

## *An Anthology of the Nationalist Underground Press*

“Poland had to wait for one thousand years for the appearance of the slogan that the Commonwealth should be inhabited solely by the Poles. It was only the Soviet *agentura* that advanced and implemented this slogan here; we will not encounter it proposed by any Polish thinker.”<sup>1</sup>

Adam Doboszyński

### **Introduction**

This is the first-ever anthology of the Polish nationalist underground press between 1939 and 1949. In other words, we shall concentrate on the clandestine press and publications of Poland’s Right-wing nationalist movement (*ruch narodowy, Endecja*). The objective is to show Polish nationalism and its purveyors under the most extreme of conditions: during the German and Soviet occupations. Initially, we expected to encounter rabid ideological Polish nationalist extremism. Instead, we discovered that the underground nationalist thought was, given the context of the era, paradoxically quite pluralistic, interestingly multifaceted, and rather moderate in comparison with other surrounding nationalisms and competing radical currents, in particular racist national socialism and communism. The chronological framework of the anthology is, on the one hand, the outbreak of the Second World War and, on the other, the destruction of the last large outfits of the nationalist underground by the Communists.

In Part One we shall summarize the ideology and practice of Polish nationalism. We shall discuss both the history and the organizational forms of the nationalist movement and we shall also establish the chronological and thematic framework. We shall then describe how the nationalist movement functioned in the underground (1939–1949) and in its general historical context. Next, we shall explain the concepts of Poland, the Poles, the people and the elite, as the nationalists understood them at the inception of their activities, during the Second World War and under the two occupations. Further, we shall present the nationalist attitude towards the Communists and Polish independentists (from the far right to the radical left outside of Moscow’s control). Then, we shall highlight the nationalist political and economic plans for Poland, including the concept of the nation, family, and individual. We shall then explore the nationalist views on the Polish majority, the national minorities, and the elite. Further, we shall focus on the political system, including the administration, self-government, economy, and foreign policy that the nationalists wished to establish for Poland. Subsequently, we shall examine separately the nationalist attitude towards the Jews in the light of the nationalist press.

In Part Two we shall concentrate on the technical aspects of the underground press under the Nazi and Soviet occupations. Initially, we shall describe the work of the clandestine journalists, their news agencies, and the various periodicals, as well as their circulation, distribution and readership. We shall then demonstrate the watershed moment, the collapse of the Warsaw Rising of 1944, and its impact on the subsequent fate of the nationalist underground press under the new Soviet occupation. We shall discuss the printing and copying facilities separately by focusing on the individual

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Doboszyński, *W pół drogi [Halfway Along]* (Warsaw: “Prolog,” 1993). This work was written right after the Second World War but had to wait for half a century to be published.

initiatives of the various nationalist political and military groups. Against this background, we shall recount the accomplishments of the underground printers. Last but not least, we shall summarize our analysis, including a discussion the current state of the research on the Polish nationalists and the sources for this project.

Our anthology is virtually the first primary source selection on the history of the Polish nationalist movement in general. It is also a contribution to the history of Polish nationalism. This political creed, contrary to most other nationalisms, was characterized by its recognition of the primacy of Christianity over the national idea. It was this defining trait that moderated the movement's radicalism and ensured the maintenance of ties with Polish tradition.

*In general*, nationalism is an ideology which invokes the concept of "nation" with all of its various cultural, ethnic, and racial definitions. Nationalism is a means of social mobilization by invoking the greater good of the community. It stresses national harmony and abhors class struggle. As a populist concept calling for the involvement of the masses in politics, nationalism was utilized by both Rightist and Leftist groups. The racist socialists from the German National Socialist Workers' Party (NSDAP), Benito Mussolini's Italian Fascists, the Ukrainian nationalists from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN),<sup>2</sup> the official "National-Bolshevik" incarnation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the Second World War, and Communist subversive movements in Asia and South America during the second half of the twentieth century (the Viet Cong, the Marxist ZANU & ZAPU of Rhodesia, the Maoist "Shining Path" of Peru, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the Colombian FARC, or the Zapatistas in Mexico) all invoked nationalist slogans. On the Right, the nationalist program was promoted by, among others, the conservative Catholic Carlist movement and José Antonio Primo de Rivera's nationalist-radical Falange in Spain, the French conservative and monarchistic *Action Française*, and the supporters of the authoritarian government of António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For details about the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, see Wiktor Poliszczuk, *Ideologia nacjonalizmu ukraińskiego [The Ideology of Ukrainian Nationalism]* (Ph.D. dissertation self-published in Toronto, 1996); *Integralny nacjonalizm ukraiński jako odmiana faszyzmu [Ukrainian Integral Nationalism as a Form of Fascism]*, 5 vols. (Toronto: n.p., 1998–2003); *Doktryna Dmytra Doncowa [The Doctrine of Dmytro Dontsov]* (Toronto: n.p., 2006). See also Tomasz Stryjek, *Ukraińska idea narodowa okresu międzywojennego: Analiza wybranych koncepcji [The Ukrainian National Ideology During the Interwar Period: An Analysis of Selected Conceptions]* (Wrocław: Wyd. Funna, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> See John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Nationalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: The American University Press, 1995); Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); F. L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); Otto-Ernst Schuddekopf, *Fascism: Revolutions of Our Time* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1973); Nathanael Greene, *Fascism: An Anthology* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968); Roger Griffin, ed., *Fascism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Noel O'Sullivan, *Fascism: Modern Ideologies* (London and Melbourne: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1983); John Weiss, *The Fascist Tradition: Radical Right-Wing Extremism in Modern Europe* (New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967); Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1997); Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Native Fascism: In the Successor States, 1918-1945* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1971); David Littlejohn, *The Patriotic Traitors: The Story of Collaboration in German Occupied*

Polish nationalism is a defense movement of the constantly modernizing cultural, social, and political heritage of the Poles. According to the nationalists, Poles are those who have identified with Polishness (*polskość*) which manifests itself in many shapes and forms (within and without the state) over the centuries but is immutably based on transcendental values. The most significant element of Polish nationalism is its spiritual component which endows it with a Christian character. The domination of its universalist, Christian trait has guaranteed that various novelties, and racism in particular, were either eliminated or, at least, failed to penetrate beyond the verbal sphere, as far as the mainstream Polish nationalist movement is concerned. The spirituality of Polish nationalism translates itself into the fact that, in general, anyone, regardless of one's descent, could become and feel a Pole, as well as be considered by others as such. The condition for one's acceptance into the national body was one's identification with the Polish tradition expressed in a Christian form. By the same token, one's abandonment of the traditional understanding of Polishness signified – according to the Polish nationalists (and conservatives and others as well) – a voluntary abdication of the function of the guardian of national tradition and, thus, the rejection of Polishness, notwithstanding one's ethnic background. Simply put, by exercising free choice, anybody could become a Pole and any Pole could cease to be one.

## Part I: Ideology and Practice

### 1. Polish Nationalism

Modern Polish nationalism produced two competing giants. First of them, Józef Piłsudski, appealed to the heritage of the old multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) and he wished to organize its heirs according to a mild nationalist socialism of sorts but based on Polish culture. The other face of Polish nationalism is Roman Dmowski who emphasized the necessity of basing Poland on the traditions of mono-ethnic Piast Poland whose citizens would live in a system congruent

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*Europe, 1940-1945* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972); Detlef Muhlberger, ed., *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements* (London, New York and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987); Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2004); Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism: Doctrines of Revolution in the Twentieth Century* (New York and Cincinnati, OH: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964); Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Francaise, Italian Fascism, National Socialism* (New York and Toronto: The New American Library, Inc., 1969); Martin Blinkhorn, ed., *Fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe* (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Stephen J. Lee, *The European Dictatorships, 1918-1945* (London and New York: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1987); Jerzy W. Borejsza, Klaus Zieer, and Magdalena Hulas, eds., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes in Europe: Legacies and Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2006); Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others* (Iasi, Oxford and Portland: The Center for Romanian Studies, 2001); Srdja Trifkovic, *Ustasa: Croatian Separatism and European Politics, 1929-1945* (London and Aiken: The Lord Byron Foundation for Balkan Studies, 1998); Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919-1929* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); R.J.B. Bosworth, *Mussolini's Italy: Life Under the Fascist Dictatorship, 1915-1945* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006); and the review of the latter in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, "Faszystowska operetka: Rzecz o kompromisie i dostosowaniu," [A Fascist Operetta: On compromise and accommodation] *Glaukopis*, no. 9-10 (2007-2008): 398-419.

with their national character, disposition, and the spirit of the times which – in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – oscillated between democratic liberalism and nationalist corporatism. Moreover, some of the ideas of Dmowski and Piłsudski evolved together with the various historical challenges which both faced. This was likewise true in the case of their ideological heirs, in particular Dmowski's successors. The latter were also called Endeks (National Democrats) and, from the beginning of the 1930's, in connection with the evolution of their program and the far-reaching limitation of its liberal and democratic elements, they would be known simply as the nationalists (*narodowcy*). Their cultural, social, and political efforts resulted in the nationalist movement. Their cardinal goal was to educate the people that the awakening of their national consciousness was a simply indispensable step in the process of their emancipation. The nationalists held that the people were first of all Poles, and neither soulless slaves nor urban and rural proletarians ready for class struggle. The nationalists simply invited the common people, the peasants and workers, to partake in the treasury of Polish cultural heritage and its translation into the language of modernity. In other words, the nationalists wanted the people to participate in the process of shaping a modern society, popularizing its culture, and conducting politics in an evolutionary manner basing themselves upon a solid historical legacy, and not some abstract, aprioristic theories of ideologues and philosophers operating within a framework of an allegedly progressive system of constantly changing intellectual trends. The nationalist undertaking to modernize the people succeeded only when the nationalists discarded their initial indifferentism, if not outright hostility, towards religion and embraced Christianity, Roman Catholicism in particular.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. The National Movement

The nationalist (or national) movement, in its wider context, consisted of various political orientations appealing to the national community and declaring the will to ensure better conditions of existence for this community and to defend its rights and privileges. In the case of Poland we refer to the various political groups and circles invoking Roman Dmowski's ideas in their political activities. Thus we are referring to National Democracy (*Narodowa Demokracja*) and the organizations it spawned.<sup>5</sup>

The nationalist movement went through various phases, moderate and radical. The dynamics of its radicalism did not deterministically reflect a totalitarian destiny which, allegedly, was genetically inscribed in its ideology. Instead, its radicalism reflected the historical context within which the nationalists operated. The period

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<sup>4</sup> Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski understood these mechanisms well in his *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu: Intelktualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego [The Democratic Origin of Nationalism: The Intellectual Roots of the National Democratic Movement]* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2001); and in his *Źródła narodowości: Powstanie i rozwój polskiej świadomości w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006). Leftist political correctness and post-modernist doctrinairism caused Brian Porter to have trouble interpreting this subject. He ignores the historical context of the Partitions and demonstrates an analytical helplessness, a lack of imagination, and no knowledge of the Christian aspects of Polish nationalism. See Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and its reviews by John Radzilowski, *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Fall 2001): 97–99, and Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, "Nacjonalizm wyobrażony" [Nationalism Imagined], *Arcana*, no. 6 (60) (2004): 167–86.

<sup>5</sup> The basic bibliography on the history of Polish nationalism is listed below.

preceding the First World War was generally characterized by liberalism and evolutionism. At the time the nationalists were quite tolerant and moderate, with the exception of the revolution of 1905 when more radical methods were used for self-defense to halt the spread of anarchy and to spare the Poles yet another wave of Russian anti-insurrectionary terror and persecution. The next stage in the *Endecja's* radicalization was brought about by the First World War, the revolution in Russia, and, especially, the Bolshevik invasion of Poland in 1920. Further radicalization of the nationalist movement occurred as a result of Piłsudski's *coup d'état* in 1926. Having been ejected from power, which the nationalists had enjoyed based upon a democratic mandate, having been deprived of any means of regaining this power in a democratic parliamentary way, and having been forced into political impotence as the largest opposition party within the context of Piłsudski's *Sanacja* dictatorship, the Endeks began to look for extra-parliamentary solutions. This tendency waxed because of the Great Depression and the increasingly exacerbated international situation. The outbreak of the Second World War, and in particular Hitler and Stalin's invasion of Poland in 1939, roused the *Endecja's* defensive radicalism to the highest level. This uncompromising radicalism was to function in an organized form at least until 1949.

What kind of an ideology did the Endeks espouse then? It was conservative, authoritarian, Christian, respectful of private property and, most important of all, based upon a pluralistic view of Polishness. The pluralism of the nationalists also presupposed unity, but a unity in the American sense of *in pluribus unum*. This sort of Polishness was based on the recognition of the superiority of the national interest limited only by the primacy of the Revealed Truth of Jesus Christ. This Christian self-limitation that defined the Polish nationalist movement was a trait that set it apart from other Continental nationalisms with, perhaps, the exception of Spanish Carlism which, although Catholic and conservative, was a more of a regional or even rural movement.<sup>6</sup> On the surface it may seem paradoxical that Polish nationalists voiced radical slogans and employed radical methods to save the traditional defining framework and foundations of Polishness. But there was no contradiction. For the nationalists, the era of extremism required radical methods of self-defense. In addition, they also emphasized the need to modernize the country in order to popularize economic self-sufficiency of individuals and reinforce their faith and patriotism. They promoted strong families, regionalism, local self-government in a *Rechstaat*, order, and justice. These basic tenets of nationalist ideology remained unchanged even between 1939 and 1949.

But the nationalist camp was not just a political movement but also a wider social enterprise composed of nonpartisan organizations as well as professional and intellectual circles that had various ties with the strictly political organizations: the National League

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<sup>6</sup> On Carlism see, among others, Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, John Radziłowski, eds., *Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Charlottesville, VA: Leopolis Press, 2003); Alexandra Wilhelmsen, "Carlism: From Reaction to Counter-Revolution, 1833–1876," *Glaukopis: Pismo społeczno-historyczne*, no. 2/3 (2005): 2–20; Paweł Skibiński, "Tradycja wiecznie żywa: Ruch karlistowski między trzecią wojną karlistowską a hiszpańską wojną domową" [Keeping Tradition Alive: The Carlist Movement Between the Third Carlist War and the Spanish Civil War], *Galukopis*, no. 2/3 (2005): 21–36; Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Zagrabiona pamięć: Wojna w Hiszpanii, 1936–1939 [Expropriated Memory: The War in Spain]* (Warsaw: Fronda, 1997).

(LN)<sup>7</sup>, the Populist National Union (ZLN),<sup>8</sup> the Camp of Great Poland (OWP),<sup>9</sup> which was formed after Piłsudski's coup d'état, and the National Party (SN).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The National League (*Liga Narodowa* – LN) was a secret, independentist organization formed in April 1893 as a result of an internal conflict within the Polish League. The LN coordinated the activities of the National Democratic movement in all of three partitions. It inspired and founded political, cultural, educational, and social organizations and had its representatives in other parties. Its program was based on social solidarity and combated the revolutionary workers' movement (1905). During the Second Republic it was the secret leadership of the national movement but it eventually disbanded in 1927/1928. See Kozicki's *History of the National League* (London: Myśl Polska, 1962).

<sup>8</sup> The Populist National Union (*Związek Ludowo-Narodowy* – ZLN) was founded in 1919. The ZLN program called for, among other things, the inviolability of private property. It strove to give the state a more national character by demanding that Polish property holdings be strengthened and the national minorities removed from industry and commerce and their civic rights reduced. Politically, the ZLN supported a parliamentary system with universal suffrage and limited presidential powers. In cultural and education policy it combined nationalist ideals with respect for tradition; it supported a religious, national, compulsory, and free elementary education and a privileged position for the Church. In foreign policy it supported the pro-French orientation and was hostile towards Germany while, at the same time, calling for the inclusion of some of the Eastern lands belonging to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the partitions (the so-called Dmowski Line). It opposed Piłsudski's federationist policies and brought about the incorporation of Central Lithuania (1922). From 1919 to 1922 the ZLN was the strongest party in the *Sejm*; it had 109 deputies in the first *Sejm* and captured 98 seats (22 percent) in the 1922 elections. In May 1923, hoping to win power the ZLN signed an agreement (the Lanckorona Pact) with the Christian National Workers' Party and the PSL Piast Faction. Thus, in May 1923 and May 1926 the ZLN facilitated the formation of a government with the PSL "Piast's" Wincenty Witos as the Prime Minister. Piłsudski's May Coup of 1926 forced the ZLN into the opposition. In 1928 the ZLN transformed itself into the National Party (SN). The main leaders included Stanisław Grabski, Jan Załuska and Roman Rybarski. See Ewa Maj, *Związek Ludowo-Narodowy 1919–1928: Studium z dziejów myśli politycznej* (Lublin: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> The Camp of Great Poland (*Obóz Wielkiej Polski* – OWP) was founded in Poznań on December 4, 1926, as an attempt at a Rightist concord above party lines. According to its ideological statement, the OWP was to serve the cause of building a strong state that would ensure the Polish nation the opportunities of attaining unhindered advancement. It called for the strengthening of the position of the Catholic religion as a basis for educating the young generations and the promotion of a work ethic, modesty and Christian morality. The nation state was to protect its citizens from economic exploitation and assure the safety of life, work and property. In addition to Roman Dmowski, the new formation would be led by, among others, Professor Roman Rybarski, Aleksander Dębski, Zygmunt Berezowski, Tadeusz Bielecki and Jerzy Zdziechowski. The founding of the OWP was welcomed by the youth which filled the organization's ranks. In 1927 the youth constituted such a large percentage of members that a separate autonomous body, the OWP Youth Movement (RM OWP), was formed. This invigorated the movement and increased its membership. The OWP thus became an all-national social movement in which the tone was set by the youth. After the 1930 elections several RM OWP members won seats. The RM OWP Congress held in Gdynia on May 3 and 4, 1930, was a demonstration of power. The year 1931 became a watershed since the nationalist leadership decided to merge the RM OWP with the OWP-proper and to hand the leadership over to the youth. This reform further intensified the movement's anti-government activism. Incidents broke out and OWP activists were somehow involved. In 1932 the Camp boasted of 200,000 members and it had become an organization representing all levels of society. University students were the principal organizers but rural and working class youth also joined the ranks, as well as the unemployed, which resulted in the appearance of radical social slogans that became part of the program of the "national revolution." The OWP intensified its anti-Jewish and anti-Ukrainian activities significantly: a boycott of stores and market stands as well as demands for a quota known as *numerus clausus* and "bench ghettos." In the Western provinces the OWP also conducted anti-German activities and initiated a boycott of German stores, films, and press in 1932. Police repression accompanied OWP activities since the very beginning. On October 11, 1927, the OWP was dissolved by the government in the Lwów Province for distributing illegal leaflets. The repression was intensified in 1932, when the OWP was closed down in Pomerania, and the Poznań and

Outside of the *Endecja*'s party structure there existed a whole network of self-aid, charitable, self-defense, and educational organizations with strong personal ties to the nationalist movement. Top nationalist leaders, on account of their academic status, professional expertise, and social interests, belonged to organizations with programs that, on the surface at least, were quite distant from political and ideological matters. This allowed the nationalist ideology to reach different social groups and thus exert an influence on public opinion. For example, the economist Edward Taylor (an endek parliamentarian) was one of the founders of the Association of Polish Economists and Statisticians, Princess Irena Puzyna (a ZLN deputy) initiated the Committee to Help the Repatriated (from the Soviet Union), Ernest Adam (a close associate of Dmowski) was the chairman of the Popular School Association, Bolesław Bielawski (a ZLN activist and senator) chaired the Head Attorneys' Council and, after 1933, he would be the Dean of the Warsaw Chamber of Attorneys, while Rev. Marcei Nowakowski (a ZLN congressman) was one of the founding members of the Polish Red Cross. Andrzej Wierzbicki (a ZLN deputy) established and chaired the Central Union of Polish Industry, Mining, Commerce, and Finance, known as the "Leviathan," while Jerzy Zdziechowski (a nationalist leader) held the post of Assistant Chairman and, simultaneously, chaired the Forestry Association in Warsaw and the Lumber Union in Poland. Marian Kiniorski headed the Central Agricultural Association. The president of the powerful Catholic Action, Count Adolf Bniński, and Rev. Antoni Ludwiczak co-chaired the Association of People's Libraries (an organization founded in 1877 and boasting 30,000 activists), while Jan Kornecki and Józef Stamler headed the Polish Education Association (founded in 1906 to preside over a network of schools, courses and libraries with approximately 30,000 activists). Often the activists and members of these associations were also involved in nationalist political undertakings. This was the case with many members of the youth organizations subordinate to the Catholic Action, especially those from the Men's Catholic Youth Union and the Women's Catholic Youth Union.

There also existed organizations and associations with unequivocally nationalist programs. The most distinguished of these was the Academic Union of All-Polish Youth

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Kielce regions. The organization was completely banned on March 28, 1933, in a government drive to neutralize the young generation of nationalists. Simultaneously, legislation was implemented in 1933 to limit the autonomy of the universities and dissolve student self-government and university youth organizations, which were under nationalist control.

<sup>10</sup> The National Party (*Stronnictwo Narodowe* – SN), a Rightist political party founded in 1928, was to become the largest group in opposition to Józef Piłsudski's government and the so-called *Sanacja* regime. The SN was a mass organization of an egalitarian character. During the peak of its activities during the mid-1930s it enrolled about 200,000 members. Its political program was similar to the agenda of the ZLN and the OWP. Catholicism and nationalism were the foundations of the SN's worldview. The nationalists' religiousness went hand-in-hand with political conservatism and traditionalism and a dislike for leftist currents, in particular Communism. The SN spoke out against the Jews; its arguments were mostly economic, pointing out the disproportionately large participation of Jews in commerce, services, the press, universities, and other fields, which hindered the advancement of the Polish people, in particular the emergence of a native middle class. However, the SN rejected racism. Nonetheless, the National Party used anti-Jewish propaganda as a weapon against the *Sanacja* regime. Some young SN activists also propagated anti-Jewish violence, which had a negative effect on the situation in education and commerce and inflamed social and ethnic tensions within the country in general by pushing some of the representatives of the national minorities towards extreme positions. Because of the profoundly unethical character of violence, it also radicalized some of the nationalists thus undermining the Endek synthesis of Catholicism and nationalism.

(MW, 1922–1939). MW activists dominated in student self-government, or the Polish National Union of University Youth, and all the other organizations under its leadership, such as the National Academic Committee, the Academic Union of Fraternal Aid, the Academic Sports Union, the Association of Provincial Circles, and the General Polish Association of Academic and Scholarly Circles. The MW also had informal ties with the Union of Polish Academic Fraternities, the Marian Sodality, the illegal National High School Association, and the Polish Scouting Union. The “Falcon” Gymnastics Association (established in 1867), which promoted patriotic values, sports and physical fitness, was also geared towards the nationalist youth.

Geared strictly toward the ladies, the National Women’s Organization (established in 1918) organized lectures and training courses; its activists participated in election campaigns for the ZLN and the SN, conducted social and charitable work. It cooperated closely with both the Young Women Landowners’ Society and the Circles of Village Homemakers.

There were also sociopolitical organizations associated with the *Endecja* in the Eastern Borderlands. These included the League for the Defense of Wilno Land and the Integrity of the Commonwealth (established in 1921) headed by Professor Stanisław Głąbiński, which organized political demonstrations calling for complete unification of the Eastern Borderlands with the rest of the country, and the Society for the Protection of the Eastern Borderlands, led by Stanisław Głąbiński, Joachim Bartoszewicz, Zygmunt Berezowski, and Marian Seyda, which lent material support for the development of Polish schools as well as cultural and economic institutions. The Union for the Defense of the Western Borderlands (established in 1921) and the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Pomerania’s Frontiers (established in 1925) worked for similar objectives in the former Prussian-German partition zone. During the time of the plebiscites, i.e. when the inhabitants of some areas in the former German partition voted to belong to Poland or Germany, the Committee for the Defense of the Plebiscite Lands (established in 1920) also raised funds for activities and propaganda connected with the plebiscites.

The Endeks further founded and controlled trade and professional associations. The most important of these was the National Workers’ Union (NZR, 1905–1908) which propagated the nationalist idea among the workers. Its activities were continued by the “Polish Work” Trade Union (1925–1939), which was an anti-Socialist and anti-revolutionary nationwide labor union for workers and wage-earning laborers which, by 1938, enrolled approximately 70,000 members. The “Development” Society to Support Polish Industry and Commerce (from 1912 until the early 1930’s it functioned as the Society for the Development of the National Life) promoted Polish commerce and industry in competition with non-Polish initiatives, including Jews, Germans, and Ukrainians, and organized labor unions and courses for Christian workers and merchants and the Polish consumers movement (the Consumers League). The goal was to revive Polish industry and commerce and, simultaneously, to limit the activities of German, Jewish, and Ukrainian firms. The Union of Christian Artisans of the Polish Commonwealth also participated in this nationalist endeavor. Meanwhile, the Poznań Society of Young Industrialists (established in 1875) promoted Polish industry and small-scale manufacturing. In the realm of education there were two major nationalist organizations: the Society of High School and University Teachers (established in 1919)

and the Christian National Association of Elementary School Teachers (established in 1921).

The Endek movement was likewise associated with certain paramilitary organizations whose aim it was to defend society against the possibility of a communist takeover and social anarchy. The most prominent among them were the Legion for the Defense of the Constitution and the strike-breaking Social Self-Assistance Association. The “National Guard” (dissolved by the *Sanacja* regime in 1927) was a similar organization which protected party and newspaper offices as well as demonstrations and party conferences. One must also add veterans’ organizations to this, such as the Legion of the Polish Commonwealth (established in 1928), an organization competing with the Piłsudskite Federation of the Unions of the Defenders of the Fatherland. The Legion included other smaller outfits such as the Hallerczyk Union (veterans of Gen. Haller’s Blue Army with 6,000 members), the Dowborczyk Union (established in 1923 by veterans of General Dowbór Muśnicki’s force), the Union of the Participants of the Wielkopolska Uprising (established in 1927), the Union of the NCOs of the Western Lands, the Union of the Societies of Insurrectionists, and D.O.K. VII Soldiers (established in 1931, with 6,000 members), and the Association of Retired Officers (established in 1923, with 3,000 members). In many places discussion clubs conducted by nationalist activists functioned as meeting places for the local elites.

As previously mentioned, the nationalist movement was constantly evolving. The 1930’s saw the *Endecja* undergoing serious upheavals. The older generation of activists (the so-called “seniors”), who embraced liberal political and economic policies, was slowly losing influence to the younger and more radical generation of nationalists (the so-called “juniors”). The latter rejected liberalism ideologically and were inclined toward authoritarian and corporatist solutions. A minority of highly radicalized young activists even abandoned the ranks of the National Party (SN) altogether. A small group of defectors joined the ruling Piłsudskite *Sanacja* regime as the so-called Union of Young Nationalists (ZMN).<sup>11</sup> Other young activists seceded to form the National Radical Camp (ONR) in April 1934.<sup>12</sup> A year later a faction of totalitarian-minded nationalists left the

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<sup>11</sup> The Union of Young Nationalists (*Związek Młodych Narodowców – ZMN*) was formed after the dissolution of the OWP. In 1934 it broke away from the SN and formed its own autonomous organization that evolved towards closer ties with the ruling *Sanacja* camp. In 1935 ZMN deputies supported the passing of the government-sponsored April Constitution and, as of 1937, this group also worked closely with the *Sanacja* Camp of National Unity (OZN) as the National State Movement (RN-P). The major leaders were Professor Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Ryszard Piestrzyński, Jan Zdzitowiecki, Klaudiusz Hrabyk, and Jerzy Drobnik. The movement also published the following periodicals: *The Avant-garde of the Nation State* (1934–1939), *The National Action* (as of 1937, *The National State Action*), and “On Guard” (1934–1936). Zdzisław Stahl’s Lwów-based Center for Political Thought (OMP) cooperated closely with the RNP.

<sup>12</sup> The National Radical Camp (*Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny – ONR*) was an initiative of the former OWP circles based in Warsaw intent on independence from the SN. On April 14, 1934, a group of activists headed by Tadeusz Gluziński, Jan Mosdorf, and Tadeusz Tottleben issued an Ideological Declaration announcing the founding of the ONR. It demanded that political and economic life in Poland be based on Catholic values. The state was to have a national character and political power was to be yielded by its intellectual elites. The Poles and other Slavic minorities were to have full rights, while the Jews and Germans were to receive the status of belonging to the state and ultimately deported. The economic program of the ONR, having been formed under the impact of the Great Depression and the pauperization of the Polish masses, was based on the principle of national solidarity. Small private property, i.e. manufacturing, stores and agriculture, was considered to be the foundation of Poland’s economic growth. The ONR called for the completion of the land reform, state control of economic activity; and

ONR to form the National Radical Movement (RNR).<sup>13</sup> The RNR would be commonly known as the “Falanga” (“Phalanx”), while the mother-organization was referred to as the ONR-“ABC” after the titles of their flagship papers.

But the above were not the only parties and circles appealing to nationalist ideology. As mentioned previously, Piłsudski and his supporters were also nationalists. A

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nationalization of non-Polish industry. The government was to control those spheres of economic activity that were deemed essential to national security: heavy industry, power plants, and banks. The goal of the ONR was to guarantee that every Pole have a job and the minimum necessary to live. This group mostly consisted of students and the young intelligentsia. In the city of Warsaw itself their ranks grew to 5,000 members and another 2,500 in the rest of Warsaw Province. It had little influence elsewhere. The ONR’s activities centered around the periodical *Sztafeta* (i.e. *The Relay Race*); its distribution provided an opportunity for political demonstrations. Jewish stores were boycotted and rallies held as the ONR attempted to gain the support of the urban proletariat for national radical slogans. Nationalist agitation combined with social radicalism; capitalism was criticized, and calls went out for a struggle with Jewish factory owners. The ONR attacked the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and the Communists as traitors to the cause of the Polish workers. But the dynamism of the national radicals worried the government and their alleged involvement in the assassination of Bronisław Pieracki, Minister of the Interior, provided the excuse to dissolve the ONR and jail its leaders in the Bereza Kartuska internment camp. From 1934 to 1939 it functioned in secret as the Internal Organization (OW). It also published the legal paper *ABC Daily News* as well as other illegal periodicals and leaflets. The elections to the Warsaw City Council (December 18, 1938), when the ONR list received 8.5 percent of the vote (four seats), were a demonstration of the group’s influence.

<sup>13</sup> The National Radical Movement (*Ruch Narodowo-Radykalny* – RNR-“Falanga”) was founded in 1935 as a result of a split in the ONR. The working youth and students dominated. Its structure was hierarchical, decisions were made by one leader, and the governing bodies had an advisory character. Bolesław Piasecki ran the RNR as its main leader but he also delegated some authority to his closest associates. The leadership included: Witold Staniszkis, Wojciech Wasutyński, Marian and Adolf Reutt, Zygmunt Dziarmaga, Maria Rzętkowska, Witold Rościszewski, Bolesław Świdorski, and Zygmunt Przetakiewicz. The membership was small, 5,000 at the movement’s apogee, but very dedicated to Piasecki. The RNR wielded its greatest influence in Warsaw, but it also had chapters in Kraków, Katowice, Łódź, Wilno, Lwów, Gdynia, and other locations. The RNR’s illegal activities limited its influence and constantly exposed its participants to arrests. Thus the RNR attempted to infiltrate other political and social organizations and societies in order to exert influence on people and to recruit new members. Its activities were divided into two spheres: education–propaganda and combat. RNR members participate in terrorist plots, such as the explosion of a bomb in the Polish Teachers’ Union on May 28, 1938, in Warsaw. The RNR’s approach to the so-called “Jewish question” was that of no compromise. They considered the Jews to be a minority harmful to Polish society, because they monopolized commerce and various services. The breaking of that monopoly would allow for the creation of a Polish middle class. Basing their approach to social issues on national solidarity, the RNR virulently criticised Jewish isolationism, hostility towards assimilation, and an indifference towards crucial Polish issues. Jews were to be deported from Poland by means of planned emigration. The heated atmosphere of the anti-Jewish campaign and extreme emotions would often get the best of the RNR publicists but, ultimately, they failed to cross the boundary separating nationalism from racism. They utilized anti-Semitic political slogans against the ruling regime, the Left, and capitalism. The Falangists worldview was a combination of Catholicism and a fascination with totalitarianism. The planned reforms were to have a revolutionary character: the *Sejm* and the political parties were to be dissolved and power was to be taken over by the Political Organization of the Nation. Social divisions were to be abolished and a “right to work” introduced. The RNR’s great success was to have come to terms with the Camp of National Unity (OZN) in 1937. Piasecki was searching for a way to legalize their activity and broaden their range as well as gradually to take over the ruling camp and thus the state government. RNR activists even assumed the leadership of the OZN’s youth branch, the Young Poland Movement, but the alliance was dissolved in June 1938. The fiasco of the movement’s participation in the OZN created a serious internal crisis within the RNR and thus the organization almost ceased to exist by 1939.

prominent *Sanacja* faction became radicalized in the nationalist direction as reflected in the founding of the Camp of National Unity (OZN).<sup>14</sup> Further, outside of the nationalist mainstream, there were diminutive regional national socialist circles and groups which directly emulated the German Nazi paradigm.<sup>15</sup> Finally, there also existed a very small

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<sup>14</sup> The Camp of National Unity (*Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego*) was formed in 1937 by the Right wing of the Piłsudskite activists who supported authoritarian solutions and opposed leftist or liberal ones. They emulated Italian Fascist models by creating a hierarchical structure and militarizing the movement's activities. The OZN's Ideological Declaration contained nationalist features and stressed the superiority of the national idea over the state idea, which was a *novum* for the *Sanacja* camp. It emphasized the necessity of cultural self-defense and Polish economic independence from the minorities. According to contemporary observers, the OZN's Ideological Declaration was a sign that the camp accepted Roman Dmowski's ideas without reservations and that National Democracy forced its style and ideology upon the *Sanacja* despite the fact that the Endeks were out of power. In reality, however, the founders of the OZN understood the dynamics of contemporary events and saw the noticeable polarization between the Left and the nationalist Right. The latter held the clear advantage through the Endek ability to attract high school and university youth. The new Piłsudskite organization copied many elements of the *Endecja's* program to increase the *Sanacja's* attractiveness in the struggle for Poland's soul. Thus, RNR and ZMN activists joined the OZN leadership to imbue it with a properly nationalist character. This conception was also supported by the small but influential intellectual group, headed by the famous writer Ferdynand Goetl, which descended from the *Sanacja* camp and supported the "Polish road to totalitarianism." The OZN mission failed; there was insufficient time and the leaders were inconsistent in their activities. The OZN neither absorbed the National Camp nor reduced the influence of the other parties. Nonetheless, the mobilization of patriotic feelings, the will to act for the good of the country, and the military style the OZN propagated seem to have proven useful for the Polish society during the war and occupation.

