CWGO* and the Papers of Arthur Koestler catalogue, although it must be posterior to March, conceivably 5 April 1946 – see note 74 in this chapter. Hubert von Ranke, aka Moritz Bressler who recommended Czapski to Koestler was a former communist commissar in Spain at the time tasked with hunting down members of the POUM in whose ranks Orwell had been fighting, see Boris Volodarsky, *Stalin's Agent: The Life and Death of Alexander Orlov* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), pp. 250-252.
- ⁵⁹ Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954: wersja oryginalna* [Diary 1954: Original Version], 31 March 1954, p. 307.
- ⁶⁰ From Orwell, 'You and the Atom Bomb', *Tribune*, 19 October 1945, in *CWGO*, xvii: 1945, 319-321 (p. 321); Anna Kamieńska, *Notatnik 1973-1979* [Notebook 1973-1979] (Poznań: W Drodze, 1987), 17 May 1979, p. 249, Kamieńska quotes a translation identical with émigré 'Ty i bomba atomowa', *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 61-64 (p. 64).
- ⁶¹ Kolakowski, 'Totalitarianism & the Lie' and 'Totalitarianism...', in *1984 Revisited*, ed. by Howe.
- ⁶² Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* [Diaries], 9 June 1968.
- ⁶³ Adam Zagajewski, 'Poza zasięgiem pióra' [Beyond the Reach of the Pen], interviewed by Błażej Torański, in *Knebel. Cenzura w PRL* [A Gag. Censorship in People's Poland], ed. by Błażej Torański (Warsaw: Fronda, 2016), pp. 86-98 (p. 87 and p. 88).
- ⁶⁴ Krzysztof J. Baranowski in *Pamiętanie peerelu. Drugi obieg 1976-1989* [Remembering People's Poland. Second Circulation 1976-1989], ed. by Anka Grupińska and Joanna Wawrzyniak (Warsaw: Karta, 2008), p. 42.
- ⁶⁵ Krzysztof Dorosz, 'Poza koleinami' [Off a Rut], interviewed by Łukasz Bertram, *Archiwum 'Aneksu'* <<http://aneks.kulturaliberalna.pl/wywiad/krzysztof-dorosz-pozza-koleinami>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See also 'Rok 1984 Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell], BBC Radio, 15 November 1984.
- ⁶⁶ Jan Krzysztof Kelus, interviewed by Wojciech Staszewski, in *Był raz dobry świat* [There Was Once a Good World] (Warsaw: Prószyński, 1999), p. 29.
- ⁶⁷ Paweł Kłoczowski, interview, 2 April 2014. See also P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction] (pp. 2-3) and *Zeszyty Literackie*, 9 (1985), p. 157.
- ⁶⁸ From a secret informer's report for security services quoted in Andrzej Friszke, 'Desant Komandosów' [Commando Landing], *Polityka*, 9 March 2008 <<http://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/247911,1,desant-komandosow.read>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. The 'commando' was Józef Dajczgewand.
- ⁶⁹ Jerzy Eisler, *Polski rok 1968* [The Polish Nineteen Sixty-Eight] (Warsaw: IPN, 2006), p. 56.
- ⁷⁰ The article was first mistakenly ascribed to Tomasz Staliński [Stefan Kisielewski], see 'W polskich oczach' [In Polish Eyes], *Kultura*, 5 (May 1970), 3-41, which was rectified, to Zenon Mielnicki [Wojciech Karpiński], in *Kultura*, 7-8 (1970), p. 3, n. 1. For more on this period, see e.g. Davies, *God's Playground*, pp. 442-444; Andrzej Friszke, *Polska – losy państwa i narodu 1939-1989* [Poland: History of the State and Nation 1939-1989] (Warsaw: Iskry, 2003), pp. 293-308; or Andrzej Leon Sowa, *Historia polityczna Polski 1944-1991* [A

Political History of Poland 1944-1991] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2011), chapter 'Od nagonki antysemitycznej do wydarzeń grudniowych (1967-1970)' [From the Anti-Semitic Battue to the December Events (1967-1970)], pp. 334-378.

⁷¹ Wojciech Karpiński, 'Prywatna historia wolności' [A Private History of Freedom], *Kultura*, 9 (September 1997), 111-122 (p. 116), and in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].

⁷² Karpiński, 'Prywatna historia...' [A Private History...] (pp. 113-114).

⁷³ Stanisław Barańczak, *Sztuczne oddychanie* [Artificial Breathing], il. by Jan Lebenstein (London: Aneks, 1978). Barańczak left the party at the end of 1975. According to e.g. Jerzy Kandziora, the collection was written between 1971 and 1974 when the manuscript started circulating underground. See Kandziora, 'Trzy pamflety Stanisława Barańczaka' [Three Pamphlets by Stanisław Barańczak], *Teksty Drugie*, 1-2 (2012), 176-192 (pp. 182-183) <<http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=47497>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁷⁴ *New Roads* – a monthly; alongside the daily *Trybuna Ludu* [People's Tribune], the principal outlet of the official politics and propaganda.

⁷⁵ Stanisław Barańczak, 'N.N. rozważa treść słowa "pomiędzy"' [N.N. Considers the Meaning of the Word 'Between'], in Barańczak, *Sztuczne oddychanie* [Artificial Breathing]. Own translation. An English translation of the entire collection is offered by Charles S. Kraszewski, 'Artificial Respiration', *InTranslation*, June 2013 <<http://intranslation.brooklynrail.org/polish/artificial-respiration>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁷⁶ Stanisław Barańczak, *Zaufać nieufności: osiem rozmów o sensie poezji 1990-1992* [To Trust the Distrust: Eight Conversations about the Meaning of Poetry 1990-1992], ed. by Krzysztof Biedrzycki (Kraków: Wydawnictwo M, 1993), p. 106.

⁷⁷ *Aneks*, 6 (1974), herein: Andrzej K. Drucki [Marcin Król], 'Wstęp' [Preface], 3-12; Orwell, 'Uwagi o nacjonalizmie' [Notes on Nationalism], 13-35; 'Gradualizm katastroficzny' [Catastrophic Gradualism], 36-41; 'Refleksje nad Burnhamem' [Second Thoughts on James Burnham / James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution], 42-60; 'Ty i bomba atomowa' [You and the Atom Bomb], 61-64; 'Z "As I Please"' [From 'As I Please'] (24 December 1943, 8 December 1944), 65-69; 'Pisarze i Lewiatan' [Writers and Leviathan], 70-79; 'Zabójcy słowa' [Prevention of Literature], 80-99. See also Marcin Król, *Nieco z boku. Autobiografia niepolityczna* [Slightly from Aside. A Non-Political Autobiography] (Warsaw: Prószyński, 2008); Łukasz Bertram, 'Historia kwartalnika Aneks' [History of the Quarterly Aneks], *Archiwum 'Aneksu'*, <<http://aneks.kulturaliberalna.pl/historia>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁷⁸ 'Notes on Nationalism' and 'Catastrophic Gradualism' reprinted at least in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]); 'Prevention of Literature' in *Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa* (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979), *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]), and *Eseje* (Poznań: Głosy, 1983) entitled 'Literatura w ustroju totalnym' [Literature in a Totalitarian System]; 'Second Thoughts on James Burnham' in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]) and *Eseje* (Poznań: Głosy, 1983), and in Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him], entitled 'Burnham i rewolucja menadżerska' [James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution]; 'You and the Atom Bomb' in *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]); 'Writers and Leviathan' in *Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa* (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979) and *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]). All reprinted in *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985), which served further underground reprints, full and selective. Król's introduction reprinted at least in a special Orwell issue of *Veto*, 13 (1984), 'George Orwell', 5-14, and as 'Przedmowa' [Introduction] to *Eseje* ([Kraków]: Odnowa, [1981]), pp. 1-4.

⁷⁹ Barańczak, *Zaufać nieufności*, p. 106, and presentation at the conference 'Polen – Literatur und Politik', Neuberg, Austria, May 1992, repr. in 'Poezja i duch Uogólnienia' [Poetry and the Spirit of Generalisation], in Barańczak, *Poezja i duch* [Poetry and the Spirit], pp. 248-258 (p. 253, p. 256).

⁸⁰ See e.g. a discussion between Polish two forefront historians Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski, interviewed by Roman Graczyk, 'Komunizm, intelektualiści, Kościół' [Communism, Intellectuals, Church], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 13 October 2010, supplement 'Intelektualiści po 1945 roku - do i od komunizmu' [Intellectuals After 1945: Towards and Away from Communism] <<https://www.tygodnikpowszechny.pl/komunizm-intelektualisci-kosciol-144074>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; see also later discussions in the underground press, many titles available through the Solidarity Encyclopaedia portal, 'Wirtualna Czytelnia Bibuły' [Clandestine Matter Virtual Reading Room] <http://repozytorium.encycol.pl/wiki/WCB_Katalog_alfabetyczny> [accessed 5 November 2019].

⁸¹ Irving Howe, 'Orwell: History as Nightmare', *American Scholar*, 25.2 (spring 1956) 193-207.

⁸² Zygmunt Mycielski, reply to *Res Publica's* survey: 'Which three books published by Polish authors abroad were particularly important to you? (Gombrowicz and Miłosz, as an obvious choice, are excluded)', published in a number closed on 15 May 1981 – *Res Publica* 8 (1981); and Zygmunt Mycielski, *Niby-dziennik ostatni* [Last Quasi-Diary] (Warsaw: Iskry, 2012), 15 May 1982, p. 196.