<sup>15</sup> Polish national socialists (the so-called "Colored Shirts") began their activities in the early 1930s. This movement consisted of many small and dispersed ephemeral groups. On June 20, 1933, the Party of National Socialists (PNS), which would oscillate between German National Socialist models and the liberal Czech "National Socialist" paradigm, was founded under the leadership of Fryderyk Fiałkiewicz. Its was active in Warsaw and some parts of Central and Western Poland. Its members wore green shirts and the party published the following papers: *Victory* (Kraków), *The Front of the National Socialist* (Łódź and Wilno), *The Polish Thunderbolt* (Katowice), and *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Lwów). Earlier, in 1932 the National Socialist Party (SNS) was launched in Bielsko and Oświęcim and Aleksander Mieszalski's Independent National Socialist Party (NPNS) in Katowice. In 1933 the NPNS merged with a similar group headed by the Sosnowiec lawyer, Waclaw Kozielski, to form the National Socialist Workers' Party (NSPR) whose members wore purple shirts. In September 1933 this group split into two rival factions both using the same party name: the Silesian one with Józef Graffa at its helm and the Sosnowiec off-shoot headed by Kozielski. Graffa's group established chapters in the provinces of Łódź, Warsaw, Kraków, and Wilno. On June 13, 1934, the NSPR was banned by the government and Graffa's faction changed its name to the National Social Radical Party. This "new" party was plagued by internal conflicts and was finally dissolved by the government on February 25, 1935, after Graffa attempted to rob a train to procure funds (for which the court sentenced him to two years in prison). Meanwhile, Kozielski's group formed the National Socialist Party of the Villages and Cities, but it became moribund by 1937. Similarly, Henryk Otto Pawelski's Polish National Socialist Party "Warta" was formed in November 1933 only to disintegrate in early 1934. Władysław Orębski's tiny Polish National Socialist Party operated in Łódź and published a paper called the *Swastyka* which was eventually suppressed by the authorities. Józef Kowal-Lipiński founded the Radical Cure Movement on August 21, 1933. This group functioned in Silesia and initially enrolled 5,000 blue-shirted followers but the government dissolved it in 1935. It was reactivated in 1937 as the National Radical Cure Movement but it attracted only a few hundred members and its influence was practically nil. In 1938 it established ties with the National State Movement (RNP) and thus, indirectly, with the OZN. See Andrzej Paczkowski, "Z folkloru politycznego II Rzeczypospolitej – narodowy socjalizm" [From the Second Republic's Political Folklore: National Socialism], *Więź*, no. 3 (1973); Jarosław Tomaszewicz, "Faszyzm po śląsku" [Silesian Fascism], *Śląsk*, no. 3 (2003); Jacek Majchrowski, *Szkice z dziejów polskiej prawicy politycznej lat Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Essays from the History of the

circle of ultra-nationalist neo-pagans known as the “Zadruga” group. All these nationalisms either relegated Christianity to a subordinate position (OZN) or rejected it in the name of race struggle (such as the Polish nationalist socialists) or of racism combined with an invented mythological Slavic religion, the so-called “native faith”, such as Jan Stachniuk’s “Zadruga” group<sup>16</sup> or Stanisław Szukalski’s “Horned Heart” Tribe.<sup>17</sup> However, all of these currents were of very little significance. They all bypassed the mainstream nationalist movement, though sometimes they would attempt to mesh with it, borrow from it, invoke the national movement’s legacy indirectly, and sponge off the movement’s popularity. None of these ever stood a chance of threatening or replacing the *Endecja* however. That held true during the interwar period as well as during the German and Soviet occupations (1939–1949). The mainstream Polish nationalist movement’s main advantage was its continuity and its ability to adapt to the changing requirements of the times.

### 3. Periodization and Subject Matter

In our anthology we have concentrated on the time period between 1939 and 1949. The choice of the first of these dates is clear. The Second World War broke out in 1939 and a nationalist underground resistance immediately sprung up as a multidimensional continuation of the Polish nationalist movement. The year 1949, on the other hand, was the end of the Endek conspiracy. The last compact clandestine units were destroyed and all the major organizations basically collapsed. There occurred an almost complete annihilation of the organizational forms and personnel, which had formed an unbroken continuity from the prewar period (and even from the Partition Era). Naturally, even after 1949 underground organizations invoking the traditions of the nationalist

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*Polish Political Right During the Second Republic*] (Kraków: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, n.d.).

<sup>16</sup> The “Zadruga” Movement of Polish Nationalists was active between 1937 and 1947. It rejected Christianity as “alien to the Slavic spirit.” Fascination with racism and the cult of the leader was a noticeable characteristic of this group. Jan Stachniuk (“Stoigniew”) was the leader and author of the ideological *History Without History* (Warsaw: Zadruga, 1939). The faction’s symbol was the “Toporzeł,” an eagle with axe heads for wings designed by Stanisław Szukalski. This group published its own paper *Zadruga* (dubbed so after a mythical Slavic community). The milieu functioned in Warsaw, Łódź, and Bielsko-Biała and enrolled approximately 400 members. The main activists were Józef and Stanisław Grzanko, Tadeusz Then, Ludwik Zasada, Ludwik Gościński, and Antoni Wacyk. Under their influence, a neo-pagan faction also existed within the leftist “Wici” Rural Youth Union. In 1943 the Zadruga activists formed the “National Rising” organization together with the National Workers’ Party (NPR) and participated in its military organization (KPN). Feliks Widy-Wirski (a prewar Zadruga activist) became one of its top leaders. Jan Stachniuk was also involved in this organization and his book, *The Question of Totalitarianism*, was published by the “Rising” Library. In the underground they put out *The Rising and The Cadres*, while other Zadruga activists published *The Burning Beacon’s Fires*, *The Beginning*, *The Forge*, *Arkona*, *On the Way*, and *The Watch-Tower*. See Remigiusz Okraska, *W kręgu Odyna i Tryglawa [Around Odin and Triglav]* (Biała Podlaska and Warsaw: Rekonkwista, 2002); Józefa Radzymińska, *Zawsze niepodlegli [Always Independent]* (Wrocław: Wyd. Toporzeł, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> The “Horned Heart” Tribe was founded in 1929 by the artist Stanisław Szukalski (“Stach from Warta”). The organization operated in Kraków and published the paper *Krak* (1937–1938). It was in essence an artistic circle. See Dorota Chudzicka, “Stanisław Szukalski: Europejczyk, Polak, nonkonformista” [Stanisław Szukalski: A European, a Pole, a Nonconformist], *Glaukopis* (Warsaw), no. 1 (2003): 324–37.

ideology and its goals, independence and freedom, were being formed, but this constituted a continuation of the movement largely in a metaphysical sense. The original structures and cadres, sorely decimated by the Nazis, were utterly obliterated by the Communists.

By 1949 the two occupying powers, jointly and individually, had broken the continuity of the nationalist movement by means of extermination or neutralization of the most prominent activists and by terrorizing the survivors. The only nationalist milieu that was able to function openly consisted of those descended from the RNR and its affiliates (the so-called PAX group). Its members adapted and conformed after Stalin's conquest of Poland in 1944-45 and soon moved gradually towards full collaboration with Communist totalitarianism. But Communism was based on militant atheism and a utopian negation of tradition: both a Polish national one in particular and a universal Christian one in general. By underwriting a system grounded on such assumptions, however, the small, licensed post-nationalist circles dropped the *Endek sine qua non* of the primacy of Christianity and the foremost role of the continuation of tradition in the national culture as an indispensable factor for Polishness. Thus, these tiny circles of ultra-nationalists detached themselves from the mainstream of the Polish nationalist movement and gravitated towards such marginal groups as the pagan nationalist "Zadruga," which, incidentally, also attempted to find its place in the "new reality" of Stalinism.<sup>18</sup>

This anthology focuses on the mainstream nationalist movement. It does not concern itself with all the manifestations of Polish nationalism in the underground from 1939 to 1949. We have decided to concentrate on those parties, organizations and circles which, in the first place, recognized the principle of the primacy of the transcendent Christian order above everything else. This objective thus excluded from our research the Piłsudskite nationalists and various national socialists and nationalist pagans. Secondly, we have chosen to focus on those organizations which considered Poland's independence and freedom to be essential values and refused to compromise on them with Poland's enemies, Stalin and Hitler, from beginning to end. This excluded the RNR group that, after 1944, opted for collaboration with the Soviets and the native Communists.<sup>19</sup> We have also been interested in the organizational continuation and ideological evolution of

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<sup>18</sup> Already during the Second World War "Zadruga" established ties with dissidents from the Christian Democratic movement who, after breaking away from the mainstream Labor Party (*Stronnictwo Pracy*), formed the pro-Communist collaborationist "Rising" (SZN) group in 1943. Headed by Feliks Widy-Wirski and Zygmunt Felczak, the SZN would eventually recognize the primacy of Stalin and his local plenipotentiaries from the Polish Workers' Party (PPR). In 1944 the SZN also entered the façade Communist Home National Council (KRN).

<sup>19</sup> We also excluded such organizations headed by the RNR leaders as the Confederation of the Nation (KN). The KN was a coalition of groups, many of which were not descended from National Democracy, though they undoubtedly were under the influence of Polish nationalism. (They included the Secret Polish Army, the Sign [*Znak*], and the group centered around *The Reveille*). In addition, the KN also animated certain artistic groups such as "Art and Nation." See Aleksander Kopiński, *Ludzie z charakterami: O okupacyjnym sporze Czesława Miłosza i Andrzeja Trzebińskiego* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Frondy, 2004); Jerzy Tomaszewicz, ed., *Portrety twórców Sztuki i Narodu* (Warszawa: PAX, 1983); Józef Szczypka, ed., *W gałgące dymu, w ognia blasku... Wspomnienia o Wacławie Bojarskim, Tadeuszu Gajcym, Onufrym Bronisławie Kopczyńskim, Wojciechu Menclu, Zdzisławie Stroińskim, Andrzeju Trzebińskim* (Warszawa: PAX, 1977); Lesław M. Bartelski, *Genealogia ocalonych* (Kraków-Wrocław: Wydaw. Literackie, 1985); Maria Gutowska, „Sztuka i Naród a uniwersalizm,” *Zeszyty Naukowe WSO w Bydgoszczy. Studia Filologiczne* 1979, z. 5.

the institutions descended from National Democracy. That is the reason why we excluded new entities that not only rejected a nationalism based on transcendent values but also distanced themselves from prewar parties. Thus we have chosen to ignore the clandestine “Sword and Plow” organization.<sup>20</sup>

Consequently, we decided to limit our sources to the periodicals and publications of the National Party (SN) and all of its factions, including the ONR–“ABC” in particular. Apart from the strictly political and ideological press we are also reproducing professional publications for lawyers, engineers, doctors, and soldiers. Military publications are important not only from the technical point of view but also because they demonstrate the impressive scope of the nationalist military underground.

#### 4. The Nationalist Movement in the Underground

Since the outbreak of the war the nationalists were in active opposition to the German and Soviet occupation of Poland. Like before the conflict, they were also a part

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<sup>20</sup> The “Sword and the Plow” (*Miecz i Pług* – MiP) was founded in Warsaw in November 1939. This group was most active in intelligence, propaganda, and partisan operations. Initially the MiP had a uniformly military character but eventually distinct military and civilian sections emerged. Civilian activism was mostly focused on political and propaganda work. The MiP Ideological Declaration criticized the *Sanacja* regime as responsible for Poland’s defeat in September of 1939. It was hoped that the victory of the Western Allies and a confederation of Slavic nations under Polish leadership would help regain Poland’s independence and great power status. The country’s political system was to be based on democratic principles and a strong executive branch. The MiP planned to shift Poland’s western frontier to the Odra (Oder) and Nysa (Neisse) Rivers. The MiP also published as many as 42 periodicals, including *Sword and Plow*, *Daily News*, *Poland Lives*, *The Polish Woman of Action* (published by the autonomous Union of Women of Action), *The Young Current* (a youth paper), and *Breakthrough*. The MiP did not wish to subordinate itself to the structures of the Polish Underground State. In the spring of 1940 it joined the Agreement Committee of Independentist Organizations (KPON) which was formed as a counter-balance to the ZWZ and the organizations affiliated with it. The 1941 unification talks with the ZWZ failed. In 1942 the MiP began its own unification drive by grouping various organizations (which were small and weakened by arrests) within the “United Organizations of the Sword and Plow Movement.” Those included the Command of the Defenders of Poland (KOP), the Military Organization (OW), The Armed Emergency of the Nation (ZPN), the Secret Military Organization “Pomeranian Griffin” (TOW), and the Secret Military Organization and the Order for the Resurrection of the Nation. Initially, Rev. Leon Popelau (“Wolan”) was in charge of the organization. However, as a result of arrests in mid-1940 most of the MiP’s leadership was imprisoned and Rev. Popleau perished in Auschwitz on 28 October 1940. Anatol Słowikowski (“Andrzej Nieznany”) and Zbigniew Grad (“Doktor Zbyszek”) then assumed the leadership and expanded the MiP. Unfortunately, it was discovered that they began to cooperate with the Gestapo and, on 18 September 1943, both of them were liquidated by MiP members. This created a crisis within the organization and the MiP’s ranks began to shrink as its members joined the AK or the NSZ. Penetration by the Communists and Soviet intelligence further accelerated the MiP’s disintegration. On 10 July 1944, the remaining soldiers of the United Organizations of the Sword and Plow merged with the NSZ–AK but some isolated MiP units would continue to operate until 1946. Bogusław Hryniewicz, the head of an intelligence section who as an agent pursued the task of infiltrating other underground organizations, was also active in the MiP. Hryniewicz was a Communist and collaborated with the NKVD and also participated in the operation of denouncing members of the pro-independence underground to the Gestapo. For further reading see Bogdan Chrzanowski, “*Miecz i Pług*” (*Zjednoczone Organizacje Ruchu “Miecz i Pług”*) *na Pomorzu w latach okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945* [*The “Sword and Plow” in Pomerania During the German Occupation, 1939–1945*] (Toruń: Fundacja Archiwum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej, 1997); Aneta Wojcieszek, *Ruch Miecz i Pług – Zjednoczone Organizacje Ruchu M i P* (MA thesis, Warsaw University, 1998).

of the independentist camp (*obóz niepodległościowy*) together with all the other Polish political orientations, except the Communists, who remained outside of it for they negated the need for Poland's independence and, instead, served one of her occupiers – Stalin. Unlike for the Communists, for the independentists (*niepodległościowcy*), including the Endeks, the nation's independence was simply non-negotiable. Further, the nationalists were part of the Polish Underground State (*Polskie Państwo Podziemne* – PPP) from its inception in fall 1939. Despite the fact that some of the Endeks remained in opposition to the leadership of the PPP, and in particular the heavily Piłsudskite military top brass of the Union of Armed Combat/Home Army (ZWZ/AK), the nationalists nevertheless actively participated in the PPP governing bodies and institutions.<sup>21</sup> This resulted not only from the high level of professionalism and pro-Polish state attitude of the nationalist cadres but also reflected the strength of their underground organizations.

In October of 1939 the Presidium of the Main Board of the National Party (ZG SN) initiated its underground activities under the code name: “The Square.”<sup>22</sup> It

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<sup>21</sup> This was also the case with regard to other political groups and parties. Let us use the underground structures involved in aiding the Jews as an example. In *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* [Poles and Jews Under the German Occupation: Studies and Materials, 1939–1945], ed. by Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006), in footnote 64 on page 223, Marcin Urynowicz notes that the left-liberal Democratic Party (SD) did not have a representative on the Council to Aid Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom* –RPŻ “Żegota”) because the SD was not part of the government coalition. Nonetheless, the SD participated in the official clandestine pro-Jewish activities. On page 224, Urynowicz writes that “of course this could not have [occurred with] a Communist underground organization or any other group hostile or opposed to the Polish Government in London.” On page 375, in the article entitled “The Elites of the National Camp vis-à-vis the Extermination of the Jews,” Jan Żaryn writes that: “It is a fact that there were no official representatives of the SN among the initiators of the RPŻ from the Government Plenipotentiary Office (*Delegatura*) or the central bodies of the Polish Underground State. However, SN activists, such as Jan Dobraczyński and the less well-known Tadeusz Mikułowski, were working closely with “Żegota.” One of the founders of the Council to Aid Jews, the Catholic conservative Zofia Kossak, also had very close ties with the *Endecja*.” Thus, Endeks joined various government bodies, including the Council to Aid Jews, without the official acknowledgement of the Endek party, which remained in opposition to the leadership of the Polish Underground State.

<sup>22</sup> The decision to reactivate the SN in the underground was made on October 13, 1939. The Presidium of the Main Board of the SN consisted of Mieczysław Trajdos, (its acting president who was arrested on 20 May 1941), Professor Witold Staniszkis, Bogusław Jeziorski, Władysław Jaworski, Roman Rybarski, Zygmunt Berezowski, Aleksander Dębski, and Stanisław Piasecki. This composition indicated that the group of Tadeusz Bielecki's supporters formed an alliance with the “Old Guard” and effectively isolated the Giertych and Kowalski group (which was much less willing to compromise with the London government, liberals, and Piłsudskites). SN activities were divided into two sections: the political, which was divided into the administrative, propaganda and education departments, and the military section which consisted of the National Military Organization (NOW). At the turn of 1939 and 1940 most of the local SN structures were secretly reopened under the German occupation zone and in Lwów and Białystok in the Soviet occupation zone. But the SN's activists were not prepared for the new conditions and the party organization suffered serious losses (in 1940–1941 the Poznań region and Pomeranian districts were disorganized, while numerous arrests occurred in Kraków and Warsaw). In June of 1941 Stefan Sacha (arrested by the Gestapo on May 15, 1943), who was a pragmatic politician and supported the idea of an agreement with other independentist groups to gain political benefits, became the new president of the SN. He justified SN participation in the structures of the Government Plenipotentiary Office created by the ZWZ and cooperation with the socialists (PPS), peasants (SL), and the Christian Democrats (SP) (i.e. the so-called “Fat Fours”) within the framework of the Countrywide Political Representation by the necessity of countering the growing influence of Center-Left groups and preventing the SN's isolation on the political arena. Sacha's pragmatism met with the opposition of the more radical SN members and a split in

reconstituted its prewar party organization at the grass roots and launched its clandestine fighting force, the National Military Organization (*Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa* – NOW). Throughout Poland numerous local and independent, or loosely-tied to the SN, youth or political-military organizations of a nationalist character appeared spontaneously. These included the National Populist Combat Organization (NLOW),<sup>23</sup> the Polish Scouts (the Polish Regiments),<sup>24</sup> the “Liberation”<sup>25</sup> organization in Lwów, and

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the party was further hastened by the merger of the NOW and the ZWZ in July 1942. However, the majority of the SN and NOW structures remained loyal to the pragmatic leaders and complied with the decision to unify with the ZWZ to form the Home Army. The SN was later headed by Władysław Jaworski (captured by the Nazis in June 1943), Stanisław Jasiukowicz (seized by the Germans in December 1943), and Aleksander Zwierzyński (arrested by the NKVD on March 8, 1945). SN activists also held important positions in the Polish Underground State (from its inception in 1939) and the National Unity Council (from January 1944). On April 1, 1944, the dissident SN “Great Poland” faction returned to the main SN “Square” group, thereby voiding the split and reunifying the party.

<sup>23</sup> The National Populist Combat Organization (*Narodowo-Ludowa Organizacja Walki* – NLOW) was founded in October 1939 by Karol Stojanowski and Jan Matlachowski. It had a political and military character and grouped the supporters of the old SN Giertych–Kowalski faction. The rapid expansion of the NLOW during the first few months after the war began allowed it to take over some of the old SN districts, such as Łódź and Częstochowa, and to gain some influence in other local SN structures. The NLOW competed with the SN. Stojanowski, who was seeking allies in his rivalry with the Main Board of the SN (ZG SN), dominated by Bielecki’s supporters, even attempted (but failed) to reach an understanding with the underground ONR at the end of 1939. As of mid–1940 the Main Board of the SN began to send out emissaries as part of its plan to take over the local NLOW structures, and thus succeeded in weakening them. The NLOW was, after all, in a worse off position than its rival since it neither received financial assistance from the Government-in-Exile nor enjoyed the status of the “legal” and “official” SN leadership. By the end of 1940 the NLOW lost most of its structures. Its political position became precarious and it was reduced to a small group of dissidents from the SN. From then on its activities were limited to propaganda and publishing activities, including the publication of Stojanowski’s works. In July 1942 the NLOW joined with the SN “Great Poland” secessionists group, thus forming the SN Provisional Governing Commission.

<sup>24</sup> The Polish Scouts (*Harcerstwo Polskie*), known as the Polish Regiments (*Hufce Polskie* – HP), were a Catholic nationalist scouting organization in opposition to the mainstream Grey Ranks (*Szare Szeregi*). The HP cooperated closely with the NOW, ZJ, and NSZ. The HP was founded in Warsaw on October 27, 1939, by Stanisław Sedlaczek (“Sas”), who later became the organization’s leader. It grouped between 4,000–5,000 boy and girl scouts. Apart from strictly scouting-related activities, the HP also participated in distributing underground literature and so-called small sabotage (leaflets, posters, inscriptions on walls). Some boy scouts even performed intelligence work. Instructions, program-related brochures, and periodicals (*The Boy Scout*, *Patrol*, and troop newsletters) were also published. After the entry of the Red Army the HP remained in the underground but also functioned under as the overt independentist, mainstream ZHP (Polish Scouting Union). The HP collaborated closely with the National Military Union (NZW). In December 1945 the Security Agency (UB) arrested the HP’s leadership and tried them in the 1947 show trials. See Grzegorz Ciura, *Pełnić służbę Bogu i Polsce: Harcerstwo Polskie (“Hufce Polskie”) 1939–1945 [Serving God and Poland: The Polish Scouts, 1939–1945]* (Warsaw: Alfa, 1998); Sebastian Bojemski, “Harcerstwo Polskie – Hufce Polskie” [The Polish Scouts – The Polish Regiments], *Prawica Narodowa* (Warsaw), no. 2 (7), July–September 1995; Artur Zawisza, “Nurt narodowo-katolicki w harcerstwie do roku 1946” [The Catholic Nationalist Current Within the Boy Scout Movement Until 1946], *Vade Mecum* (Lublin), no. 1 (Winter 1992–93); Krzysztof Eychler, “Harcerstwo Polskie (“Hufce Polskie”) 1939–1944: Geneza, założenia ideowe i programowe. Wychowanie religijne,” [The Polish Boy Scouts (Polish Regiments), 1939–1944: Origins, Ideological and Programmatic Foundations. Religious Education], *Chrześcijanin w Świecie*, no. 173 (February 1988); Jerzy Świdorski, “Harcerstwo Polskie ‘Hufce Polskie’,” *Bratnie Słowo* (Warsaw), no. 6/7 (1981); Jerzy Świdorski, “Harcerze Hufców Polskich w Powstaniu Warszawskim” [The Scouts of the Polish Regiments in the Warsaw Uprising], *Ład* (Warsaw), no. 18 (49), 8 August 1982.

the National Combat Organization in Wielkopolska.<sup>26</sup> The ONR–“ABC” also resumed its activities in the underground under the name of the “Rampart” (*Szaniec*) Group<sup>27</sup> with the Military Organization “Lizard Union” (*Związek Jaszczurczy – ZJ*) as its combat arm. In May 1942 the SN leadership gave permission for the NOW to join the ranks of the Home Army (AK) as an autonomous unit (NOW–AK). However, some SN leaders were opposed to cooperation with the ZWZ/AK and accused it of ties with the *Sanacja* camp. A split then occurred within the National Party and some of the NOW military formations broke away. The dissenters, who of course considered themselves as the only legitimate

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<sup>25</sup> The “Liberation” (“*Wyzwolenie*”) was a continuation of the prewar National High School Organization (*Narodowa Organizacja Gimnazjalna – NOG*). It was established in Lwów in 1940 and was headed by the brothers Jan and Mieczysław Weiss. Their work concentrated on collecting weapons and gathering intelligence. They also published the underground periodical *Combat: Soviet Occupation Edition* and leaflets. “Liberation” was destroyed in February 1941 by the NKVD. See Jerzy Węgierski, *Lwowska konspiracja narodowa i katolicka 1939–1946 [The National and Catholic Underground in Lwów, 1939–1946]* (Kraków: Platan, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> The National Combat Organization (The National Army) (*Narodowa Organizacja Bojowa (Armia Narodowa) – NOB (AN)*) was founded in Poznań on 16 November 1939, by Antoni Wolniewicz, who later also became its leader. It had a military, political, and social character. The NOB published: *National Poland, The Nation in Combat, Towards Freedom, God and Country, National Unity, and The National Army*. Its structures were divided into the Poznań, Silesia, Pomerania, and Wrocław districts. The Poznań district was best organized and subdivided into the following sections: 1. Poznań City and County; 2. Leszno, Rawicz, Gostyń; 3. Śrem, Kościan, Wolsztyn, Nowy Tomyśl; 4. Ostrów Wielkopolski, Jarocin, Krotoszyn, Kępno; 5. Kalisz, Konin, Turek, Koło; 6. Środa, Września, Gniezno; 7. Inowrocław City, Strzelno County, part of Mogilno County; 8. Bydgoszcz City, Nakło County; 9. Wągrowiec, Żnin, Szubin; 10. Oborniki, Szamotuły, Międzychód, Czarnków, Chodzież. In the fall of 1940 the NOB merged with the Kalisz-based National Unity Organization (OJN). The NOB was destroyed by the Gestapo (1,000 people captured) between December 1940 and January 1941. While liquidating the NOB, the Gestapo also arrested some of the Warsaw activists of the ZG SN (Mieczysław Trajdos, Aleksander Dębski). Some NOB activists joined the ZWZ. At the turn of 1942–1943 the NOW (National Military Organization) began the task of rebuilding the nationalist underground in the Poznań region (Wielkopolska). See Franciszek Maczuga, *Konspiracja Stronnictwa Narodowego w Poznaniu i w Wielkopolsce [The National Party’s Underground Movement in Poznań and Wielkopolska]* (Poznań: By the author, 1995); Marian Woźniak, “Narodowa Organizacja Bojowa (1939–1941): Geneza, struktura, koncepcja, działalność” [The NOB, 1939–1941: Origins, Structure, Conception, Activities], *Życie i Myśl*, no. 9 (1988): 50–65.

<sup>27</sup> This organization had a multi-level structure. The Executive Committee of the Internal Organization (the so-called Polish Organization) was at its head and included Jerzy Olgierd Iłkiewicz, Tadeusz Todleben, Stefan Nowicki, Jan Wyszyński, Władysław Marcinkowski, and Kazimierz Gluziński. Otmar Wawrzakowicz was the head of propaganda and Władysław Marcinkowski headed the OW ZJ. The Internal Organization’s activities were divided into political, military and civilian sections. The military activities usually concentrated around the ZJ (10,000 members in 1942), which was strongest in the Western provinces. The ZJ intelligence work in Germany and the forgery subsection were the most successful. Activists of the “Rampart” Group usually handled the political activities which focused on propaganda and publishing work. ZJ and “Rampart” Group structures often overlapped in the field. In 1940 the prewar so-called external organizations (i.e. social group organizations) subordinated to the OW were reactivated: “Faith and Will,” a women’s organization; “The Stool,” a rural intelligentsia group; “The Crew,” a workers’ organization; “Polish Medicine,” a group for medical professionals; and “The Union to Restore Law,” a lawyers’ association. The “Youth of Great Poland” was the “Rampart” and ZJ’s youth outfit. Dynamism and organizational abilities compensated for small numbers. Numerous periodicals were the basis of the group’s activities: *The Rampart, The Crew, The Homestead, The Polish Press Information, Current News from Poland and the World, On the Western Rampart, The [Eastern] Frontier Rampart*, and others. For further reading see the bibliographical information below.

representatives of the *Endecja*, chose a new leadership<sup>28</sup> and dubbed themselves the SN-“Great Poland” faction. They also commenced negotiations with the wartime avatar of the ONR-“ABC”, the “Rampart” Group, regarding cooperation. They soon formed together the National Armed Forces (*Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* – NSZ).<sup>29</sup>

The agreement made by the SN secessionists and the ONR “ABC” activists called for complete unification of the political, military and civilian bodies each controlled. A Provisional National Political Council (TNRP)<sup>30</sup> headed the putatively united organization. The TNRP was an alternative independentist underground leadership center, a sort of opposition shadow cabinet, competing with the command headquarters of the Polish Underground State. Within the TNRP’s jurisdiction there functioned the Civil Service for the Nation<sup>31</sup> (a shadow civil administration), the National Armed Forces (NSZ, a military organization), and also political party structures of the SN and ONR. These were in opposition to the PPP leadership, although many of the prominent TNRP members simultaneously served in technical capacities in the PPP.

Concurrently, a conflict was smoldering within the TNRP itself. The efforts to unify both groups, the nationalists and the national radicals, within an entity dubbed the National Camp<sup>32</sup> proved unsuccessful in practice. Despite the formal unification of their

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<sup>28</sup> In the historiography this faction has been referred to as SN “Great Poland” or the SN “Secessionists.” The SN Provisional Governing Commission included August Michałowski (chairman), Zbigniew Stypułkowski, and Adam Pacholczyk, as well as Karol Stojanowski and Jan Małachowski from the NLOW. Following a secret meeting of various delegates in Warsaw (January 1943), the leadership council changed its name to the Main Wartime Governing Body. This faction published the following papers: *Great Poland*, *The Path of the Bold*, *The Nation State*, *The National Press Agency*, and *The National Army*. On April 1, 1944, this group reunited with the main SN “Square” (“Kwadrat”) faction.

<sup>29</sup> The National Armed Forces (NSZ) was established by Order No. 1/42 of September 20, 1942, issued by the NSZ Commander Colonel Ignacy Oziewicz. The following groups formed the NSZ: the NOW (the part subordinate to the SN “Great Poland” faction), NLOW, and ZJ. In addition, the NSZ absorbed smaller groups such as the Polish National Syndicalist Camp, the Order for the Rebirth of Poland, the National Military Emergency, the Legion of the Union of Slavic Nations, a part of the Secret Polish Army, the “Wolves” Military Organization, the Armed Confederation, the Eastern Combat Organization, and others. Colonel Tadeusz Kurcysz replaced Col. Oziewicz after the latter’s arrest by the Gestapo in June 1943. The NSZ Main Command included the following sections: I. Organizational, II. Intelligence (CSW), III. Operations and Training, IV. Supplies, V. Communications, VI. Educational, VII. Finance. The organization was divided into districts, the latter into sub-districts and counties. It is estimated that the NSZ had 80,000–100,000 soldiers in its ranks.

<sup>30</sup> The *Tymczasowa Narodowa Rada Polityczna* (TNRP) was established on 8 May 1943. The eight-person TNRP Presidium included four ONR activists: Otmar Wawrzakowicz, Jerzy Olgierd Hłakowicz, Tadeusz Salski, and Władysław Marcinkowski; and four SN activists: Zbigniew Stypułkowski, August Michałowski, Jan Małachowski, and Karol Stojanowski. The TNRP ceased to exist when the SN activists left on 7 May 1944.

<sup>31</sup> The *Służba Cywilna Narodu* (SCN) was formed as an expansion of the Civil Commissariat operating with the “Rampart Group” and was bolstered by SN activists. Kazimierz Gluziński headed the SCN. Over 1,000 experts worked within the SCN and its sections in secret education, preparing future administrators, and drafting plans to rebuild Poland and expand the country’s economic potential with special emphasis on Lower Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia. A local administration network also functioned. The leaders of the TNRP hoped that the SCN would become a rival of the Government Plenipotentiary Office (*Delegatura Rządu*) but, in practice, both of those structures often overlapped.

<sup>32</sup> Such plans were undertaken in 1943 but failed as a result of mutual distrust between the potential partners and the necessity of maintaining cover. Only the unification of the youth movements succeeded and bore fruit in the form of a united Youth of Great Poland and, as of 1944, the Entente of Polish Youth Organizations (with the participation of the youth of the Confederation of the Nation, the Polish Scouts,

efforts, the SN “Great Poland” faction and the ONR–“ABC” conducted separate activities, causing needless misunderstandings and harmful rivalry. Under such conditions a decision was made to merge the NSZ and the AK in March of 1944. This resulted in an open fissure in the ranks of the NSZ: the units and districts under the political control of the SN “Great Poland” faction duly fused with the AK (as the NSZ–AK), while the ONR refused to merge their soldiers with the AK and continued to operate under the name of NSZ (in historiography this organization is known as the NSZ–ONR or the NSZ–ZJ). The ONR activists of the “Rampart” Group stayed apart. The erstwhile dissidents of the SN “Great Poland” re-joined the mainstream leadership of the National Party.

In November 1944, following the collapse of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1–October 3, 1944), the unified Presidium of the SN’s Main Board decided to withdraw the nationalist troops of the NSZ-AK and NOW-AK from the AK and to fuse them within the ranks of a new clandestine entity, the National Military Union (NZW).<sup>33</sup> In some regions, it continued to operate under its old designation of NOW (the Rzeszów area); elsewhere it used a separate name, the National Armed Union (NZZ) (the Kielce area). Meanwhile, the ONR–“ABC” fought independently as the NSZ until January 1946, when the activists of the “Rampart” Group ultimately subordinated their military units to the Main Command of the NZW. Moreover, the nationalist underground was greatly reinforced because erstwhile ZWZ/AK units and clandestine structures joined the NZW throughout central and western Poland after mid-1945. This process occurred because the Communist terror left the independentist guerrillas little choice but fight and despite the fact that efforts were made by the mainstream independentist underground to limit its scope and to dismantle the partisan units.

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and the Front to Rebuild Poland (*Front Odrodzenia Polski* – FOP) – Władysław Bartoszewski was the FOP’s representative in this body although he would deny this years later. See Letter to the Editor, *Rzeczpospolita*, 27–28 September 1997). In 1944 and 1945 the ONR political structures operated under the name of the National Camp (*Obóz Narodowy*).

<sup>33</sup> The name National Military Union (*Narodowe Zjednoczenie Wojskowe* – NZW) was also used and the NZW was subordinate to the SN Military Section. The organization came into existence between February and June of 1945. In addition to NOW and NSZ soldiers, it was also joined by many AK troops who had connections to the nationalist underground. The NZW was led by Colonel Tadeusz Danilewicz (“Kuba”), the Commander-in-Chief until December of 1945; he was succeeded by Col. Bronisław Banasik (“Stefan”), who remained in command until January 1948. The NZW divided the country into sixteen districts grouped into five regions/areas (*obszary*). The combat section, the Special Operations Emergency Group (PAS), was in charge of direct fighting and maintaining armed units which protected the organization, raided and destroyed prisons, gathered financial and technological resources, and liquidated agents. The largest PAS formations functioned in Northern Mazovia and in the Białystok, Lublin, and Rzeszów regions. Partisan units subordinate to local commands also existed. The NZW published the following papers: the SN flagship periodical *Combat, The File, The Eye, The All-Pole* (the paper of the All-Polish Youth), *The Voice of Polish Unity, The Baltic Echo, Forest Echoes*, and others. Arrests carried out between March and April of 1946 destroyed the Main Command and many district commands. Some of them were rebuilt in rudimentary form afterwards. The organization was constantly flooded with volunteers escaping arrest, wanting to fight the Communists, or expecting an imminent war between the United States and the USSR. In 1948–1949 numerous partisan units counting several dozen fighters were still active in the field. After the liquidation of the last district commands (1948–1950), county commands remained in operation (some well until 1953–1954). They ran their own clandestine networks and armed units. For further information see the bibliography below.

The clandestine nationalists also remained influential and prominent in the conspiratorial political bodies. As of March 1946, the political and military activities of the anti-Communist underground were coordinated by the Concord Committee of the Organizations of a Democratic Underground Poland (KPODPP). This body included representatives of the SN and the NZW, the Piłsudskite “Freedom and Independence” organization (WiN), the Independent Polish Socialist Party (Niezależna PPS), and the *Sanacja* Party of National Independence (SNN). The Committee was headed by the SN’s leader Włodzimierz Marszewski (code name “Gorczyca”). Among other things, this body prepared a memorandum analyzing the situation in Poland under the Communist occupation and forwarded the document to the UN Security Council.

In 1946 and 1947 a wave of arrests conducted by the Communist terror apparatus (the Soviet NKVD and the local Security Office [*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa* – UB]) put an end to the functioning of the political and military nationalist underground as a uniform and organized country-wide body. In many regions of Poland, particularly the Białystok area in the east, various county commands and individual NSZ and NZW units, as well as independent youth organizations appealing to the nationalist ideology, continued to conduct anti-Communist activities until the middle of the 1950’s. The last NOW–NSZ–AK–NZW partisan was captured on 31 December 1961, in a bunker in the region of Lublin. We have included some of the publications written by a few of these diehards in this collection.