⁸³ Barbara Toruńczyk, 'Opowieści o pokoleniu 1968 (3)', *Dwutygodnik.com* <<https://www.dwutygodnik.com/artukul/380-opowiesci-o-pokoleniu-1968-3.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

- ⁸⁴ E.g. introduction in Marcin Król and Wojciech Karpiński, *Od Mochnackiego do Piłsudskiego: sylwetki polityczne XIX wieku* [From Mochnacki to Piłsudski: Political Silhouettes of the 19th Century] (Warsaw: Świat Książki, 1997).
- ⁸⁵ Karpiński in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].
- ⁸⁶ E.g. Paweł Kłoczowski, interview, 2 April 2014; Karpiński, in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year]; Kisielewski, frequent motif in *Dzienniki* [Diaries]; Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him], p. 23.
- ⁸⁷ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview 3 April 2014.
- ⁸⁸ Stanisław Barańczak, 'Fasada i tyły' [The Façade and the Backs], *Puls*, 2 (March 1978), 46-50 (p. 49).
- ⁸⁹ E.g. Paweł Kłoczowski recalled how his tutor had lent him a smuggled copy of *Animal Farm*, which served him also to practise English for university entrance examination in the early 1970s. Interview on April 2014.
- ⁹⁰ Broda [Demborz], 'Mój Orwell' [My Orwell]; a competition '40 Years Later' had been announced in *Mysli Nieinternowane*, 12 (March-April 1984), 28-29.
- ⁹¹ Stanisław Lem's introduction to the first post-war edition of Antoni Słonimski's 1923 science-fiction novel *Torpeda czasu* [Time Torpedo] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1967).
- ⁹² Malcolm Cowley, *O sytuacji w literaturze*, trans. by Ewa Krasnowolska, introd. by Janusz Wilhelm (Warsaw: PIW, 1969), here quote from Cowley, *The Literary Situation* (New York: Viking Press, 1954), p. 130.
- ⁹³ Broda [Demborz], 'Mój Orwell' [My Orwell] (p. 21).
- ⁹⁴ Lem, *Fantastyka* [Phantasy], vol. 2, p. 424 and p. 433. See also Ray Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451*, il. by Joe Mugnaini (New York: Ballantine Books, [1953]), another dystopian novel about a system focused on imposing happiness on its society through censorship (and outlawing books), conformity and distraction and which bears affinities with Zamyatin's *We*, Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.
- ⁹⁵ Broda [Demborz], 'Mój Orwell' [My Orwell] (p. 22).
- ⁹⁶ Andrzej Kostrzewski, letter to the Jagiellonian Library, 14 April 1999, Kraków, Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego (FCDCN) [Foundation of the Centre for the Documentation of Struggles for Independence], ID 8354 A, shelfmark AR 4175 III RARA <http://sowiniec.com.pl/zbiory_o/AR_4175_a.jpg> [accessed 5 November 2019], see also the accompanying edition: Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. Juliusz Mieroszewski [Kraków: n. pub., c. 1976].
- ⁹⁷ Including publications of independent Solidarity presses acting legally during the 'Solidarity carnival' in 1980-1981. See National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books]; Jadwiga Sadowska, 'Bibliografia i polityka w Polsce w latach 1946-1990' [*Bibliography and Politics in Poland During the Years 1946-1990*], in *Niewygodne dla władzy*, ed. by Degen and Gzella, pp. 255-273 (p. 271); or Adam Mielczarek, 'Raz jeszcze o sondażowych szacunkach zasięgu wydawnictw podziemnych lat osiemdziesiątych' [*Once More about the Survey-Based Estimates of the Coverage of Underground Publications in the 80s*], *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 23 (2014), 369-389 (p. 369).
- ⁹⁸ Andrzej Paczkowski suggests an average as high as 3,000-5000 copies already in the first three years of the clandestine publishing boom, see his 'Drugi obieg' [Second Circulation], *Scriptores*, 1.36 (2009), ed. by Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska and Anna Kiszka, 24-29 (p. 29), orig. publ. *Rzeczpospolita*, 2 June 2003, pp. 1-3.
- ⁹⁹ Dorosz however does not provide the source for this number, possibly relying on the book's imprint which may or may not be factual, considering the first publisher's somewhat flippant edge and the notorious idiosyncrasy of its founder Janusz Korwin-Mikke. See Beata Dorosz, 'Literatura i krytyka literacka w drugim obiegu (1977-1989). Rekonesans bibliograficzny w zakresie druków zwartych' [Literature and Literary Criticism in the Second Circulation (1977-1989). Bibliographic Reconnaissance of Book-Form Publications], in *Piśmiennictwo...* [Writing...], ed. by Kostecki and Brodzka, vol. 2, pp. 335-355 (p. 354).
- ¹⁰⁰ No surveys are known dealing directly with the public's familiarity with particular authors who were present practically only in the clandestine circulation. This survey included respondents over the age of 15 in 1982, see Adam Mielczarek, 'Kto konspirował?' [Who Conspired?], in Mielczarek *et al.*, *Śpiący rycerze: szeregowi działacze warszawskiego podziemia wydawniczego lat osiemdziesiątych* [Sleeping Knights: Ordinary Workers of the Warsaw Publishing Underground of the Eighties] (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2006), pp. 21-22. Own numeric conversion on the basis of demographic data from Main Statistical Office, *Rocznik statystyczny* [Journal of Statistics] for 1983 (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny), p. 35, table 5 (62). On the other hand, e.g. the PWN Popular Encyclopaedia gives a diametrically different picture of the reach of clandestine publishing: 200,000 to 250 000 people. See entry 'drugi obieg wydawniczy' [Second Publishing Circulation] <<http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/drugi-obieg-wydawniczy;3894406.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. However, Mielczarek's research results seem confirmed by other *ex post* surveys from 2009 and 2012, where declared contact with clandestine prints was even higher (34 and 32 percent of respondents born before 1964, the former including contact in the

1970s, the latter only the 1980s), they also seem confirmed by a mid-1983 state survey where nearly as much as 40 percent of respondents were to admit – in front of state-employed interviewers – ‘familiarity or contact’ with clandestinely circulated sources of information. See Mielczarek, ‘Raz jeszcze...’ [Once More...] (particularly p. 370 and pp. 372-374).

¹⁰¹ National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books]; and *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], ed. by Kandziara and Szymańska, pp. 716-719, items 5184-5231 (i.e. 47 items, which include two comic adaptations of *Animal Farm*).

¹⁰² Paweł Sowiński, *Zakazana książka: uczestnicy drugiego obiegu 1977-1989* [The Forbidden Book: Participants of the Second Circulation 1977-1989] (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2011), Table 5, pp. 301-303.

¹⁰³ Sowiński, *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], Table 4, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰⁴ Based on own consultation of National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] database using Sowiński’s list of most frequently published authors in *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], Table 4, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰⁵ Władysław St. Reymont, *Bunt* [Rebellion] (Warsaw: Fronda, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ Stanisław Siekierski, ‘Drugi obieg. Uwagi o przyczynach powstania i społecznych funkcjach’ [Second Circulation. Comments on Causes for Emergence and Social Functions], in *Piśmiennictwo* [Writing], vol. 2, pp. 285-296 (p. 287).

¹⁰⁷ Andrzej Paczkowski assesses that over 2,000 press and periodical titles and over 1,500 books and brochures were published, see Paczkowski, ‘Drugi obieg’ [Second Circulation].

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. Janusz Dunin, ‘Odpis jako forma rozpowszechniania tekstów’ [Copying as a Form of Publication], in *Piśmiennictwo* [Writing], ed. by Kostecki and Brodzka, vol. 2, pp. 151-163; Grzegorz Majchrzak, ‘Drugi obieg, czyli bibuła’ [Second Circulation, That Is Bible Paper Prints], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, Supplement ‘Anamneses: ‘89 – korzenie wolności’, 19 November 2013, <<https://www.tygodnikpowszechny.pl/drugi-obieg-czyli-bibuła-21176>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹⁰⁹ E.g. the Lublin students made an early attempt at producing a photographed volume of Solzhenitsyn’s *The Gulag Archipelago*, see e.g. Skórzyński, ‘Wolne słowo’ [Free Word...] (p. 18).

¹¹⁰ Majchrzak, ‘Drugi obieg’ [Second Circulation].

¹¹¹ E.g. the arrests of a group led by Przemysław Górny on 7 May 1960; 18 September 1965 Jan Nepomucen Miller was sentenced to three years for publishing in London’s *Wiadomości*; the frustration of Maciej Kozłowski’s initiative to print a paper in Czechoslovakia which after the events of 1968 was more liberal than Poland where Gomułka’s regime was ‘tightening the screws’, and to then smuggle the paper to Poland.

¹¹² Such as e.g. those represented by Kazimierz Mijal.

¹¹³ See e.g. Polish Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, IPN), ‘Czerwiec ‘76’ [June ‘76] <<http://czerwiec76.ipn.gov.pl>> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹¹⁴ First secretary Stanisław Kania, quoted in Paczkowski, ‘Drugi obieg’ [Second Circulation] (pp. 25-26).

¹¹⁵ E.g. Paczkowski, ‘Drugi obieg’ [Second Circulation] (p. 26).

¹¹⁶ See e.g. Wiesława Grochola in, ‘Words Like Dynamite’, in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 391-442 (p. 396); Dorosz, ‘Literatura i krytyka’ [Literature and Literary Criticism]; Jegliński, ‘Placówka w Paryżu’ [The Post in Paris] (p. 67); Krupski, ‘Od początku do końca’ [From the Beginning to the End] (p. 106). See also Orwell’s article mentioning the two Polish communists who perished during the purges and then from memory: [Orwell], editorial, *Polemic*, 3 (May 1946), in *CWGO*, xviii: 1946, pp. 263-268 (p. 267), Orwell’s spelling: Ehrlich.

¹¹⁷ Stanisław Barańczak, ‘Dlaczego *Zapis*’ [Why *Zapis*], *Zapis*, 1 (1977). It is said to have appeared in March 1977, see e.g. preface to Stanisław Barańczak, ‘Introducing *Zapis*’, *Index on Censorship*, 6.4 (July 1977), 7-12 (p. 7). Barańczak’s introduction would be reprinted in *Aneks*, 15 (1977), 30-40, and promptly translated into English, see Barańczak, ‘Introducing *Zapis*’; repr. also in Barańczak, *Poezja i duch* [Poetry and the Spirit], pp. 87-97. *Zapis* is commonly treated as the first clandestine literary journal, although e.g. in 1975-1976 Tadeusz Walendowski, co-funder of clandestine and later émigré *Puls*, issued his samizdat *Teatr Uliczny i Domowy* [Street and Home Theatre] presenting theatre and film scripts and translations of plays. See Włodzimierz Domagalski, ‘Tadeusz Walendowski’, in *Encyclopedia Solidarności* [Solidarity Encyclopaedia] <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Tadeusz_Walendowski> [last amended 21 August 2013].

¹¹⁸ Quote from the English version in Barańczak, ‘Introducing *Zapis*’ (p. 7).

¹¹⁹ Orwell, ‘Prevention of Literature’ (p. 376).

¹²⁰ Herling-Grudziński, ‘Stoń i... niepodległość’ [The Elephant and... the Independence], *Zapis*, 7 (1978), 63-66 (p. 65). *Index on Censorship* advertised this issue’s reprint in vol. 8.3 (1979), p.60 (£4/\$10).