## **5. The Historical Context**

The German and Soviet occupations of Poland serve as the historical background of the various wartime and postwar divisions and mergers among the Polish nationalists. The two occupations were, essentially, two revolutions, a Nazi and a Communist one, imported from abroad. Hitler and Stalin invaded the Polish Republic in September 1939 and proceeded to partition the nation in accordance with an agreement concluded on 23 August 1939. Hitler incorporated the Western Lands into the Third Reich and created a so-called General Government (GG), a Nazi colony, in Central Poland. Stalin, meanwhile, annexed the Eastern Borderlands as parts of the Soviet Union.

In both of the partition zones governing bodies were established and staffed by foreigners brought in from their respective mother countries: the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. The locals were usually relegated to subordinate positions in the middle, but most often, the lower administrative and technical levels. Polish Christians were given positions of relative responsibility only in the German-run General Government. But Christian Poles, and the Polish elites particularly, were discriminated against and persecuted in both partitions. In the Soviet zone national minorities were favored, especially during the early stages of the occupation. In the German zone ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) were favored and, to a certain extent, Ukrainians as well. The Jews found themselves in the most tragic predicament.

Both occupying powers ruled by terror. Hitler and Stalin’s regime were both characterized by mass deportations, concentration camps, and mass executions. During the initial two years the brunt of the terror was directed mostly against Polish Christians, mainly the broadly defined elites, in both zones, but also against the Jews, the latter particularly in the German zone. Further, in the Soviet zone everyone was subject to

confiscations by the State, while in the German zone the confiscations were partial. In both partitions they targeted chiefly the Jews and the Polish Christian elites. The latter suffered of confiscations to a much lesser degree in the General Government than in the areas directly incorporated by Hitler and Stalin, both of whom expropriated the Polish Christian elites almost completely.

In June 1941 Poland's Eastern Borderlands came under the rule of the Third Reich. Hitler incorporated a small part of these lands (so-called Eastern Galicia) into the General Government and (so-called Bezirk Bialystok) into the Third Reich. The rest became part of various administrative entities, or Commissariats, in the rear of the Soviet Front. The terror against both the Polish elites and the common people intensified with time. Only at the end of the war the German occupying authorities would attempt a partial "liberalization." Meanwhile, from about the middle of 1941 onwards, a merciless extermination of the Jewish population was carried out by the Nazis and, in many cases, by non-Polish local collaborationist formations as well. This extermination campaign came to an end congruently with the advance of the Soviet armies into Central Eastern Europe. Commencing in January 1944, Stalin had occupied all the Polish lands by March 1945. With the acquiescence of the Western Allies he eventually incorporated into his Polish colony the former Third Reich's Eastern provinces, which had once belonged to medieval Poland.

A new occupation of Poland, an occupation by proxy, commenced. At the top, Stalin held supreme power by means of the Red Army occupation forces, the Soviet terror apparatus, and civilian advisors under the command of Soviet military and police generals and Moscow's ambassador who performed the role of a *de facto* viceroy. The local Communists were given the most prominent posts to carry out the Kremlin's orders. Captive Poland's military and police forces were modeled on the Soviet counterparts and also controlled by the Soviets officers passing as "Poles" and held in check by local henchmen. The middle and lower levels of the civilian administration were manned by a thin layer of collaborationists of various provenance as well as different kinds of experts (though these usually held technical posts). The majority of these experts came from the independentist camp and, quite often, surreptitiously, from analogous positions in the Polish Underground State. In Central and Western Poland, but not in the Eastern Borderlands, which were annexed by the USSR and almost immediately Sovietized, Stalin created a façade of supposedly "democratic" life, complete with a pseudo-parliament and political parties, for propaganda use. Most of these were rubber stamp institutions, since the real independentist parties were either quickly destroyed or marginalized to the status of vassals before 1949, when the final push to complete the Sovietization of Poland was undertaken openly.

During the post-1944 Soviet occupation, the Communist terror abated relative to the war-time Nazi and Soviet terror. However, its intensity was still more ferocious than even the greatest persecutions non-Jewish Western Europeans had experienced under the German occupation. The Soviet occupiers and their proxies once again targeted the independentist elites, although the common people also suffered. The occupying power invited both the ethnic Poles and the national minorities to collaborate. Collaborators were a privileged group regardless of their descent. In theory the Communists favored the minorities. In practice they persecuted the Ukrainians but ignored the Belorussians to a degree. As far as the Jews were concerned, the Communist policy oscillated between

discrimination and concession (e.g., free emigration). Let us reemphasize however that Polish Christians, and thus also Polish nationalists, were the main victims of the Communists.<sup>34</sup>

## 6. Poland and the Poles

What was the Polish nationalist attitude vis-à-vis the great historical catastrophe that the National Socialist and Communist revolutions brought to Poland? Collectively, the nationalists rose to defend Poland's independence, while, at the same time, hoping that the Poland they were fighting for would be based on the ideas they believed in. However, it must be emphasized once more that between 1939 and 1949 practically all the nationalist circles, groups, organizations, and parties underwent an ideological evolution. The Second World War and its effects brought about a reevaluation of certain postulates (e.g., the so-called "Jewish Question") and the marginalization of others (e.g., the struggle against the *Sanacja*). Much more important issues, such as the struggle for biological and cultural survival, came to the forefront.

The main nationalist postulate from the years 1939–1949 can be expressed in the simplest way in the slogan "Poland for the Poles!" But what did this really mean? According to the interpretation given to it by Communist and leftist propaganda, this slogan was allegedly proof of xenophobia, intolerance, troglodyte atavism, and criminal racism putatively genetically encoded in the *Endecja's* program. However, our research shows that such extremist interpretations of the "Poland for the Poles!" slogan are unwarranted in the light of the nationalist theory and practice. It boggles the mind that anyone considering oneself to be a thinking human being can base one's entire opinion of the *Endecja's* ideology on merely a single slogan. That would be, at best, a primitive oversimplification of a complex phenomenon. What about semantic research? What about a description of the contemporary political culture? What about the historical context? All of these factors, and many others indeed, do inform the meaning and reception of political slogans. After all, under extreme conditions political rhetoric, and the propaganda spawned by it, tends toward radicalization. In times of prosperity and security the general societal discourse tends toward relaxation, which, of course, applies to political speech as well.

The *Endeks* did proclaim the slogan "Poland for the Poles!"; but let us ask calmly what the best way was to express, in a succinct and positive manner, the aspirations for freedom and independence at a time when Poland was divided among the Prussian, Austrian, and Russian empires; when Poland was ruled by foreign invaders; and when Poland found herself under German and Soviet occupation? "Poland for the Poles!" expressed these freedom-loving desires quite well. The point simply was that Poland, as the Polish Fatherland, should be ruled by those who have inhabited the country for centuries, i.e. the Poles.

But who is a Pole? The *Endecja's* critics claim that the nationalists had a narrow, integral, ethnic, and "racial" definition in mind. But because we are discussing the nationalists' semantics here we should utilize their definition and understand the word

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<sup>34</sup> Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II* (New York and Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press and East European Monographs, 2003).

“Pole” as they understood it. We should eschew the inaccurate and erroneous interpretations of their opponents. Admittedly, in the Endek parlance, the word “Pole” was used sometimes as an ethnic label. However, for the nationalists it was also, if not primarily, an honorific or a compliment. In the nationalist nomenclature the word had a mythical, noble, and wonderful overtone. For the nationalists a Pole who became a traitor to the national cause ceased being a Pole at that very moment, his ethnic roots notwithstanding. Such a person became a traitor, a *jurgieltnik* (i.e. a traitor on the payrolls of Poland’s enemies), a *Targowiczanie* (from the small Eastern Borderlands town of Targowica/Targovitsa, where a group of nobles defected to the enemy and invited Catherine the Great’s armies to invade Poland). He was a traitor and therefore not a Pole. This is why, according to Polish nationalists, German collaborators (*Volksdeutsche*) and Soviet collaborators (Communists) ceased to be Poles, even though they might have been born in Poland or raised in Polish culture. They were no longer considered to be Poles because they rejected Poland and her traditional culture and embarked on the road of treason. When the nationalists spoke or wrote of someone as a “Pole” they were expressing their recognition of someone’s ethical attitude expressed by *voluntary* work for Polishness and the national cause rather than simple ethnicity. Thus, a Pole was primarily an ethical designation, rather than merely an ethnic one. Roman Dmowski, the National Democratic leader, expressed this best:

I am a Pole – that word acquires a deeper meaning. I am one not only because I speak Polish, or because others speaking this language are spiritually closer to me and more understandable. I’m a Pole also because beside the sphere of private, individual life I likewise know the collective life of my nation. I am a Pole because as a part of the nation, besides my own personal business and interests, I also espouse national causes, the interests of Poland as a whole. Those are supreme values for which one must sacrifice all that one is not permitted to sacrifice for personal matters.

I am a Pole – that means that I belong to the Polish nation throughout all of its territory and all of its existence in the past, the present, and the future.... Everything which is Polish is mine: I cannot reject anything. I have the right to feel proud of what is great about Poland, but I must also accept the humiliation which falls upon the nation for whatever is shabby within it.

I am a Pole – thus with all the breadth of my spirit I live the life of Poland, her feelings and thoughts, her needs, desires and aspirations. ...

I am a Pole – therefore I have Polish duties: and these all the greater, and my dedication to them is all the stronger, the more decent kind of human I represent.<sup>35</sup>

According to a stereotype in Poland, a Pole is also a Catholic and *vice versa*. In fact, the Endeks freely used the slogan “Polish and Catholic” (*Polak–katolik*) all the time. But as our research indicates, even the nationalists were open to other religions and, again, in accordance with the ethical standard of Polishness, they therefore embraced

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<sup>35</sup> Roman Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka [The Thoughts of a Modern Pole]*, in *Wybór Pism Romana Dmowskiego [Selected Writings of Roman Dmowski]* (New York: Instytut Romana Dmowskiego, 1988), 26–27.

Polish Protestants (e.g., in Cieszyn/Teschen Silesia *en bloc*) and Muslims (Tatars from the Podlasie and Wilno areas) as full-fledged Poles. Naturally, the Polish nationalists accepted their Protestant activists from anywhere and even Endeks of Jewish descent who had converted to Catholicism. Admittedly, the Endeks did however reject the notion that the followers of Judaism could collectively become Poles. Although the Polish nationalists treated ethical and religious matters in a very nuanced and flexible way, there were limits to accepting “The Other.”

Despite this nuanced differentiation in practice, just like the slogan “Poland for the Poles!”, the propaganda call cluster *Polak–katolik* also enjoyed a long currency. It complemented another slogan, the one about “Piaśt Poland,” quite well. It followed from this that Polish Catholics should live in an ethnically homogenous Poland, just like under the medieval Piaśt Dynasty. But, notwithstanding the historical inaccuracy of that observation in relation to early Piaśt Poland,<sup>36</sup> one must also differentiate between shrill propaganda and the historical reality in which National Democracy hammered out its program.

In the wake of the January Uprising (1863–1864) widespread political lethargy gripped Poland. Many abandoned the call of freedom as a fanciful daydream. Only the few dreamers cast about for disparate paradigms upon which they could base their programs. The Conservatives self-critically pinpointed certain national defects as the causes of Poland’s downfall and criticized the noble elites. The Romantics continued to blame everyone but the Poles themselves, the rapacious partitioning powers in particular, and emphasized the mystically moral purity of Poland’s cause. The Positivists concentrated on narrow economic activities, i.e. organic work at the grass-roots. The Socialists deterministically awaited a revolution, i.e. the eruption of the anger of the class-conscious proletariat from the cities and villages. Each of these orientations was searching for a source of strength in the struggle.

The Polish nationalists, just like everybody else, wanted to discover a source of strength. The budding nationalist movement looked for positive examples from Poland’s past on which to base its program. The Endeks searched for a source of Polishness and found it in “ethnic Poles.” But where else were they to search for it? Among the Mongols? The Polish nationalists sensed that the era of mass politics had arrived. The masses were to be reckoned with. It was clear that if the nationalists did not organize the common people, if they did not assist them in becoming Poles conscious of their national obligations, then the socialists and other demagogues would mold the masses in their own image. Moreover, the partitioning powers, Prussia-Germany and Russia in particular, were outbidding each other in the brutal Germanization and Russification campaigns of their Polish subjects. Thus, the Polish nationalists reasoned, the common people would be lost to the national cause, one way or another, if the National Democrats did not act.

One should also remember the greater European context. The nationalists were well aware that the ever since the Revolution in France of 1789, most powerful Western

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<sup>36</sup> Piaśt Poland was not “ethnically homogenous” in the modern sense; it was not only composed of various tribes and clans but also encompassed many religions: Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Judaism and paganism. The early Piaśts had to contend not only with serious external threats but also with dynamic centrifugal forces which posed a serious danger to the young Polish state. See Paweł Jasienica, *Polska Piaśtów [Piaśt Poland]* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1996); Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Trudne początki Polski [Difficult beginnings of Poland]* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008).

European states had begun to organize themselves according to the paradigm of ethnic nationalism. Great Britain based itself on “Englishmen” (even if they were Scottish, Irish, or Welsh). In Germany, the Prussian model of nationalism served various Pan-Germans as a model for unification. In Italy, the North united with the South, the latter imposing its government and style, despite significant cultural and linguistic differences. At the same time the French state was molding “peasants into Frenchmen” as well.<sup>37</sup> While nation states were a fact of life in the West, competing nationalisms awoken into existence in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Ukrainian (Uniate and, to a lesser extent, Orthodox Christian by religion), Belorussian (Orthodox), Jewish (Judaism), Latvian (Protestant), and Lithuanian (Catholic). Those unembraced by Polish nationalism were claimed by other nationalisms. The latter had no room for “The Other” because they were of integral kind negating the heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this context, it is obvious that the *Polak–katolik* slogan was also a reply to the integrism of dismembered Poland’s national minorities.<sup>38</sup>

In general, the slogan was congruent with the European spirit of the time. More importantly, the slogan united Poles from the three partitions. It appealed to the heritage of the old Commonwealth but it was also a response to the nationalisms of the partitioning powers and the national minorities. One must also remember that this call of *Polak–katolik* was a cry of the defenseless: a people deprived of a state, conquered, enslaved, persecuted, humiliated, expropriated, and confiscated, Russified, Germanized, executed, or deported to Siberia by force. Poles were persecuted by foreigners: non-Poles and non-Catholics. They suffered at the hands mainly of Orthodox Russians and Protestant Germans. Later, in the twentieth century, there came the Gulag and the concentration camps, and mass execution sites at Katyn and Palmiry, camps at Auschwitz and Kolyma, prisons in Zamek and Wronki, and the executioners who were either pagan German National Socialists or Soviet Communists and their native supporters: the *Volksdeutsche*, local Communists, and their collaborators. It is then clear, in this context, that for over a century the rallying cry of *Polak–katolik* was a slogan of victims. But the victims were tired of being defenseless; they wanted to defend themselves and to find a

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<sup>37</sup> Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).

<sup>38</sup> Similar slogans were widespread in the Czech lands for example, despite the fact that Jews constituted only one to two percent of the population. According to Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln and Jerusalem: University of Nebraska Press and Yad Vashem, 2005), at page 17: “With the upsurge of nationalism the growing political pressure soon focused on economy and business: in 1892 a countrywide campaign was launched against German and Jewish merchants and shopkeepers under the slogan of “each to his own” (*Svůj k svému*); rioting and looting occurred in towns and villages such as Kladno and Kutná Hora. Further disturbances occurred in the wake of the 1897 Badeni language ordinances ... Two years later, following the revocation of the Badeni ordinances aimed at pacifying German nationalist elements, new disturbances instigated by Czech nationalists directed against Germans and Jews broke out in many localities in Bohemia and Moravia. ... The turmoil in 1897 and subsequently in 1899 generated a popular outpouring of antisemitism. The anti-Jewish slogans, the attacks of the National Liberals (in their mouthpiece *Národní listy*), and the betrayal of the so-called *Mladočeši* (Národní strana svobodomyšlná) – regarded as natural allies – left the younger wing of the Czech-Jewish camp bewildered.” And at page 18: “Masaryk never retreated from his original position and continued to view the Jews ‘as a distinct element within a nation’.” The author continues: “the radicalization of Czech national politics, the anti-Semitic outbursts that began in 1892 and swept the country in 1897 and 1899”. It should also be noted that large scale anti-Semitic turmoil also took place during the years 1918–1920. See pp. 27–28.

source of power. This fount turned out to be ordinary people oftentimes devoid of Polish national consciousness.

## 7. The Elites and the People

Thus, already at the end of the nineteenth century, it was established that, in the era of mass politics, strength lies at the core of Polishness, in the Polish people who were to become the Polish nation under the leadership of the Endeks. Only later on, after a significant period of indifferentism to, if not outright negation of, religion,<sup>39</sup> the Polish nationalists conceded that the power of Polishness lies also in Christianity, Roman Catholicism in particular. The slogan *Polak–katolik* was thus born. It would be inscribed as part of the greater mythical ideal of Piast Poland. But to what degree were these slogans congruent with more profound considerations on the part of the nationalists?

As Roman Dmowski explained in his *Thoughts of a Modern Pole*,

I am a Pole – that means that I belong to the Polish nation with all of its territory and throughout all of its existence, both today as well as in centuries past, and in the future; that means that I feel a deep connection with all of Poland: with the one of today, which either suffers from persecution or has to be content with scraps of national liberties, or the one that works and struggles, or the one that stagnates in idleness or, in its benighted state, is not even conscious of the national existence; with the bygone Poland – the one which was only emerging one thousand years ago by rallying around it the various tribes which lacked any political individuality, and the one which, halfway in its historical march, was spread far and wide, which threatened its neighbors with its might, which was treading quickly on the path of cultural progress, and the one which was later sliding towards its downfall, which was stuck in cultural stagnation thus facilitating the decay of its own national strength and the fall of the state, and the one which later fought unsuccessfully for freedom and an independent state; and, finally, with the future one, regardless of whether it wastes the labors of the previous generations, or fights on to regain an independent state and manages to gain a position among the first-rate nations. Everything which is Polish is mine: I cannot reject anything. I have the right to feel proud of what is great in Poland, but I must also accept the humiliation which falls upon the nation for whatever is shabby within it.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, far from clinging exclusively to the *Polak–katolik* model and the medieval Piast Kingdom paradigm, the leading light of National Democracy openly admitted that the nationalists also embraced the Jagiellonian heritage, the heritage of a multiethnic, old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Its ethnic, religious, legal, institutional, and cultural pluralism, however, was subordinate to a single culture however, the Polish one. In this system the Polish culture enjoyed the status of the *primus inter pares*. Similarly, according to the endeks, ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism was to be subordinated to a single, overriding culture: the Polish one. It was a culture forged from the Piast core, especially in the moral and legal sense. It was budding under the Piasts but blossomed

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<sup>39</sup> Zygmunt Balicki, *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki [National Egoism vis-à-vis Ethics]* (Poznań: Przedsiębiorstwo Agi, 1995); this is a reprint of a work which first appeared one hundred years ago.

<sup>40</sup> Dmowski, *Thoughts of a Modern Pole*, 26–27.

under the Jagiellonians. This culture adopted Christianity during the Piast period which enabled it to assimilate and Polonize the various succeeding Western intellectual currents, which reached Poland. During the time of the late Piasts this culture was already able to erect a sufficiently strong framework to include not only ethnic Poles but also Ruthenians, Germans, Lithuanians, Jews, Tatars, Armenians, Dutchmen, Scotsmen, and others. During the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Polish culture attained such heights of freedom that, for several centuries, could only have been dreamt of in the West.<sup>41</sup> Arguably, Polish culture remained the dominant one until the downfall of the nation.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the fatherland of many ethnic groups, but just one nation (*natio*), the Polish nobility.<sup>42</sup> Thus, regardless of their descent, the Tatar, Wallachian, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Prussian, Armenian, or Livonian gentry – and even of Jewish origin – were considered to be *Polish* nobility. It was the feudal privileges of this social group, initially engendered among the ethnically Polish Piast warriors, knights, and magnates, that served as the model for the rights which, subsequently, the *Sejm* (Parliament) and the rulers of the Commonwealth would extend to the boyars, the *Adeltum*, and other elites of foreign descent within the Commonwealth without regard to their ethnic roots.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Samuel Fiszman, ed., *The Polish Renaissance in Its European Context* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988).

<sup>42</sup> Hugh Seton-Watson argues that “among the oldest nations the feeling of national community was the product of the State and the Monarchy.” See Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nationalism and Communism: Essays, 1946–1963* (New York: Frederic A. Praeger, Publisher, 1964), 5. Such a proto-nationalism existed as patriotic consciousness almost exclusively among the “political nation” (*natio*), thus, in most cases, the nobility. It was mainly the nobility that participated in the political process, in the broader meaning of that term. Thus, the more numerous the political nation, the stronger the proto-nationalism. Hungary, where the nobility counted more than ten percent of the population and was known as the “Hungarian nation” (*natio Hungarica*), was an example of this. The Catholic clergy and the royal townsmen constituted the “people” (*populus*). The rest, and thus mostly peasants, were known either as the plebeians (*plebs*) or tax-paying plebeians (*misera plebs contribuens*). Proto-nationalism would be expressed by various degrees of love of the region inhabited, the state and the monarch. The situation in Poland was similar. See Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Ciemnogród? O prawicy i lewicy [Backwardness? On the Right and the Left]* (Warsaw: Ronin Publishers, 1996 [1995]), 58. On the other hand Aviel Roshwald, in *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), completely rejects the Marxist and Post-Modernist approach to the concept of the nation of such scholars as Eric Hobsbawm or Ernest Gellner. Roshwald emphasizes that the phenomenon of the nation has its roots in ancient history and illustrates his view by using examples mostly from the ancient World.

<sup>43</sup> In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a Muslim Tatar noble or, in the case of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, a baptized Jew automatically became a member of the Polish nobility. For example, in Oszmiana county alone we find the following record in the noble genealogies (167 pages altogether) from the late eighteenth century: Dąbrowski Józef of the Dąbrowski coat of arms baptized in 1710 and his son Teodor baptized in 1745, “their genealogical proof of [nobility] on November 5, 1773” – “according to the legal constitution bestowing the title to the honor and nobility of the neophytes [Jewish converts] in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania” (p. 28); further, “on November 12, 1773, the esteemed lords Dobrowolski, Symon (father) and Jan and Hrehory [sons] completed their genealogical proof in the land court of the Orszany province.” The Dobrowolskis came “from the neophytes”. And later: “in 1740 according to the testimony of esteemed lord Józef Przyszychocki, in the Jesuit Church of Orsza Symon Dobrowolski was baptized.” The legal basis of granting nobility is then listed: “According to the law of the statute of the G[rand] D[uchy] of Lit[huania], article 6, chapter 12, paragraph VI quinto; [and] the 1764 Constitution of the Titles for Neophytes.” (P. 31.) See “Herbarz Oszmiański” published as Dm. Iv. Dovgiallo [Dimitrii Ivanovich Dovgiallo], *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy, izvlechennee iz aktovykh knig gubernii vitebskoi i*

The Endeks understood quite well that they inherited the Jagiellonian heritage not only in terms of the territory and peoples inhabiting the old Commonwealth but that they found themselves with the Jagiellonian Poles on their hands as well. This was so because those who maintained a Polish consciousness, those who comprehended Polishness as the duty to serve the country, and to fight for Poland's freedom and independence, were mainly the descendants of ethnically Polish (often also Piast) nobility such as the Odrowąż-Pieniążeks, Tarnowskis, Tęczyńskis, Zamoyskis, Cieszewskis, and Skwarczyńskis. But there were also noble Poles with such surnames as Muszyński (derived from the Tatar Mustafa), Chodakiewicz (previously the Ruthenian Fyodor/Fedko – Khod'ko), Naimski (originating from Naim, i.e. the Hebrew word for “nice”, i.e. Jewish converts), Erdman (from the Teutonic Knights), Todtleben (from the Livonian Sword Bretheren), or Januszajtis (Lithuanian). Persons of noble descent constituted approximately ten percent of society, which was a pretty significant share of Poland's inhabitants. They espoused Polish proto-nationalism for centuries. Mainly it would be these descendants of the old Commonwealth's nobility that would set the tone for Polish culture and politics by fighting for independence throughout the nineteenth century. It was they who opened up Polish culture to others. Thus, they would, at different times, accelerate the Polonization of the townspeople descended from Armenians, such as the Dawidowicz, Bohdanowicz, or Ter-Oganjan families; Jews such as the Kronenberg, Natanson, and Joselewicz families; Germans such as the Wellisch/Wellisz, Wolfram, and Rossman families; Scotsmen such as the Shlamers (Czamer) and the Macleods (Machlejda/Michejda); Irishmen such as the O'Rourkes or the Butlers; Frenchmen such as the Descours (Deskur) family; Italians such as Fabiani, Martini, and Bacciarelli; Lithuanians such as Staniszkis and Raginis; and many other foreigners who became Poles.<sup>44</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, the post-Jagiellonian Polish elites were already in existence for a long while. They were mostly descended from the nobility and the bourgeoisie (which often had foreign roots). It is estimated that the mission-conscious Polish elite at that time approximated fifteen percent of society. It may be true that there was no consensus among them. It is also true that this was not yet the Endek elite but the potential for it to become a national elite in the modern, nationalist sense did exist. However, as the failed uprisings of 1830 and 1863 demonstrated, the elites alone were insufficient for the task of winning back Poland's independence. In an era of mass politics it was necessary to step outside of even such a wide circle as the descendants of the Polish nobility and Polonized burghers. Thus it was necessary to enlighten the masses, to show them how much they have in common with Polish tradition and culture. A successful struggle for independence could only be achieved by first sharing the national heritage with the masses. It was thus necessary to nationalize the masses, a process already begun by Tadeusz Kościuszko and his republicans at the end of the

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*mogilevskoi, khраниachis v' tsestral'nom arkhiv' v Vitebske i izdannye pod' predaktsiei Dm. Iv. Dovgiallo, vypusk dvadtsat' os'moi* (Vitebsk: Gubernskaia Tipo-Litografiia, 1900), 28, 31.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, Olgierd Budrewicz, *Sagi warszawskie, czyli sensacyjne i powszednie, romantyczne i prozaiczne dzieje trzydziestu wielkich rodów warszawskich* [*The Warsaw Sagas, i.e. the Sensational and Everyday, Romantic and Prosaic History of Thirty Great Warsaw Families*] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1990). Unfortunately, this book does not describe the ties between many of the old Warsaw families and the *Endecja*. See, for example, the inadequate story about the “Loth Dynasty”, 327–46.

eighteenth century, and continued by Roman Dmowski and his nationalists at the threshold of the twentieth century.

Thus, the process of nationalist democratization of the elites was undertaken by persuading the Polish elites to fulfill their mission of nationalizing the common people. This was not an easy task however. First of all, a significant part of the elite cringed at the thought of egalitarianism, even in a nationalist form. To many endowing the common people with national consciousness meant putting the rabble on equal footing with the lords. For a long time this was unacceptable. Moreover, one should remember that national consciousness was very weak among the common people; it was almost nonexistent among the peasantry. Active individuals from the common folk were capable of either exceptional feats of patriotism, such as Jan Kiliński or Bartosz Głowacki in 1794, or thoughtless, if rare, acts of butchery on the elites, such as Jakub Szela's Galician *rabacja* of 1846. The latter was a menacing portent of things to come in the case of the neglecting of the nationalizing of the masses.

To endow the common people with national consciousness, however, one had to address them in a simple and reductionist tone. The Endek slogans of *Polak–katolik* and “Poland for the Poles!” were, after all, directed to the common people, not the educated elites. Populist slogans had to be comprehensible for the masses. It was not explained to the people, who were to become the kind of participatory and civic nation that the nobility had previously been, that Polishness also denotes Jagiellonian diversity, even though it was built on an ethnically homogenous Piast foundation of confederated Western Slavic tribes and clans under the leadership of the most powerful of them, the Polani. What the common people were told was that there was a nearly millennial continuity in the glorious history of Poland, including the Jagiellonian tradition, which was interpreted however in a nationalist way. The people were further taught that the love of the nation and its tradition were subordinated to the Catholic faith. Before, during, and after the Second World War nationalist thought would be based on those very premises.

## **8. The Pole: 1939–1949**

Before, during, and after the Second World War, the nationalists once again asked themselves the question: Who is a Pole? Generally, the answer reflected the national synthesis of thought provided by two generations of endek intellectuals, as mentioned above. However, a new situation arose marked by the war of extermination which required a definition adequate to the challenges of the tragic times. Who thus was a Pole during the Second World War and in its aftermath? This was an increasingly relevant question since at the time Polishness was being tempered in the heat of the struggle against two totalitarianisms, Nazism and Communism. Both wished to exterminate the traditional Polish national elite and turn the common people into slaves classified as either “Slavic sub-humans” (*slawische Untermenschen*) or “Soviet people” (*homines sovietici*). These totalitarian states, the USSR and the Third Reich, endeavored to reduce Polishness perhaps to an ethnographic curiosity at best, if not wipe it out completely. Under such circumstances neither opportunists nor weaklings wished to be Poles. Some were simply scared; others indifferent or hostile. They made their choice to debunk

themselves from Polishness. In extreme conditions, when active, and sometimes even passive, defense of Polishness was punishable by death, only the finest daughters and sons of the nation wished to remain faithful to it. Those who offered their own blood for Poland deserved to be called Poles. According to an underground nationalist newsheet of 1948, “Poland fought and it is still fighting. It fought during the period of the German occupation. Millions of Poles were dying back then. But Poland continues to fight today and thousands of our fellow countrymen are dying: the elderly are dying, along with children, mothers, fathers, our brothers and sisters, *regardless of faith, education, origin, party affiliation, age*. They are dying in Bolshevik prisons in the struggle for a FREE INDEPENDENT POLAND” [emphasis by the authors, capitalization in the original].<sup>45</sup> This is why, regardless of ethnicity or religion, the nationalists earlier promised that “All true, loyal, and dedicated sons of the Commonwealth shall have equal rights within it.”<sup>46</sup> According to the 1945 platform of the National Party (SN):

We understand the term Polish Nation as all Poles tied together by a common national consciousness, culture, and aspirations, i.e. Polish peasants, workers, townspeople, intelligentsia, the military, etc. The first place in the nation should be occupied by those who desire a [free] Poland, who fought and worked for her, those who exposed themselves to danger for her, [and] those who did not employ themselves in the service of the enemy. Thus, these are the people who possess a well-developed Polish national consciousness. The second place within the Polish nation is for elements with a weaker national consciousness who are imbued with a class spirit. The third place within the Polish nation shall be reserved for all those tribes that are of Polish descent, but do not have a well-developed national consciousness yet, or had foreign nationality and language thrust upon them due to enslavement and enemy actions.<sup>47</sup>

In 1943 the radical nationalist *Szaniec* (“The Rampart”) wrote of a “thirty million strong Polish nation.”<sup>48</sup> It is important to realize that the editors were surely aware that, although the the census of 1931 showed a total of about 30 million Polish citizens, only 20.5 million people claimed Polish as their mother tongue and Roman Catholicism of the Latin rite as their religion.<sup>49</sup> This suggests that even the most radical orientation within the greater nationalist camp classified other ethnic groups, i.e. Ukrainians (Ruthenians), Belorussians, Jews, and Lithuanians, as part of the “Polish nation”, both formally and in accordance with the Jagiellonian tradition, during the Nazi occupation period. The nationalist radicals even wrote about the representatives of the “Polish nation” murdered

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<sup>45</sup> “Odezwa – instrukcja walki antybolszewickiej” [Announcement: An Instruction for anti-Bolshevik Combat], in *Narodowy Ruch Antybolszewicki w Kraju: Jednodniówka* [*The National Anti-Bolshevik Movement in the Country: Occasional Publication*], October 1948.

<sup>46</sup> *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy* [*The Warsaw National Daily*], 3 April 1943.

<sup>47</sup> *Wytyczne programowe ruchu narodowego w Polsce (program Stronnictwa Narodowego)* [*The Planks of the National Movement's Agenda in Poland: The Program of the National Party*] [1945].

<sup>48</sup> *Szaniec* [*The Rampart*], 19 April 1943.

<sup>49</sup> *Mały rocznik statystyczny 1938* [*The Small Statistical Yearbook for 1938*] (Warsaw: Published by the Main Statistical Office/GUS, 1938); *Mały rocznik statystyczny Polski, wrzesień 1939–czerwiec 1941* [*The Small Statistical Yearbook for Poland, September 1939–June 1941*] ([London]: Polish Ministry of Information, 1941).

by Hitler and included “2 million Jews” in the tally.<sup>50</sup> Let us reiterate: Hitler’s Jewish victims were exceptionally classified as part of the Polish nation.

One may wonder how to reconcile this classification of Jews as Poles with the nationalists’ anti-Jewish enunciations in regard to postwar plans dealing with that national minority which was customarily excluded from the Polish community. We can assume that it was a tribute paid to the Jewish victims, who were put on par with Polish victims for the sake of the national cause. It should also be emphasized that a racist German National Socialist would *never* in his life invoke any sort of community with Jewry, even on a symbolic level. The same applies to Nazi emulators among the Hungarian Arrow Cross, Romanian Legion of the Archangel Michael, and racist national socialists of the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries. However, in Poland the supporters of the National Radical Camp (ONR) did exceptionally propose a communion with the Jews. They invoked mysticism to reconcile their programmatic anti-Jewishness and “anti-Otherness” with their ideological acceptance of persons of Jewish extraction and other “foreigners” into Polishness: “But let us not fear for the fate of the Nation, for it is not made of flesh but of Spirit. Millions of the Nation’s children have died, but it lives on, at all times different yet always the same one.”<sup>51</sup> Thus, even the most radical of nationalists rejected the integristic and racist, i.e. materialistic, definition of the nation and subscribed to the spiritual definition, i.e. one that is open to all those who wish to choose Polishness, albeit naturally defined according to the Endek fashion.

In this context it should not be surprising that the nationalists, despite their constantly declared support of the Catholic State of the Polish Nation (*Katolickie Państwo Narodu Polskiego*), praised the patriotism of Polish Protestants and also promised tolerance for Protestant Christianity.<sup>52</sup> They were also open to Germanized Silesians, Lusatians, Pomeranians, and Kashubians, and promised to welcome them back into the Polish fold by re-Polonizing them.<sup>53</sup> (On the other hand, Germans, considered to be an element incapable of Polonization, were to be deported to Germany.) On the Ruthenians the nationalists would write: “They are our fellow countrymen in the full meaning of that word ... they are the real *genthe* [sic *gente*] *Ruthenus, natione Polonus*.”<sup>54</sup> At the same time those who criticized the heritage of the multinational Jagiellonian Poland, mainly Ukrainian and Lithuanian integral nationalists,<sup>55</sup> were sharply rebuked.

Regardless of her or his roots, according to the Polish nationalists, a Pole was one who defended Polish tradition and culture against all threats and, especially, against the German National Socialists and Soviet Communists.

## 9. The Attitude Towards Germany and National Socialism

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<sup>50</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, 19 April 1943.

<sup>51</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, 19 April 1943.

<sup>52</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, 12 March 1942; *Szaniec*, 31 May 1942.

<sup>53</sup> *Walka [Combat]*, 6 January 1944; *Wytuczne programowe ruchu narodowego w Polsce (program Stronnictwa Narodowego) [The Agenda]* [1945].

<sup>54</sup> *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy [The Warsaw National Daily]*, 27 February 1943.