¹²¹ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview, 3 April 2014; Paweł Kłoczowski, interview, 2 April 2014; Piątkowska, ‘On the Paradoxes of Orwell’s Polish Reception’ (p. 121).

- ¹²² Barańczak, 'Dlaczego *Zapis*' [Why *Zapis*], in *Poezja i duch* [Poetry and the Spirit], p. 87.
- ¹²³ Mirosław Chojecki in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].
- ¹²⁴ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Andrzej Krauze (Warsaw: NOWa, 1979).
- ¹²⁵ As remembered by Andrzej Krauze in an interview with Błażej Torański, see 'Jestem wolny, rysuję dla siebie' [I Am Free, I Draw for Myself], in *Knebel* [A Gag...], ed. by Torański, pp. 219-227 (p. 223). *Puls* co-founder was Tadeusz Walendowski, see more e.g. in Domagalski, 'Tadeusz Walendowski'.
- ¹²⁶ As remembered by Krauze, in 'Jestem wolny' [I Am Free], in *Knebel* [A Gag...], ed. by Torański (p. 223).
- ¹²⁷ Information on the back cover: 'February 1979, order no. 9/79'. A security services report of 14 March 1979 stated that it was 'in preparation', see 'Informacja operacyjna ze spotkania z TW pseudonim "Marian"' [Operational Information from Meeting with Secret Collaborator Codename 'Marian'], in *Kryptonim 'Pegaz'. Służba Bezpieczeństwa wobec towarzystwa kursów naukowych 1978-1980* [Codename 'Pegaz'. Security Services Towards the Learning Courses Society (TKN) 1978-1980], ed. by Łukasz Kamiński and Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: IPN, 2008), p. 263. Compare the print run of NOWa's other book publications at this time, e.g. Tadeusz Konwicki, *Kompleks polski* [*The Polish Complex*] as *Zapis*, 3 (1977) in 3,500 copies and Konwicki's *Mata apokalipsa* [*A Minor Apocalypse*] in 1979 in 15,000 copies. See e.g. Justyna Błażejowska, 'Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza NOWa', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności*, vol. 1, ed. by Mirosława Łątkowska (Warsaw: Volumen; Katowice: Stowarzyszenie Pokolenie, 2010), also at <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Niezależna_Oficyna_Wydawnicza> [last modified 10 November 2013]. The clandestine publications' printing techniques have been determined by own inspection contrasted with imprint information, where given, and that of the catalogue of the FCDCN [Foundation of the Centre for the Documentation of Struggles for Independence] <<http://sowiniec.com.pl>>.
- ¹²⁸ After *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], ed. by Kandziora and Szymańska, p. 716, item 5185: Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* (Wrocław: Studencki Komitet Solidarności, 1979). National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] does not register it, whereas Sowiński conveys that no clandestine book publications appeared in Wrocław that year, see *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], p. 298.
- ¹²⁹ Orwell, *Pisarze i Lewiatan. Zabójcy słowa* [*Writers and the Leviathan. Prevention of Literature*] (Kraków: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', 1979), reprint from *Aneks*, 6 (1974).
- ¹³⁰ Marcin Król, 'Inna rewolucja' [A Different Revolution], *Res Publica*, 7 (1981), 1-14 (pp. 5-6).
- ¹³¹ Podlaski [Dybcia], 'Przed i po 1984' [Before and After 1984] (pp. 128-129).
- ¹³² Podlaski [Dybcia], 'Przed i po 1984' [Before and After 1984] (p. 129); English quote after Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, pp. 251-252.
- ¹³³ Sowa, *Historia*, pp. 452-453.
- ¹³⁴ E.g. Jan Olaszek, *Rewolucja powielaczy: niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Polsce 1976-1989* [Duplicators' Revolution: Independent Publishing Circulation in Poland 1976-1989] (Warsaw: Trzecia Strona, 2015), p. 195; National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] following Sowiński's calculation in *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], p. 298.
- ¹³⁵ National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] records 11 titles; *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], ed. by Kandziora and Szymańska records 13, pp. 716-717, items 5189-5192, 5194-5202.
- ¹³⁶ Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Głos, 1980).
- ¹³⁷ Leonid Brezhnev to Polish first secretary Stanisław Kania at Warsaw Pact leaders' meeting, Moscow, 5 December 1980, quoted in Friszke, *Polska* [Poland], p. 386.
- ¹³⁸ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Głos, 1983).
- ¹³⁹ Orwell, *1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski, introd. by Broński [Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kos, 1981) (publisher's former name: Krakowska Oficyna Studentów 'k', later Oficyna Literacka). See their earlier Orwell, *Pisarze i Lewiatan....* [*Writers and the Leviathan...*] (1979). See Marcin Krzek-Lubowiecki, 'Krakowski drugi obieg druków zwartych w latach 1977-1989 – próba ujęcia statystycznego' [*Second Circulation (Samizdat) of Non-Serial Publications in Krakow in Years 1977-1989 – an Attempt at Statistical Approach*], *Res Gestae*, 2 (2016), pp. 94-118 (p. 110).
- ¹⁴⁰ Broński [Skalmowski], 'George Orwell'.
- ¹⁴¹ Poet Jan Polkowski, future co-founder of an important periodical *Arka* which in 1984 issued a special Orwell number. See also Orwell, *1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski, introd. by Broński [Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo ABC, 1981).
- ¹⁴² Orwell, *Rok 1984* ([Gdańsk]: Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska, [1981]). The publication is undated. National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] dates it '198?', *Solidarity Encyclopaedia* lists it among books published between 1977 and 1981, see there Arkadiusz Kazański, 'Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska' <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Wydawnictwo_Młoda_Polska> [last modified 23 January 2016], but various sources indicate 1981, for instance, *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], p. 717, item 5200, or Anna Supruniuk and Mirosław Supruniuk, *Drugi obieg wydawniczy (1974) 1976-1990 w zasobie Biblioteki*

- Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu* [Second Publishing Circulation (1974) 1976-1990 in the Collections of the University Library in Toruń], vol. 1 (Warsaw: IPN, 2015), p. 449, item 3417, or indicate at least the Solidarity's legal period, e.g. Konrad Knoch and Mirosław Rybicki, 'Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska (WMP) of Gdańsk', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 85-113 (p. 90-91).
- ¹⁴³ Knoch and Rybicki, 'Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel (p. 91).
- ¹⁴⁴ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* ([Wrocław]: Kooperatywa Wydawnicza Wyzwolenie, [1981]), the publication year after: *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] (p. 717, item 5194), the catalogue of the FCDCN (ID: 8342 A, shelfmark R 3736 III RARA (F.CDCN, 1044)), and Artur Adamski, 'Kooperatywa Wydawnicza Wyzwolenie', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Kooperatywa_Wydawnicza_Wyzwolenie> [last modified 20 August 2013].
- ¹⁴⁵ E.g. Kamil Dworaczek, 'The "Second Circulation" in Wrocław: The Major Publishers', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 115-130 (p. 118).
- ¹⁴⁶ Mirosław Chojecki speaking in Sławomir Koehler, *Notacje* (Narodowy Instytut Audiowizualny, Telewizja Polska, 2013) <<http://ninateka.pl/film/miroslaw-chojecki-notacje>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹⁴⁷ Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 1967), p. 184.
- ¹⁴⁸ See e.g. Orwell, 'Reflections on Gandhi', *Partisan Review*, January 1949, in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 5-12.
- ¹⁴⁹ Orwell, *Zwierzęcy folwark* (fragm.), *Rota 80* [Oath Wording 80], 2-3 (1981), cultural pull-outs called *Klimaty* [The Vibes].
- ¹⁵⁰ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska, il. by Krauze (Kraków; Warsaw: Po Prostu Bis; Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3 Maja, 1981), imprint dated February 1981. The Kraków student organisation was ARO, it published under the imprint Po Prostu Bis which referred to the rebel student journal, *Po prostu*, closed at the first wave of freeze in 1957. For their book publications, see e.g. the catalogues of the National Library or the Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego (FCDCN) [Foundation of the Centre for the Documentation of Struggles for Independence], or see Paweł Goleń, 'Po Prostu Bis', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://encycol.pl/wiki/Po_Prostu_Bis> [last modified 5 November 2016].
- ¹⁵¹ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska, afterword by Broński [Skalmowski] (fragm. of his introduction to *Rok 1984* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979)), illustrated (Poznań: Wprost [of an independent students' union of law and administration], [19]81). See the cover e.g. at the Museum of Free Word (Muzeum Wolnego Słowa) <http://m-ws.pl/bibula/_bzor.html> [last modified 26 April 2017].
- ¹⁵² See Orwell, 'The Art of Donald McGill', *Horizon*, September 1941, in *CWGO*, xiii: 1941-1942, pp. 23-31.
- ¹⁵³ Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska (Szczecin; Warsaw: Akademicka Agencja Wydawnicza [of an independent student organisation]; NOWa, [19]81), p. [i] (unnumbered) and *ibid.* (Kraków; Warsaw: Po Prostu Bis; Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3 Maja, 1981), p. [i] (unnumbered). Other 1981 editions of *Animal Farm* included: (Warsaw: Zbliżenia, 1981) and at least two anonymous ones from Warsaw, for which the Museum of Free Word (Muzeum Wolnego Słowa) displays at least three different covers <http://m-ws.pl/bibula/_bzor.html> [last modified 26 April 2017].
- ¹⁵⁴ H. Lewis Allways [Bartłomiej Zborski], 'Mały przewodnik po *Folwarku zwierzęcym*' [A Small Guide to *Animal Farm*], in Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, 1981), pp. i-xii. It was informed not only by the *CEJL*, but also e.g. Jeffrey Meyers's *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975) and Bernard Crick's latest Orwell biography.
- ¹⁵⁵ Orwell, *Eseje*, introd. by Andrzej K. Drucki [Marcin Król] ([Kraków]: Odnova, [1981]), reprint from *Aneks*, 6 (1974) omitting their choice of 'As I Please'.
- ¹⁵⁶ Orwell, 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], *Puls*. See also 'Dlaczego piszę', *Tygodnik Powszechny*. See also Leszek Próchniak, 'Puls', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <[http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Puls_\(Warszawa\)](http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Puls_(Warszawa))> [last modified 5 November 2016]. Similarly to its only slightly older peer *Zapis*, *Puls*'s issues would be republished in London. The émigré anthology: Orwell, *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985).
- ¹⁵⁷ Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [*In Front of Your Nose*] (BHiL, 1981). It includes: Allways [Zborski], 'Od tłumacza' [From the Translator], 3-12; 'O sobie' [Preface to the Ukrainian Edition of *Animal Farm*], 13-19; 'Etyka na opak wywrócona' [editorial, *Polemic*, 3], 20-31; 'Ku jedności europejskiej' [*Toward European Unity*], 32-44; 'Powstanie i krytycy' ['*As I Please*', 1 September 1944 on Warsaw rising], 45-52; 'Prawdę tworzą zwycięzcy' ['*As I Please*', 4 February 1944, on history being written by winners], 53-57; 'Ziemia jest płaska' ['*As I Please*', 27 December 1946, on flat Earth], 58-61; 'Notatki w drodze' [*Notes on the Way*], 62-70; 'Co to jest faszyzm' ['*As I Please*', 24 March 1944, on what fascism is], 71-80; 'Jak grochem o ścianę' [second part of '*As I Please*', 19 May 1944, on *Tribune*, nationalism and communism], 81-83; 'Szesnastu Polaków przed sądem moskiewskim' [unpublished letter to *Tribune*, 26[?] June 1945], 84-88; 'Rozważania o

- Gandhim' [*Reflections on Gandhi*], 89-106; 'I ślepy by spostrzegł' [*In Front of Your Nose*], 107-114; life chronology, 115-120.
- ¹⁵⁸ Allways [Zborski], 'Od tłumacza' [From the Translator], in Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [*In Front of Your Nose*] (BHiL, 1981) (pp. 7-8).
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* (p. 8).
- ¹⁶⁰ Bronisław Komorowski, interviewed by Jan Skórzyński, 'Nietakt niepodległościowy' [Independist Faux-Pas], *Polityka*, 19-25 June 2013, p. 61 (pp. 60-62) available also as 'Rozmowa z prezydentem Bronisławem Komorowskim' [A Conversation with President Bronisław Komorowski] at <<https://archiwum.polityka.pl/art/-nietakt-niepodleglosciowy,439151.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. The right-leaning movement rivalling KOR was ROPCiO, the Movement for the Rights of Man and Citizen.
- ¹⁶¹ AAN, KC PZPR, XI C (Chancellery of Personal Secretaries to the First Secretary, Secretariat of Andrzej Barzyk (1981-1984)) / 54, fols 44-53 (fols 44-45), 'Działalność wydawnicza NSZZ "Solidarność" – region Mazowsze' [Publishing Activity of NSZZ 'Solidarność' – Mazovia Region], undated, judging by the publisher ABC mentioned, the document must follow spring 1981.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.* (fols 46-53).
- ¹⁶³ [Michał Głowiński], 'Nowomowa (Rekonosans)', in *Język propagandy* [Language of Propaganda], ed. by A. Amsterdamski, A. Jawłowska, T. Kowalik (Warsaw: NOWA 1979); summarised by M. Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'Totalitarny język komunizmu' [Totalitarian Language of Communism], *Kultura*, 12 (1979), 91-99, and reviewed there 'Język propagandy' [Propaganda Language], 103-106, and reviewed underground: *Aspekt*, 2-3 (1979), 'Mała kontestacja na rykowisku drętwej mowy' [A Small Contestation amidst the Rut of Drab Speech], 93-96, or noted by J. Rakowiecki, 'Odjęcie zmysłów' [Substraction of Senses], *Indeks*, 6 (March-April 1979).
- ¹⁶⁴ Michał Głowiński, 'Czy nowa polszczyzna?' [A New Polish Language?], *Polityka*, 21 June 1980, p. 9.
- ¹⁶⁵ Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 126).
- ¹⁶⁶ E.g. Ireneusz Bobrowski and Marek Łepecki, 'Sesja naukowa na UJ' [A Seminar at the Jagiellonian University], *Język Polski*, 63.1-2 (1983), 152-154 (p. 152).
- ¹⁶⁷ E.g. *Nowo-mowa* [Newspeak. Materials from a Seminar on the Problems of Contemporary Polish Language Held at the Jagiellonian University on 16 and 17 January 1981], ed. by Jolanta Rokoszowa and Wacław Twardzik (London: Polonia Book Fund, 1985); *Nowomowa* [Newspeak] ([Warsaw: KOS], Oświata Niezależna, [1984]).
- ¹⁶⁸ KT [Tomasz Łubieński], 'Nad ranem' [At Dawn], *Res Publica*, 8 (1981), 14-19 (p. 15).
- ¹⁶⁹ Podlaski [Dybcia], 'Przed i po 1984' [Before and After 1984] (pp. 127-128). See a similar recollection e.g. 'Orwell resounded then strongly and well' by Tomasz Werny [Andrzej Titkow], 'Newspeak, 1985', *Kultura Niezależna* [Independent Culture], 20 (30 April 1986) 81-85 (p. 82).
- ¹⁷⁰ Article 4(1)(1) of Dekret z dnia 12 grudnia 1981 r. o stanie wojennym [Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law], *Journal of Laws* (Dz.U.), No. 29, item 154.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, article 48.
- ¹⁷² Podlaski [Dybcia], 'Przed i po 1984' [Before and After 1984] (p. 126).
- ¹⁷³ Nearly 3,000 were detained on the night of 12 to 13 December 1981 and nearly 3,500 on December 14th, by mid-October 1982, over 11,000 were arrested and over 5,000 convicted. See Sowa, *Historia*, p. 505, p. 515.
- ¹⁷⁴ Kazimierz Ossowski interviewed by Marcin Łaszczyński on 22 June 2007, in Łaszczyński, 'Krąg i jego krąg. Wydawnictwo w świetle relacji' [Krąg and Its Circle. The Publisher in the Light of Accounts], *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 9.2 (2010), 139-169 (p. 160). See also Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Krąg, 1982).
- ¹⁷⁵ myślący, 'Klimat nowomowy' [Newspeak Climate], *Afront*, 1, 30 April 1982, pp. 2-4, and ensuing editor's note, p. 4.
- ¹⁷⁶ Poznań academic Solidarity paper analysed *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* totalitarian vision and offer an excerpt: A.M., *Biuletyn Wojenny* [Wartime Bulletin], 4, 2/9 May 1982, pp. 1-3; Kraków school-circles' magazine offered an excerpt too: Orwell, '1984', *Promieniści* [The Radiants], 2, 1 November 1982, p. 1.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Wiersze i satyry okupacyjne AD 1981* ([Warsaw]: Wydawnictwo im. G. Orwella, 1982), parts 1, 2, 3 and 4. See e.g. Tadeusz Ruzikowski, *Stan wojenny w Warszawie i województwie stołecznym 1981-1983* [Martial Law in Warsaw and the Capital Province 1981-1983] (Warsaw: IPN, 2013), Annex 3, p. 564.
- ¹⁷⁸ According to National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books], after Sowiński, *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], p. 297, table 1.
- ¹⁷⁹ Both National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books], and *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] (p. 717, items 5203 and 5204) record two editions of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1982. Both concur on one: Orwell, *Rok 1984* (Warsaw: Krąg, 1982). As the second, the National Library lists: *Rok 1984* (n.p.: n. pub. [1982]); while *Bez cenzury* lists: *1984* (n.p.: n. pub. [1982]). A bibliography of clandestine reprints from

Parisian Literary Institute records not only all three editions (p. 132, items 833 and 835, and p. 133, item 845), but also a fourth one: Orwell, *Rok 1984* ([Łódź: Solidarność Walcząca, 1982]). See Mirosław Supruniuk, 'Kultura'. *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Instytutu Literackiego w Paryżu, T. 2: Bibliografia przedruków wydawnictw IL w Paryżu w niezależnych oficynach wydawniczych w Polsce w latach 1977-1990* [Kultura. Source Materials for the History of the Literary Institute in Paris in Independent Publishing Houses in Poland in the Years 1977-1990] (Warsaw: Tow. Opieki nad Archiwum IL w Paryżu, 1995), p. 132, item 834. Supruniuk indicates as his source: Marek Wasiak, *Wydawnictwo 'Solidarność Walcząca', Wydawnictwo Społeczne 'Fakt', Łódzki Zespół Oświaty Niezależnej. Materiały bibliograficzne* (Łódź: published by the author, 1991). Krzysztof Bronowski indicates, however, that Wasiak might be mistaken and the fourth, Łódź, edition might not have been published. See Bronowski, section: 'Druki zwarte: Or', *Polskie wydawnictwa niezależne 1976-1989* [Polish Independent Publications 1976-1989], Muzeum Wolnego Słowa <http://www.m-ws.pl/bibula/_bzor.html> [last modified 26 April 2017]. In addition, Tadeusz Ruzikowski appears to suggest that the 1983 edition of *Animal Farm* by Głos was published still during martial law. See Ruzikowski, *Stan wojenny w Warszawie* [Martial Law in Warsaw], p. 267 and n. 866.

¹⁸⁰ National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] lists nine Orwell books, and *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] lists six (pp. 717-718, items 5205-5210). Total number of book publications in 1983 – the National Library database, after Sowiński, *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], p. 297, table 1.

¹⁸¹ National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books] and *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship]; the yearly totals of books given according to the National Library database, after *Zakazana książka* [Forbidden Book], p. 297, table 1

¹⁸² [Andrzej Rosner] interviewed by Grzegorz Nawrocki, 'Lasting Cultural Values: A Conversation with a Publisher from Wydawnictwo Krąg, June 1986', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel, pp. 335-346 (p. 336); orig. publ. 'Trwałe wartości kultury: Rozmowa z przedstawicielem wydawnictwa Krąg', in Grzegorz Nawrocki, *Struktury nadziei* (Warsaw: Pokolenie, 1988), pp. 20-28.

¹⁸³ Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Krąg, 1982), see also *ibid.* (Warsaw: Głos, 1980). Krąg's typical book print runs oscillated around 1,500-8000 copies, see e.g. Ruzikowski, *Stan wojenny w Warszawie* [Martial Law in Warsaw], p. 272.

¹⁸⁴ My highlight. Bibliofil, 'Nowe książki' [New Books], *Nowy Zapis*, 1 (December 1982), p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ Nina Smolar of *Aneks* claims to have been taking care of Krąg's foreign rights, see Smolar interviewed by Marcin Łaszczyński on 11 March 2008, in Łaszczyński, 'Krąg i jego krąg' [Krąg and Its Circle] (pp. 157-158), although Krąg's literary editor recalled that they still published some foreign works without authorisation, see there (p. 158) Piotr Mitzner interviewed by Łaszczyński on 27 March 2008, and Krąg's co-founder stressing that he 'did not encounter any complaints formulated by anyone, by inheritors of Orwell, for example. [...] They believed that this should be published underground and never demanded money', see Andrzej Rosner interviewed by Łaszczyński on 4 April 2007 (p. 158).