<sup>55</sup> *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy [The Warsaw National Daily]*, 7 November 1942.

From at least the 1930's vulgar Communist propaganda has long peddled the view that the "Endeks" collaborated with the "Hitlerites," nay, even that the National Democracy was the Polish emanation of Nazism. This is the main reason why the stereotype most often associated with the nationalist camp depicts it as a movement which ideologically reflected the totalitarian type of state and emulated German National Socialist models. Such statements usually surface in punditry, propaganda, and, as a Pavlovian reflex, in historical monographs, nowadays mainly in the West. It is difficult however to find this stereotype propagated in the few available historical works grounded in serious research on National Democracy. Let us then separate the fiction from the truth.

True, after the First World War the nationalists began gradually to reject the liberal-democratic political system. The rejection however did not stem from ideological anti-democratism or hostility towards representative government. Instead, the contributing factors were the lessons learned from Polish interwar experience; observations of the international situation during the 1930s; conclusions about the weakness of liberal democratic states; and the perception of their failure in the rivalry with totalitarianisms of the fascist type. The fact that the liberal democracies seemed unable to defend themselves from Communist penetration, that they were unwilling actively to combat Communism, and sometimes even fell victim to it, also made a powerful impression among the Endeks. For many, Italy, Weimar Germany, a Spain torn apart by civil war, or France, which was ruled by the Popular Front with the participation of Communists, were all examples of the implosion of liberal democracy. The imprint of the totalitarian and radical spirit of the 1930s of course left its mark on the phraseology, rhetoric, style, and writing of the contemporary Polish nationalist movement, although its permanence was less apparent in the ideological realm.

Initially, the young generation of Polish nationalist activists had some sympathy for other nationalist movements in Europe, and Italian Fascism and its leader, Benito Mussolini, in particular. The nationalist press expressed this periodically. There was a great deal of interest in Fascism, which was admired for its apparent vivaciousness and spontaneity. It was seen, first of all, as an "invigorating movement" to awaken the Italians to the task of rebuilding their nation and, more importantly still, a force capable of crushing the internal Communist threat. Italy's economic success and a spectacular improvement in the relations between the Italian state and the Vatican were also seen by the Polish nationalists as positive fruits of Fascism. With time, however, the nationalist youth began to develop an increasing aversion towards the non-religious, and sometimes even militantly atheistic nature of the Italian Fascists, and their cult of the Duce and the state as expressed in the Fascist slogan: "Everything within the State, Everything for the State, Nothing without the State". Thus, the period of fascination with the Italian "Third Way" was quite short-lived. By the late 1930's, faced with growing tension in Europe, nationalist sympathy for Italian Fascism was a thing of the past.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the nationalist press of the time had much praise for António de Oliveira Salazar's government in Portugal, Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu's Iron Guard in Romania, and

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<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Stanisław Grzelecki, "Narodowy-radykalizm na tle współczesnych doktryn nacjonalistycznych" [National Radicalism Against the Background of Modern Nationalist Doctrines], *Nowy Ład [New Order]* (August 1938); Stanisław Grzelecki, "Faszyzm – Narodowy Socjalizm" [Fascism – National Socialism], *Nowy Ład [New Order]* (April 1938).

Francisco Franco's insurgent government in Spain. These sympathies did not result in anything concrete or practical however. An alliance with those states was considered to be exotic and the nationalists also distanced themselves from the ideas of the "Nationalist International," not to mention the "anti-Comintern Pact" under the aegis of Germany. Hence, on the eve of the Second World War, even such contemporary nationalist firebrands as Jędrzej Giertych, Jan Mosdorf, and Wojciech Wasiutyński stressed that Poland's place in the incipient conflict would be at the side of the liberal democracies, i.e. in the camp of the opponents of totalitarianism.

Unlike nationalist movements elsewhere in Europe, Germany's National Socialism elicited negative opinions on the part of the Polish nationalists from the very outset. Moreover, Germany hardly ever received any good press from the Endeks as a rule. This staunchly critical attitude had its ideological roots in the ingrained anti-Germanism of the Polish nationalist movement and the fear of Berlin's revisionism as far as the Treaty of Versailles was concerned which aimed at Germany's takeover of Poland's Western provinces. One of the leading radical nationalist leaders wrote:

We are neither Fascists nor Hitlerites because, to begin with, we are a purely Polish movement; we do not need foreign examples. We do not consider ourselves as Fascists or Hitlerites also because those movements have many defects, and even sins, which we do not wish to burden ourselves with. ... These are not the models we wish to emulate.<sup>57</sup>

The Polish nationalists observed the development of the Hitlerite movement with great concern, albeit also with some fascination. Some Endeks were impressed with its dynamism and the success in the Nazi march to power. However, National Socialism's anti-Christianity and neo-paganism, coupled with social demagoguery and the brutalization of political life, aroused the most reservations. Jędrzej Giertych expressed it most succinctly, stressing that Nazism is "a movement which won by lies and falsehoods, by bringing with it terror, slavery and lawlessness."<sup>58</sup> The Polish nationalists emphasized that the Nazis strengthened Germany to a level meriting concern, rebuilt the power of the state, and aroused the lust for conquests among the Germans. The Endeks also noticed, quite early on, that the aggressive policies of the Third Reich, coupled with the racist theories voiced by the National Socialists, propagating the superiority of the Nordic race and deeming Slavs as subhuman, posed a direct and serious danger to Poland, the Poles, and other Slavic people.<sup>59</sup> Wojciech Wasiutyński, the ideologue of the most radical nationalist faction, chided the leading "thinker" of the NSDAP, Alfred Rosenberg, for

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<sup>57</sup> Jan Mosdorf, "Czym nie jesteśmy, Idziemy naprzód" [What We Are Not, We Are Marching Forward], *Sztafeta* [The (Relay) Race], 23 May 1934.

<sup>58</sup> Jędrzej Giertych, "Rewolucja nihilizmu" [The Revolution of Nihilism], *Polityka Narodowa* [National Politics], no. 4–6 (April–June 1939).

<sup>59</sup> Karol Stojanowski, *Rasizm przeciw Słowiańszczyźnie* [Racism Against Slavdom] (Poznań, 1934); Karol Stojanowski, *Polsko-niemieckie zagadnienia rasy* [The Polish-German Racial Question] (Katowice, 1939). Stojanowski was also the author of many journalistic and scholarly articles on this subject published in *Myśl Narodowa* [National Thought], *Kurier Poznański* [The Poznań Courier], and specialized publishing houses. See Maciej Marszał, "Karol Stojanowski wobec niemieckiego rasizmu" [Karol Stojanowski on German Racism], *Studia nad faszysmem i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi* [Studies on Fascism and Hitlerite Crimes], vol. 20 (Wrocław: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1997), 81–100.

promoting the struggle of “race” and “blood” as a dialectic engine of history. Wasiutyński rejected racism as a materialistic abhorrence and countered the Nazi scheme with idealism: the total power of the national spirit within the Catholic framework. Later, he declared that Poland’s place was at the side of the Western democracies.<sup>60</sup>

After the Second World War broke out, the negative attitude of the Polish nationalists towards Nazi Germany and its totalitarian allies only escalated. This was a result of the new experiences that Poland endured. National Socialism and Communism were now also synonyms for the two occupying invaders: the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. As an underground editor put it early in the conflict,

In the ideological struggle we, the Poles, are opposed to pagan Hitlerism not only because armed cohorts with swastikas on their helmets invaded our country, but also because we are against the very barbaric and crude principle of Hitlerism, which perverted nationalism in a satanic way by tearing it away from the moral and metaphysical foundation on which we stand. We are also against Communism, and not only because the Soviets deceitfully thrust a knife in our back, but because we are opposed to the materialist doctrine of Marxism which, in the name of its false concept of “paradise on Earth,” makes a man into a slave, and a slave into a pauper.<sup>61</sup>

Following Italy’s entry into the war on the side of Germany, Polish nationalists reiterated their prewar assessment of Italian Fascism as an enemy ideology related to Nazism and called the Duce a traitor to his own country and Hitler’s vassal.<sup>62</sup> According to the Polish critique of Mussolini’s regime, it was not only imbued with the spirit of socialism but it was also logically incoherent and ideologically shallow which forced it to adopt some of the characteristics of National Socialism, such as racism for example. The Polish nationalists even stopped differentiating between German National Socialism and Italian Fascism:

Fascistic nationalisms were born in the heat of the struggle with Socialism and Communism. Thus they soaked up the spiritual elements that Marx and his doctrine brought with them. They are somewhat a creation of the Socialist and Marxist cultural climate. Their social base is the proletariat, an element of internationalist properties.<sup>63</sup>

The Polish nationalist underground war-time press vociferously emphasized the differences between their own worldview and the National Socialist ideology. It was pointed out that any similarity between those ideologies (Fascism, National Socialism, and their offshoots), on the one hand, and the Polish nationalist Right, on the other, was only illusory and stemmed from Fascist propaganda’s opportunistic usage of nationalist rhetorics. (Analogously, the Endeks pointed out, war-time Communist propaganda also

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<sup>60</sup> Wojciech Wasiutyński, *Z duchem czasu [With the Spirit of the Times]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka “Prosto z mostu,” 1936), 55.

<sup>61</sup> *Walka [Combat]*, no. 10, 16 June 1940.

<sup>62</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 24, 13 June 1940.

<sup>63</sup> L. Podolski [Karol Stojanowski], *Przyszła Polska – Państwem Narodowym [The Future Poland – A Nation State]* (Warsaw, 1940), 10.

falsely draped itself in nationalist slogans.) As far as National Socialism, Fascism, and other related creeds were concerned, their alien essence laid in the fact that Polish nationalism represented Christian values and appealed to the spiritual national community, basing itself on the principles of the Catholic faith and Polish national tradition. Contrariwise, Fascism and National Socialism represented a pagan kind of nationalism, the materialist cult of race and blood. They destroyed traditional values, dissociated themselves from Christian roots, and combated Christian religion. The Fascist and National Socialist hostility or indifference towards Catholicism stemmed from the realization by Hitler and others that the Catholic faith was the principal obstacle to subordinating society to totalitarian rule. That anti-Catholic Nazi and Fascist prejudice was also irreconcilable with the ideology of Polish nationalism. The latter was firmly grounded in continuous tradition of Christianity with all its implications for individual and spiritual freedom. However, pagan nationalisms created their own value system, their own secular religion, and a cult of the leader expanded to the borders of absurdity. Further, pagan nationalisms negated the value of the individual, while simultaneously idealizing and elevating the national collective to the category of absolutes.

Nationalism in its pagan form grants full rights only to its own nation with a total lack of respect for the dignity of other nations. Pagan nationalism is always characterized by elevating its own people above others. Such a nationalism is ready to remake the nation into an Absolute Good – into a God. Such a nationalism will, by its very nature, embrace and even propagate pagan norms of conduct. We have a real example of pagan nationalism before our very eyes: that is German nationalism. It is an expression of the Prussian or even pre-Germanic spirit, it drinks from that source. This spirit hangs over and implicates the whole German nation.<sup>64</sup>

The Polish nationalists often pointed out that the essence of German nationalism was a combination of Prussian imperialism and belief in ancient Germanic legends and pseudo-scientific racist theories. Nazism was also a movement sprouting from socialistic and materialistic roots. In 1940 the national radical *Rampart* reminded its readers that: “It was not nationalism that produced Lenin or Stalin, or even Hitler and Mussolini, who, even today, call themselves socialists.”<sup>65</sup> For the Polish nationalists, Nazism and Fascism equated with Communism. The difference was that the collectivistic object of worship, in the case of Communism, was the urban proletariat, “the working class,” while in the case of Fascism and National Socialism it was the “nation,” “state,” or “race.” The extreme Nazi interpretation of national egoism led to a ruthless struggle between nations and races and resulted in the Second World War. The Nazi conviction of a nation’s special historical mission and greatness was tied strictly to Germany’s intentions to conquer and enslave other nations. Here the Polish nationalists also observed the paradox that the totalitarian bureaucratic and police state, by its very nature, also necessitated the subjugation of one’s own nation to strict control. Thus the drive to enslave other nations resulted also in the enslavement one’s own people. One of the nationalist underground

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<sup>64</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 11, 27 September 1942.

<sup>65</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 37, 20 September 1940.

editors condemned totalitarianism as follows: “movements which essentially destroyed all ethical restraints, and trampled on human freedom for one fundamental principle: the end justifies the means. All totalitarisms, with Hitlerism and Bolshevism at the forefront, destroyed all those norms upon which the coexistence of individuals within societies and the coexistence of societies within humanity were based on solely in the name of their selfish goals.”<sup>66</sup>

The Endeks saw the essence of totalitarianism as substituting law and morality with the cult of physical force, which terrorized the nation and dominated all aspects of its life. In such an atmosphere the totalitarians attempted materialistically to create a new type of man, a mindless barbarian who would destroy anything foreign or different. Polish nationalists saw totalitarianism as a force bringing death to tradition, Europe’s cultural heritage, and the whole of Christian civilization.

Hitlerism is a typical organization with its dual elements: thought and force. But as thought, doctrine, or idea Hitlerism is essentially very shallow and grounded on a shabby intellectual foundation. It is an idea created *ad hoc* to achieve one specified goal and because of this it will be short-lived. ... The very flimsy Hitlerite doctrine stands disproportional to the extremely overexpanded force of Hitlerism. This overexpansion of force is very noticeable and understandable if we take into account the conditions in which it developed and the thinking it represents. The development of Hitlerism’s physical force resulted from the flimsiness of its thought.<sup>67</sup>

According to the Endeks, the criminality and rapaciousness of National Socialism expressed best the spirit of the German nation which led Europe to another war through its unrestrained hatred. The hostility of the Polish nationalists towards the Nazi system – aside from denouncing its materialistic *Weltanschauung* -- was also a natural consequence of their general dislike of Germany. The hostility existed regardless of what system would reign in that country. For the Polish nationalists the Second World War was not only a crusade against Hitler or his National Socialism, but also a struggle with Germany as Poland’s “age-old enemy,” the next stage of holding back the *Drang nach Osten* which has accompanied Polish-German relations since the early medieval times. In fact, Nazi and German militarist propaganda greatly facilitated such historical parallels drawn by Poland’s underground National Party and the *Rampart* Group by invoking the legacy of the expeditions of medieval German rulers against the Slavs and the Teutonic Order’s alleged “civilizing mission” through conquest in the East.

The Polish nationalists saw as the only redemptive feature of this tragic situation that in this last struggle Poland was not alone. Unlike in centuries past, it had mighty Western liberal democratic allies which would help in achieving the final victory. Further, because of its totalitarianism Nazi Germany was now the target of a crusade with the world’s greatest powers, and especially the Anglo-American democracies, participating. The Polish nationalists further expressed the conviction that the defeat of National Socialism in the war would ultimately destroy Germany itself, break the power of the imperial Reich, and drain the biological strength of the German nation.

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<sup>66</sup> *Praca i Walka [Work and Struggle]*, no. 7–8 (24–25), 27 April–27 May 1944.

<sup>67</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]* no. 4, 1 November 1941.

Meanwhile, the most difficult task, namely weathering the war and surviving the struggle by the Polish nation, accrued to the Endeks themselves. Poland's defeat in the September Campaign of 1939 and the ensuing occupation of the country was a new and difficult experience for all Poles, including the nationalists. The dominant Polish reaction called for active struggle until complete victory and the rebuilding of an independent state. The destruction of the country, police terror, expropriations, hunger, arrests, executions, and mass deportations became an everyday reality. These new conditions made the reappraisal, or at least a partial reassessment, of existing political priorities a necessity. However, the main postulate of uncompromising struggle with the Germans, which the Polish nationalists had voiced as part of their program for decades, naturally remained immutable. Moreover, the Polish nationalist anti-German stance became, in the contemporary situation, a universal Polish rallying cry unifying not only the representatives of other political orientations, but also the majority of the Polish people. The belief that resistance and fighting made sense was hardly subject to discussion since it became a generally assumed patriotic duty for every citizen.

According to the Polish nationalists, all true Poles had to fight the Germans to the best of their abilities. Those who strove either to avoid or oppose this struggle automatically excluded themselves, and were to be excluded, from the national community. In spite of any efforts made by the occupying powers, the Polish nation was to demonstrate discipline, solidarity, and mutual loyalty in the face of the enemy. In day-to-day life, the Poles were to conduct themselves in accordance with the principles of Catholicism.<sup>68</sup> While the nation was fighting and suffering enslavement, it should exercise far-reaching self-control and self-denial with regard to entertainment, contrary to the enemy's economic policies, and refrain from drinking bouts, sumptuous parties, and gambling.<sup>69</sup> Any sort of collaboration with the invader incongruous with Polish national interests or directed against Polish citizens was strictly prohibited. This included any Polish participation in German anti-Jewish actions.<sup>70</sup>

In regards to Poland's ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and collaborators among other minorities, the Polish nationalists prescribed practicing open contempt and the severing of social ties with such individuals. They also advocated a boycott of economic enterprises, publications, movie theatres, places of entertainment and other institutions run by Germans and/or their collaborators. Those Poles employed by the Nazi authorities in courts, banks, social institutions, and local administration were to use their positions to protect their fellow countrymen, eschew a restrictive application of the law, and avoid passing to their German superiors any information that could bolster the military potential of the Third Reich. Polish police officers were to restrict themselves to maintaining order and investigating only strictly criminal activities. The Polish nationalists appealed to Poles to be kind to each other and engage in passive resistance.<sup>71</sup> Collaborators faced an array of punishments, including the death penalty. The application of the latter increased

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<sup>68</sup> "Katolicyzm źródłem siły Polski" [Catholicism as the Source of Poland's Strength], *Państwo Narodowe [The Nation State]*, no. 5–6, 20 July 1944.

<sup>69</sup> "Takt i umiar w obliczu niedoli społecznej" [Tact and Moderation in the Face of Social Misery], *Chrobry Szlak [The Path of the Bold]*, no. 1 (16), 15 January 1944.

<sup>70</sup> "Komunikat w sprawie zaciągu do 'straży obozowej' baraków żydowskich" [A Communiqué Regarding Service in the 'Camp Guard' at the Jewish Barracks], *Szańiec [The Rampart]*, no. 8 (57), 1–15 March 1941.

<sup>71</sup> *Kodeks Polaka [The Code of a Pole]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Szańca, 1941).

exponentially as the war went on. Crimes committed by the occupying enemy personnel were usually punished on the basis of individual responsibility rather than collectively.

The German atrocities committed against Poles and Jews were, in the opinion of the nationalist pundits and journalists, nothing surprising. The consensus was that those crimes were something naturally ingrained in the character of the German nation. Proof of this was also to be found in the accuracy and meticulousness that the Germans employed in killing their victims. This pedantry was, according to the Polish nationalists, proof of the blood-thirsty instincts lying dormant in the recesses of the German soul, a defining characteristic of this nation that otherwise liked to display its civilization and culture to the whole world.<sup>72</sup> The nationalist press's frequent accounts of the mass executions and other crimes both documented the activities of the enemy and served the propaganda goal of mobilizing the Polish people to persevere and resist.<sup>73</sup> The nationalist pundits wanted to convince the Poles that, no matter how many casualties Poland had to suffer in the war, truth and righteousness were on their side. The press tied to other political groups also wrote in a similar vein, undoubtedly borrowing from the nationalists. Virtually every conscious patriot was aware that the Polish-German conflict had reached the critical point at which not only personal freedom and the sovereignty of the state were in danger, but also the biological existence of the nation itself. Thus, the anti-German warnings repeated by Dmowski and his Endek followers for decades had actually materialized and consequently the preservation of the nation's biological substance became the primary goal for the leaders of the Polish nationalist movement and all political and military plans were subordinated to this end.

Accordingly, the Polish nationalist underground realized that its followers could not overcome a regular army. The activities of the underground cells and partisan detachments was to be limited to: (1) defending the population from German repression, (2) assassinating traitors, informers, and particularly dangerous representatives of the German police and occupying authorities, (3) providing society with moral discipline, and (4) countering the enemy's propaganda. Within this context, the Polish nationalist underground also strenuously and logically opposed hasty and poorly-planned anti-German operations as short-sighted, devoid of greater military and strategic significance, harmful to the underground, and, most importantly, provoking Nazi atrocities against the civilian population.<sup>74</sup> The clandestine Endeks also questioned the efficacy of conducting sabotage operations on the communication routes used by the *Wehrmacht* to supply the Eastern Front since, after all, it was there that Poland's two powerful enemies, the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, were slaughtering each other. This situation was beneficial not only for the cause of freedom in general but also for Poland in particular. Hence, the Poles should facilitate neither the Nazi nor the Soviet victory.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Daniel J. Goldhagen of Harvard University argued in a similar vein in *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

<sup>73</sup> Such information appears in most of the articles cited here. See, for example, "Z krwawych dni Lubelszczyzny" [Bloody Days in the Lublin Region], *Polak*, no. 17, 22 September 1943.

<sup>74</sup> "Czy akcja terrorystyczno-dyweryyjna P.Z.P. jest z wojskowego punktu widzenia celowa?" [Is the P.Z.P.'s Terrorist-Diversionary Operation Purposeful From the Military Point of View?], *Armia Narodowa [The National Army]*, no. 1, 10 February 1944.

<sup>75</sup> "Nie przeszkadzajmy!" [Let Us Not Interfere!], *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 13 (62), 1–15 June 1941; "Oni giną, my żyjemy" [They Die, We Live], *Walka [Combat]*, no. 29, 18 July 1941; "Znaczenie bitwy na

The Polish nationalist underground entertained the possibility of a massive, nationwide uprising only in the event of a guaranteed victory at hand, i.e. at the moment of Germany's collapse on the major fronts and the decomposition of its forces in the occupied territories, a situation similar to the developments of the autumn of 1918. An insurrection in circumstances less favorable than those would, the Endeks reasoned, bring only horrendous losses to the civilian population and serious harm to Poland's position on the international arena. For this reason the representatives of the National Party in the leadership of the Polish Underground State were opposed to staging an uprising in Warsaw. The chances of success were assessed as slim, and, even in case of a Home Army (AK) victory, one had to reckon with the high probability of many casualties among the civilian population and great damage to the city's infrastructure. The Polish nationalists were also concerned that even if the uprising were successful, any benefit from the victory would be null and void because of Stalin's designs on Poland. They argued that the intentions of the Soviet Union were hostile, as demonstrated by Moscow's refusal to recognize the Polish Government-in-Exile and the institutions of the Polish Underground State as the sole legitimate authority in charge of Poland's territories.<sup>76</sup>

Germany's defeat in May 1945, after almost six years of Poland's fighting for its freedom, was received with measured content but without much enthusiasm by the Polish nationalist press. Poland was now under a new occupation, and, more alarmingly still, with the hostilities coming to an end in Europe, the interest of Western Allies in Poland was noticeably waning. Conquered and occupied by Allied and Soviet units, Germany ceased to be of special interest to the Endeks for the time being. They had already shifted nearly their entire resources to fight the new occupier: the Soviet Communists and the puppet "Lublin Government" operating in accordance with Moscow's orders.

## 10. The Attitude Towards Communism

As far as ideological issues were concerned, the Polish nationalists paid much attention to Communism, which they considered to be the greatest threat to Poland. After all, it was the Bolsheviks who, in 1920, almost succeeded in destroying the freshly reborn Polish State before it even managed to consolidate its newly-regained independence. In 1939 it was the Soviet Communists who invaded and conquered Poland alongside the German National Socialists. Thus, on both practical and theoretical levels, even during the interwar period, Communism was the natural antithesis of the ideology of the Polish nationalist movement. Between 1939 and 1949 the anti-Communism of the underground SN and ONR was thereby reflexive. For the Endeks, Communism was an artificial ideology alien to the Polish mentality. They considered it an embodiment of Russian imperialism that threatened not only the independence and territorial integrity of Poland but even the very existence of the nation, its tradition, and its culture. The Polish radical nationalists explained: "We are the enemies of internationalism, Communism, Socialism,

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wschodzie" [The Significance of the Battle in the East], *Naród i Wojsko [The Nation and Army]*, no. 7 (17), August 1943.

<sup>76</sup> "Zmarnowany heroizm" [Wasted Heroism], *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 44, 2 October 1944; "Oświadczenie" [Statement]. See also Jan Matłachowski, *Kulisy genezy Powstania Warszawskiego [Behind the Scenes of the Origins of the Warsaw Uprising]* (London: Poldom, 1978).

[and] anarchistic Syndicalism ... We are opposed to class conflict, to those who have no God and no country, to labor enslavement, to force as the source of law.”<sup>77</sup> All the other political groups comprising the broadly understood Nationalist Camp shared a negative attitude towards Communism, although the press tied to the National Armed Forces (NSZ) arguably stressed this anti-Communism in a much more pronounced and clearer manner than anyone else. On the other hand, although the umbrella mainstream Home Army (AK) mostly abhorred the Communists, its leadership, kowtowing to pressure from the Western Allies, strove to adhere to a conciliatory policy which desperately endeavored to reach an agreement with the Communists in order to incorporate them within its ranks.

Meanwhile, the Polish nationalists considered Communism (and Nazism) synonymous with evil and crime, pure and simple. They regarded the Soviet Union as an occupying power and an enemy of Poland equal to the Third Reich. In their comparison of the two totalitarianisms threatening Poland, the nationalists argued that Communism and National Socialism were essentially materialistic and anti-Christian, while the differences between them were of secondary importance and derived from the methods of implementing each ideology. Germany’s National Socialism was a narrow, chauvinistic nationalism which, combined with theories on the superiority of the Aryan race, strove to subjugate other countries by means of military conquest, terror, and murder. However, Communism was more dangerous for Poland because, as a universal international doctrine, it promoted the bloody dictatorship of a clique of alienated, atheistic intellectuals under the guise of a supposed primacy of the working class in society. Wielding the demagogic slogan of class conflict, Marxism led to the destruction of the inter-societal and national bonds, the abolishment of the old transcendental moral order, and its substitution with the utopia of universal equality. Unlike Nazism, which relished the hideous crudity, directedness, and ruthlessness of its race-cum-class struggle vernacular, Communism masked its true intentions in pseudo-humanistic and secular universalistic jargon. In reality, however, the ruling Marxist clique maintained its total power over the subjugated people by terror and deception. Moreover, the theories of national and international Socialism both propagated voracious imperialism.<sup>78</sup> The Polish nationalists proclaimed:

Thus, *at the moment*, we classify both Germany and Soviet Russia in a very similar way: as two imperialistic, expansionistic powers fighting for world domination. But, on the historical scale, there are serious differences between Germany and Russia. As opposed to the German nation, aggressive and criminal imperialism is not a characteristic of the *Russian nation* or the collection of nations that the Soviet Union is in reality. This imperialism is a characteristic of dictatorial Russian governments: regardless of whether it’s a white or a red Tsarist system [bolded in the original].<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 14 (63), 16–30 June 1941.

<sup>78</sup> Piotr Gontarczyk, *Polska Partia Robotnicza: Droga do władzy, 1941–1944 [The Polish Workers’ Party: The Road to Power, 1941–1944]*, Second edition (Warsaw: Fronda, 2006); Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Piotr Gontarczyk, Leszek Żebrowski, eds., *Tajne oblicze: Dokumenty GL–AL i PPR [The Secret Face of the GL–AL and the PPR: Documents]*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: Burchardt Edition, 1997–1999).

<sup>79</sup> Andrzej Rawicz [Jan Lilpop], *O co walczą Narodowe Siły Zbrojne [What the National Armed Forces Are Fighting For]* (Warsaw, 1943), 19.

In comparison to their attitude to Germany, the Polish nationalist approach to Russia was not as uncompromisingly hostile. While declaring the necessity of combating Communism and Russian imperialism, the Endeks eschewed a collectivistic condemnation of the Russians as a nation and people. Instead, the Polish nationalists emphasized that the Russians and others also were the victims of a criminal political system and suffered exploitation and enslavement by the Bolsheviks. Russia was considered to be a country occupied by the Communists, the center of the international Communist conspiracy whose undisguised goal it was to impose Communism by force on other countries.<sup>80</sup>

For us Poles, Bolshevism, as embodied by the Soviet state, poses a double danger. It supports subversive and revolutionary operations inside Poland, thereby working to destroy the cohesion of the nation from within and striving to carry out a coup. ... The Soviet state is the official representation of the Comintern which provides it with territorial, financial, and military support. It also constitutes a great reservoir of human resources from which the Comintern draws the new generation of future activists and agitators. The Soviet state, as one directly bordering on us, is especially dangerous to us because of its imperial ambitions directed at our Eastern lands.<sup>81</sup>

Unlike the German National Socialists, who never found any emulators or henchmen in Poland, the Soviet Union possessed its own underground organizations, which were subordinated to it and prepared to take power on its behalf whenever favorable circumstances would arise: the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and its military formations, the People's Guard (GL), and, later, the People's Army (AL). The negative attitude of the Polish nationalists towards Communism, aside from ideological considerations, was also connected with the tactics and methods employed by the Communist underground to relieve the Red Army and, in the end, to seize power. To achieve this outcome, the Communist underground aimed at fomenting a revolution and initiating an uprising in occupied Poland to force the Germans to divert forces earmarked for the Eastern Front and redeploy them in Poland to crush the insurrection. Communist operations were based upon a tactic that can be dubbed "revolutionary banditry." First, the Communists assassinated the representatives of the prewar Polish elites to deprive the people of freedom-loving leadership so that the emissaries of Moscow could assume command over Poland's leaderless masses. Second, Stalin's followers intentionally disorganized life in the countryside, destroying property to wreak havoc and robbing all and sundry to maintain themselves in the field as they lacked popular support and, hence, free supplies from the population. Thus, third, the Communists, through their wanton sabotage actions, simultaneously provoked the Germans to employ terror which, in the eyes of the Communists, would radicalize the persecuted (and leaderless) Polish population and force it to rally around the emissaries of Moscow ready to create a "national liberation front." Complete ruin of the countryside and widespread slaughter both by the Nazis and Communists were revolutionary in themselves and would be soon

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<sup>80</sup> *Pokój z Rosją walka z Kominternem [Peace with Russia, Struggle with the Comintern]* (Warsaw, 1941), 1–2.

<sup>81</sup> From an internal NSZ work titled *Totalizm [Totalitarianism]* (a copy in our collection).

transformed into a strategic objective: to take power. Thus the Communists endeavored to destroy the “old,” mainly by German hands, to build the “new” after seizing power. Plainly, the activities of the Polish Workers’ Party (PPR) were based on similar tactics that the Communists employed, with great success, in Yugoslavia, and, later, in China, Vietnam, and elsewhere.<sup>82</sup>

In 1943 and 1944, faced with escalating Communist activities, the National Camp’s underground press launched an information campaign about the crimes and provocations employed by GL–AL fighters to the detriment of Polish society. These nefarious revolutionary activities, dubbed by the Communists as the “political rousing [aktywizacja] of the area” or “cleansing the area of the reactionaries,” focused on both the urban regions and, to a larger extent, the countryside. Because hardly any German police were stationed in the remote rural areas, the GL–AL units were initially able to act with relative impunity. The radical nationalist *Rampart* denounced the Communist guerrilla tactics as follows:

They raid our villages and towns, plunder our estates, presbyteries and peasants; they murder those who defend their property, conduct sabotage, blow up bridges, and railroad tracks; they burn lumber mills and ... they always avoid direct clashes with the Gestapo or the German gendarmerie. The result? The heroes withdraw to a safe location while the Gestapo and German gendarmerie slaughter the innocent and peaceful inhabitants whose only crime happens to be that they reside in the proximity of where the act of sabotage had been carried out.<sup>83</sup>

Operating with apparent impunity, the Communist partisans committed a string of crimes, atrocities, robberies, rapes, and other acts of violence. They were thus able to terrorize the population in some parts of the country, a condition that the pro-Western underground Polish press referred to as the “second occupation.” During the daytime the Nazis operated in the countryside, carrying out requisitions and pacification expeditions. At night gangs of robbers raided at will, including those identifying themselves as Communists. The clandestine newssheets described the effects of those criminal raids in gory detail.<sup>84</sup>

The nationalists also warned against the possibility of a PPR-inspired uprising (ordered by Moscow) which would tie down German forces, and thus enable the Soviet Army to break through the front lines with much more ease, albeit with catastrophic consequences for Poland.

The operation’s goal is to foment such a German terror that would bring about an armed uprising in Poland. In such a situation the Eastern Front could actually collapse indeed. This would be done over [our] dead bodies however. Our entire country would be turned in a great cemetery. The Soviet goal would be achieved. The Eastern Front would be broken with our hands, but we would be murdered on a mass scale by German hands and [the Communist leader Wanda]

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<sup>82</sup> Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne: “Ząb” przeciw dwu wrogom [The National Armed Forces: “The Tooth” Against Two Enemies]*, Second edition (Warsaw: Fronda, 1999).

<sup>83</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 15 (106), 4 December 1943.

<sup>84</sup> “PPR działa” [The PPR in Action], *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 11, 8 June 1944.

Wasilewska and her Soviet friends would not have to provoke the civilized world with new atrocities within the Polish Soviet Republic.<sup>85</sup>

The real objective of the Communists, disguised by the slogan of fighting the Nazis, was “the complete ruin and extermination of the Polish population, which the Germans will burn and murder on a mass scale just because Jewish-Communist bands are plundering and murdering this same population. ... The result will be the destruction of internal cohesion of the Polish Nation under the guise of a class struggle against capitalism, which was always insignificant here and does not even exist today.”<sup>86</sup>

Attacks on random Nazi soldiers and German entertainment outlets, institutions, and even hospitals were proof that Moscow’s agents ignored the real costs of their activities. Such acts of Communist terrorism failed to target those directly responsible for the Nazi terror, i.e. the functionaries of the Third Reich’s police and civilian apparatus. These random hits also lacked any sort of military significance and their only goal was to provoke German revenge against the Polish population. The escalation of Communist terror caused an increasing escalation of repression, which was the Communist goal and, according to the Endeks, was devised to ignite a spontaneous mass anti-German outbreak. “If the Germans, in their stupidity, hope to prevent attacks by employing public mass executions, the Communists expect that German terror will bring about an uprising at the time of their choosing.”<sup>87</sup> Quotations from Communist documents, seized by the Polish nationalist intelligence services and published in the *Rampart* proved this: “At the opportune moment, which is already nearing, a whole series of anti-German actions coordinated in terms of time and location [should be carried out to provoke] a German response of such a magnitude that would force all the non-Communist [underground] organizations without exceptions to react.”<sup>88</sup> The nationalist press constantly emphasized that the real activities of the GL–AL were not intended to harm the German occupying authorities but to bring about Nazi repression of such a kind that would stimulate destitute, miserable, and orphaned individuals to launch a desperate attack on the Germans, which the latter would, of course, squash, but the desperate insurrection would at least temporarily weaken the forces of the Third Reich on the Eastern Front.

Aside from explaining Moscow’s strategy and tactics, the nationalist press also intensively unmasked and countered Communist propaganda. The press often dwelt on Soviet crimes against the Poles, including the persecution and forced deportations of the Polish inhabitants of the Eastern Borderlands between 1939 and 1941. One of the major themes present in anti-Communist publications was the Katyn massacre, where the Soviet Union was clearly indicated as the perpetrator in the mass murder of over 20,000 Polish POW officers and others. The nationalist press also exposed the collaborationist activities of the Communists, including their practice of denouncing members of the pro-Western, independentist underground to the Gestapo. “In January of this year [1944] the PPR delivered a list containing the names of approximately two thousand Poles, mainly the opponents of Bolshevism and Poland’s bolshevization, to the Gestapo. As a result of this

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<sup>85</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 14 (105), 23 October 1943; *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 42, 27 October 1943; *Wielka Polska*, no. 43, 3 November 1943.

<sup>86</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 10 (101), 4 August 1943.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* We have discovered and published some of the original Communist despatches and orders in our *Tajne oblicze*.

denunciation approximately 1,200 people were arrested in the city and county of Warsaw. This is just one of many examples.”<sup>89</sup>

Because of the countermeasures of the pro-Western underground, including the fact that the Endek clandestine press exposed the propaganda, tactics, and goals of the local Communists and their Kremlin-based superiors, the PPR’s plans of creating a large anti-German “national liberation” movement under the red banner and fomenting a premature uprising failed completely. Other factors influencing the failure included: first, the numerical weakness of the Communist structure, by far the smallest group in the underground; second, the fact that the disciplined Polish society was historically quite stringent in its anti-Communism; third, the independentist underground, with the National Armed Forces (NSZ) units at the forefront, physically counteracted the Communists (although in central Poland’s General Government it was the leftist peasant self-defense units that were most involved in the anti-criminal counter-operations and the Home Army bore the brunt of the fighting against Communists, bandits, and others perceived as such in the Eastern Borderlands).<sup>90</sup> The nationalists realized that actively resisting the Communist underground and the Soviet partisans was the necessity of the moment. All of the Nationalist Camp’s political groups were quite unanimous on this issue. The Polish nationalist military press was constantly reporting cases of NSZ units fighting GL–AL groups and Soviet partisans who were terrorizing the local population. The nationalist editors appealed to other independentist organization to do the same:

The main task before the outbreak of a nation-wide uprising will be *to sweep Poland clear of the partisan units and Communist gangs forming the “second occupation.”* We have to free the Polish population from the constant terror, exploitation, and pillage wrought by these gangs and we have to liberate Poland *from the threat of their intervention on the Soviets’ behalf* and a Communist revolution in the most dangerous of moments for us: the time when a prematurely fomented uprising would *hand victory over to Stalin* [bolded in the original].<sup>91</sup>

The *Rampart* was quite unequivocal on this issue:

It is time to wake up and begin a systematic liquidation of the various groups at the command of the Communists and only then can we begin a planned struggle against the occupying Germans on thus cleared territory ... Cooperation between the truly Polish military and civilian organizations will surely enable us to pull out the Bolshevik weeds and clear the terrain. The PPR, the “People’s Guard,” and the various red partisans must disappear from the face of the Polish land.<sup>92</sup>

The Endeks emphasized that the Communist political and military underground followed Moscow’s directives. As such, it served the interests of a foreign power and, thus, the Poles within its ranks were renegades and traitors to the Fatherland. “Just like

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<sup>89</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 9 (115), 7 July 1944.

<sup>90</sup> On the subject of anti-criminal operations at the local level see Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Between Nazis and Soviets: Occupation Politics in Poland, 1939–1947* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004), 188, 195–99.

<sup>91</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 29, 31 July 1943.

<sup>92</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 10 (101), 4 August 1943.

the Volksdeutsch is an ally and agent of Germany so too the Communist is an ally and agent of Soviet Russia.”<sup>93</sup>

The NSZ military leadership and its affiliated political organizations flatly rejected any possibility of cooperation with the invading Soviet Army, despite the proposals of the Home Army high command which desperately, if unrealistically, sought accommodation with the Soviets. The Polish nationalists also cringed at the morally relativistic term dubbing the Soviets as “allies of our allies,” which was propagated, at least officially, by the leadership of the AK. Thus, the Polish nationalists presciently viewed the imminent arrival of the Red Army not as coveted liberation but, rather, as the final stage of the conquest of Poland and the establishment of a Communist system by force and terror, or even direct incorporation into the USSR, as was the case with the Eastern Borderlands. The nationalists warned:

The Nation’s instinct rejects any kind of, even superficial, collaboration with the Bolshevik enemy, chafes at the orders to cooperate with the Red Army, and receives the [secret Polish Government] Plenipotentiary’s [*Delegatura*] directives for the civilian institutions to act jointly [with the Soviets] with fear and reluctance. This instinct, stemming from the experiences and suffering of past generations, dictates only one acceptable attitude: struggle against Bolshevik Russia for life and death!<sup>94</sup>

From the Polish nationalist point of view, the arrival of Soviet forces on Polish soil in early 1944 was tantamount to a new occupation. The nationalists called for struggle against the new occupiers from the very beginning. However, the rightist underground also realized that following the genocidal atrocities of the Nazi occupation, the Poles were completely exhausted and mostly discouraged to further active struggle, especially after the collapse of the Warsaw Rising and the betrayal of Poland by the Western Allies at Yalta. The Endeks expected that the opportunistically-inclined part of Polish society would accept the Soviet occupation and others would attempt to accommodate it. However, the majority of the nationalists did not intend to put down their arms and abandon the struggle for a “Great, Independent, National, and Catholic Poland.” Their position towards the Communist government imposed on Poland by the Kremlin dispelled all doubts:

We do not and never will recognize the so-called Provisional Government. They are puppets in the hands of the imperialist Stalin. The Soviets forced this government on Poland as an instrument of their policies of occupation and conquest. ... Society should, at every point and appropriately to circumstances, condemn Stalin’s servants, relate to them with contempt, eliminate them from their own circles, [and] treat them as traitors and sell-outs. This rejection should not be weakened by anything.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Barykada – Pismo Młodych* [*Barricade: A Paper for the Youth*], (November 1943).

<sup>94</sup> *Szaniec* [*The Rampart*], no. 7, 10 June 1944.

<sup>95</sup> “Wskazania polityczno-programowe” [Political and Program-related Instructions], *Centralny Biuletyn Wewnętrzny* [*The Central Internal Bulletin*], no. 4, 1 July 1945.

As can be seen, the approach of the Polish nationalists toward the Soviets and their local supporters was analogous to the Endek attitude vis-à-vis the Germans and their collaborators.

## 11. The Nationalists and Other Pro-Independence Factions (1939–1949)

During the war and its aftermath the Polish nationalist camp experienced a crisis; it was thus lacking in internal cohesion. As a result, competing Endek factions played on the political arena of the Polish Underground State independently of each other. They agreed however that the Polish Government-in-Exile was the sole legitimate representation of an independent Poland. On the other hand, a contradiction existed in relation to the mainstream underground because most Polish nationalists, at least some of the time and to various extent, remained in opposition to the clandestine Home Government Plenipotentiary (*Delegatura Rządu*) of the exiled Polish authorities. Nonetheless, although they formed their own separate secret structures, the Polish nationalists quite often also joined, both in groups and as individuals, those underground organizations which enjoyed the complete recognition of the Government-in-Exile and, frequently, were also subordinated militarily to the Piłsudskite Union of Armed Struggle-Home Army (ZWZ–AK). Yet, the Endek animosity towards the leadership of the ZWZ–AK, during the first years of the occupation in particular, was quite universal. The close ties of the ZWZ's commanders with the old *Sanacja* regime caused the nationalist underground press to blame them for the defeat of September 1939 and, thus, unfit to lead the nation in the underground.

Ultimately, however, the propaganda of the Union of Armed Struggle proved to be more successful. The ZWZ presented itself as the secret Polish Army, the only military formation recognized by the Polish Government-in-Exile, while depicting other underground entities, including the National Military Organization (NOW), as insignificant party militias. Subsequently, the merger of the NOW with the ZWZ–AK, in the middle of 1942, was even a prerequisite for the National Party (SN) leaders and their representatives for full-fledged and official participation in the Polish Underground State. Despite everything, however, some of the nationalist outfits remained skeptical towards the AK and the civilian Home Government Plenipotentiary. This distrust resulted in the founding of the National Armed Forces (NSZ) and its dissident nationalist party affiliates, which, in turn, politically opposed the leadership of the Polish Underground State. Meanwhile, the NOW units incorporated into the Home Army remained completely loyal to the AK head command, while the underground press associated with the National Party (SN) conciliationists ceased to voice any open dissent toward the AK leadership.

All of us wish for the AK to be a platform where all of us will find our places, where we will all understand each other. When we pronounce the word AK, we see a file of soldiers lined up in order according to height (and no other combinations). ... The AK understands the populists [*ludowcy*], the nationalists,

and the socialists well and only differentiates between good and bad soldiers, because the AK is the Nation under arms led by a professional command.<sup>96</sup>

The above was the general attitude of all clandestine organizations toward rank-and-file independentist underground soldiers. However, a state of tension and animosity did exist between the NSZ and AK high commands. Nonetheless, unofficially, the two organizations cooperated in the field, even if the problem of replicating membership among the fighters of both secret forces was a reality. The pressure applied by the Polish-Government-in-Exile in London coupled with the deteriorating international situation for Poland, along with the arrival there of the Soviet Army, forced the NSZ high command to subordinate its forces to the AK leadership. The AK made significant anti-Communist and organizational concessions and an agreement was reached in March 1944 to incorporate the NSZ on an autonomous basis. Unlike the NOW, the NSZ retained a high level of autonomy within the Home Army.

In the second half of 1944, the collapse of the Warsaw Rising and the fiasco of Operation “Tempest” increased the Nationalist Camp’s animosity towards the AK high command and the mainstream civilian leadership of the Polish Underground State. The nationalists criticized the mainstream leaders for lack of political and military realism which resulted in decision making under the influence of emotions, Romantic insurrectionist ideology, and a blind faith in victory, rather than a calm and rational analysis of the situation. Afterwards, for many years, the nationalists would keep charging the AK and post-AK organization with the legacy of irresponsibility, and its catastrophic aftermath for Poland.

The official dissolution of the Home Army in January 1945 and the failure to sustain a new nationwide clandestine organization (the collapse of the “No” structure and the Home Plenipotentiary for the Armed Forces) altered the situation within the Polish independentist underground. Those nationalists who had previously been preparing to withdraw their NSZ and NOW units from the AK now, between November of 1944 and February of 1945, regrouped in a new organization: the National Military Union (NZW).<sup>97</sup> Its goal was to continue the fight for Poland’s independence against the new Soviet occupation and the conquerors’ local Communist puppets and supporters. The policy of the Polish nationalist underground was consistent: the only acceptable position was one of Poland’s complete sovereignty, as embodied by the Polish Government-in-Exile, and a rejection of the Yalta agreements and the Soviet annexation of the Polish Eastern Borderlands.<sup>98</sup> As was previously mentioned, the ONR clung to the NSZ name and conducted independent operations until the national radical units merged with the Endek NZW in January of 1946.

Meanwhile, in September of 1945, the Piłsudskite WiN (*Wolność i Niezawisłość* – Freedom and Independence) conspiratorial association, a competitor of the nationalist underground aspiring to continue the legacy of the Home Army, came into being. Its

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<sup>96</sup> “Armia Krajowa” [The Home Army], *W Natarciu* [The Thrust Forward], no. 11, 10 March 1943, op. cit.; Mirosław Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego w latach 1939–1947* [The National Party’s Underground Press During the Years 1939–1947] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006), 231.

<sup>97</sup> *Walka* [Combat], no. 6/24/5, 1 May 1945.

<sup>98</sup> An appeal made by the Białystok-area periodical *Jedność* [Unity], no. 11, 23 February 1945, is a good example of this.

leadership abandoned the military aspect of the AK and emphasized its political and civic nature. More importantly however, the WiN, unlike formerly the AK, could not boast of an official Polish state organization status. This meant that the WiN, in its rivalry with the NZW, was unable to resort to the legalistic argument (often used and abused during the war) that the Piłsudskite-led entity was the only institutional representation of the Polish Government-in-Exile in the underground. After the war it was the Polish nationalists who often gladly invoked their AK roots since they did, after all, maintain organizational continuity and earlier ties with the Home Army. The nationalist ranks were also filling up with AK fighters who never had had any ties with the NSZ or the NOW but now objected to the WiN's moderate and non-military tactics. Further, the émigré leadership of the National Party (SN) formed part of the legitimate Government-in-Exile. The legalistic argument was now more in favor of the Endeks whose great majority was unequivocally and actively opposed to the Soviets and their local collaborators.

Unlike the nationalist underground, the Piłsudskite covert entity was fraught with contradictions. The activities and propaganda of the “Freedom and Independence” seemed often incoherent. Unconvincingly, the WiN attempted a balancing act between, on the one hand, the backing of the Polish Government-in-Exile and, on the other hand, the recognition of the Yalta accords and supporting of the overtly independentist and pro-Western Polish Peasant Party (PSL). The latter functioned openly within the Soviet occupation system, and its leader Stanisław Mikołajczyk served as Deputy Prime Minister of the puppet government in Warsaw. The WiN was in touch with both the PSL and Poland's exiled authorities in London. Another paradox lay in the fact that the WiN, which called itself (at least initially) the “Resistance Movement Without War or Sabotage” and officially claimed to have abandoned the armed struggle against Communism, controlled (at least formally, although quite often only symbolically) many post-AK insurgent groups which never surrendered to the Soviets and their local collaborators.

In general, relations between the Piłsudskite and the nationalist underground entities were generally proper and few mutual attacks appeared in the clandestine press. When tensions occasionally flared up in the field over rivalries between the various organizations, the top leaders would attempt to soothe the conflict. The other bone of contention was that the nationalists were very much opposed to exposing their conspiratorial networks. One example of a sharp reaction to the deeds of the leadership of the post-AK structures was the indignant nationalist reply to the declaration by Colonel Jan Mazurkiewicz (“Radosław”) who called upon his subordinates to surrender to the Communists: “The Commander of the AK Armed Forces Col. ‘Radosław’ Betrayed Us.”<sup>99</sup> Another example was the criticism levied against the policy of agreement and

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<sup>99</sup> The commander of the Piłsudskite Polish Underground Army, Mjr. Stanisław Sojczyński (“Warszyc”), reacted in a similar manner. See Kazimierz Krajewski et al., *Żołnierze wyklęci: Antykomunistyczne podziemie zbrojne po 1944 roku [The Cursed Soldiers: The Anti-Communist Armed Underground After 1944]*, Second corrected and expanded edition (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen and Liga Republikańska, 2002), 330–31. The conflict between the nationalists and the Piłsudskites at the local level was described, in an exaggerated manner, by Sławomir Poleszak, *Podziemie antykomunistyczne w łomżyńskim i grajewskim (1944-1957) [The Anti-Communist Underground in the Łomża and Grajewo Areas, 1944–1957]* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 2004). See also Konrad Kozłowski, “W krzywym zwierciadle: Utrwalanie ‘czarnej legendy’ Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych” [Through a Distorted Mirror: Keeping the ‘Black Legend’ of the National Armed Forces Alive], *Glaukopis*, no. 4 (2004): 248–

cooperation between the post-AK partisans and the anti-Soviet and anti-Polish Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the Rzeszów province, which the Polish nationalists considered harmful and ill-advised.<sup>100</sup> At times the WiN's political moderation, when juxtaposed with the pugnaciously anti-Communist policies of the nationalist underground, gave the latter reasons to accuse the WiN of defeatism and to call upon its members to join the NSZ and the NZW.<sup>101</sup>

Even while butting heads with the Piłsudskites, the Endek underground press attempted, initially at least, to maintain a neutral stance toward, and tone down any criticism of, the pro-Western and independentist political parties in Poland, the leftist Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the centrist Labor Party (SP), which were at first able to function openly on the political arena controlled by the Soviets. Neither of these groups was ever directly attacked as political and ideological competition for the nationalist movement either. The Polish nationalists further understood that any open support of the underground for even some of the activities of Mikołajczyk's populists or Karol Popiel's Christian democrats could harm those organizations and that the legal activities of both of them were constantly threatened by terror and repression perpetrated by the Communist Security Office (UB).<sup>102</sup> The Endeks emphasized that both the PSL and the SP, unlike all the other Communist-infiltrated façade parties, had, by the circumstances, become the only legally-functioning expressions of independent public opinion, and therein rested the root of their enormous social popularity. This support, the nationalists reasoned, stemmed not from the fact that Polish society had suddenly become enamored with peasant populist or Christian democratic thought but because the PSL and the SP were seen as essentially overt anti-Communist groups. The best example of this was Stanisław Mikołajczyk himself. The politician's popular image was not that of the Deputy Prime Minister of the puppet Warsaw government and a PPR ally, but that of a former Prime Minister of the Government-in-Exile and, thus, a representative of an independent Polish policy. Often Mikołajczyk would actually have to disavow the hopes most Poles placed in him and his anti-Communism which, in turn, caused his speeches to be, according to the commentators of the clandestine press, overly conciliationist, and even capitulationist, toward the Communists. The nationalist underground journalists even accused Mikołajczyk of underwriting the Communist policy of *faits accomplis*. They pointed at his role in the questioning of Poland's exiled government's authority and his acceptance of the so-called "land reform" of the Communists, which, in reality, boiled down to the seizure of the landowners' estates and property without any compensation.<sup>103</sup>

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73; Sławomir Poleszak, "W odpowiedzi Konradowi Kozłowskiemu," [In Reply to Konrad Kozłowski], *Glaukopis*, no. 5–6 (2006): 408–24; Konrad Kozłowski, "W odpowiedzi Panu Poleszakowi" [In Reply to Mr. Poleszak], *Glaukopis*, no. 5–6 (2006): 424–36.

<sup>100</sup> "Co się dzieje na pograniczu? – wzdłuż tak zwanej Linii Curzona" [What is Happening on the Frontier? Along the so-called Curzon Line], *Biuletyn Wewnętrzny Kresowiaków [The (Eastern) Borderlandsmen's Internal Bulletin]*, no. 2/3, December–January, 1945/1946.

<sup>101</sup> "Narodowe Zjednoczenie Wojskowe. Do b.[yłych] członków organizacji AK i WiN" [The National Military Union: To Former AK and WiN Members], a leaflet from 1947, Hoover Institution Archive, Polish Subject Collection [afterward HIA-PSC], box 55.

<sup>102</sup> "Ciężkie zmagania z komuną w Polsce" [The Tough Struggle with Communism in Poland], *Słowo Polskie (The Polish Word)*, no. 43, 20 October 1945.

<sup>103</sup> "Problem dzisiejszej wsi polskiej" [The Current Problems of the Polish Village], *Młoda Polska [Young Poland]*, no. 2, April, 1946; "W trzociomajowej perspektywie" [From the Perspective of May Third], *Młoda Polska*, no. 3, May 1946; "Stanowisko innych quasi niezależnych partii" [The Position of Other

For us the recognition or non-recognition of the Osóbka-Mikołajczyk pseudo-government is only a diplomatic maneuver in an international political game. From our point of view it does not matter. We know that our only legal government is the one chosen by the President of the Republic which, under the leadership of Prime Minister [socialist Tomasz] Arciszewski, is still our country's only legal representative and it is this government that we shall remain loyal to.<sup>104</sup>

The nationalists did not support the PSL's tactics to defeat Communism by the use of the weapon of parliamentarianism. They considered this to be a delusion. Because of the Soviet presence and the activities of the Communist terror apparatus, the possibility of taking power from the Communists was an unrealistic option even in the event that the opposition won the elections. The Endeks did not doubt that in a truly free election the PSL would win and capture the majority of seats in the parliament. However, that was impossible without Allied control and oversight of the elections. Moscow, of course, would not permit this.<sup>105</sup> Its skepticism notwithstanding, at the critical moment the underground National Party issued secret "Instructions for SN Propaganda for the Pre-electoral Period" which obligated all the subordinate organizations to vote for the PSL's electoral list.<sup>106</sup> Ultimately, the Communists falsified the results of both the so-called "Popular Referendum" of June 1946 and the subsequent parliamentary "elections" of January 1947, thus confirming the fiasco of Mikołajczyk's accommodationist strategy, while the Endeks were proven correct.<sup>107</sup>

The nationalist underground and its clandestine publications engaged in a different kind of debate with the regime-approved circles of intelligentsia, including the centrist Christian democratic *Tygodnik Warszawski* (*Warsaw Weekly*), the liberal Catholic *Tygodnik Powszechny* (*Universal Weekly*), and the post-radical-nationalist *Dziś i Jutro* (*Today and Tomorrow*).<sup>108</sup> According to the clandestine Endeks, these circles did

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Quasi-Independent Parties], *Młoda Polska – Referendum (Wydanie Specjalne)* [*Special Edition*], [no. 4], June 1946.

<sup>104</sup> "Zmieniono jedynie firmę – nie zmieniono treści" [Only the Brand Has Changed – The Content Has Not], *Naród w Walce* [*The Nation in Struggle*], no. 49, 1 August 1945.

<sup>105</sup> "Manewry wyborcze" [Electoral Maneuvers], *Ku Zwycięstwu* [*Towards Victory*], no. 6, 23 March 1946; "Naród Polski" [The Polish Nation], an NSZ (ONR) leaflet from early 1946; "Moskwa Świata i Polsce" [Moscow For the World and Poland], *Walka* [*Combat*], no. 2/5, 1 March 1947.

<sup>106</sup> "Instrukcja propagandy SN na okres przedwyborczy," [An Instruction of the SN propaganda in the pre-election period] 25 November 1946.

<sup>107</sup> "Komuniści fałszują wynik referendum" [The Communists Falsify the Referendum Results], *Walka* [*Combat*], no. 7, 15 July 1946. On the falsified elections and the so-called "Popular Referendum" see Tadeusz Kisielewski, Michał Strzelecki, eds., *Głosowanie ludowe z 30 czerwca 1946 r. w raportach Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego: Wybór dokumentów* [*The Popular Referendum of 30 June 1946 in the Ministry of Public Security Reports: A Selection of Documents*] (Bydgoszcz: Wyd. Uczelniane Akademii Bydgoskiej im. Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2000); Andrzej Paczkowski, ed., *Referendum z 30 czerwca 1946 r.: Przebieg i wyniki* [*The Referendum of 30 June 1946: The Process and Results*] (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1993); Bogusław Barnaszewski, *Polityka PPR wobec zalegalizowanych partii i stronnictw* [*PPR Policy Towards the Legalized Parties and Factions*] (Warsaw: Wyd. Naukowe Semper, 1996).

<sup>108</sup> Professor Tomasz Strzembosz has criticized the error commonly made by historians who discuss all of these periodicals in one breath, as one category, and thus reduce them to a common denominator by

not represent a real and significant political force but they nonetheless served as rival and prestigious intellectual initiatives. For this reason the secret nationalist journalists debated, at times, their counterparts in these periodicals on the ideological and programmatic levels. The underground commentators also differentiated among these Communist regime licensed circles. From the clandestine Endek point of view, the stance of the post-radical-nationalist *Today and Tomorrow* was morally unacceptable because the periodical was a collaborationist one.<sup>109</sup> The fact that the erstwhile SN propaganda activist-turned-defector Jan Dobraczyński wrote for that publication made no difference. In the case of the *Universal Weekly*, the underground nationalists approved of the periodical's apparent independence from the Warsaw regime but they also emphasized that the editorial board's political views were unacceptable to the nationalist circles. In particular, the concept of ideological evolution of the world toward the left propagated by the weekly was flatly rejected. The attempts to understand and accept Marxism from the Catholic point of view, which the editors of the *Universal Weekly* motivated with a necessity of "following the spirit of the times," likewise aroused spirited opposition.<sup>110</sup> The Endek underground press also looked askance at other publications and periodicals issued by the licensed opposition, such as the *Renewal (Odnowa)* and the *Warsaw Weekly* affiliated with the Christian democratic SP. Sometimes the subject of these polemics were specific political issues.<sup>111</sup> At other times they served as a "smoke screen" with the aim of disguising the underground's links with these initiatives and the covert participation of nationalists in them.<sup>112</sup>

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referring to them as "opposition periodicals": "One can assign to the *Tygodnik Powszechny* [*Universal Weekly*] circle during the years 1945–1953 the status of an independent group and recognize that it expressed a kind of opposition to Communism by publishing texts that were different from those published in publications on the Communist 'payroll.' At the same time, it is completely incomprehensible why [leftist historian Andrzej] Friszke mentions the conformist *Tygodnik Powszechny* and *Znak* [*Sign*], the diversionary *Dziś i Jutro* [*Today and Tomorrow*], and the truly oppositionist *Tygodnik Warszawski* [*Warsaw Weekly*], the only paper that satisfied all his criteria, in one chapter dedicated to the 'separate legalistic opposition.'... After all, he himself [Friszke] wrote that Braun and Studentowicz attempted to create a Christian social program that would compete intellectually with the political system forced on Poland by the Communists and, at the same time, differ from the PSL's program. It is more necessary to evaluate the *Warsaw Weekly* as a periodical of the true opposition and apply the same measure to its editors and writers who would soon end up sitting in Communist jails for years. This is nothing strange! The truly oppositionist *Warsaw Weekly* was liquidated, the opportunistic *Universal Weekly* was tolerated, and PAX, having been used against the Church, was supported. Describing all of these in one chapter under such a title is quite astonishing!" See Tomasz Strzembosz, "Polacy w PRL: Sprzeciw, opozycja, opór. Zachowania opozycyjne w systemie totalitarnym" [Poles in the PRL: Negation, Opposition, Resistance. Oppositionist Behaviors in a Totalitarian System], *Studia Polityczne* (Warsaw), no. 11 (2000).

<sup>109</sup> "Piasecki żyje chyba na Marsie" [Piasecki Must Live on Mars], *Młoda Polska* [*Young Poland*], no. 1, March 1946; "Problem katolicyzmu" [The Problem of Catholicism], *Młoda Polska*, no. 3, May 1946; "Prawda w oczy kole" [The Truth Hurts], *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> "Rewolucja na prawo czy na lewo" [Revolution Towards the Right or Left], *Słowo Polskie* [*The Polish Word*] (Lwów), no. 64, 5 January 1946.

<sup>111</sup> "Prawda w oczy kole" [The Truth Hurts], *Młoda Polska* [*Young Poland*], no. 3, May 1946.

<sup>112</sup> The National Party spent large sums of money to purchase shares in the company publishing the *Warsaw Weekly*. This operation was carried out by Leon Dziubecki, on the orders of the leadership of the SN, and through the mediation of Rev. Grzechnik. Moreover, high-ranking activists of the wartime SN Warsaw District also worked on the editorial board: Wiesław Chrzanowski, Tadeusz Przeworski, and Andrzej Kozanecki, as well as one of the editors of the wartime *Combat*, Marian Grzegorzczak.

## 12. Nationalist Thought in the Underground

The German occupation forced all of Poland's intellectual life underground between 1939 and 1944. Unlike during the Soviet occupation, when the Sovietization of Polish culture and education was part of the Marxist-Leninist totalitarian plan, thus permitting it to survive in an adulterated, pervaded, and censored form (between 1939 and 1941 and from 1944 to 1990, particularly stilted until 1956), the racist totalitarian Third Reich allowed for no cultural or educational concessions; nor were there any plans for any kind of a "National Socialism with a Polish Face." The Nazis persecuted Polish culture and learning to the point that the only way for them to survive and avoid extermination was to escape into the underground.

As a result the clandestine discourse between 1939 and 1944 covered a wide variety of subjects ranging from politics and culture to technology, engineering, law, and medicine. This would change only after 1944, during the period of the second Soviet occupation, even if free discussion on most political and ideological issues continued nevertheless to be forbidden. During the early phase of the new occupation after 1944 the Communists limited their terror to overt and covert political opponents and, especially, armed insurgents. However, doctors, engineers, lawyers, and other professionals who remained passive (despite their anti-Communism) were generally left alone. Technological, professional, and many cultural issues could be discussed with relative freedom in legal (but also censored) professional periodicals. Moreover, the demand for the underground press dropped after May 1945, when the Nazi and Communist-mandated death penalty for listening to the radio was abolished. People began openly enjoying Western broadcasts which, at first, were not jammed by the Communists. This state of affairs remained in place, despite Poland's gradual totalitarization, until 1949. At that time a full blown totalitarianism was imposed on the nation and the almost complete Sovietization of Polish cultural and intellectual life occurred, even spilling over into the realm of technology and hard sciences, while aggressive censorship reached its peak to the ominous humming of broadcast jamming devices.

Thus, the nature of the initial stage of the Communist occupation between 1944 and 1949 brought about a serious decrease in the scope, and a gradual lowering of the intellectual standards, of the underground press. First, many leaders (including talented publicists, organizers, distributors, and printers) were killed in combat with the Germans, Soviets, or their local collaborators. Second, many activists were either imprisoned in Poland or deported to camps in the USSR or the Third Reich. Third, many freedom fighters escaped or chose to remain in exile. Those who remained alive in Poland after 1944 were usually soldiers and activists from the lower ranks, often not very well-educated but nevertheless surviving on a strong faith that one day Poland would be free. This is why the most important nationalist ideological texts were written before the end of 1945. What came afterwards usually boiled down to repeating old arguments, often in simple forms, conducting information campaigns, and commenting on current events.

The publications from the period of 1939–1949 are characterized by continuity of the nationalist movement's major ideological themes. One can also observe the

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Włodzimierz Marszewski, the acting commander of the NZW, also published in the *Warsaw Weekly* under the name "Gorczyca" or "Wacław Grabowski."

continuous understanding that Poland had two great enemies: Hitler and Stalin.<sup>113</sup> Nazism and Communism were both condemned as twin anti-Christian criminal ideological systems.<sup>114</sup> After the victory over the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, Poland was to become independent and free of foreign domination and Christian, or, more precisely, Catholic: “the Catholic State of the Polish Nation.” In this new Poland the rights of the Polish majority were to take precedence over the national minorities, although the nationalists did leave the Slavic minorities the option of eventual Polonization.<sup>115</sup> In addition, Poland’s western frontier was to follow the Odra (Oder) and Nysa (Neisse) Rivers.<sup>116</sup> There was truly little room for compromise on these issues.

At the same time a great plurality of opinion existed on many other questions, such as tactics, assessments of other organizations, and the new Poland’s forms and the scale of reforms. We should not confuse the Polish nationalists with some kind of totalitarian Nazi or Communist party where a so-called “democratic centralism” compelled a monolithic “unanimity.” The nationalists debated many different issues among themselves and opposing views clashed at times. Some publicists discussed problems in a more moderate way, while others employed an ultra-radical approach. “Poland” was to naturally be “for the Poles,” but what kind of a Poland was this supposed to be and what were the nationalists exactly striving for?

The Endeks wanted a Great Poland and it was to extend to the Odra and the Nysa in the west. Some even proposed a Polish protectorate over the Elbe Slavs, i.e. the Lusatian Serbs (Sorbs).<sup>117</sup> As far as the eastern frontier was concerned, there existed a variety of views. The minimum program called for a return to the Riga boundary, i.e. the prewar *status quo*. There were also suggestions to incorporate Lithuania into Poland as an autonomous polity. The maximum program demanded that all the lands which had made up the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be detached from the defeated Soviet Union,<sup>118</sup> although it is difficult to tell whether this was treated as a serious claim or propaganda aiming to raise Polish morale at a time when the enemy was winning the greatest of its victories.

### 13. Political and Economic Plans

The nationalist underground aimed at creating a uniquely Polish political system which would bolster the national character of the state. The postwar reconstruction of Poland as a nation state was considered one of the most important political goals. The new system was to be based on a combination of the nationalist camp’s ideology and

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<sup>113</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, 17 July 1940; *Głos z podziemia [Voice From the Underground]*, 25 April 1948.

<sup>114</sup> *Walka [Combat]*, 21 April 1943.

<sup>115</sup> “Wytyczne programowe ruchu narodowego w Polsce” (program Stronnictwa Narodowego) [SN Program] (1945).

<sup>116</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, 29 August 1940; and *Walka [Combat]*, 1 August 1941 and 24 December 1941.

<sup>117</sup> See Jakub Brodacki, “Prołuż”: *Akademicki Związek Przyjaciół Łużyc. Historia wewnętrzna organizacji (1945-1949) [Prołuż: The Academic Union of the Friends of Lusatia. The Organization’s Internal History, 1945-1949]* (Warsaw: PGM, 2006); Jakub Brodacki, “Archiwum Prołużu” [The Prołuż Archive], *Glaukopis*, no. 2/3 (2005), 300–306.

<sup>118</sup> Such a postulate even appeared in the SN paper *Combat*. See “Nie niszczyć dzieła Jagiellonów!” [Do Not Destroy the Work of the Jagiellonians!], *Walka*, no. 31, 1 August 1941.

Catholicism, which is why it was commonly referred to as the Catholic State of the Polish Nation.

### **The Nation, the Family and the Individual**

The concept of nation, as understood by the National Party (SN) and the “Rampart” Group, was directly tied to the nationalism espoused by those political groups. This Christian type of nationalism did not treat the national community as an absolute or supernatural good. It considered the nation to be a natural collection of people, a product of a historical process, tied to each other by a common culture, language, identity, and history. The main trait of Polish nationalism was to be the cultivation of the nation’s characteristics and fulfilling its interests. They saw the nation as the most perfect and final form produced by the historical process of the evolutionary development of societies. They understood the nation to be a living organism, an institution of natural law comparable with the family. It was perceived as a natural cultural community and a continuation of the past, present, and future generations.<sup>119</sup> The nation understood in such a way was to serve as the foundation of the existence of the Polish state in the future. The national interest was to be a principal factor superior to the interests of the individual, although the latter, as was emphasized, could not be completely ignored and stifled since the nation would then lose the moral basis of its existence. The Catholic ethics adhered to by the Endeks guaranteed that the liberties of the individual and the national community would be respected.<sup>120</sup> Catholicism was to regulate both the relations between individuals within society and those between the Polish nation and its neighbors. The Polish nationalists rejected the drive towards the artificial standardization and uniformization of all the members of the nation, so typical of totalitarianism, since they were perfectly aware that this leads to the impoverishment of human individuality and harms the nation’s development.<sup>121</sup>

Our nationalism, as a Catholic nationalism, stands for the respect of the humanity of the individual and the separateness of the national communities, their rights and their goods. At the same time, in the name of the instinct for self-preservation and the principles of justice, we demand the same of others and, if the need arises, we shall fight for it. By serving our nation on the basis of this idea and its principles we are not only carrying out our duty towards the community in which we were born and raised, but we are also fighting for a healthy and just tomorrow and better order in the world.<sup>122</sup>

Despite ostentatiously emphasizing its nationalism, the Endek movement rejected and shied away from any ideas of organizing the state and the nation according to totalitarian, racist, or class models. Those concepts were considered to be alien to Polish tradition, essentially materialistic and incompatible with the principles of Catholicism.

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<sup>119</sup> Waław Strumień, *Polska idea narodowa [The Polish National Idea]* (Warsaw, 1943), 9.

<sup>120</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 5, 27 April 1944.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>122</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 11, 27 September 1942.

Professor Karol Stojanowski, a prominent nationalist leader, expressed this when he wrote: “Poland did not sever her ties with European and Christian civilization ... Despite the anti-Christian reaction raging in the East and the West, our Fatherland managed to remain Catholic.”<sup>123</sup>

Catholicism was thus the most crucial factor influencing the nationalist ideology of the movement. Hence, the strong ties of the Endek ideological identity with the Catholic religion. The slogan of the fight for the Catholic State of the Polish Nation emphasized this nexus between Polish nationalism and Roman Catholicism. The Endeks considered such a synthesis to be something obvious and natural. “For man the Nation is the soil and the atmosphere while religion is the sun.”<sup>124</sup> The Catholic religion served as the foundation and the spiritual content of Polish culture while the institution of the Church played the role of the highest authority, the teacher of the nation and the guardian of morality. The Endeks opposed subordinating the Church to the state or its incorporation into the state bureaucracy. A key role was ascribed to the Church in man’s spiritual life and education. The principles of the social teachings of the Church would be implemented in all the areas of national, family, economic, and cultural life.<sup>125</sup>

The Polish nationalist demand for special status for families, considered to be the essential component of the national community, is a good example of this. In postwar Poland a morally healthy family, living in accordance with the principles of the Catholic Church, would enjoy special state protection. The projected family and marital legislation to be enacted would completely implement the commandments of the Catholic Church in this sphere. “Society is not healthy when its most essential component, the family, is not based on healthy principles and is not tied to the rest of society with a permanent bond. ... If the nationalist camp wishes to build upon the family then Poland’s history teaches that eternal Polish traditions and the principles of the Catholic Church are to be the foundations of this family.”<sup>126</sup>

To implement the teachings of the Church the Polish nationalists intended to abolish civil marriage and divorce and to penalize marital infidelity and prostitution. This was to protect the nation from moral depravity, a factor weakening the strength and morale of the community. Families, and especially those families endowed with many children, were to receive special privileges, tax breaks and state assistance.<sup>127</sup>

### **The Primacy of the Polish Majority**

The postwar Polish nation state was to perform a subsidiary role vis-à-vis the nation. The tasks of the government would be to care for the common good, both the community as a whole and the individuals, by guaranteeing safety, freedom, and opportunities for personal development and education. The Polish nation was to be the source of power in a state so conceived. The Endeks rejected the possibility of admitting the national minorities to the civic community. However, the minorities would continue to enjoy the right to reside in Poland, but their rights would be curtailed. Their free and unhindered development would be permitted only insofar as it did not conflict with the interests of the Polish majority.