¹⁸⁶ Bartłomiej Zborski, 'Od tłumacza: Orwellowski alfabetyczny miszmasz' [From the Translator: An Orwell Alphabetic Mishmash], in D. J. Taylor, *Orwell: 1903-1950*, trans. by Bartłomiej Zborski (Warsaw: Twój Styl, 2007), p. 652 (trans. of *Orwell. The Life*, 2003).

¹⁸⁷ [Rosner] interviewed by Nawrocki, 'Lasting Cultural Values', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński and Frenkel (p. 337).

¹⁸⁸ 'Relacja Krzysztofa Budziakowskiego' [Krzysztof Budziakowski's Account], in *Encyklopedia Solidarności*, transcribed by Sławomir Chmura, ed. by Alicja Lipska <http://www.encysol.pl/wiki/L00107_Krzysztof_Budziakowski> [last edited 20 August 2013]. Budziakowski was a Kraków underground activist, publisher and distributor.

¹⁸⁹ An occasional and often anonymous publisher, also of *Animal Farm*, Adam Kutkowski, sometimes signing prints as Aut 82 or XXX, concurred that for his group it was not about setting up a publisher, which could make invigilation easier for the security services, but independent books being published, see Adam Kutkowski's account of 14 March 2003 in Ewa Kuszyk-Peciak, 'Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie w latach 1983-1989. Wybrane wydawnictwa książkowe' [Independent Publishing in Lublin in the Years 1983-1989. Selected Book Publications] (master's thesis, UMCS, Lublin, 2003), Annex 9 <http://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/dlibra/dlibra/docmetadata?id=9140&from=&dirids=7&ver_id=25712&lp=3&Ql=!!A61EA9BF0BB0D4F9222FAF60DA2E565F-474> [accessed 5 November 2019].

¹⁹⁰ 'Kronika (XI 1983 – I 1984)' [Chronicle (November 1983 – January 1984)], *Kultura Niezależna*, 1 (1984), pp. 73-81 (p. 80). See also booklet Amalrik, *Will the Soviet Union....*

¹⁹¹ Mycielski, *Niby-dziennik ostatni* [Last Quasi-Diary], pp. 346.

¹⁹² *Słowo*, 31 December 1983, 'Rocznica' [Anniversary], p. 1.

¹⁹³ E.g. *BMW Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy* [Inter-Publisher Bulletin], 4 (1984); *Bez Debitu* [Without Right to Circulate], 1 (1984/85); *Arka*, 8 (1984); and *Veto*, special Orwell issue 13 (1984).

- ¹⁹⁴ E.g. *Biuletyn Małopolski*, 1 (20 January 1984), 'Encyklopedia Solidarności' [Solidarity Encyclopaedia], p. 12, 11; *Kurs*, 5 (January 1984), 'Rok 1984 – Rok 1984', 1; *Unia*, 7 [1984], 'Wspomnienie o George Orwellu' [A Recollection of George Orwell], 39-40 – the last two are similar and seem to rely on the cover story by Paul Gray, 'That Year Is Almost Here', *Time*, 28 November 1983, pp. 30-35, only *Unia* indicates it.
- ¹⁹⁵ Orwell, *Rok 1984* (Warsaw: Liberta [previously Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka], 1984); *Rok 1984* (Warsaw: Zbliżenia, 1984) – publication years given as per imprints, although e.g. Jan Olaszek claims that no edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was published in 1984 (Olaszek, *Rewolucja powielaczy* [Duplicators' Revolution]). Piotr Stalmaszczyk, however, recalls assembling an edition in his flat in Łódź with Zbigniew Koszałkowski 'on the turn of 1983 and 1984', see 'Piotr Jarosław Stalmaszczyk' in *Słownik 'Niezależni dla kultury 1976-1979'* [Dictionary 'Independent (Activists) for Culture'], ed. by Małgorzata Zaremba *et al.* (Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa; Narodowe Centrum Kultury) <<http://www.slownik-niezaleznidlakultury.pl/index.php?page=wysyp&sel=S&klucz=312&s=>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* (Warsaw: Stop, 1984); *Folwark zwierzęcy* (Warsaw: n. pub., [1984]) – possibly the same edition as by Stop, but distributed without the cover; possibly one or two more anonymous editions, one with a cover showing a group of pigs gathered under a boar's guidance and another possibly by Radom/Lublin: Aut 82 vel XXX, see Kuszyk-Peciak, 'Niezależny ruch wydawniczy' [Independent Publishing], particularly chapter III.4 and interview with Kutkowski, Annex 9; *Animal Farm* was also a supplement to a special Orwell issue of *Veto*, 13 (1984).
- ¹⁹⁶ *Nowomowa* [Newspeak] ([Warsaw: KOS], Oświata Niezależna, [1984]).
- ¹⁹⁷ The desktop 'Orwell calendar' was issued by NOWa as NowaDesign, designed by a prolific underground graphic artist Tomasz Kuczborski and his wife, translator Blanka Kuczborska, illustrated by Zygmunt Januszewski, with comments by Jan Zieliński, see e.g. Justyna Błażejowska, 'Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza NOWa', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Niezależna_Oficyna_Wydawnicza> [last modified 10 November 2013]; and 'Tomasz Kuczborski', in '*Solidarność*' 1980-1989 <<http://wielka-solidarnosc.pl/?p=2688>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See images of the calendar and the earlier-mentioned envelope in the FCDCN's catalogue <<http://sowiniec.com.pl>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ¹⁹⁸ Zborski, 'Od tłumacza: Orwellowski' [From the Translator: An Orwell Alphabetic], in Taylor, *Orwell: 1903-1950*, pp. 651-652.
- ¹⁹⁹ Teatr Zamknięty, dir. by Tomasz Uniwersał showed *Nineteen Eighty-Four* according to Orwell, *Gyubal Wahazar* by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz and director's own texts in Opole, May 1984, see *Teatr Drugiego Obiegu* [The Theatre of the Second Circulation], ed. by Joanna Krakowska-Narożniak and Marek Waszkiel (Warsaw: Errata, 2000), p. 98, item 253, and Małgorzata Zaremba, 'Teatry drugiego obiegu' [Second Circulation Theatres], *Bibuła*, June 2005, pp. 10-11 (p. 11).
- ²⁰⁰ Orwell, 1984, trans. by Mieroszewski, adapt. by Maria Krzesińska [Maryna Miklaszewska], produced by Andrzej Radomski [Andrzej Piszczatowski] (Warsaw: NOWa Kasety, 1984), two 60-minute cassettes; 'Rok 1984. Słuchowisko radiowe na podstawie powieści George'a Orwella' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Radio Drama Based on the Novel by George Orwell], Radio Free Europe, Polish Section, 25 December 1984, <<https://www.polskieradio.pl/68/862>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²⁰¹ Oskar, '1984 Orwell'a – czarna utopia czy czarna rzeczywistość?!' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell – A Black Utopia or a Black Reality?!], *Dokumenty i Analizy*, 11 (November 1984), 13-18.
- ²⁰² Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 128); refers to: P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction].
- ²⁰³ *Veto*, special issue 13 (1984): Kim San, 'Żadnych niewłaściwych myśli', 67-77, trans. of 'No Deviant Thoughts', *Index on Censorship* (April 1984), by Grażyna Jaremska; G. Hoseyn Sa'edi, 'Iran pod rządami Partii Boga', 78-88, anon. trans. of 'Iran under the Party of God', *Index on Censorship*, 2 (February 1984); Lek Hor Tan, 'Czerwoni Kmerzy już po roku 1984?', 89-93, anon. trans. of 'Khmer Rouge: Beyond 1984', *Index on Censorship*, 2 (February 1984); George Stanica 'Żywcem pogrzebani', 94-101, trans. of 'Buried Alive', *Index on Censorship*, April 1, 1984; Milowan Simecka [Milan Šimečka], 'Czech Winston Smith', 111-112, anon. trans. of 'A Czech Winston Smith', *Index on Censorship*, 2 (February 1984).
- ²⁰⁴ *BMW Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy* [Inter-Publisher Bulletin], 4 (1984), 'Rok 1984', pp. 1-3, p. 2. A cartoon depicts a man with a top hat which brings to mind an image of an 'English gentleman' of Charles Dickens's times, an inscription reads: 'G. Orwell wishes you peace in 1984'. The 'declaration of loyalty' (*deklaracja lojalności*) was a written pledge of loyalty towards the authorities and rejection of dissident activity, often coerced, on a particularly large scale during martial law, often it was the first step towards turning into a secret informer.
- ²⁰⁵ Leszek Nowak, 'Społeczeństwo orwellowskie' [Orwellian Society], *Veto*, 13 (1984), 33-57; republished (without graphs) in *Aneks*, 36 (1984). For Nowak's works in English, see e.g. *Property and Power. Towards a Non-Marxian Historical Materialism* (Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster: Reidel, 1983).

- ²⁰⁶ Marek Sołacki, 'Orwell czyli anatomia patologii' [Orwell, That Is an Anatomy of Pathology], *Veto*, 13 (1984), 58-66.
- ²⁰⁷ Piotr Buczkowski, 'Tocqueville, Galbraith, Orwell: manowce oligarchicznego kolektywizmu' [Tocqueville, Galbraith, Orwell: Devious Ways of Oligarchical Collectivism], *Przyjaciel Nauk*, 1/2 (1984/1985), 77-90, article dated November 1980.
- ²⁰⁸ *Kultura Niezależna* [Independent Culture], 2 (1984), 'Koniec kultury PRL' [The End of People's Poland's Official Culture], p. 34.
- ²⁰⁹ Jan Biuletyn, 'Róbmy swoje' [Let's Just Keep Doing Our Own Thing], *Kultura Niezależna*, 2 (1984), 63-65 (p. 64).
- ²¹⁰ Sołacki, 'Orwell czyli anatomia patologii' [Orwell, That Is an Anatomy of Pathology] (p. 66).
- ²¹¹ P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction] (p. 2).
- ²¹² *Archiwum 'Solidarności'* ['Solidarity' Archive], preface, initially entitled 'Nota od wydawców' [Note from the Publishers], to volumes of the Solidarity Archive published during the 1980s; some offered English summaries. See some via *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://repozytorium.encycol.pl/wiki/Druki_zwarte> [access 30 November 2018].
- ²¹³ G. Orwell "'Zasady nowomowy": Fragmenty książki Orwella pt. *Rok 1984*' ['The Principles of Newspeak': Fragments of Orwell's Book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*], *Tu Teraz*, 15 May 1983, p. 6, originally from Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Mieroszewski (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1953), p. 254. The corresponding original text, with quoted-above fragments reworked by Mieroszewski underlined, read: 'In 1984, when Oldspeak was still the normal means of communication, the danger theoretically existed that in using Newspeak words one might remember their original meanings. In practice it was not difficult for any person well grounded in doublethink to avoid doing this, but within a couple of generations even the possibility of such a lapse would have vanished. A person growing up with Newspeak as his sole language would no more know that equal had once had the secondary meaning of 'politically equal', or that free had once meant 'intellectually free', than, for instance, a person who had never heard of chess would be aware of the secondary meanings attaching to queen and rook. There would be many crimes and errors which it would be beyond his power to commit, simply because they were nameless and therefore unimaginable. And it was to be foreseen that with the passage of time the distinguishing characteristics of Newspeak would become more and more pronounced – its words growing fewer and fewer, their meanings more and more rigid, and the chance of putting them to improper uses always diminishing.' See Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 353-354.
- ²¹⁴ Orwell, 'Polityka a język angielski' (fragm.), *Solidarność Nauczycielska. Dodatek* [Teachers' Solidarity. Supplement] (Lublin), special issue, [2] (1985), 7-8; Orwell, *Folwark zwierzęcy* (fragment), *Promieniści*, 9/10, 11 February 1985, p. 1.
- ²¹⁵ See Georginia Lemska [Zofia Agnieszka Kłakówna], 'Rok 1984 G. Orwella i inne utopie' [G. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Other Utopias], in *Do współczesności. Materiały pomocnicze do uczenia języka polskiego w klasie maturalnej* [To the Contemporaneity. Complementary Materials for Teaching [Literature and] the Polish Language in the School-Leaving Examination Year], ed. by J. Żernicki [T. Patrzatek] (Wrocław: Aspekt 1989). A publication of the Independent Education Fund, Fundusz Oświaty Niezależnej.
- ²¹⁶ 'Relacja Adama Borysławskiego' [Adam Borysławski's Account], in *Encyklopedia Solidarności*, ed. by Sławomir Chmura <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/L00135_Adam_Borysławski> [last modified 25 April 2016].
- ²¹⁷ *Nowy Kaduceusz. Miesięcznik literacki młodzieży Topolówki* [New Caduceus. A Literary Monthly of Topolówka's Teenagers], 2 (November 1984), 'Prorok naszych czasów' [The Prophet of Our Times], pp. 1-2 and 'Wśród nowości wydawniczych' [Among Publishing News], pp. 2-3.
- ²¹⁸ 'Relacja Adama Borysławskiego' [Adam Borysławski's Account]; Jarosław Wąsowicz, *Niezależny ruch młodzieżowy w Gdańsku w latach 1981–1989* [Independent Youth Movement in Gdańsk in the Years 1981-1989] (Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2012), pp. 337-338.
- ²¹⁹ Andrzej K. Drucki [Marcin Król], 'George Orwell', *Veto*, special Orwell issue, 13 (1984), 5-14, repr. of Drucki [Król], 'Wstęp' [Preface], *Aneks*, 6 (1974), 3-12.
- ²²⁰ drak [Jan Wojnowski], 'Świadectwo Orwella' [Orwell's Testimony], *Biuletyn Międzywydawniczy BMW* [Inter-Publisher Bulletin], 4 (1984), 23; see also Orwell, *3 eseje* [3 Essays], trans. by Teresa Jeleńska (Warsaw: Oficyna WE [1983]), reprints from *Kultura*: 'The Prevention of Literature', 'The Lion and the Unicorn' (replicating the 'rhinoceros' error) and 'Raffles and Miss Blandish'; the publisher's usual print run was 3,000 copies, see Anna Grażyna Kister, 'Oficyna WE', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://encycol.pl/wiki/Oficyna_WE> [last modified 10 November 2013]. See Allways [Zborski], 'Od tłumacza' [From the Translator], in Orwell, *I ślepy by spostrzegł* [In Front of Your Nose] (BHiL, 1981). See Florian Znanięcki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968 [1940]).

- ²²¹ Orwell, 'Hołd dla Katalonii' [*Homage to Catalonia* (fragm. of ch. 5)], trans. by [Piotr Kasznia – after *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship], p. 719, item 5233], *Bez Debitu* [Without Right to Circulate], 1 (1984/85), 7-19; Orwell, 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], trans. by [Piotr Kasznia – after: as above], 20-25.
- ²²² Orwell, 'Looking Back on the Spanish War' – 'Wspomnienie z wojny w Hiszpanii', trans. by Alfred [Andrzej Branny] (omits the poem), *Arka*, 8 (1984), 40-45; 'Gdy wspominam wojnę hiszpańską', anon. trans. (omits the poem), *Krytyka*, 19/20 (1985), 271-283; 'Wspominając wojnę w Hiszpanii', trans. by J. Z., in Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him], pp. 33-44; and 'Wspomnienia z wojny hiszpańskiej', in *Eseje* [Essays] (London: Puls, 1985), pp. 74-83 (poem trans. by Stanisław Barańczak). Orwell, *W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*], trans. by Leszek Kuzaj (Kraków: Oficyna Literacka, 1985).
- ²²³ Orwell 'Powieszenie' [*A Hanging*], trans. by Adam Waksman [Adam Szostkiewicz], 6-8; 'W brzuchu wieloryba' [*Inside the Whale*], trans. by Wanda Stanisławska [Jadwiga Piątkowska], 8-26; 'Anglia twoja Anglia' [*England Your England*], trans. by A.J. [Andrzej Jaroszyński], 27-40; 'Polityka a literatura: spojrzenie na Podróż Gullivera' [*Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels*], trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], 51-61, see this essay also trans. by Piotr Pieńkowski, *Znak*, 8-9 (August-September 1984), 1186-1204; 'Arthur Koestler', trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], 62-68; 'Refleksje o Gandhim' [*Reflections on Gandhi*], trans. by P.P. [Piotr Pieńkowski], 68-72.
- ²²⁴ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview on 3 April 2014.
- ²²⁵ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview on 3 April 2014.
- ²²⁶ Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 128).
- ²²⁷ Alain Besançon (b. 1932) – French historian of ideas specialised in Soviet communism and Russia. François Bondy (1915-2003) – Swiss journalist and writer, co-editor with Konstanty Jeleński of the French-language journal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, *Preuves*, counterpart to Stephen Spender, Irving Kristol and Melvin Lasky's *Encounter*. Melvin Lasky (1920-2004) – one of the founders of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and editor of its two journals, English-language *Encounter* and German-language *Der Monat*. Norman Podhoretz (b. 1930) – Poland-born editor of the leading US journal of Jewish affairs, *Commentary*, turned neoconservative over time. Saul Bellow (1915-2005) – Canadian-US writer, 1976 Nobel laureate.
- ²²⁸ Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 128).
- ²²⁹ Turowicz, 'Rok 1984' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], 97-98 (p. 97 and n. 2). See 'Orwell's Statement on *Nineteen Eighty-Four*', in *CWGO*, xx: 1949-1950, pp. 134-136. See also *Arka*, 10 (1985), 'Sprostowanie' [Rectification] [to Turowicz, 'Rok 1984' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*]], 186.
- ²³⁰ Besides Orwell's essays, *Arka*'s Orwell issue, 8 (1984), contained: P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction], 2-5, dated 22 July 1984; Ian Angus, 'Kalendarium życia i twórczości George'a Orwella' [Chronology of Life and Work of George Orwell], 73-81, orig. publ. 'Appendice II: Chronology', in *CEJL*, vols 1-4; Norman Podhoretz, 'Gdyby Orwell żył do dziś', trans. by Q [Leszek Kuzaj], *Arka*, 8 (1984), 82-90, orig. publ. 'If Orwell Were Alive Today'; Alain Besançon, 'Orwell i my' [Orwell and Us], trans. by JMK [Jan Maria Kłoczowski], 91-96, orig. publ. '1984: Orwell et nous', *L'Express*, 28 October 1983; Turowicz, 'Rok 1984' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*], 97-98.
- ²³¹ See Chapter 1, endnote 308.
- ²³² See Roman Zimand, 'Eseistyka Orwella' [Orwell's Essay Writing], *Kultura Niezależna*, 13 (October 1985), 3-18, emended: Zimand, *Kultura Niezależna*, 16 (January 1986), 87 – a transcript of his paper at the literary criticism section conference of the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Association (TLAM), 31 May 1985.
- ²³³ Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him]. It contains: Zimand, 'Dziewięć małych prób na temat Orwella' [Nine Small Essays on Orwell], pp. 3-27; and translations from Orwell: 'Wspominając wojnę w Hiszpanii' [*Looking Back on the Spanish War*], trans. by J. Z., pp. 33-44; 'Arthur Koestler', trans. by Zimand, pp. 45-51; 'Privilegium fori: notatki o Salvadorze Dali' [*Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali*], trans. by Zimand, pp. 52-57 – published simultaneously in *Kultura Niezależna*, 9 (May 1985), 16-25; 'Burnham i rewolucja menadżerska' [*James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution*], anon. trans. amended and completed by Zimand, pp. 58-70; and 'Recenzja z *The Portrait of the Antisemite* by Jean-Paul Sartre' [review: *Portrait of the Antisemite by Jean-Paul Sartre*], trans. by Zimand, pp. 71-72. Zimand's 'Dziewięć małych prób na temat Orwella' [Nine Small Essays on Orwell] were reprinted in Roman Zimand, *Czas normalizacji. Szkice czwarte* [The Time of Normalisation. The Fourth Volume of Essays] (London: Aneks, 1989), pp. 79-111.
- ²³⁴ Irving Howe (1920-1993) – US socialist literary and social critic, co-founder of a long-running left-wing intellectual quarterly *Dissent*, he edited the commemorative volume *1984 Revisited* (1983). George Woodcock (1912-1995) – Canadian writer and critic, for some time worked in the anarchist publisher Freedom Press which Orwell hoped would publish Czapski's Katyń memoirs and served as

secretary to the Freedom Defence Committee while Orwell served as vice-chair; he published an Orwell's biography, *Crystal Spirit*.