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<sup>123</sup> *Przyszła Polska [The Future Poland]*, op. cit., 15–16.

<sup>124</sup> W. Strumień, *Polska idea narodowa*, 9.

<sup>125</sup> *Agenda (Wytyczne)*.

<sup>126</sup> Wacław Górnicki [Leszek Neyman], *Polska po wojnie [Poland After the War]*, 16.

<sup>127</sup> *Agenda*, 15.

This does not mean that a nation state cannot have peoples of foreign nationality within its borders, or that other nations cannot reside within it. ... The case may sometimes be that two or three nations who cannot afford their own separate, independent states will be able to build a common state together, a common home where each of them shall have the rights of a co-owner (the prewar Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia for example). But a guest nation, an alien nation which resides in another nation's home only incidentally and temporarily, can never be considered a co-owner.<sup>128</sup>

The program of creating a nation state in Poland was generally accepted by all the factions of the nationalist camp, although it found its vociferously staunchest supporter in the political wing of the National Armed Forces. The Endeks expressed this in many conspiratorial publications dealing with politics, economics, society, and history. According to a standard explication,

Poland must dare to build her own political system adapted to our national character, our socio-political conditions and one enabling us to fulfill our historical Mission [sic]. The foremost political-systemic principle is to recognize the Polish Nation as the sole master within its state. ... In regards to the system itself, i.e. the tenets of the Constitution, our position calls for the creation of a strong government which could not be recalled by Parliament at any moment, but one based on the nation's confidence and responsible before its representation after the *Sejm's* term expires.<sup>129</sup>

The Polish nation state was not modeled on the totalitarian systems of Germany or Italy but the Endeks attempted to create a specifically Polish system instead. According to Karol Stojanowski, "in the Polish national system there can be no place for state totalitarianism. It must implement the concept of strong government based on the law and its spirit however."<sup>130</sup> The national system would fix the flaws of the liberal democratic government and the errors of totalitarianism. It would both endow the state with strong powers and guarantee the people's freedom and security. The Endeks questioned the concept of universal suffrage because they believed that not all the inhabitants wished to or should have influence on the state's nature and politics. The right to vote and campaign belonged to those who understood the functions of the state and who merited it by having fought for Poland's freedom. To be able to participate in the government, one would have to demonstrate first one's patriotism and devotion to the fatherland. Those who were either hostile or indifferent to Poland would, therefore, logically, lose their suffrage. This would first of all apply to the minorities, including the Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews. The Polish state

can exist and thrive only if the Polish nation safeguards its fate, if it works for it and fights for its success, for its might and, finally, its frontiers. No one can relieve it of this task since the non-Polish inhabitants of the state are either

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<sup>128</sup> W. Strumień, *Polska idea narodowa*, 36. In this context Jews and unassimilated Germans were considered to be "aliens."

<sup>129</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 5, 27 April 1944.

<sup>130</sup> *Przyszła Polska [The Future Poland]*, 39.

generally indifferent towards its welfare and existence or, as we are experiencing it today, simply wish to destroy it altogether. ... Granting the non-Polish peoples an influence over the government must necessarily weaken the state and, if those influences become very powerful, the result will be the fall of the state.<sup>131</sup>

From the partition era, and especially the Second World War and the two occupations, the nationalists drew an empirically-proven conclusion which, in their opinion, was quite logical: i.e. that Poland is valued as an important good only by those who consider themselves to be Poles. Ergo, it is they who should run Poland after the war.

### **The Elite and the Political System**

The nationalist elites were to govern the Polish state. Their preferred system was corporatism with a strong leader balanced by hierarchical institutions. As we have already mentioned (see “Poland and the Poles,” “The Elites and the People,” and “The Poles: 1939–1949” above), and as we shall still elaborate more (see “Nationalist Publications and the Jews” below), Polish nationalists allowed all to adopt Polishness regardless of their ethnic, religious, or racial descent. This is why we find such names as the Michejdas (Polish Silesian Protestants of Scottish origin), Jeuthes (Poles of German Lutheran descent) and Natansons (Polish Catholics of Jewish background) among the Endek elites. But no compromise was allowed in regards to one crucial issue: the level of national consciousness among such people had to be of the highest caliber. Thus, as the reading of the nationalist press confirms, the degree of someone’s dedication to Polishness, understood as one’s adherence to the ideology of Polish nationalism, was what the Endeks valued most.

The nationalists were quite serious in claiming that the Polish nation was composed of all the Poles, regardless of descent, education, status, or wealth. Nonetheless, they identified three distinct groups within the national community. The first of these consisted of people with a well-developed national consciousness whose work and struggle for the Fatherland reflected this. The second group included those with a weaker national consciousness and imbued with a class or cosmopolitan ideology alien to the Polish spirit. The peoples inhabiting the recovered lands, i.e. those who were of Polish descent but had a foreign nationality and language forced upon them in the past, formed the third group. In accordance with these criteria, only the first group could be entrusted with the responsibility of rebuilding the state and have a full say in its government and the political system it should have. The two remaining groups were to “be given a thorough education in order to awaken the Polish spirit inside them and to unite all the Polish tribes into one nation.”<sup>132</sup> Thus, only conscious Poles were to form the national elite. The nationalists also posited the existence of a moral hierarchy based on the degree of conscious involvement in everything that defined Polishness.

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<sup>131</sup> *Informator Narodowy [National Information]*, 11 August 1942.

<sup>132</sup> *Agenda*, 1.

The nation, that most cohesive and real of organizations, is not a mixture of equal individuals but, like every organism, has its own internal hierarchy which is made up of components of various quality. Thus, in reality, the leadership of national matters is not conducted by its whole mass but that part of it which “possesses a deeper national consciousness, a stronger sense of national duties and responsibility for the nation’s fate and, finally, a more elaborate understanding of the nation’s condition and its tasks.” It is the best part of the nation that governs it and handles its matters.<sup>133</sup> [sic underlined in the original]

Naturally, there existed nuanced differences among various nationalist organizations as far as Poland’s future ruling stratum and political system were concerned. What they proposed was a Polish brand of corporatism. Let us, for example, note the most far-reaching proposals, in terms of systemic innovations, voiced by the national radicals, who attempted to reconcile the traditions of Polish state institutions with the ideas of the Western European corporatist “Third Way.” The “Rampart” Group demanded that a strictly elitist method of selection be used to choose the future rulers of Poland. To achieve this goal they would create the Organization of the Nation (also known National Camp or National Movement), a concept born initially in the interwar era. Rather than a typical ruling party *per se*, merely allowed to fill cabinet positions and influence the work of the government, it would combine political and moral power. It was conceived as an educational and political assembly for all the Poles with suffrage. The Organization of the Nation was to serve as a kind of vetting mechanism to purge from the ranks of the Polish political elite persons who are demoralized, devoid of ideals, and hostile or indifferent towards Poland. To this end, the organization’s internal rules would continually increase the burden of duties to improve constantly the morale of the members of the Organization of the Nation.

Those not belonging to the Organization of the Nation, the national minorities in particular, would not have the right to vote or run in elections. They were guaranteed the status of those “belonging to the state.” Even though this concept might arouse connotations with totalitarianism, or at least with a mass party of a totalitarian type, the “Rampart” Group repudiated any accusations that it wished to monopolize the Polish political arena. The proposed ruling entity was not to be an exclusive club reserved solely for the national radicals. This body would be open to all who wish to adhere to Polish national interests.

The Polish Nationalist Movement is an ideological movement of the whole Nation, not a political party. We can come to terms with and cooperate with every righteous man and good Pole for whom the good of the Nation is a primary goal, and one who rejects class struggle in favor of the national solidarity of all Poles. We disregard all the old and invalid party and orientational differences and, especially within the large National Camp, we also consider as no longer relevant the differences that superficially divide Dmowski’s people from righteous and good Poles, politically uncompromised people of Piłsudski’s cult.

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<sup>133</sup> Chrobry Szlak [*The Path of the Bold*], no. 22 (37), 2 December 1944.

The only ones that should be excluded from this great National Unity are the dishonest, worthless and compromised, the “September People.”<sup>134</sup> [sic underlined in the original]

A variety of political currents would thus be allowed to coexist within the Organization of the Nation. They were to compete in elections in which only the members of the organization would be allowed to vote. Karol Stojanowski believed that a certain degree of controlled competition would be beneficial since it would prevent those governing the state from sliding into “moral and political decadence.”<sup>135</sup> The exact way in which this Organization of the Nation was to be established was never clarified however. There are various assessments as to the political groups and factions which were to constitute this body. It was planned that the postwar Organization of the Nation would extend its influence to all the Poles who, because of the organization, would become conscious citizens.<sup>136</sup>

The national radical ideas about the Organization of the Nation did not receive much applause from the ranks of the mainstream *Endecja*. But the National Party (SN) and the “Rampart” Group both described the prerogatives of the main governmental bodies in a similar way. The prewar structures of state government were to be retained. The *Sejm* and the Senate were to constitute the legislative branch, although their powers were to be altered. The dominant view was that the position of the Senate had to be enhanced. The SN activists also shared this opinion. “Its role and authority greatly strengthened, the Senate will play the primary role in drafting political and economic plans and in the legislative realm, as it is much better suited for that than the *Sejm*.”<sup>137</sup> The composition of the Senate was also to be reformed: It was to be made up of thirty senators serving for life, either elected directly or nominated by the Head of State and the *Sejm*. Such a Senate was to have wide-ranging powers, which would include drafting legislation, preparing plans and controlling the state economy, statistical work and, along with the Head of State, the conduct of foreign policy. The implementation of those tasks would be the responsibility of the various Senate sections, which would be composed of both senators and specialists. The Senate was to wield great control over the functioning of the state but, to avoid a transformation of this power into outright dictatorship, the Head of State would have the power to dissolve this institution in a time of crisis.<sup>138</sup>

The *Sejm* was to be directly elected. Alongside the representatives of the various political currents (in the national radical plans these were the currents forming the Organization of the Nation), candidates proposed by the bodies of local self-government and professional associations (*corporacje*) would also be allowed to run in elections. Further, the Endeks agreed on the necessity of stripping the *Sejm* of most of its prerogatives. They were to be reduced to expressing society’s opinion on the Senate’s legislative work by voting for or against the drafts. Further, the *Sejm* would prepare the budget, approve taxes, control the government, and, if necessary, pass a vote of no confidence. The *Sejm*, as the lower house, would moreover be given the opportunity of

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<sup>134</sup> *Wić Narodowa [The National Messenger]*, no. 4, 20 April 1943. “September people” were the *Sanacja* leaders compromised in September 1939.

<sup>135</sup> *Przyszła Polska [The Future Poland]*, 82.

<sup>136</sup> *Poland After the War*, 34–35.

<sup>137</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, 27 April 1944.

<sup>138</sup> *Poland After the War*, 38.

presenting a drafted bill to the Senate, although the latter would not be obligated to accept it.<sup>139</sup>

The executive branch would include the Head of State and the government (cabinet). According to the national radical plans the Prime Minister would be replaced by a Chancellor as the head of the government and the Office of the Council of Ministers would be renamed as the Chancellor's Office (This was a tribute to Polish political traditions, since the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also had such offices).<sup>140</sup> The Head of State was to be known as the "Piast." There were varying preferences as to the best method of filling this post: Some proposed that the Piast be elected by the people, while others suggested that the joint chambers of the Senate and the *Sejm* should vote on the issue. The office of the Piast would be held for life. All of this demonstrates, in a quite transparent way, how the planned system of government intertwined the Western idea of corporatism with traditional Polish institutions and a symbolic nomenclature rooted in Poland's history. As a result a modernized office of a kind of royal dictator, limited by the institutions of state and especially the Senate and the judiciary, was to come into existence.<sup>141</sup>

The Piast was to be the highest moral authority in the state endowed with the trust of the nation. His role was to mediate any conflicts between the institutions of state and coordinate their work. He was to preside over the Senate sessions dedicated to foreign policy questions. The head of the cabinet (Chancellor), the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the commander-in-chief of the army would also have the right to attend. The Piast would also have many special powers bestowed upon him that confirmed his superior position. These would include: the right to dissolve the *Sejm* before its term comes to an end; appointing and dismissing the head of the cabinet and the commander-in-chief; making and ratifying international agreements; and putting state officials on trial before the Tribunal of State. He would also have the normal powers characteristic of the office of president: The right to call a session of the *Sejm*; dismiss the lower house; propose new legislation; appoint state officials; grant pardons; and so forth.<sup>142</sup> The powers of the cabinet itself, according to these plans, were to be limited to the implementation of the Senate's plans and handling day-to-day government business. The position of the cabinet would be quite stable however: after passing the budget, the cabinet had to ask the *Sejm* for a vote of confidence, which would allow the government to work for yet another year, until the passing of the next budget, unhindered by the fear of a sudden dismissal.<sup>143</sup>

The judicial branch would play quite a significant role within this political system. It would be also based upon the principle of elitism moderated by the ideas of nineteenth century liberalism. The Endeks constantly emphasized their concern for a fully independent judiciary. "In the judicial sphere we support the complete independence of courts and judges, as the bodies formulating society's sense of legality and as the guardians of legislation, obligations and civil rights."<sup>144</sup> Judges were to serve life terms but they would also be banned from belonging to any political parties. In order to

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<sup>139</sup> *Polska po wojnie [Poland After the War]*, 39; *Trzecie Rozwiązanie [The Third Solution]*, 9, 11; *Piastowy Szlak [The Piast Path]*, 92, 103; *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 5, 27 April 1944.

<sup>140</sup> *Piastowy Szlak [The Piast Path]*, 124–26.

<sup>141</sup> This copied the idea of the prewar ONR—"ABC" activist Juliusz Sas-Wisłocki.

<sup>142</sup> [Stanisław Kasznica], *Piastowy Szlak [The Piast Path]*, 163–64.

<sup>143</sup> *The Third Solution*, 11.

<sup>144</sup> *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, no. 5, 27 April 1944.

increase their prestige it was even proposed to increase the severity of the laws applicable judges. Further, “judges ... must themselves serve as the example of moral purity and civic virtue. We demand that they represent the highest level of moral integrity, that they be compassionate and humane in their approach to the conditions of everyday life they come in contact with, and that they display a high level of national consciousness and a temperance of character.”<sup>145</sup> Judicial self-government, or the judicial boards (*kolegia sędziowski*), would enjoy far-reaching powers. Their aim would be to the maximum protection of the justice system from administrative interference of the state, which could threaten the independence of the judiciary. The judicial boards would also propose candidates for judges to be selected by the Piast. The judicial self-government would have the right to grant all distinctions, awards, medals, nominations, and bonuses.<sup>146</sup> The nationalists also believed that the laws should be simplified and altered to a degree that would make it impossible or difficult to circumvent the law by using loopholes.<sup>147</sup>

### The Administration and Self-Government

The guiding nationalist philosophy of administration boiled down to cutting state bureaucracy as much as possible. Meanwhile, local self-government was to be decentralized and regionalized. In the sphere of administration the nationalists saw the need to maximize efficiency, decrease the number of administrative officials, and ensure the highest professional qualifications of the small body of officials that would remain. Civil, penal, and disciplinary action would be taken against those officials whose actions violated the laws or harmed the citizen.

A great decentralization program was to be launched and a new administrative division of the country was to serve this purpose. The provinces (*województwa*) in existence before the war were to be replaced with eight larger regions (*ziemie*): Pomerania Land (the former Pomeranian Province, East Prussia and Western Pomerania), Wielkopolska Land (the Wielkopolska province and Lubusz Land), Silesia Land (Lower, Upper, Opole, and Cieszyn Silesia and the industrial areas of the old Kraków and Kielce provinces), Mazowsze (Mazovia) Land (the former Congress Kingdom around Warsaw), Małopolska Land (Kraków province), Czerwień Land (Lwów, Tarnopol, Stanisławów and Volhynian provinces), Polesie Land (Polesie and Nowogródek provinces), and Wilno Land (the Wilno province and the incorporated Kowno/Kaunas Lithuania).

Considering regionalism to be beneficial for the nation and the state, the nationalists wished to create a separate, regional *Sejm* in every district to make decisions on local matters within each land. Each district was to also possess a well-developed and powerful self-government on both the provincial and township (*gmina*) level.<sup>148</sup> Local government would be in charge of maintaining law and order, education, health care, social insurance, road maintenance, and the food supply. Territorial, economic, and

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<sup>145</sup> The Budzisz Brothers (Franciszek Kotulecki, Tadeusz Dziedzicki), *Jaką Chcemy Mieć Polskę? [What Kind of a Poland Do We Want?]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka “Szańca,” 1941), 23.

<sup>146</sup> *The Third Solution*, 13.

<sup>147</sup> *Agenda*, 11.

<sup>148</sup> Tadeusz Gluziński, “Służba Cywilna Narodu” [The Nation’s Civil Service], *Zeszyty do historii NSZ [NSZ History Journals]* (Chicago), no. 4 (1967): 135–36.

professional self-governing bodies would be launching pads for the careers of political and economic activists. They were to handle some of the administrative tasks that the central government would delegate to them to economize. At the same time, self-governing bodies were to be monitored by the center to prevent abuses of power.<sup>149</sup>

## The Economy

The economic ideas promoted by the nationalists attempted to reconcile elements of economic liberalism (understood as relative economic freedom) and corporatism with support for private property. This was an eclectic approach and the pluralism of opinions in the underground press suggests a pragmatic approach to economics. In general, however, it seems that liberal solutions were more popular than radically *étatiste* ones.

Private property and private initiative were to be the foundations of the future Poland's economic system and its economic power. The need for real land reform as a means of solving the problem of rural overpopulation and unemployment was stressed alongside with the necessity of modernizing Polish villages as well. Small and medium-sized businesses in the cities were not only to provide many citizens with employment and subsistence, but they were also seen as engines propelling the whole national economy forward. The popularization of private ownership was to repair the defective social structure inherited from the partition era and spur the growth of the Polish middle class.

Let private property grow: let it be strong, adapted to the harsh conditions of our war-impooverished economy, resistant to economic crises, healthy, and vigorous. The slogan of "popularizing property," which carries the issue over into the realm of social problems, ties the hopes for achieving an equitable distribution of wealth to the growth of small and medium-sized property ownership. The class of medium and small property owners is very significant to maintain the economic and social equilibrium which is interfered with by both an excessive concentration of wealth and the proletarianization of society.<sup>150</sup>

The role of the state in this realm was to be limited to creating conditions conducive to the development of private enterprise and providing legal protection. The negative effect that government intervention had on the economy was also duly noted. Some nationalist writers criticized state interventionist policies such as supervision of production, regulation of trade and exchange, excessive taxation which could decrease the profitability of private enterprises, and restrictions on or even curtailment of property rights that would surely follow.<sup>151</sup> This program was a clear sign of a departure from anti-free market inclinations characterizing the nationalist publications of the 1930's that were

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<sup>149</sup> *Poland After the War*, 41–42.

<sup>150</sup> "O co walczymy: Własność fundamentem" [What We Are Fighting For: Private Property as a Foundation], *Walka [Combat]*, no. 11, 16 March 1944.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

so apparent in Adam Doboszyński's writings.<sup>152</sup> During the war the value of the decentralized free market was, in general, greatly appreciated (the so-called "black market," based on large numbers of economically active individuals, saved the Poles from starvation) and this caused an influential section of the nationalist movement to prefer more or less "liberal" solutions as opposed to the then fashionable state interventionist economic experiments.

This does not however mean that all the nationalist groups and factions accepted this viewpoint completely. A lively discussion was taking place on the pages of the nationalist underground press, radical and moderate opinions clashed and the realm of economics was no exception. Liberal economic ideas would most often appear in the most influential and intellectual of Endek publications. This suggests that at least a part of the Endek elite seriously considered such economic solutions. But alongside the nationalist economic liberals there also existed the nationalist radical statist who did accept private property (limited by the needs of "national economics") but also called for the confiscation of large industries and nursed a negative attitude towards foreign capital.<sup>153</sup> There were also statements praising corporatism as a systemic preference and calling for its extension to the realm of economics. Distinctions were drawn between Italy's Fascist corporatism, which was rejected, and authoritarian Portugal's Catholic corporatism, which was accepted.<sup>154</sup> Some national radicals even supported a kind of autarky. Such statements could be found in the press publications of the "Crew" ("Załoga") group, a small workers' faction tied to the national radical "Rampart" Group. However, the national radical worker activists disregarded economic theory, and concentrated simply on proclaiming the primacy of labor over capital. It is difficult to ascertain how seriously they treated their anti-liberal and populist slogans since they never went beyond generalizations. This was, partly, an attempt to outbid leftist groups, in particular the Communists, whom the nationalists considered to be their greatest opponents among the workers, in the field of social radicalism. Even the activists of the "Crew" Group however shied away from a planned economy totally controlled by the state and emphasized the need for free competition, universal insurance and easier credit for entrepreneurs.<sup>155</sup>

## Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of Polish nationalists was defined by the necessity of providing long-term protection for Poland against the threats posed by German and Soviet

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<sup>152</sup> On Doboszyński's economic ideas see his works: *Gospodarka Narodowa [The National Economy]* (Warsaw, 1936; Warsaw: Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu, 1983); *Ekonomia miłosierdzia [The Economics of Mercy]* (Warsaw: "Pro Log," 1993); *Studia polityczne [Political Studies]* (Munich: No publisher, 1947). See also Tadeusz Włudyka, "Trzecia droga" w myśli gospodarczej II Rzeczypospolitej: *Koncepcje Adama Doboszyńskiego a program obozu narodowego [The Third Way in the Economic Thinking of the Second Republic: Adam Doboszyński's Conception and the National Camp's Program]* (Kraków: Universitas, 1994).

<sup>153</sup> "Reforma rolna na wspan" [Land Reform Upside-Down], *Walka (Combat)*, no. 4, 1 July 1945.

<sup>154</sup> "Zagadnienia korporacjonizmu" [The Question of Corporatism], *Państwo Narodowe [The Nation State]*, 23 May 1942.

<sup>155</sup> See "Nacjonalizacja podstawowego przemysłu" [The Nationalization of Basic Industries], *Załoga [Crew]*, 15 June 1943; "W służbie zysku" [In the Service of Profits], *Załoga*, no. 1 (14), 1 January 1943.

(Russian) imperialisms. Within the framework dictated by such threats, the Endeks considered various forms of federations, confederations, and unions with their nation's smaller neighbors. They sought support for such solutions among the Western allies: Britain and France.

The concept of strategic, political, and military international integration in Central Europe developed by the Polish nationalist circles was an example of far-sighted geopolitical thinking. The situation which had existed in Central Europe before the war, i.e. a large number of small, weak and often conflicted states, facilitated German and Russian political penetration and military expansion. Therefore the Polish nationalists proposed a military and political bloc of confederated Central European states to remedy the threat and enhance the collective security of those states. During the Second World War all the currents within the nationalist camp drafted such plans. Leading nationalist intellectual Karol Stożanowski was the first to publish his version. The National Party (SN) and the ONR (which published the plan in the "Rampart") followed suit. In general, the Endeks argued that the post-Versailles order in Central Europe was artificial and temporary and it failed to satisfy the aspirations of the nations inhabiting that part of Europe. A tendency towards the creation of smaller states, their political and economic weakness, and the antagonisms dividing the nations comprising the *Intermarium* (*Międzymorze*)<sup>156</sup> region made them easy prey for political and military expansion on the part of Germany and Soviet Russia.

Having observed how, at the beginning of the Second World War, the Third Reich and the USSR divided the *Międzymorze* into spheres of influence, Karol Stożanowski hoped that, with the defeat of both imperialist powers, the nations comprising the region would abandon particularisms and would strive towards closer cooperation to consolidate their independence on the basis of an alliance with Poland. The countries that were to be included in this mutual security system were, first of all: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia, Slovakia, Lusatian Serbia, and, perhaps, also Czechia and Hungary.<sup>157</sup> Afterwards Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania were to be invited to join the alliance. According to Stożanowski, the resultant Western Slavic State was to have the character of a confederation functioning under Polish leadership but also guaranteeing the sovereignty of all the states included within it. The author emphasized that he did not intend to force political domination upon any nation within this alliance system. The Polish Commonwealth, as the strongest member nation, was to be only "the first among equals." All the parties were to agree to limit their sovereignty in matters concerning the interests and security of the whole region. They would conduct a common foreign, economic, and defense policy; they would also coordinate the maintenance of an integrated command system and close cooperation in the matters of training and equipping the various national armies. Stożanowski further saw the postwar political climate as conducive to the implementation of the program of the Western Slavic State. Its creation would, according to Stożanowski, be in agreement with the policies of the Western Allies: for the French the state would be a desirable ally against Germany, while for Britain it would be a factor in the European

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<sup>156</sup> In Polish *Międzymorze* means "the area between the seas," but in this case it refers to the Central and Eastern European region between the Baltic, Adriatic and Black Seas, comprising Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the Baltic States, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia.

<sup>157</sup> L. Podolski [Karol Stożanowski], *Przyszła Polska [The Future Poland]*.

balance of power. The union could also count on the support of countries directly threatened by Russia, i.e. Japan, China, and the Central Asian states.

The concept promoted by the “Rampart” Group, which would later be adopted by the political wing of the National Armed Forces (NSZ), was essentially similar to Stojanowski’s but was less universalistic and differed from it in some respects. The politicians affiliated with the NSZ believed, for example, that limiting the confederation to only Slavic nations would weaken it. The basis of the planned confederation of Central European states, which was called the “Union,” was to be a Polish-Hungarian alliance bolstered by a common frontier between the two countries. As Poland’s strategic partner Hungary was to receive some of the lands lost as a result of the First World War, especially Transylvania, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, and a part of Slovakia. The concept of the “Union” called for the creation of three separate systems of alliances. The Polish State would be at the heart of the whole system as a member of all three alliance networks. The northern part of this system would include Poland and the Scandinavian states with the goals of safeguarding the security of the Baltic Sea area and guaranteeing the independence of Latvia and Estonia (Lithuania, considered to be a “hub of German-Russian intrigues,” was to be incorporated into Poland as an autonomous polity).<sup>158</sup> Although Stojanowski considered it to be hostile to the Western Slavic State, the national radicals believed that Turkey would form the southernmost tip of the southern alliance system as Poland’s ally. In fact, Turkey was to play the role of a buckle which would clasp the whole union together in the South. “The inclusion of Greece and Turkey in a common political-military bloc, alongside with Hungary and Yugoslavia, will influence the positions of such undecided states as Romania and Bulgaria and will forge a real foundation for security.”<sup>159</sup> The main Central European network was to hinge on the Warsaw-Budapest axis guaranteeing both countries as equal partners. Czechia and Romania would also be included within this alliance system as second rate partners.

The Endek attitude towards the Czechoslovak state was quite laden with criticism and distrust. But the Czech state (i.e. Bohemia and Moravia) itself was to be a key element strengthening the anti-German front. However, according to at least a few Polish nationalists, Czechoslovakia could no longer function as a viable state due to irredentist tendencies and antagonisms among its component nationalities. The best solution would be to detach Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia leaving the rump Czech nation state much smaller but internally stronger. “Life has shown that neither the Ruthenians nor the Slovaks espouse any Czecho-Slovakian patriotism. But leaving Carpathian Ruthenia as part of Czechoslovakia, given the Ukrainiophile, Russophile and Communist inclinations of the Czech political spheres, would turn this small and poor region into a dangerous powder keg.”<sup>160</sup>

The Polish nationalists pointed out the pro-Russian and pro-Communist sympathies of the Czechs and the internal weakness of their state, attributing some it to its pre-war liberal democratic system. However, Czechia could be an invaluable ally for Poland if it could strengthen itself internally and cleanse itself of foreign influences: “an independent Czech state, confederated with us, liberated from Bolshevik influences and

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<sup>158</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 11 (101), 21 August 1943.

<sup>159</sup> *Stronnictwa Polityczne [Political Parties]*, AAN [Archives of New Documents, Warsaw], no. 202/III-84, p. 21. See also *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 14 (105), 23 October 1943.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

freed from a German minority is indispensable for Poland. Without them our frontier on the Odra and the Lusatian Nissa [sic] would not be secure from the South and the liquidation of Germandom's Silesian wedge would not be so easy."<sup>161</sup> A publicist writing for the *Rampart* evaluated the value of such an alliance in a similar manner: "The Polish-Czech alliance aimed at Germany will allow the states of Northern, Southern, and Central Europe to free themselves from Germany's economic domination and will thus weaken the political role of this aggressor."<sup>162</sup>

The distrust of the Czechs intensified paradoxically following the treaty of postwar confederation between Poland and Czechoslovakia which was signed by Prime Minister General Władysław Sikorski and President Eduard Beneš of Czechoslovakia. The agreement itself was seen as a positive development but the Polish national radicals expressed fears that Czechoslovak political circles, which were hostile to Poland, treated the treaty instrumentally:

The signing of such an agreement came much too easily for it to be natural ... We cannot free ourselves from the impression that the agreement was made in the interests of international circles. By signing this agreement the international circles wished to remove German and Soviet influences from Central Europe. But we are sure this was not done to further our interests but in order to clear the field for their own influences. The gap through which these groups could penetrate the two confederated states to rule them would, undoubtedly, be Czechoslovakia, which has been a base for Free Masonry and the Golden International for a long time.<sup>163</sup>

Eduard Beneš and his policies met with great criticism on the part of the Polish nationalists. They resented his public statements calling for the lenient treatment of the defeated Germany after the war, interpreted as his opposition to cutting Germany down territorially. At the turn of 1943 and 1944 Beneš's policy of increasingly closer relations with the Soviets made him the major opponent of the Central European federation.

Benesz [sic] has now become a semi-official Soviet agent with the goal of helping them take over Europe ... He has thus signed an alliance with the Soviets, which not only voids the union agreements with Poland but is also a blow against Poland's independence. According to Benesz [sic] the Soviets should be the overlords of Eastern and Central Europe and the Czech state an extension of their rule. Thus [František] Palacky's idea has been resurrected by Benesz [sic] but this time Tzarist Pan-Slavism has been replaced by Communist Soviet imperialism.<sup>164</sup>

Although critical of Czechoslovakia, the "Rampart" Group was even harsher towards Romania. The authors of the "Union" idea considered Romanians to be a still underdeveloped nation with corrupt power elites. While for Stojanowski Romania was to

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<sup>161</sup> *Chrobry Szlak [The Path of the Bold]*, no. 5 (20), 1 May 1944.

<sup>162</sup> *Poland After the War*, 131.

<sup>163</sup> *The Crew in Tygodniowe Sprawozdanie Prasowe [The Weekly Press Report]*, no. 3 (43), 25 January 1943; AAN, no. 202/III-80, v. 1, 43.

<sup>164</sup> *Narodowa Agencja Prasowa [The National Press Agency]*, no. 5, 13 June 1944.

be one of the pillars of the union of Slavic nations, the activists of the “Rampart” Group planned to cut Romania down territorially in a significant way and to turn it into a kind of satellite state. Parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia belonging to Romania before the war would be incorporated into Poland, while Hungary would get its historic Transylvania. Romania “will remain an independent state. But that state will be so weakened and threatened by both Russia and Hungary that ... it will turn towards Poland without reservations anyway.”<sup>165</sup>

The *Rampart* made the correct assessment that the success of the “Union” would depend upon extinguishing the conflicts tearing apart the states and nations that were to become its component parts. This is why the main objective of Polish policy in the Balkans “will be a sincere and impartial arbitration between the conflicted Hungarians and Serbs who find themselves in two hostile camps today. Both nations are capable of spilling much blood in defense of honor and their Fatherlands, both are needed for the defense of the future order, and both deserve our friendship.”<sup>166</sup> Poland was to also mediate frontier disputes between Romania and Hungary.

In hindsight it seems doubtful that Poland, after suffering two occupations, would have had the strength to implement any of these ambitious designs. The activists of the “Rampart” Group and Karol Stojanowski hoped that they would succeed on the basis of an alliance with France and Great Britain. The former was supposed to curb German revisionism. As for the British, as was correctly noted, they would, as result of the war, lose their previous global supremacy and would thus have to abandon their policy of a continental balance of power in favor of cooperating to organize some sort of a collective security system in Europe. The Polish nationalists argued that this would force Britain into a position of conflict with both German and Russian interests and thus London would be inclined to support the creation of the “Union” as a potentially valuable ally. Even at the beginning of 1944, despite the victories won by the Soviet armies and Poland’s deteriorating position on the international stage, many Polish nationalists still hoped that, through the intervention of the Western Allies, some kind of a Central European federation could still be implemented and at least a part of the sovereignty of Poland and her neighbors somehow safeguarded.<sup>167</sup> In 1944, and after, no Pole wanted to believe that the Western powers agreed to divide the continent into spheres of influence and to allow the Soviets to dominate Poland. Thus, despite the precariousness of Poland’s position, some still attempted to delude themselves that catastrophe could be somehow avoided. Such faith in Western assistance would push tens of thousands into hopeless insurrectionary activities against the Communists during the subsequent years.

The nationalist camp’s political and social ideas were a reflection of the movement’s intellectual output and the conviction that the country must be conceptually and institutionally prepared for independence. But these projects were unimplementable in postwar conditions. This was not because of the grand scale of those plans but because of the erroneous assumption that the Soviet Union would be so weakened by the Second

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<sup>165</sup> *Szaniec [The Rampart]*, no. 3 (94), 29 January 1943.

<sup>166</sup> *Stronnictwa Polityczne...*, AAN, no. 202/III-84, 21.

<sup>167</sup> In an article entitled “An English Voice in Support of the Western-Slavic State” in issue no. 4 (1944) of *Wielka Polska [Great Poland]*, which quoted Douglas Reed’s article from *The Daily Mai* where the British journalist called for the creation of a union of all Central European states from Greece to Estonia. See AAN, no. 202/III-86, 76.

World War that it simply would not be able to interfere in Poland's affairs or the creation of a new postwar order in Europe. In reality, at the end of the war the Soviet Union was militarily and politically stronger than ever. Even if the Polish nationalists had been able accurately to predict the course and outcome of the global conflict they would not have been able to adjust their political designs accordingly anyway. The victorious Stalin, who forced his will upon others, neither needed any partners nor was he interested in any agreements or compromises. Only subordinates to carry out orders were in demand.