Malcolm Muggeridge (1903-1990) – British anti-communist journalist and social critic, Orwell's colleague, served in British intelligence during the war.

Herbert Read (1893-1968) – British poet, art critic, and editor, in Orwell's social circle.

Lionel Trilling (1905-1975) – US literary critic and academic, author of e.g. 'Orwell on the Future', *New Yorker*, 18 June 1949.

Philip Rahv (Ukrainian-born US journalist and critic, co-founder of *The Partisan Review* to which Orwell contributed, author of e.g. 'The Unfuture of Utopia', *Partisan Review*, 16.7 (July 1949), 743-749.

²³⁵ P.M.K. [Kłoczowski], 'Wstęp' [Introduction], 2; Zimand, *Orwell i o nim* [Orwell and about Him], p. 12;

Leszek Kolakowski, 'How to be a Conservative-Liberal-Socialist: A Credo', in Kolakowski, *Modernity on Endless Trial* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago, 1997), pp. 225-227, also in *Encounter*, October 1978, pp. 46-49.

²³⁶ *Antyk* [Antiquity], 6 (1988), 2; the issue reproduces various Orwell photographs.

²³⁷ *Antyk* 6 (1988), 2; Teodor Gordon, 'Orwell i inni' [Orwell and Others], *Nowa Republika*, 22 (1987), 32-34 (p. 32) (a review of the reprint of London Puls's 1985 essay collection: Orwell, *Eseje* (wybór) [Essays (Selection)], trans. by Anna Husarska (Wrocław: Ruch Społeczny Solidarność 'Kret', 1986)).

²³⁸ ar [Robert Bogdański], 'Intelektualiści o wiele bardziej niż ludzie prości skłaniają się ku totalitaryzmowi. Wybór myśli i cytatów' [*Intellectuals Are more Totalitarian in Outlook than the Common People. A Selection of Thoughts and Quotes*], *Obóz*, 15 (1988), 54-61 (p. 54).

²³⁹ E.g. 'Polityka a język angielski' [*Politics and the English Language*], trans. by Maria Wirska, *Krytyka*, 22 (1987), 183-192; 'Gandhi i pacyfizm (list)' [Gandhi and Pacifism (A Letter)] (fragm. of Orwell's letter to Reverend Iowerth Jones, 8 April 1941, see *CWGO*, XII: 1940-1941, pp. 465-467, part 4 (pp. 466-467)), *Ogniwo*, 41 (September 1987), 25, as well as 'List do duchownego Kościoła anglikańskiego "Gandhi i pacyfizm"' [the same as above], *Kontur*, 1 (Spring 1988), 76; 'Dlaczego piszę' [*Why I Write*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 12-15 (repr. from *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985)); 'Literatura a lewica' [*Literature and the Left*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 31-33 (repr. as above); 'Jak mi się podoba (1.IX.1947 [sic])' [*As I Please* of 1 September 1944 (on Warsaw uprising)] (rep. as above, and with the London's misdating error).

²⁴⁰ Orwell, 'Intelektualiści o wiele bardziej niż ludzie prości skłaniają się ku totalitaryzmowi. Wybór myśli i cytatów' [*Intellectuals Are more Totalitarian in Outlook than the Common People.** A Selection of Thoughts and Quotes], ed. and trans. by [Robert Bogdański], *Obóz*, 15 (1988), 54-61 – based on Simon Leys, *Orwell ou l'horreur de la politique* (Paris: Hermann, 1984), the title quote* comes from Orwell's letter to Noel Willmet of 18 May 1944; and *PWA Przegląd Wiadomości Agencji* [Agency News Review], 'Nasze dedykacje' [Our Dedications], no. 8, 23 February 1986, p. 2 – a more frivolous selection of quotes dedicated to various collectivities, e.g. 'One sometimes gets the impression that the mere words "Socialism" and "Communism" draw towards them with magnetic force every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, 'Nature Cure' quack, pacifist, and feminist' (*Road to Wigan Pier*) is dedicated not only to "naturists and fanatics of bioenergy", but also readers of the periodical *Veto*.

²⁴¹ Maciej Broński [Wojciech Skalmowski], 'Orwell', *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 3-7 (reprint of fragments of introduction to Orwell, *Eseje* (London: Puls, 1985)); Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Orwell', *Eutopa*, 1 (1988), 14-18 (reprint of émigré: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, 'Orwell', *Lewy Nurt*, 2 (Winter 1967/68), 131-134); ar [Bogdański], 'Intelektualiści o wiele bardziej...' [*Intellectuals Are more Totalitarian...*].

²⁴² K.J. [Jacek Kucharczyk], 'George Orwell uciekinier z obozu zwycięstwa' [George Orwell a Fugitive from the Camp of Victory], *Wielka Gra*, 9 (April 1988), 11-13; GAJ, '1984 Utopia i autobiografia' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four Utopia and Autobiography*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 8-11.

²⁴³ Li Czeng, 'Nowy folwark zwierzęcy' [New Animal Farm], trans. by a.r. [Robert Bogdański], *Obóz*, 15 (1988), 62-69 (trans. of Cheng, 'A Modern Animal Farm', *Index on Censorship*, 1 October 1986); Dżordż Ortel, 'Nowy folwark zwierzęcy' [New Animal Farm], *PWA Przegląd Wiadomości Agencji* [Agency News Review], 9 November 1986, pp. 2-3; reprinted in *Biuletyn Dolnośląski* [Lower Silesian Bulletin], 6 (October-December 1986), 32; *Myśli Nieinternowane*, 21 (January/February 1986), crossword no. 5.

²⁴⁴ Zofia Pietrowna, 'Trzy zdrady Winstona Smitha' [Winston Smith's Three Betrayals], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 17-23.

²⁴⁵ Jerzy Napiórkowski, 'O kłamstwie i zakłamaniu oczyma psychologizujących hermeneutyków' [About the Lie and the Dissimulation through the Eyes of Psychologising Hermeneuts], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 42-49 (p. 42); on the subject also e.g. J. Sowa, 'Język i wolność' [Language and Freedom], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 37-41.

²⁴⁶ Stefan Bielski, 'Rok 1984 – Orwell. Rok 1987 – ?' [1984 – Orwell. 1987 – ?], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 65-68.

²⁴⁷ e, 'Alternatywy wolności – Orwell i Huxley' [Alternatives of Freedom – Orwell and Huxley], *Wielka Gra*, 1 (January 1987), 8-10.

- ²⁴⁸ Ekla, 'Rok 1984 – krótkie studium patologii władzy' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four – A Short Study on Pathology of Power*], *Antyk*, 6 (1988), 24-28.
- ²⁴⁹ *Metrum*, 5 (1988), 'Wyjście z podziemia' [Exit from the Underground], 75-76 (p. 75); see Orwell, 1984, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Siedlce: Metrum, 1987).
- ²⁵⁰ Andrzej Olszewski, 'Wokół Orwella' [Around Orwell], *Dobry Jaśko*, 1 (spring 1989), 51-52 (p. 51).
- ²⁵¹ *Metrum*, 5 (1988), 'Wyjście z podziemia' [Exit from the Underground] (p. 75).
- ²⁵² Olszewski, 'Wokół Orwella' [Around Orwell].
- ²⁵³ See note 232 in this chapter.
- ²⁵⁴ E.g. E.C.O. [Jerzy Śleszyński], 'Rok 1985' [Year 1985], *Tu Teraz*, 38 (June 1985), 1, 4, 10; Werny [Titkow], 'Newspeak, 1985', *Kultura Niezależna*, 30 April 1986 (p. 82) [article dated July 1985].
- ²⁵⁵ E.g. Grzegorz Wołk, 'To Limit, to Eradicate, or to Control?: The SB and the "Second Circulation", 1981-89/90', in *Duplicator Underground*, pp. 237-266 (p. 252).
- ²⁵⁶ Olszewski, 'Wokół Orwella' [Around Orwell].
- ²⁵⁷ Orwell, *Eseje* [Essays], trans. by Anna Husarska [et al.] (n.p.: n. pub., [post 1985]) – after National Library, *Książki polskie podziemne* [Polish Underground Books], *Bez cenzury* [Free of Censorship] does not list it.
- ²⁵⁸ Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Podróż do Burmy. Dziennik*. [Journey to Burma. Diary] (Warsaw: Solid [Studencka Oficyna Literatów i Dysydentów], 1985), orig. publ. (London: Puls, 1983); Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *Podróż do Burmy. (Dziennik)* ([Toruń]: t[oruńska] o[ficyna], [1986]), complemented with repr. of Herling-Grudziński, 'Orwell', *Lewy Nurt*, 2 (Winter 1967/68), 131-134.
- ²⁵⁹ *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska (Wrocław: Akademia Sztuk Wszelakich, 1985); *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska ([Warsaw]: Wolność, 1985); and *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Jeleńska, il. by Jan Lebenstein ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985).
- ²⁶⁰ *Folwark zwierzęcy: Według Orwella opracowali i narysowali* [*Animal Farm: Elaborated and Drawn According to Orwell by*] Maciek Biały [Robert Śnieciński] and Karol Blue [Fernando Molina] (Warsaw: ReKontra, 1985); *Folwark zwierzęcy komiks wg Orwella* [*Animal Farm: A Comic According to Orwell*] ([Warsaw]: Gilosz & Azyl, 1985).
- ²⁶¹ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview, 3 April 2014; author and Samuel Beckett expert Antoni Libera's comment on Dorosz given after Krzysztof Pszenicki, *Tu mówi Londyn. Historia Sekcji Polskiej BBC* [This is London. History of the BBC Polish Section] (Warsaw: Rosner, 2009), p. 153; see intertextual references to Orwell in Libera's work e.g. in his long-deliberated *Madame* (Kraków: Znak 1998), particularly chapter 'Postscriptum', English edition: *Madame*, trans. by Agnieszka Kołakowska (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2000; Edinburgh: Canongate, 2000; Melbourne: Text, 2001).
- ²⁶² Orwell, 1984: *Powieść* [1984: A Novel], trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski ([Warsaw]: n. pub. [1985]); and Jerzy Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Oficyna Liberałów; Poznań: Głosy, 1985) – bibliographies tend to record it as two to three editions with a slight difference in page numbers; *Solidarity Encyklopaedia* puts the imprint even higher, at 17,500, while informing that Oficyna Liberałów's average print run was 1,000-1,500 copies, see Włodzimierz Domagalski, 'Oficyna Liberałów', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Oficyna_Liberałów> [last modified 13 April 2016]; see the earlier student monthly Głosy's other Orwell publication: *Eseje* [Essays] (Poznań: Głosy, 1983), which comprised 'Refleksje nad Burnhamem'; 'Literatura w ustroju totalnym'. An earlier edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Oficyna Liberałów might have been confiscated by the Security Services in 1982, see Domagalski, 'Oficyna Liberałów'.
- ²⁶³ Janusz Korwin-Mikke, 'Bój o św. Jerzego' [The Battle for St George], in Jerzy Orwell, *Rok 1984*, trans. by Juliusz Mieroszewski (Warsaw: Oficyna Liberałów; Poznań: Głosy, 1985), pp. 209-212.
- ²⁶⁴ Janusz Korwin-Mikke, '1984 czy Nowy Wspaniały Świat?' [*Nineteen Eighty-Four or Brave New World?*], in Aldous Huxley, *Nowy Wspaniały Świat; Nowy Wspaniały Świat poprawiony* [*Brave New World; Brave New World Revisited*], trans. by Stanisława Kuszelewska and Jerzy Horzelski, il. by Georges Wolinski (Warsaw: Oficyna Liberałów, 1985), pp. 188-194; price guideline on back cover.
- ²⁶⁵ Orwell, *W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*], trans. by Leszek Kuzaj ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985). While the book spells out the translator's name in full, the cautious formula is followed: 'Issued without the translator's knowledge or consent'. The publisher's earlier Orwell publications included: *Pisarze i Lewiatan* [*Writers and the Leviathan*] and *1984*, introd. by M. Broński [Skalmowski] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kos, 1981).
- ²⁶⁶ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview on 3 April 2014; Beata Losson, 'Lesław Kuzaj', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Lesław_Kuzaj> [last modified 25 April 2016].
- ²⁶⁷ AAN, KC PZPR, XI C/54, fols 44-53 (fols 44-45), 'Działalność wydawnicza NSZZ "Solidarność" – region Mazowsze' [Publishing Activity of NSZZ 'Solidarność' – Mazovia Region], undated [post-spring 1981].
- ²⁶⁸ Paweł Kłoczowski, interview on 2 April 2014.