#### 14. Nationalist Publications and the Jews

The Jewish issue, as seen by the nationalists, is sufficiently controversial to warrant separate treatment. Because of the diversity of opinion among the Endeks about the Jews, the Polish nationalist statements on the issue were laden with contradictions. A careful analysis of the nationalist underground press however demonstrates that, in general, the Polish nationalists adopted a dualistic approach vis-à-vis the Jews. Jews were both praised and demonized. However, it must be emphasized that, in contrast with the prewar era, the treatment by the Endek underground press of the so-called "Jewish Question" was rather marginal. The Jews were usually mentioned in connection with various abstract issues tied to Communism ("Judeo-Communism") or liberalism ("Judeo-Masonry"). They also appeared as illustrations of practical examples of conduct of some Jews under the two occupations. Naturally, stereotypes and prejudice implicated both the quality and the character of the message.<sup>168</sup>

As we have mentioned previously, during the Second World War the Polish nationalists were even capable of symbolically including the Jews as part of the Polish nation *en bloc*. This was an exceptional case of accepting the Jews as a whole. Nonetheless, along similar lines, the Endek press also exceptionally praised those Jews who turned out to be Polish patriots and promised to honor them after the war. And, just as before the war, those persons of Jewish descent who were culturally assimilated, Catholic, and involved in Polish affairs, especially within the nationalist movement, were almost automatically accepted as Poles. Moreover, the Endeks described the details of the German persecution and extermination of the Jews. They used terms such as "murder" and "slaughter" and they unequivocally condemned the perpetrators, the Nazis and their collaborators. Moreover, the underground nationalist journalists, printers, and distributors risked their own lives to spread the news about the wholesale extermination of the Jews. That is the good news.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> For more details see Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Współistnienie, Zagłada, komunizm: Żydzi i Polacy, 1918-1955 [Coexistence, Extermination, Communism: Poles and Jews, 1918-1955]* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2000).

<sup>169</sup> The German revisionist historian, Klaus-Peter Friedrich, has completely failed to analyze this phenomenon in a nuanced way. See his "The Murder of Jews by the Nazis As Perceived in the Polish Press, 1942-1947," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 34 (2006): 125-76. This is an abridged version of his doctoral dissertation where Friedrich angrily condemns Polish aspirations to the status of victims of the Second World War and Polish tendencies to present the Germans as collectively responsible for the extermination of the Jews. Friedrich blames "Hitler" and the "Nazis" for this (while at the same time forgetting their nationality). On the other hand, he is quite eager to mention "Polish antisemitism" and lay blame on the entire Polish nation. Poles as a whole are especially guilty of collaboration with the "Nazis." Friedrich is adamant that "No fundamental significance should be accorded the distinction often raised by Poles who wish to differentiate between the 'zoological' racism of Hitler against the Jews and the supposedly

On the other hand, whenever the Endeks abandoned the particularizing approach of reporting or analyzing the hard facts, the nationalist press depicted “the Jew” as an antithesis of “the Pole-Catholic.” The “Jew” functioned as a metaphysical enemy: the Talmud vs. the Bible. The nationalists emphasized that the “Jews” would not allow themselves to be assimilated and thus their postwar emigration to the Jewish state of Israel was necessary.<sup>170</sup>

Often times one can detect much confusion in the approach of the nationalist press to the Jewish population. Reliable information and facts tend to be intermingled with stereotypes. The Endek approach towards the harmless majority of the Jewish population was rather neutral, while hostility defined the Polish nationalist attitudes towards the hostile minority which aligned itself with the Soviets and the local Communists, in particular after 1944.<sup>171</sup> For example, in May 1945, an Endek clandestine sheet reported that 150,000 Jews survived the German occupation. “The majority returned to commerce, in particular as middlemen, and the intelligentsia [returned] back to its profession. *We bear no grudge against them.* But alongside them the kind of Jew that constantly denounces, accuses, and burns with revenge for both real and conceived wrongs also survived [emphasis added].”<sup>172</sup> Reports from the first Soviet occupation of the Eastern Borderlands (1939–1941) also represented a similar mix of facts and stereotypes. The Endeks gladly addressed “Jewish collaboration” but generally failed to note that the collaborators in question were mostly revolutionary youth active right after Stalin’s invasion.<sup>173</sup> In congruence with reality, the nationalists wrote about Jewish participation in Soviet and local Communist guerrilla units, but failed to understand that the phenomenon stemmed from the tragic situation of the Jews, who were being murdered by the Germans, and not from any particular love on the part of the Jews for Communism or Stalin.

There were also harsher and much more one-sided texts between 1939 and 1949 and this applied especially when the Endeks addressed abstractions rather than particularities. Some nationalists could simply not free themselves from prewar anti-Jewish rhetoric. And, thus, they referred to the Soviet system of occupation by proxy after 1944 as the “Jewish-Soviet supra-government.” Stalin’s local Communist plenipotentiaries were dubbed as “Judeo-Communism” or the “Judeo-Bolshevik hydra.”<sup>174</sup>

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‘intellectual’ racism of the National Democrats and broad segments of the Polish right.” Ibid., 172–73. Plainly, he fails to grasp that “Christian-conservative” anti-Jewish animus meant ugly bigotry, while racist anti-Semitism of the German Nazis translated into mass extermination, according to liberal scholar Peter Pulzer. The Endek prejudice against the Jews was of a Christian-conservative type.

<sup>170</sup> Agenda.

<sup>171</sup> See Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War Two* (New York and Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press and East European Monographs, 2002).

<sup>172</sup> *Naród w walce [The Nation in Combat]*, 30 May 1945.

<sup>173</sup> Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Białorusini w zaborze sowieckim: Stosunki polsko-białoruskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej pod okupacją sowiecką 1939–1941 [Poles and Belorussians in the Soviet Occupation Zone: Polish-Belorussian Relations in the Northeastern Provinces of the Second Republic Under the Soviet Occupation]* (Warsaw: Volumen, 2000); Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Żydzi w zaborze sowieckim: Stosunki polsko-żydowskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II RP pod okupacją sowiecką (1939–1941) [Poles and Jews in the Soviet Occupation Zone: Polish-Jewish Relations in the Northeastern Provinces of the Second Republic Under the Soviet Occupation]* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2001).

<sup>174</sup> *Mazowiecki Biuletyn Informacyjny [Mazovia Information Bulletin]*, (April 1948).

However, the nationalist press also informed its readers, in congruence with the facts, of the shameful role played by “Polish traitors.”<sup>175</sup> For example, there were scathing descriptions of ethnic Poles collaborating with the Soviets in Wilno and Lwów at the beginning of the war.<sup>176</sup> After 1944, according to these publications, “a handful of traitors [*Targowiczanie*] attempt to employ all possible means to use Polish hands to liquidate us an independent Nation.” The secret press further condemned the “puppet government led by a group of traitors.”<sup>177</sup> The nationalists also deplored the fact that “brothers hurt brothers and Poles hurt Poles.”<sup>178</sup> Such examples demonstrate plainly that underground nationalist authors retained a certain level of moderation and that in their discourse the ubiquitous “Jew” did not play the role of an omnipresent Satan guilty of all that is evil.

Significantly, if gradually, the Endeks realized that the time for self-reflection and reevaluation, undoubtedly caused by the mass murder of the Jews, arrived. The nationalist elites openly admitted that their anti-Jewishness was a serious problem. An underground author described the various problems Poland was experiencing on the international arena, which “we liked to attribute, not totally incorrectly ... to hostile Jewish influences but, objectively speaking, many of the causes of such a state of affairs implicated us as well ... Thus, I believe that it is in our national interest to rid ourselves of the label of an anti-Semitic nation in front of the whole World.”<sup>179</sup>

From this hodge-podge of emotions, impressions, thoughts, and demands regarding the Jewish community one can discern the following sentiments. The nationalists considered to be Poles those persons of Jewish descent who voluntarily chose Polishness and were active patriots, especially within the *Endecja* movement. But they also believed that there is no room in Poland for those who resist complete assimilation. This was applicable mostly to the Jews, who rejected Polonization and held on to their distinct nationality and religion, but it also applied to Germans and Ukrainians, who also did not wish to abandon their own nationalisms.

## Part II: The Technical Aspects of Underground Work

### 1. The Journalists

The job of a journalist on editorial board of an underground periodical differed greatly from similar work during peacetime. The most fundamental demand was to maintain one’s cover. Thus, the selection of writers and journalists was based on personal connections allowing those initiating the new editor to feel secure about the secrecy of the operation. Professionalism and journalistic talent were issues of secondary

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<sup>175</sup> *Głos z podziemia [Voice From the Underground]*, 21 December 1947.

<sup>176</sup> *Walka [Combat]*, 13 September 1940; *Walka – Nakład dla okupacji sowieckiej [Combat: Soviet Occupation Zone Edition]*, 1 January 1941.

<sup>177</sup> *Echo Bałtyckie [The Baltic Echo]*, 6 April 1947.

<sup>178</sup> *Narodowiec [The Nationalist]*, no. 1 (19), 1950.

<sup>179</sup> Szczepan Runiewicz, *Awiatyzacja świata [The Aviatization of the World]* (Warsaw, 1943) [actually 1944].

importance. The editors had a lot of professional freedom and, quite often, the situation would arise where writers would pass their articles directly on to the printers without previously consulting with or obtaining the acceptance of the other editors or the political superiors. In some cases it would also not be uncommon for just one editor to prepare the entire issue of a particular periodical. Whereas under the German occupation such practices were usually limited to local newsheets of little political significance, they became the norm among even the most important of the publications of the anti-Communist underground after 1944.

The major task of the journalist was to select and prepare materials to be passed on to the editorial board by using conspiratorial channels. Essentially, most periodicals provided information on the situation at the fronts, events in occupied Poland, and foreign affairs. Information was usually gathered from Polish institutions functioning openly under the occupation (the Main Welfare Council and its representative bodies, the Polish Red Cross facilities, the diocesan and other Church offices, German or German-run bureaucratic entities and eyewitnesses). Occasionally, if reluctantly, the secret press utilized underground intelligence and guerilla unit reports. Foreign radio broadcasts was the most important information source for the underground media. Most information was gathered from the Polish language Allied broadcasts: the BBC, French radio stations, and, later on, the “Voice of America.” To maximize the available information neutral Turkish, Swiss, and Swedish broadcasts were monitored, in addition to Soviet, German, and Italian ones. This job obviously called for the knowledge of foreign languages. Groups of people were organized into teams which prepared and passed on reports providing the writers with raw data.

## 2. The Press and its Agencies

The nationalist underground was in charge of several bodies functioning as types of press agencies: the “Polish Press Information” (a weekly published from 1940–1944), “Central Propaganda” (1942–1944), the “National Information” (1942–1943), the “Internal Bulletin” (1945), and the “*Combat* Information Service” (1944). The activities of the Communist underground and the policies of the Soviet Union were monitored by other agencies: the “Anti-Communist Agency” (1943–1944), the “Anti-Communist Bulletin” (1944), “Let’s Study Russia” (1945), and the Eastern “Frontiersmen’s Internal Bulletin” (1945–1946). The center also prepared separately political and propaganda material earmarked for reprinting in the local press bulletins as well as instructions for grass roots propaganda workers. These included “Action Propaganda” (1943), the “National Press Agency” (1943–1944), and the “National Messenger” (1942–1943).

Much information was also collected from other periodicals, including those published both in the underground and in the official Polish language press. The latter included the legal publications under Nazi and Communist supervision; the press of the independentist Polish Peasant Party and Labor Party which were initially tolerated by Stalin; and the periodicals of accommodationist or collaborationist intellectual circles, such as the *Universal Weekly*, *Today and Tomorrow*<sup>180</sup> and *Warsaw Weekly* (the latter received

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<sup>180</sup> Several prewar nationalist pundits such as Jan Dobraczyński (the wartime editor of *Combat*) and Zygmunt Wasilewski contributed to this periodical. This did not prevent the underground nationalist press from fiercely combating and condemning it. See above.

unofficial financial support from the clandestine leadership of the National Party anyway). The distribution network worked as a two-way pipeline. It provided contacts and lists of readers, on the one hand, and procured articles and polemics, although on a limited scale for conspiratorial reasons, on the other.<sup>181</sup> The editors of the *NSZ I-A Current News* demonstrated their openness and tolerance by printing the following disclaimer: “In this section we are printing the articles we have received from all over the country even if they do not conform with the views of the editorial board.”<sup>182</sup> This demonstrates that the stereotype portraying the Polish nationalists as uniformly hostile to other points of view is false.

The political and military organizations tied to the Polish nationalist camp had a great plethora of periodicals at their disposal during the Second World War. A complete list of all those publications is yet to be compiled; we simply do not know all their titles. We can only estimate that about 200 existed, including a few dozen major periodicals characterized by a high intellectual level and a professional layout. The National Armed Forces (NSZ) and affiliated political groups themselves published over 130 different underground periodicals from 1942 to 1945, but even this figure is incomplete since it does not include those issues which are yet to surface from the archives or private collections. Simply, until 1989, no solid research work had been conducted on the topic.<sup>183</sup>

During the initial stage of the German occupation in 1939, most of the underground parties and organizations limited themselves to publishing usually one simple communiqué-like newsheet on the war effort. At that point most expected an Allied offensive in spring 1940 which would end the war. This widespread optimism hindered the development of the underground, including its secret press. The surrender of France, in June of 1940, pushed the possibility of victory far into the future and changed everyone’s attitudes. The subsequent German victories in 1941 greatly increased the meaning of the secret press in the life of Polish society as an important source of information and a means of countering Nazi propaganda. The number of publications greatly increased and their quality, both in terms of the external form and the contents, also improved.<sup>184</sup> Like other clandestine parties and groups, the Polish nationalist underground press involved itself in purely political polemics and expanded the educational scope of its ideological publications. The leadership of the SN, monitoring the political struggle within the independentist underground, issued circulars and orders to magnify propaganda work of its subordinate structures. The Endeks gladly entered the joust of ideological competition with their political rivals. This attitude is reflected in the instruction of 1942 regarding the aims of propaganda of the SN/NOW:

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<sup>181</sup> Stanisława Lewandowska, *Prasa okupowanej Warszawy 1939–1945 [The Press of Occupied Warsaw, 1939–1945]* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2000), 158.

<sup>182</sup> See also *Wiadomości Bieżące NSZ I-B [The NSZ I-B Current News]*, no. 22, 6 June 1943 – an original copy is in Wojciech J. Muszyński’s collection.

<sup>183</sup> Wojciech J. Muszyński, *W Walce o Wielką Polskę: Propaganda zaplecza politycznego Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych 1939–1945 [Fighting For Great Poland: The Propaganda of the NSZ Political Section, 1939–1945]* (Warsaw and Biała Podlaska: Rekonkwista, 2000).

<sup>184</sup> “Prasa Polska w okresie wojny” [The Polish Press During the War] (1 XI 1941), AAN, no. 202/III, v. 93, 11–14.

We serve the Great, Nationalist and Catholic Poland. We are fighting for her independence and greatness not only in the material and physical sense. In the spiritual realm we must conduct an even greater and more intensive struggle for these values. We must win the war for the soul and mind of the new Pole who would be worthy of calling himself a citizen of the Great Catholic Poland. For this struggle we must possess well organized and trained units of the most modern weapon of the twentieth century, i.e. propaganda.<sup>185</sup>

The development of the secret press was an important factor which directly influenced the growth and expansion of underground organizations as practically the only means of propaganda available to the independentist camp. The clandestine press attracted dynamic activists; reading and distributing created a sense of psychological unity and drew volunteers into the underground struggle. Merely the very fact of having access to clandestine publications and reading them was a serious breach of the occupation laws and was punishable by execution, jail, or deportation to a concentration camp under the Nazis and the Communists. The appearance of the underground press in a certain area was usually a prelude to the establishment of an organizational network based on the recipients of the underground publications.

Early 1944 was the apogee of the development of the underground press. The underground publications began to print more articles on politics, poetry, history, technology, social issues, medicine, law and education at this time. During the last stage of the German occupation (1943–1944), the nationalist underground possessed a wide variety of titles which can be classified according to the place of publication, focus, and style depending on the target audience. These publications could be categorized as follows:

- 1) Publications dealing with issues of theories and political programs such as the main periodicals published by the political and military organizations associated with the nationalist camp: *Combat* (1940–1944), *Rampart* (1939–1945), the *Warsaw Daily* which later changed its title to the *Warsaw National Voice* (1942–1945), *The National State* (1941–1943), *Great Poland* (1942–1944), *The Nation and the Army* (1941–1943), and *The National Armed Forces* (1943).
- 2) News agencies, as listed above.
- 3) Informational and political newsheets: *The Polish Word* (1943–1946), *On the Rampart* (1944), and *Current News from Poland and the Whole World* (1940–1944).
- 4) Professional periodicals divided into the following categories:
  - Military: *The Soldier of Great Poland*, a supplement to *Combat* (1943–1944);
  - Legal: *The Legal Bulletin* (1943) and *Polish Legal Thought* (1944);
  - Anti-Communist: *Agency A* (1943–1944);
  - Literary and artistic: *National Issues* (1943–1944) and *Goofball* (1943–1946);
  - Academic and scholarly: *Technology in the National Economy* (1942–1944).

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<sup>185</sup> Quoted in Krzysztof Kaczmarek, *Podziemie narodowe na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1944 [The National Underground in the Rzeszów Region, 1939–1944]* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2003), 201.

- 5) Local papers and periodicals published by the military (rather than political) organizations at the grassroots, township, county, or district level formed the greatest body of publications – their number easily exceeded one hundred.<sup>186</sup>
- 6) Periodicals for specific groups: *Young Eagles, Work and Combat* (1942–1944), and *I am a Pole* (1945) for the youth, as well as *Young Poland* (1943–1944, resumed after 1946) and *All Pole (Wszechpolak)* (1943–1944, resumed 1945–1946); *Crew* (1941–1944) for the workers; *The Pole* (1940–1944) and *The Homestead* (1940–1943) for the peasants; *Lux Mundi* (1943–1944) for the clergy; and *The Polish Merchant* (1944) for entrepreneurs.
- 7) So-called “wild” periodicals published spontaneously by individual members of the nationalist underground as private initiatives.

### 3. Distribution

Under the Nazi occupation the Polish nationalist underground publications were published everywhere with the exception of Volhynia, Polesie, and the northeastern regions of Wilno-Land where separate Endek organizations virtually did not exist. They reached there only very infrequently. Areas without any local Polish press (Pomerania and Silesia) received the central publications via various secret channels. The greatest number of nationalist underground publications appeared in Warsaw and the regions around Kielce, Lublin, Białystok, and Rzeszów (Central Poland).

Distribution was as, or perhaps even more, dangerous than publishing as a result of the omnipresent police control, restrictions on communication, and a curfew for Poles.

During the German occupation distribution was as dangerous as armed operations or sabotage with the only difference being that distributors were unarmed. The printed issues had to be taken from the printers, transported to the main distribution point from where they would be distributed to the provinces, and shipped out of Warsaw. Teams of distributors were composed of not only boys but also girls and older ladies who were less likely to be searched. Contact and distribution points were usually housed by people committed to the cause who would use various places, even dumpsters, as temporary storage for packages.<sup>187</sup>

Hundreds of people were involved in the workings of the distribution network and, at present, it is impossible to establish most of their names. People who did not arouse any suspicions on the part of the occupying enemy, and thus less likely to be searched, were usually chosen for this line of work. Young girls and elderly women can boast of great accomplishments in this field. They were joined by persons with “solid papers,” i.e. real or forged *Reichsdeutsch* or *Volksdeutsch* documents, employed by institutions crucial for the German war effort, or, for one reason or another, holding passes allowing them to ignore the dusk-to-dawn curfew.

The distribution of underground publications could be divided into two categories: local (direct) and inter-regional. Direct distribution was limited to smuggling

<sup>186</sup> For more details on the nationalist underground periodicals see Wojciech Muszyński, *W Walce o Wielką Polskę*; Mirosław Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego*.

<sup>187</sup> Tomasz Wolfram, “Zakopać broń” [Burying the Weapons], *Karta* (Warsaw), no. 7 (1989): 98.

literature from the printing shop to the distribution point. Initially, the printers themselves would smuggle the periodicals from their shops to the distribution points but, for security reasons, this was abandoned in favor of separating the printing and smuggling and allowing the latter to be done by teams of runners.<sup>188</sup>

Inter-regional distribution was more complex. The periodicals were divided up at the sorting points and then shipped, in small packages, to the various distribution points. The smugglers would then bring the literature to the various organizations and cells. Some of the major flagship periodicals would, in turn, be sent to the inter-regional distribution points. Sending newspapers and other publications to the provinces and other locations (Kielce, Kraków, Poznań, Lwów, Wilno) was always very risky and kept the organizers uneasy. Railroads were usually the most common means of transporting the illegal literature and railway men belonging to the organization were the ones most often employed. Sometimes couriers riding the trains as simple passengers would also take on this challenge. Stanisław Bochosiewicz (alias “Kos”), who participated in such smuggling and transport operations and shipped the *Combat* from Warsaw to Lwów, would later recall that “in those years, when the Germans searched all baggage looking for [black market] food, my activities were crazy.”<sup>189</sup> The mail network was also used for distribution. Sending a package containing literature to a fictitious address of some German company or institution offered a real chance of avoiding search. When reaching its destination, the package would be intercepted by Polish postal employees working for the underground. The Inspectorate of the Western Provinces, functioning as part of the NSZ, had a good distribution network at its disposal which ensured that the *Rampart* and *On the Western Rampart* would reach not only Pomerania and Silesia but also places deep within the Reich where the readership consisted of Polish slave laborers and POWs.

The distribution of literature far away from the main conspiratorial centers tended to be irregular and plagued with difficulties. Constant shortages of periodicals and numerous complaints from various underground bodies usually led to the grassroots publishing of a variety of local papers to satisfy partly the demand for the news.<sup>190</sup>

The efforts and sacrifices of the smugglers brought significant advantages for the underground under the German occupation. Its hugely successful distribution network greatly facilitated the dynamic growth of the “Rampart” Group and the Lizard Union (ZJ). According to a 1942 report of the Government-in-Exile’s Home Plenipotentiary (*Delegatura*),

There is no doubt that the “Rampart” Group is expanding. Their press is circulating widely and reaches all the regions of the General Government and the annexed lands. Their activities in the provinces have been noticeably intensified.

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<sup>188</sup> Zygmunt Goraj, “Relacja z pracy w Propagandzie NSZ” [Account of the Work in the NSZ Propaganda Section]; a copy of this manuscript is in W. Muszyński’s collection.

<sup>189</sup> Jerzy Węgiński, *Lwowska konspiracja i narodowa i katolicka 1939–1946* [*The Lwów National and Catholic Underground, 1939–1946*] (Kraków: Platan, 1994), 136.

<sup>190</sup> Local “mutations” of the various central papers were the outcome of these conditions. The *Combat* had its Lwów (1940–1941, 1941–1942), Kraków (1942–1944) and Białystok region (1943–1944) editions; a Lwów-based *Frontier Rampart* (1943) was also published in addition to independent publications, such as *Szczerbiec* which was published in the Rzeszów region. See Krzysztof Kaczmarek, *Podziemie narodowe na Rzeszowszczyźnie*, op. cit., 203–207; Aniela Małanowska, *Z dziejów walk z okupantami w powiecie zambrowskim w latach 1939–1945* [*From the History of Fighting the Occupying Powers in Zabrze County During the Years 1939–1945*] (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza “Rytm,” 2003), 65–66.

Recently the publication of a paper for workers has begun. It is titled the *Crew*. They have significant support among the workers of Łódź, Kielce, and Silesia.<sup>191</sup>

The significance of this development is striking because before the war the ONR “ABC” had not possessed any structures or influence in the areas mentioned in the report. The “significant support” described by the report meant that underground organizations identifying themselves with the ideological and political aims of the “Rampart” Group sprung up throughout those areas. Their influence must have been sufficiently significant to arouse concern among the political rivals from the *Delegatura*.

#### 4. The Readers

The local commanders often reported to their superiors about the reasons for unpopularity of the central press. The local nationalists failed to take interest in problems apparently important in Warsaw but totally abstract and incomprehensible for the countryside. Further, potential readers were put off by the complicated and hermetic language used by those urban publications. The grassroots dissatisfaction affected and complicated press distribution. The NSZ county commander of Bielsk Podlaski, Roman Jastrzębski (“Ślepowron”) reported to his superiors in Warsaw that

the publications we have received are not achieving the desired propaganda effect. The Rampart is a great periodical but it is meant for the intelligentsia [underlined in the original]. Besides, even the local intelligentsia does not always understand the *Rampart*. It does not comprehend its internal political debates and is confused by the meandering tactical moves of the various nationalist groups. The disclosed divisions create suspicions and a lack of faith in the political values of the nationalist groups. The local community has not easily accepted the eclipse of the National Party and is not well aware of the objectives of the National Camp. Popularizing the political stance of the Camp more often is a necessity. We have to persuade tactfully and carefully both our supporters and opponents ... by rallying both around the slogans of the National Camp. We have to emphasize the necessity for national unification solely and exclusively within the National Camp. The *Rampart* does not always embrace these principles. Instead, it chops away [at its opponents] with might and audacity. Distribution of the *Rampart* in greater quantities seems to be a fruitless effort. It would suffice to send several or a dozen or so but at most fifteen (for the local national elite). The *Nation and the Army* is also a great periodical but likewise incomprehensible for the masses at large. Some individual but excellent articles should be widely popularized. Fifteen issues of this periodical will also suffice for this county. The *Homestead*, which is the most appropriate for the needs of our area, has not been reaching us recently, and when we do receive some, it is only several copies. I sincerely and firmly ask that you resume the distribution of at least 80–100 copies of the Homestead. The *Crew* (approximately 25–30 copies) is also in great demand. I would further recommend that you send *Current News* (around 50 copies). Sending the PIP and the PC (3 copies each) on a regular basis is likewise indispensably necessary since they are a great resource to the local propaganda

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<sup>191</sup> AAN, no. 202/II-22, 80.

leadership and make a good impression on the local intelligentsia. They are palpable proof of the spiritual values and organizational effectiveness of the National Camp. *Our Action* [*Nasz Czyn*] is also a very good periodical, but it is a city paper. It completely fails to take the rural reader into account. Even though it reports news with some delays, it is still more willingly read than the *Rampart* for example. The publication of a local paper is simply imperative. It is difficult to say whether the County Command will be able to take on this challenge but, with the approval of the District Command, it will undoubtedly wish to undertake it. It would be advisable to intensify propaganda based on improvised publications which address those political matters that are of the essence. For example, [we should] prepare a detailed and understandable points about our attitude towards the Polish Insurrectionary Union, the Home Army, questions tied to a civilian insurrectionary government, and the National Camp's agrarian program.<sup>192</sup>

The objective of the underground press was also to influence the partisans fighting in the forests by providing them a kind of supplementary ideological training to boost the morale of clandestine troops. In practice, however, this also turned out to be quite complicated. Based on available works we know that the NSZ partisan units did not organize ideological training courses but, at most, occasional lectures such as on “the Odra and Nysa border” or “the Communist danger.” But given the simple fact of the soldiers' exhaustion caused by the hardships of day-to-day struggle in the forests these occasional lectures failed to have any significant impact on the level of ideological awareness within the ranks of the NSZ.<sup>193</sup> It was not political or ideological issues that influenced the attitudes of simple soldiers, who were mostly poorly educated young men coming from rural areas, but ordinary patriotism, the desire to fight the enemy, and avenge the crimes perpetrated upon the Fatherland (and often against them and their families as well) by the Germans, Soviets, and Ukrainians. Contrary to the aims of the headquarters in Warsaw and the hopes of the “Rampart” Group and National Party activists, the NSZ did not become a political army or the military wing of the nationalist Right. The central nationalist leadership was also unsuccessful in controlling the flow of publications to the local organizations, which received various papers, including those not affiliated with the NSZ, such as the AK's *Information Bulletin*.

## 5. The Collapse of the Warsaw Rising and the Second Occupation

The collapse of the Warsaw Rising (October 1944) and the occupation of Poland by the Red Army (January 1944-March 1945) had a critical impact on the Polish underground press. Both developments were quite instrumental in paralyzing the

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<sup>192</sup> Quoted in Kazimierz Litwiejko, “Prasa konspiracyjna na Białostocczyźnie (wybrane zagadnienia)” [The Underground Press in the Białystok Region (selected issues)], *Zeszyt Naukowy Muzeum Wojska* [*The Academic Journal of the Museum of the Army*] (Białystok), no. 11 (1998).

<sup>193</sup> The AS NSZ unit commanded by Leonard Zub-Zdanowicz (“The Tooth”) can serve as a good example. See Marek Chodakiewicz, “NSZ i Żydzi: Teoria a praktyka” [The NSZ and the Jews: Theory and Practice], *Prawica Narodowa* [*The National Right*], no. 1 (6), 1995, 65.

propaganda activities of the Polish independentist underground. The catastrophe which befell Warsaw, the main center of the underground conspiratorial network, created a situation in which all the papers published there, including all the central periodicals, ceased to exist. The editors were dispersed throughout the area, the printing shops were destroyed and the established communications and distribution network throughout the whole country was disrupted as a result of the casualties sustained. According to the underground *Warsaw National Voice* of January 1945,

The underground press was destroyed along with Warsaw and her underground organization. Out of the several dozen periodical publications, of which a dozen or so represented a high level and completely solved the problem of keeping society informed, only memories remain. Society has suddenly been deprived of reliable information sources. ... We are presently witnessing how the underground press is slowly resuming its activities in difficult conditions. Unfortunately, a return to the previous excellence is impossible. The resurrected underground press cannot satisfy even a thousandth of the needs which it had satisfied before the uprising, and cannot tackle even a thousandth part of the challenges that always have faced it and which, especially today, in the most important and crucial final stage of the war, it would have to take on, if it existed. In October, November, and December [1944] we got hold of some of the resumed underground periodicals. These are very modest machine duplicated leaflets. We have registered them. As far as the official press in concerned, two runs of the *Polish Commonwealth* (a periodical published by the [clandestine] Government Plenipotentiary [DR]) were printed and dated 20 October and 6 December, i.e. with a lapse of six weeks, which is evidence of difficulties. The former issue was almost completely filled up with communiqués, announcements and orders issued by the military and civilian Competent Authorities<sup>194</sup> regarding the uprising and its collapse. It also contained the complete text of the surrender agreement. The next issue retained the traditional publishing layout. Several issues of the *Country [Kraj]*, a paper published by the Information Department [of the DR], have also appeared (machine duplicated). ... We were also able to get our hands on *The Fatherland* (a publication of an organization bearing the same name), *The Future* (a publication of the Peasant Party), *On the Rampart* and *Marching Forward* (both published by the ONR, which also printed and machine-copied a four-page issue of the *Rampart*<sup>195</sup>) and *The East*. We emphasize that we have listed only those periodicals that were sent to us. Thus, possibly this list may be incomplete.<sup>196</sup>

The conquest of Central Poland by the Soviet Army, the NKVD terror, and massive arrests of Polish underground soldiers, the natural consequences of establishing a

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<sup>194</sup> The Home Army (AK) and the Government-in-Exile's Home Plenipotentiary Office (*Delegatura*).

<sup>195</sup> Two issues of *Rampart* from this period have survived in various collections although their numeration suggests that at least four had been published at the time.

<sup>196</sup> Mirosław Orłowski, "Konspiracyjna prasa Obozu Narodowego z lat 1944–1947" [The Underground Press of the National Camp, 1944–1947], in *Narodowcy: Myśl polityczna i społeczna Obozu Narodowego w Polsce w latach 1944–1947 [The Nationalists: The Political and Social Thinking of the National Camp in Poland During the Years 1944–1947]* (Warsaw-Kraków: PWN, 2001), 189–90.

regime of occupation by proxy in a conquered state, dealt another great blow to the independentist underground, including the Polish nationalists. Numerous police dragnets uncovered a multitude of secret cells causing paralysis in clandestine organizations. Fear of detection caused the underground activists to move incessantly and sever the links with their traditional contacts. In addition, society's exhaustion after six years of German occupation also had a negative impact on the intensity of the activities of the underground. According to Tadeusz Maciński ("Prus"), the head of the National Party's Warsaw district, the morale was low at the time:

Once again we have to start from scratch. It is difficult to start out from scratch. However, it is this activity that, for the past two months, has become the substance of Polish underground life in this country. It is not only underground Warsaw that has to do this but, in many cases, the also whole country, from the time that it has been deprived of Warsaw, which is not only its capital but also its underground headquarters. ... This is a tragic situation. Underground Warsaw had ceased to exist. It has no policies, no army, no propaganda at its disposal, no people, no subordinate bodies, orders, and material resources; thus there is no work and there are no results. We ground to a halt as if on 31 July of this year [1944, i.e., on the even of the Warsaw Rising]. But have we merely come to a halt? Unfortunately worse things happened. Being dispersed in a large area of Central Europe, we no longer have what we had on that crucial day. The fruits of five years of our work, struggle, and sacrifices are in ruins. We are starting all over again.<sup>197</sup>

At the turn of 1944/45 the majority of nationalist underground publications ceased to appear. This inaction lasted for several weeks.<sup>198</sup> In the majority of cases it was impossible to resume publication, and those periodicals that did reappear would eventually fail. The fate of the SN's Warsaw press was a good example of this. In early December 1944, Tadeusz Maciński lobbied successfully to resume publication of small numbers of the machine-duplicated *Warsaw National Voice*. The publication was suspended after several weeks however, because of the entry of Soviet troops and a lack of manpower, financial means, and distribution network.<sup>199</sup> The *Great Poland* weekly was relaunched in December 1944, while the publication of *Combat* in March 1945. After several months however both of these initiatives were suspended once again.<sup>200</sup> The ONR activists were altogether unable to resume the publication of *Rampart* under the new occupation. The youth magazine *Young Poland* reappeared again in mid-1945, as a monthly and continued be published for almost a year, while the *Wszepolak* reappeared in two issues at the turn of 1945/46.

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<sup>197</sup> *Warszawski Głos Narodowy* [*The Warsaw National Voice*], no. 52, 5 December 1944.

<sup>198</sup> Previously such a crisis also befell the publishing activities in areas occupied by the Soviets before August 1944, such as the Lublin region. See Piotr Gawryczyk, *Podziemie polityczno-wojskowe w inspektoracie Lublin w latach 1944-1956* [*The Political and Military Underground in the Lublin Inspectorate, 1944-1956*] (Lublin: Norbertinum, 1998), 79.

<sup>199</sup> Orłowski, *Konspiracyjna prasa Obozu Narodowego*, 188.

<sup>200</sup> Władysław Chojnacki, *Bibliografia polskich publikacji podziemnych wydanych pod rządami komunistycznymi w latach 1939-1941 i 1944-1953* [*A Bibliography of Polish Underground Publications Published Under the Communist Regime During the Years 1939-1941 and 1944-1953*] (Warsaw: LTW, 1996), 79-80.

In most cases the relaunching of a title occurred from scratch. Continuity was exceptional. For example, one of the few periodicals that survived the change of the occupiers and continued uninterrupted was the *Polish Word* weekly published by the Propaganda Department of the Lwów District of the NOW (AK). The editors and printers avoided arrest and continued their activities after July 1944 in conditions even more difficult than the German occupation. The magazine appeared quite often, sometimes even twice a week, and the last, twenty-third issue, is dated August 3, 1946,<sup>201</sup> which means that *Word* was published until the final expulsion of Lwów's Polish population.