- ²⁶⁹ Orwell, *W hołdzie Katalonii* [*Homage to Catalonia*] (fragm.), anon. trans., *Magazyn Robotnika*, 1 (October 1985), pp. 47-55.
- ²⁷⁰ E.g. Grażyna Korasiewicz distributed clandestine press and books, including *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, in the Łódź District Water and Sewage Company; a farmer Jan Duda opened a library of clandestine prints at his home in a village in southern Poland (Gołkowice Górne), and distributed clandestine press and books, including Orwell's, among farmers in the region. See 'Grażyna Korasiewicz', in *Słownik 'Niezależni dla kultury'* [Dictionary 'Independent (Activists) for Culture'], ed. by Małgorzata Zaremba *et al.* (Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa; Narodowe Centrum Kultury) <<http://www.slownik-niezaleznidlakultury.pl/index.php?page=wysyp&sel=K&klucz=760&s=>> [accessed 5 November 2019]; Sławomir Chmura, 'Jan Duda', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://encysol.pl/wiki/Jan_Duda> [last modified 20 August 2013].
- ²⁷¹ Mirosław Chojecki of NOWa was a chemistry graduate dismissed on political grounds from the Nuclear Research Institute despite being a laureate of the prestigious Marie Skłodowska-Curie award; a widely-published history professor Adam Kersten, a clandestine author, printer, distributor and organiser, is credited with discovering the value of the Komfort washing paste for home ink production, which earned him the nickname Mister Komfort; the publisher Krąg employed people from across the social spectrum, see e.g. [Rosner] interviewed by Nawrocki, 'Lasting Cultural Values', in *Duplicator Underground*, pp. 335-346, p. 340.
- ²⁷² *Folwark zwierzęcy*, trans. by Teresa Jeleńska, il. by Jan Lebenstein ([Kraków]: Oficyna Literacka, 1985).
- ²⁷³ Frazik, 'Niezależny ruch wydawniczy' [Independent Publishing], in *Wydawnictwa podziemne*, p. 39.
- ²⁷⁴ Chojecki in 'Na progu roku orwellowskiego' [On the Threshold of the Orwell Year].
- ²⁷⁵ *Wybór*, 5 April 1985, 'Wydawnictwa' [Publications], p. 4.
- ²⁷⁶ Lektor, 'Wolne słowo' [Free Word], *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, 16 May 1985, p. 2.
- ²⁷⁷ Kłoczowski, 'Tropy obecności' [Traces of Presence] (p. 128).
- ²⁷⁸ E.g. Ewa Zając and Henryk Głębocki, "'Ketman" i "Monika" – żywoty równoległe' ['Ketman' and 'Monika' – Parallel Lives], in *Aparat represji w Polsce Ludowej 1944–1989* [The Repression Apparatus in People's Poland 1944-1989], 1 (2005), 73-362 <<http://ipn.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/713,Ketman-i-Monika-zywoty-rownolegle.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²⁷⁹ E.g. Lesław Maleszka, 'Byłem "Ketmanem"' [I Was 'Ketman'], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13 November 2001; Zając and Głębocki, "'Ketman" i "Monika"' ['Ketman' and 'Monika'].
- ²⁸⁰ E.g. bulletin *Robotnik* [The Worker] undersigned as if by Solidarity in Konin, see Przemysław Zwiernik, 'Robotnik (Konin)', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <[http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/„Robotnik”_\(Konin\)](http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/„Robotnik”_(Konin))> [last modified 14 November 2016].
- ²⁸¹ Ekla, 'Rok 1984'.
- ²⁸² Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), 'Katalog osób "rozpracowywanych"' [Catalogue of Investigated Persons] <<http://katalog.bip.ipn.gov.pl/osoby-rozpracowywane/?catalog=2>> [accessed 12 July 2017]; it currently lists 11,103 names.
- ²⁸³ Jerzy Eisler, 'Rok 1968 Orwella' [Year 1968 by Orwell], *Wprost*, 16 March 2003 <<https://www.wprost.pl/tygodnik/41714/Rok-1968-Orwella.html>> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ²⁸⁴ E.g. Jan Olszek and Grzegorz Wołk, 'Drugi obieg wydawniczy w oczach Służby Bezpieczeństwa' [Second Circulation in the Security Services' Eyes], *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 12.1 (2013), 369-435, especially p. 419 <<http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/czasopismo/72/?idno=11831>> [accessed 5 November 2019], amended and abridged version in English: Wołk, 'To Limit, to Eradicate', in *Duplicator Underground*.
- ²⁸⁵ E.g. Mirosława Łątkowska and Adam Borowski, 'Adam Hodysz', in *Encyklopedia Solidarności* <http://www.encycol.pl/wiki/Adam_Hodysz> [last modified 17 April 2016].

Conclusions

- ¹ Czapski's diary, 10 July 1981, p. 18, Kraków, National Museum (I thank Janusz S. Nowak of the museum for the transcription). It refers to Broński [Skalmowski], 'G. O. jako krytyk' [G. O. as a Literary Critic].
- ² *The Black Book*, trans. and ed. by Leftwich Curry; Barańczak, 'Big Brother's Red Pencil', *New Republic*; repr. in Barańczak, *Breathing Under Water*. Some excerpts from the *Black Book* appeared as *Black Book of Polish Censorship*, trans. by Aleksandar Niczow (South Bend: And Books, 1982).
- ³ Jegliński, 'Placówka w Paryżu' [The Post in Paris] (p. 69).
- ⁴ Radzymińska, *Głos Polski* (Buenos Aires) and *Ostatnie Wiadomości* (Mannheim).
- ⁵ Jeleńska, letter to Giedroyc, 26 March 1947, Kultura Archive, Listy do Jerzego Giedroycia jako redaktora *Kultury* [Letters to Jerzy Giedroyc as the Editor of *Kultura*], KOR RED ILR, vol. 1, Jeleńska r.

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- ⁶ Londyńczyk [Mieroszewski], 'Kronika angielska' [English Chronicle], *Kultura*, 6 (1960), 66-71 (p. 67). See also *Wat*, *Dziennik* [A Diary], pp. 29-30.
- ⁷ Barańczak, *Zaufać nieufności* [To Trust the Distrust], ed. by Biedrzycki, p. 106.
- ⁸ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview 3 April 2014.
- ⁹ Andrzej Ciołkosz, 'Pogrobowiec liberalizmu' [An Epigone of Liberalism], *Wiadomości*, 13 May 1951, p. 3.
- ¹⁰ See e.g. Weintraub, 'George Orwell'.
- ¹¹ See e.g. Milan Šimečka, 'A Czech Winston Smith', *Index on Censorship*, 2 (February 1984), 6-7; Shlapentokh; Kulinich; or Blyum.
- ¹² See e.g. Sowiński, 'Printers in the Mind', in *Duplicator Underground*, ed. by Zlatkes, Sowiński, and Frenkel, pp. 57-58.
- ¹³ See Świdarska and Giedroyc's 1984 correspondence.
- ¹⁴ Piotr Pieńkowski, interview 3 April 2014.
- ¹⁵ Mieroszewski, 'O międzynarodową brygadę' [For a European International Brigade] (p. 82).
- ¹⁶ Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 10 (October 1983), 28-34, 18 August [1983] (pp. 30-32).
- ¹⁷ K[onstanty] A. Jelenski, 'The Literature of Disenchantment', *Survey*, 42 (April 1962), 109-119 (p. 114); Herling-Grudziński, 'Dziennik' [Diary], *Kultura*, 10 (October 1983), 28-34, 18 August [1983] (pp. 30-32).
- ¹⁸ See Rodden, *The Politics*, pp. 288-303 and pp. 200-211, and Rodden, *Scenes from an Afterlife*, pp. 53-160.
- ¹⁹ E.g. Rodden, *The Politics*, 200-211; the British Library's 1984 exhibition 'Orwell in the Languages of Eastern Europe'.
- ²⁰ See e.g. a Facebook profile Prawicowy Orwell [The Rightist Orwell] set up to denounce right-wing misappropriations of Orwell on social media.
- ²¹ Orwell, 'Why I Write' (p. 318).