Overall, during the postwar period the number of periodicals published by the nationalist underground plummeted. Between 1945 and 1949 an estimated fewer than one hundred titles appeared.<sup>202</sup> This tendency reflected the publishing effort of other underground organizations as well. While about 1,200 titles were published secretly altogether during the German occupation of 1939–1944,<sup>203</sup> only about 450 were put out between 1944 and 1953.<sup>204</sup> The average title lasted less than one year and most failed to appear on a regular basis. There must have been a significant slump in the number and volume of the periodicals printed as well as a lowering of the standards, although this is difficult to measure precisely.<sup>205</sup> This reflected the fact that the underground was exhausted by five years of fighting the Germans and the irreplaceable losses suffered during the first few months of Soviet occupation. The Polish nationalists were also hard pressed for resources and funds. A lack of educated editors began to have a clear impact on the technical aspect of the publications and their quality. There was a shortage of official countrywide publications and their local and regional replacements were substandard. Trade and professional periodicals no longer existed. Yet, youth newsheets and a bulletin for priests still appeared on occasion, but these were mostly grassroots, independent initiatives with little central supervision. The Eastern *Frontiersmen's Internal Bulletin* monthly (1945–1946), a news service dedicated to the issues of Eastern Poland and the Polish population being expelled to Central Poland, was one of the few periodicals that maintained high standards. In general, a preliminary analysis of the postwar underground press allows one to suggest that the scope of the matter discussed by the editors increasingly shrunk and the majority of publications limited themselves to

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<sup>201</sup> HIA, PSC, *Słowo Polskie*, box 62.

<sup>202</sup> Władysław Chojnacki, *Bibliografia*.

<sup>203</sup> See *Centralny Katalog polskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939–1945 [The Central Catalogue of the Polish Underground Press, 1939–1945]*, Leon Dobroszycki, ed., (Warsaw: MON, 1962); Jadwiga Cieślakiewicz, Hanna Falkowska, Andrzej Paczkowski, *Polska prasa konspiracyjna (1939–1945) i Powstania Warszawskiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej [The Polish Underground Press (1939–1945) and the Press of the Warsaw Uprising in the Collections of the National Library]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1984); Władysław Mroczkowski and Halina Nowosad-Łaptiew, *Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1939–1945: Prasa Powstania Warszawskiego 1944. Katalog [The Polish Underground Press, 1939–1945: Publications from the Warsaw Uprising, 1944. A Catalogue]* (Warsaw: Centralne Archiwum KC PZPR, 1979).

<sup>204</sup> Chojnacki, *Bibliografia*.

<sup>205</sup> The example of the *Polish Word* illustrates this best, since in June 1944, the periodical had a circulation of 2,500 copies, which would be reduced to around 1,000 at the end of July. In the case of the *Warsaw National Voice* this contrast was even greater. Before the Warsaw Uprising the circulation per issue fluctuated between 800 and 1,300 copies, while after resuming publication between December 1944 and January 1945, the circulation dropped to a mere 100–300. See Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego*, 122–23, 134–35.

providing solely news and political commentaries. Articles on topics not directly tied to current political events (i.e. literature, culture, legal issues) disappeared from their pages because there was simply no room for them in the increasingly more laconic and limited periodicals. Moreover, unlike under the German occupation, the venue for legal publishing was much more accessible. One could now write in overground professional journals, cultural magazines, and either the overt independentist press or the Communist papers. For tactical reasons, at the outset of the second Soviet occupation (1944-1949), the Communists demonstrated a more liberal attitude toward censorship than during their previous sojourn in Poland (1939-1941).

With the onset of the Soviet occupation in 1944 the secret press lost its distribution network and its previous significance. Periodicals published by the anti-Communist underground were no longer as influential, as a whole, as they had been during the first Soviet occupation and the German occupation. The underground was no longer able to use them as an effective medium to influence society at large. At first, after 1944, it appeared even that underground newsheets were largely superfluous because the initial instinct of the overwhelming majority of the Polish society was an uncompromising rejection of the regime of the occupation by proxy. By and large, the Poles considered it to be a Communist puppet entity thrust upon Poland provisionally by force. The nearly universal conviction that “the London government is our government” was not the result of any propaganda activity on the part of the underground, as the Communists wished to portray it, but a reflection of widespread opposition to Poland being turned into a vassal of Moscow and the loss of the Eastern Borderlands with Lwów and Wilno. While witnessing the Soviet terror against the Polish civilian population, mass arrests, and deportations of members of the underground to the USSR, many became convinced “that something is not right with this liberation.” Under these circumstances the underground press ceased to perform the role of mass media since it simply could no longer handle the matters infrastructurally. Moreover, as opposed to the period of German occupation, the licensed but censored press published by the openly functioning independentist parties, the peasants in particular, was now available. One could also listen to the radio and the role of informing the public of world events was now taken over by Polish-language stations broadcasting from the West. But the fact that the underground press kept appearing did have a moral significance: it was a visible symbol that the struggle and resistance against the Communists was still ongoing and that everything was not yet lost.

After a while, however, the underground publications were able to, if only fleetingly, regain some of their significance. In particular, the clandestine editors mobilized public opinion during the so-called “Popular Referendum” in June 1946. However, it was not the secret press itself but, rather, the underground leaflets which had the greatest impact. In contrast to the period between 1939 and 1944, when periodical titles dominated the underground press, after 1944 leaflets became the most effective and efficient means of reaching the public, including those previously unassociated with the struggle against the occupiers.<sup>206</sup> These leaflets and brochures helped the opposition defeat the Communists but the fact that the latter falsified the referendum results made this a purely moral victory.

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<sup>206</sup> Chojnacki (*Bibliografia*) mentions 2,000 separate leaflets published by various underground organizations and private individuals during the years 1944–1956.

From 1946 the Polish nationalist underground press began to suffer from a permanent lack of editors able to conceptualize intellectually and explicate accessibly the complex reality of the second occupation. Fewer in-depth articles consequently appeared on political and ideological issues. The overall intellectual level of the secret press dropped precipitously; the standards declined continuously. Currents affairs overshadowed long-term analysis. Eventually, the editors of the underground press simply restricted themselves to commenting on the present reality. Yet, failure to influence current events resulted in bitter editorial frustration and hopelessness.

The road we have chosen is an increasingly thorny one and it demands increasing amounts of dedication, a strong will and decisiveness ... Whoever feels weak, whoever feels one won't last until the end, should withdraw into the serenity of one's private life and, as long as one does not cause us damage, one has nothing to fear. We do not intend to pressure or hold people by force.<sup>207</sup>

On the other hand, some editors displayed an excessive and unwarranted optimism by promoting the belief in the impending downfall of Communism and the USSR, various tales about Washington's supposed pressure on Moscow regarding the Polish issue, speculation about the use of the atomic bomb, and a nearing U.S.–Soviet war.<sup>208</sup> According to the common conviction, affecting both the Polish people at large and the underground, the Third World War and Poland's liberation were just around the corner.

Having gathered news from various sources we recommend preparations along the lines of 1939. No one knows what tomorrow or the day after tomorrow will bring, but a stash of bread will not hurt. We are also warning those who belong to any sort of Communist party to leave it, since bad consequences will be forthcoming.<sup>209</sup>

Nineteen forty seven was the last year when the underground press appeared in large quantity and somewhat regularly. The newsheets sporadically published afterward usually fall into the category of ephemeral propaganda leaflets. Each issue was numbered continuously but the news service was scaled down to a minimum and short appeals replaced opinion and commentary. The underground and its field bases and cells experienced powerful blows by the Communist terror apparatus. By 1949 the clandestine net had been torn irreparably; its activities dwindled as the veteran fighters either were killed, arrested, or turned by the secret police. A few lucky cells went dormant. There was a hopeless revival of resistance during the late 1940s when many youth organizations, including some openly invoking the traditions of the nationalist underground, were launched *ad hoc* by high school and university students. The leaflets

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<sup>207</sup> “Głos z podziemia” [Voice From the Underground], 17 August 1947, in *Biuletyny Informacyjne Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego 1947* [The Ministry of Public Security Information Bulletins, 1947], vol. 1 (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1993), 165.

<sup>208</sup> “Wojna jeszcze nie skończona” [The War is Not Over Yet], *Ku zwycięstwu* [Towards Victory], no. 6, 23 March 1946; reprinted in *Głos jedności polskiej* [The Voice of Polish Unity], no. 9, 12 April 1946.

<sup>209</sup> “Dopisek redakcji” [Editor's Note], *Głos o wolność* [The Voice For Freedom], 5 July 1948.

and periodicals published by these groups were the last chapter in the history of independent underground publications in Poland after the Second World War.

The Rzeszów province (*województwo*) became arguably the greatest center of nationalist propaganda after the war. From 1944 to 1947 sixteen nationalist periodicals were published in the Rzeszów area,<sup>210</sup> while only ten appeared in the Warsaw area, seven in the Białystok region, six in Northern Mazovia, and seven in Lwów (1944–1946).<sup>211</sup> In addition, three periodicals were put out in the Lublin region, two in Wilno, four in the Kielce region, three in Kraków, two in the Poznań (Wielkopolska) region, and one in each of Gdańsk, Silesia and Łódź. There were a few dozen more nationalist publications but we do not know exactly where they were published.<sup>212</sup>

## 6. Printing and Copying Shops

The frequency of publishing secret periodicals and the printing methods depended on the possibilities, initiative, and financial resources at the disposal of a given organization. One needed to devote significant funds and overcome great difficulties to publish. The very possession of printing equipment was a great challenge because both the Germans and the Communists kept a very close watch over all such equipment and punished with death or prison anyone using it in an unauthorized way. Another difficulty was to secure a steady supply of paper, ink, and chemicals required for the printing process. Everything had to be purchased and then smuggled to the printing facilities without arousing any suspicions.

During the German occupation the Polish nationalist underground maintained more than a dozen underground printing shops with significant printing capacities. The circulation, which was significant given the conditions of occupied Warsaw, is testimony of this. For example, from 1940 to 1942 it is estimated that 5,000–8,000 copies of the *Rampart* were printed.<sup>213</sup> In mid-1944, a single issue reached up to 15,000 copies.<sup>214</sup> Books, instruction manuals for weapons, military textbooks, brochures, leaflets, and

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<sup>210</sup> Zofia Sokół, “Antykomunistyczna prasa podziemna na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1944–1953” [The Anti-Communist Underground Press in the Rzeszów Region, 1944–1953], *Prace historyczno-archiwalne [Historical-Archival Works]* (Rzeszów), vol. 6 (1998).

<sup>211</sup> Jerzy Węgierski, *Lwowska konspiracja narodowa i katolicka 1939–1946 [The National and Catholic Underground in Lwów, 1939–1946]* (Kraków: Światowy Związek Żołnierzy AK, 1994), 311–17.

<sup>212</sup> This estimate is based on Chojnacki’s *Bibliografia* and the research by the authors in Polish archives, private collections and the Hoover Institution Archives in Stanford, CA. This does not include all the periodicals published by all the small and independent youth organizations from the late 1940’s that invoked the traditions of the national movement.

<sup>213</sup> See “Wykaz prasy społecznej ukazującej się w ciągu roku 1940 w Warszawie” [The Catalogue of Social Press Appearing in Warsaw During 1940] and “Polska prasa w okresie okupacji” [The Polish Press During the Occupation], (An underground report from 1 January 1942) – AAN, no. 202/III-93, 1, 2, 26–29. For comparison, see the same source for the circulation of *Rzeczpospolita Polska [The Polish Commonwealth]*, the paper of the *Delegatura* (7,500 copies), *Biuletyn Informacyjny* (the Propaganda and Information Bureau of the KG ZWZ) (14,000 copies), the official PPS paper *Wolność, równość, niepodległość [Freedom, Equality, Independence]* (7,000 copies), and *Walka [Combat]* (3,000 copies) during 1942.

<sup>214</sup> Zbigniew S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne [The National Armed Forces]* (London: Odnova, 1982), 211; Mirosław Ostromęcki (“Orski”) even claimed that the *Rampart*’s circulation reached 30,000. See Mirosław Ostromęcki, “‘Szaniec’ w powstaniu warszawskim” [The *Rampart* During the Warsaw Uprising], *Szczerbiec (Biuletyn Związku Żołnierzy NSZ)* [Bulletin of the Union of the Soldiers of the NSZ] (Lublin), no. 7 (1995).

posters were also printed. Sometimes printing shops subordinated to the AK or the *Delegatura* were also used, given appropriate connections and a fee.

Various publishing techniques were used. Some periodicals were copied manually while others were copied (a few copies each time) on a typewriter using carbon paper. Such techniques were characteristic of the early occupation period (1939–1940) as well as the wane of the independentist, anti-Communist underground (1947–1949 and later). In practice, such make-shift publications mostly were individual initiative. The great majority of the press, leaflets, and posters published by the underground were duplicated by employing user friendly copiers which did not require any special facilities and were sufficiently small and light to enable them to be quickly packed and moved to a different location – a very important asset for the underground. The most commonly used copier was known as the “hectograph.” This technique was based on attaching the type-written original to a matrix made by dissolving glue and gelatin in glycerin which would then absorb the ink dye. This way an illegible copy was created on the matrix which would then be copied onto sheets of paper by pressing it with a rubber roller with paint. One matrix would usually produce about 80 copies and this method was also used to copy periodicals issued in small quantities. Alcohol copying was another simple printer’s technique. It consisted of transferring the dye from the carbon paper or the hectographed tape of the machine to a chalk paper matrix while typing on a typewriter. A copy was created by running the matrix and an alcohol-soaked sheet of paper in between the rollers of a printing press. This method was much more efficient and one matrix would allow for approximately 200 to 300 copies.

Albumen printing was a much more sophisticated method, although it enabled more copies to be printed and did increase the print quality. Albumen matrices were used and the text which was supposed to be copied would be transferred onto the matrix by a typewriter. Many types of such copying devices existed. Flat copiers known as a “frames” were similar in shape to flat boxes and the top was composed of a plate used to spread the ink. The other part of the box was a pulpit upon which printing paper would be laid out. A frame with a silk gauze stretched out over it was affixed to the pulpit and an albumen matrix was placed under the gauze. The matrix frame would then be pressed to a sheet of paper and a roller used to spread the ink through the matrix template and a printed sheet would thus emerge. A revolving copier was yet another variation and, in this case, the matrix would be stretched out on a revolving cylinder containing the roller for distributing the ink. Printing was done by passing the paper in between the matrix cylinder and the pressure roller.

The aforementioned methods were used to print about 80 percent of all the secret publications during the German occupation. During the postwar period all the underground periodicals were printed only by using simple copiers. In the late 1940s, propaganda was also suffering as a result of the progressing decomposition of the independentist underground which, in turn, resulted in simpler, shoddier quality and less efficient printing techniques. Problems with obtaining even such basics as paper forced the underground to resort to substitution. The NZW’s *Voice From the Underground* (1947–1948) was printed on grey packing paper requisitioned from various stores.<sup>215</sup> The

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<sup>215</sup> Waldemar Brenda, “Okręg ‘Orzeł’ NZW na północnym Mazowszu w latach 1947–1948 i jego kontynuatorzy” [The “Eagle” District of the NZW in Northern Mazovia During the Years 1947–1948 and

*Voice For Freedom* had to be printed on sheets from children's school notebooks.<sup>216</sup> Periodicals and leaflets would often be printed on just one side of official documents allowing them to be then posted on walls and fences. Because of the conspirators' ingenuity simple printing methods could sometimes become an asset in the fight against the Communist terror apparatus or unexpectedly facilitate the editing and distribution process. The *Mazovia Information Bulletin*, the official paper of the Mazovian District of the NZW (1945–1948), would, for example, send out to its cells publication-ready printing matrices instead of actual periodicals. In this way the danger of interception was reduced to a minimum. The periodical could be printed in many places simultaneously which would, on the one hand, mislead the secret police and, on the other, ensure that small numbers of a given periodical would appear throughout the country and thus satisfy the demand much better.<sup>217</sup>

At present we only have fragmentary accounts on the locations and functioning of the underground printing and copying shops at our disposal. Most of the information we do have comes from the Warsaw area. Tomasz Wolfram, a propaganda and intelligence operative working for the “Rampart” Group and the NSZ in Poland's capital during the period 1943–1944, recalls that

The copying facilities were located in a building at 14 Czacki Street, where I resided for many years. I was an administrative employee and thus I had access to all the details of the work performed there. The [Nazi] gendarmerie moved into the office premises once owned by the “Solvay” company occupying the front of the building, and the main gate was turned into a constabulary. On the other hand, one of the apartments in the rear annex belonging to the Belgian consul had been locked up and was now empty. There was a well-hidden secret entrance leading to that apartment and so it served our purposes for the duration of the occupation and, among other things, we would prepare the matrices there using typewriters. The prepared matrices would then be taken to Maria Sobańska's apartment which had a servant's room next to the kitchen. The servant's room was turned into a copying room after properly insulating the floor, walls and ceiling. The copying machine on the table was operated by two handy colleagues, Jurek Jagielski and Janusz Płatowski (both were killed in action during the Warsaw Uprising), to make copies of the monthly bulletin, cut it down to size, put it together and package it.<sup>218</sup>

According to Zygmunt Goraj, another “Rampart” Group and NSZ underground printing volunteer in Warsaw,

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Its Successors], in *Ostatni leśni 1948–1953 [The Last Forest Soldiers, 1948–1953]* (Warsaw: IPN, 2003), 339–41.

<sup>216</sup> Hoover Institution Archives, Polish Subject Collection, box 58.

<sup>217</sup> Jacek Pawłowicz, “Ostatni ‘leśni’ zachodniego Mazowsza: XXIII Okręg Narodowego Zjednoczenia Wojskowego – 11 Grupa Operacyjna Narodowcy Sił Zbrojnych” [The Last Forest Soldiers of Western Mazovia: District XXIII of the National Military Union – the Eleventh Operational Group of the National Armed Forces], in *Ostatni leśni 1948–1953*, 73.

<sup>218</sup> Mirosław Orłowski, *Prasa Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych 1939–1945 [The Underground Press of the National Armed Forces]* (Master's thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 1995), 99.

The first time I began to work for the printing section I was sent there by “Michał” (name unknown). Initially, only the two of us would print the “Polish Press Information” once a week. The first printing shop was located at Stalowa Street (I do not remember the house number) and afterwards, for a short period of time, in a house under construction, and then in a simple wooden house. At this point we moved the printing shop over to 5 Przebieg Street (directly next to the walls of the Ghetto) ... The place was disguised as a shop producing bags which we gave away to the neighbors for free ... At the end of 1943, as a result of being denounced to the Gestapo by one of the female neighbors, we were forced to evacuate and move the printing shop to 14 Czacki Street, apartment no. 25, which belonged to the late Maria Sobańska. ... At all those locations we printed the following: *Polish Press Information* (PIP), *Anti-Communist Agency* (AA), instructions of various kinds (including military ones), and, in 1944, we printed materials for the *Delegatura*.<sup>219</sup>

At the turn of 1943/44, additional facilities of this kind operated in the capital. At least six printing shops were involved since the NSZ and its political affiliates published seventeen periodicals, including two or three papers printed in the same facility. Karol Lipiński (“Śliwiński”) ran one such outpost which probably printed the Warsaw-based *Current News from Poland and the World*:

In early spring of 1944 ... I became the “boss” of one of the facilities in possession of an English “Rotary Cycle” copier. This facility was located on Niecała Street near Wierzbowa Street. It was composed of one room and a hallway which were insulated using a layer of woodchips and secured with sheets of hard plywood that were then covered with wallpaper. Officially, the place was rented by a tailor since the noise made by a sewing machine was similar to that of a copier. There was a small hole in an agreed upon spot through which a small wire was inserted to ring a bell signaling the arrival of an initiated person. We had two pistols and one grenade to defend the facility. Two colleagues assisted me: Capt. Stanisław Łozicki (“Wolski”) and “Marynarz” (name unknown) ... “Jastrzębski” was my boss in “Propaganda.”<sup>220</sup>

In the Warsaw area there were also additional four copying facilities subordinate to the Warsaw District of the National Party (SN)<sup>221</sup> and at least one working for Professor Karol Stojanowski’s NLOW (National Populist Combat Organization), a dissident faction which broke away from the SN.

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<sup>219</sup> Zygmunt Goraj, “Życiorys własnoręczny” [My Curriculum Vitae], manuscript from August 1997, copy in W.J. Muszyński’s collection; Zygmunt Goraj, “Relacja z pracy w propagandzie NSZ” [An Account of My Work in the NSZ Propaganda], manuscript dated 13 November 1997, copy in W.J. Muszyński’s collection.

<sup>220</sup> “Drukarnia na ulicy Niecałej” [The Printing Shop on Niecała Street] (Karol Lipiński’s account dated 10 February 1993), in *NSZ: Dokumenty, relacje, wspomnienia* [NSZ: Documents, Accounts, Memoirs], text selection and edited by Maciej Szymański (Warsaw: Związek Żołnierzy NSZ, 2000).

<sup>221</sup> Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego*, 65–66.

Much less is known about the facilities printing publications for the nationalist underground outside of Warsaw. Thus Regina Łabuda's account of the operation of the Białystok cell printing the NSZ's *Our Action* is especially significant:

Our house had a large basement. The walls were built of brick. There were two entrances: one from the kitchen and the other one from the outside. My father finished them when the war began. The basement would serve as a shelter during bombardments. My father and Edek (Kuczyński) cut out a piece of the wall in the basement and dug a pit there. Albin (Łabęda) then made a wooden box. They then put the box into the pit and hid the copier inside. We then discovered that the box was large enough to also store paper, ink and weapons. The copier would be removed with a board attached to the box when needed for work. After making copies the copier would be put back into the box. The piece of wall that had been removed was also put back and then disguised by a shelf holding vegetables and jars with various preserves. We would add a ladder. This was my father's and "Kmicic's" idea. The first copier on which newsheets were duplicated was quite primitive and had a wooden roller which had to be rolled across the paper. It was very inefficient. It was also used to copy newspapers at the Sawickis' residence on Augustowska Street. How this copier ended up at our house I do not know. All I know is that [someone dropped it off] and it was standing behind the doghouse outside. Afterwards there was a hand-operated metal copier. It had a large drum made of metal wire. Paper had to be inserted by hand while turning a crank as ink was poured in through a tube. Often it would either flood or fail to distribute the ink evenly. It required many repairs and Józef Czesław Grzanko ("Krzyżanowski") would tend to this. A few (two or three) issues were copied using this device at Stach Karkaeka's on Folwarczna Street. Later, it would be moved to Czesław Skrętowski's ("Szczerbicz") place on Jagiellońska Street. It was used there for a long time. Czesław Milewski ("Szczerbicz") would use it most often (according to Skrętowski). The copier was brought to our home in July of 1943. Approximately 1,000–1,300 six-to-eight-page copies would be made using this device. But working on this copier was increasingly more difficult. ... Fortunately, we finally received a new automatic copying machine. This was a luxury. It would feed itself paper automatically and worked very well. This copier made from 2,000 to 2,500 copies. The previous one was taken to the Skrętowskis and buried in the garden. The following people put *Our Action* together: "Kmicic" (Stanisław Kryński) would write the articles and Waław Miłaszewicz ("Wimp") and Marian Szotak ("Grzmot") would help him edit the paper. Edward Smaczny ("Addis") would draw the vignette on the matrix. Lucjana Kornacka ("Czarnowska") would write the text of the matrix. The typewriter was hidden in Kuczyński's basement on Gdańska Street. Stanisław Kakareka ("Malinowski"), Albin Łabęda ("Leski"), Edward Kuczyński ("Grab") and Czesław Milewski ("Szczerbicz") would operate the copier (in teams of two). At our house, Stanisław Kakareka and Albin Łabęda would operate the copier most of the time. For a few months the operation continued without Milewski (who was arrested by the Gestapo). My sister and I put the newspapers together. When we were copying *Our Action* we did have guards of course. Czesław Zieniewicz ("Siwer"), Waław Wolfart ("Sokół"), and Roman Kakareka ("Huragan") had guard duty. The situation was different in practice; the people would switch and some would operate the copier, while others would guard. The papers were copied at night, usually every two

weeks. The number of copies and their content would differ and depend on the needs and the materials gathered. Eight pages was the standard, but some would be ten-page issues. We would even have to work for two nights if there were more pages. We never printed during the day. My father watched over the security of the copying facility. He would check that everything was hidden and if the hiding place was properly secured.

The underground organizations rarely had the financial and infrastructural resources to issue publications printed on typographical machines and possessing such publications was thus very prestigious. During the 1939–1945 period the Polish nationalist underground was able to establish large and professional (under the circumstances) printing shops in larger cities, such as Warsaw, Kraków, Kielce, Łódź, and Częstochowa. The specifics related to the printing process called for much greater preparation and more professional personnel, which did however increase the likelihood of discovery by the enemy. Hence, it was imperative to secure the facility, insulate the rooms containing the machinery, provide a power supply, and ventilate the building in such a way as not to arouse any suspicion. People working at the printing shops had to receive wages high enough to support themselves and their families since the nature of the job precluded any additional employment. The printing presses would operate around the clock and the employees would often have to live in the shops because any ink stains on their clothing or skin could expose them. These people, whose dedication cannot be overestimated, lived and worked under constant stress since they were well aware that the printing shop could be discovered by the Gestapo at any moment, and this would mean certain death for all inside. There were many such incidents.

The work performed by the printers was tedious and time-consuming. Every issue of a periodical had to be typeset before printing. Texts were usually put together manually or by using a monotype. On rare occasions, when specialized equipment was available, texts would be formatted by using a linotype. The texts were formed in verses and formatted into columns which would then be cast into printers' forms. These forms would then be mounted on frames in a printing machine. A piston plate would then, with the help of a lever, press a sheet of paper to a form previously dipped in ink from a dish by specially-mounted rollers. After printing and allowing the copies to dry the periodicals were then cut down to size and prepared for shipping.<sup>222</sup>

## 7. The ONR–ABC Printing Shops

The “Rampart Publishing House” (established in 1940) was one of the better known printing shops in Warsaw. Initially, the outfit was located in a mechanic's shop at 28/32 Przemysłowa Street in the Powiśle area of Warsaw, adjacent to the Vistula River on the western bank. The repair shop was owned by Władysław Chojnacki who employed ten workers. It served to disguise the printing facilities secreted in the basement since March 1940. It published the *Rampart* along with periodicals issued by other underground organizations, such as the *Polish Voice*, *Voice of Warsaw*, *The*

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<sup>222</sup> “Sposób montowania przenośnej prasy drukarskiej” [How To Install a Movable Printing Press], (an underground instruction manual), no location or date of publication, copy in W. Muszyński's collection.

*Lighthouse*, and probably also *Combat*. At times, whenever the volume of orders from the “Rampart” Group increased, the printing shop printed fewer periodicals for other organizations. In addition to papers and leaflets, the “Rampart” Group also published several ideological brochures such as: *The Code of a Pole* (First edition – 1940, second edition – 1941); *Soviet Russia in the Face of the Current War* (1940) by Waław Górnicki (Lech Neyman); *Poland After the War* (1941) by Piotr Straża (Stanisław Kasznica); *The Piast Path* (1941) by the Budzisz Brothers (Franciszek Kotulecki and Tadeusz Dziedzicki); *What Kind of a Poland Do We Want?* (1941); *Peace with Russia, Struggle with the Comintern* (1941, no author); *Rampart of the Bolesławs* (1941) by Lech Neyman; and many others.<sup>223</sup> A workshop producing fake documents, stamps and other papers necessary for everyday conspiratorial activity was also located within the facility.<sup>224</sup> On 17 June 1942, this particular printing shop was raided and shut down by the Gestapo.

During the spring of 1942 the activists of the “Rampart” Group established a second, larger printing facility on Długa Street. It was composed of two sections. A carpentry shop was established in the first floor unit of the left wing of the building, masking the part of the basement directly below it, in which the intertype was located and the columns formatted. The prepared printing forms were then carried through the courtyard into a basement housing printing machines; this basement was located directly under a box manufacturing shop in the right wing of the building. The printing shop functioned for several months until 6 February 1943, when the Germans discovered and liquidated it.<sup>225</sup> Ten men working in the secret facility perished.<sup>226</sup> Zbigniew Unger, the assistant manager, was the only one who managed to survive because of his absence during the raid. The activists of the “Rampart” Group were unable to open yet another printing shop until the outbreak of the Warsaw Rising.

Another “Rampart” Group printing facility existed in Łódź, which was a very difficult area for underground activity at the time. Because the region was incorporated directly into the Reich and the Polish inhabitants were mostly expelled, the rump local Polish community was much more effectively infiltrated by the Nazi secret police than was the case in the General Government. Despite this, the activists of the “Rampart” and the ZJ (Lizard Union) conducted propaganda activities in Łódź and its environs since the beginning of the war. Initially, this was limited to a modest paper called *Radio News* (the title was later changed to *Reveille*, or *Pobudka* in Polish), and 200–300 copies were published using the previously described copying machines. In early 1940 Tadeusz Starczewski (“Infułat”) even began to train printers in the area of Łódź. As a result, the first printed issue of a local periodical called *The Torch* appeared in February 1940; the two distinguishing features were its neat layout and a vignette composed of two colors. The shop’s first hiding spot was in Pabianice (a city near Łódź); it was later relocated to the presbytery of Rev. Dr. Jan Warczak in Nowe Żłotno, in the suburbs of Łódź. The

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<sup>223</sup> Stanisław Suserski, “Biblioteka Szańca” [The Rampart Library], *Szaniec Chrobrego [Chrobry’s Rampart]*, no. 2 (169).

<sup>224</sup> Andrzej Glass, “Jeszcze o drukarniach ‘Szańca’” [More on the Rampart Printing Facilities], *Szaniec Chrobrego [Chrobry’s Rampart]*, no. 19 (186), April 1996.

<sup>225</sup> Some works give the date of 4 February. See, for example, Siemaszko, *Narodowe Sity Zbrojne*, 211.

<sup>226</sup> Andrzej Glass mentions that some of the employees were wounded and arrested, including L. Moczarski, who was executed that very same day at the Pawiak prison, following an interrogation. (*Szaniec Chrobrego [Chrobry’s Rampart]*, no. 19 (April 1996).

circulation of *The Torch* was approximately 2,000–3,000 copies. However, on March 8, 1941, the Gestapo raided the facility and arrested many individuals involved in the printing of this periodical. The Germans confiscated a printing machine and arrested priests from St. Anne's parish and the Majewski and Bryś families. One month later, on April 15, 1941, four people, including printers Tadeusz Starczewski and Henryk Wojtkiewicz, were able to escape from prison and sneak into the General Government. But these arrests did temporarily paralyze the activities of the Łódź ZJ.<sup>227</sup>

At the beginning of 1942, it was possible to resume publication of another periodical, *On the Western Rampart*, in the Łódź area. Mieczysław Dukalski ("Płamka") procured a printing machine, a so-called "Bostonka," while Jerzy Niewiadomski arranged for its shipment to the city. According to one of the editors, Zbigniew Marquart,

The machine was placed in the cemetery in Pabianice, in one of the crypts with a power cord. The next day the machine was already able to print a whole issue of *On the Western Rampart* ... Rev. Lucjan Jaroszka from Pabianice was the editor and writer, while Jasio Mądrzak set and printed the whole issue after performing the necessary corrections.<sup>228</sup>

Printing was usually done at night. Marquart delivered the material necessary for writing the articles as well as the ink and paper. An issue ranged between 4,000 and 5,000 copies. This printing shop functioned until mid-February 1943, when the Gestapo dismantled it and arrested the majority of the printers and editors.<sup>229</sup>

## 8. SN Printing Facilities

The activists of the National Party (SN) also dedicated much effort to developing their own propaganda apparatus. Stanisław Piasecki ("Staszek"), a well-known prewar pundit and publisher, was the first organizer and manager of the National Party's Central Propaganda Section (CWP SN). At the same time Piasecki also held the post of editor-in-chief of the *Combat*, the SN's flagship political and ideological publication. In early 1940 Piasecki also established the first professional underground printing shop, headed by Ryszard Szczęsny. It was located at 10 Okrężna Street, in the Sadyba district of Warsaw. Thus, *Combat* would become one of the leading and most influential underground periodicals already by the summer of 1940; however, the estimated circulation of 20,000 copies cited by some historians appears to be an exaggeration.<sup>230</sup> The Gestapo quickly

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<sup>227</sup> Zygmun W. Janke, "Początki konspiracji w Łodzi i rejonie łódzkim (1939–1941)" [The Beginnings of the Underground in Łódź and the Adjacent Area], *Najnowsze Dzieje Polski, 1939–1945 [The Modern History of Poland, 1939–1945]* (Warsaw), vol. XI, (1967): 109; Bogdan Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy i Narodowe Siły Zbrojne na Pomorzu, 1939-1947: Nieznane karty pomorskiej konspiracji [The Lizard Union and the National Armed Forces in Pomerania, 1939–1947: The Unknown Aspects of the Pomeranian Underground]* (Toruń: Fundacja Archiwum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej, 1997), 93.

<sup>228</sup> Zbigniew Marquart, "Na Zachodnim Szańcu – z historii prasy podziemnej w Pabianicach" [On the Western Rampart: From the History of the Underground Press in Pabianice], *Szaniec Chrobrego [Chrobry's Rampart]*, no. 8 (175).

<sup>229</sup> Bogdan Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy*, op. cit., 94.

<sup>230</sup> Stanisława Lewandowska, *Polska konspiracyjna prasa informacyjno-polityczna 1939–1945 [The Polish Underground Information and Political Press]* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1982), 97. It is interesting that the

noticed the increase in volume of the SN however. In the afternoon hours, on December 4, 1940, the Gestapo surrounded the villa at 10 Okrężna Street. The employees were able to defend themselves for an hour but eventually Szczęsny and three other soldier-printers were killed and two others were arrested and murdered by the Germans in a concentration camp a few months later.<sup>231</sup> Piasecki was also arrested, but, despite torture, he refused to talk. While in his cell in the Pawiak prison, he was able to contact the SN leadership and even smuggle out articles and organizational instructions. He continued to supervise the activities of the SN's Central Propaganda Section for several months from behind the prison walls until he was shot at the Palmiry forest on June 12, 1941.

Meanwhile, following the liquidation of the printing shop on Okrężna Street, mainstream nationalist periodicals had to be printed in other independentist facilities through personal connections. The main SN paper appeared under the interchangeable titles of *War* and *Victory*. However, in May 1941, Jan Bajkowski assumed the leadership of the CWP SN and a new printing facility appeared at this time. This allowed the SN propaganda to reassert itself in the underground. At the end of May 1941 the main SN publication returned to its old title, the *Combat*. However, on November 14, 1941, the CWP would suffer another setback. The Gestapo liquidated yet another printing shop, located on Górczewska Street. Two people were killed on the spot, five were captured, and the CWP director, Edmund Gliński, was arrested several days later. The SN nonetheless continued its propaganda effort in Warsaw. This time *Combat* and other SN periodicals reappeared without any delays because the party had yet another reserve printing facility at its disposal in Pelcowizna (Nowe Bródno) and had access to the printing facilities operated by the ZWZ and the *Delegatura*. Two more printing shops were established in 1942, one at 30 Kozia Street and the other in the basement of the Hotel Saski (Saxon Hotel). These facilities would operate without interruption until the outbreak of the Warsaw Rising.<sup>232</sup>

In 1943 the Warsaw (Capital City) District of the SN (OSSN) likewise established its own printing shops. This was tied to the growing importance of the capital resistance center within the greater nationalist underground and the political ambitions of the Warsaw district leader, Tadeusz Maciński ("Prus"). The first of the OSSN's printing shops was located on Barokowa Street in Warsaw's Old Town, in a basement right below a sheet metal workshop. The second one was secreted at 8 Krasieński Street, in the Żoliborz district, in a covered hole under a stand selling fruit and juice from a supplier. The output of both of those facilities contributed to the publication of the *Warsaw National Daily*, produced weekly on copiers from 1942. As of mid-1943, this OSSN

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*Delegatura's* reports from 1940 and beyond constantly estimated the *Combat's* circulation at 3,000 copies. See the press report from 1940, AAN, no. 202/III-93, p. 1; and the report from 1942, AAN, no. 202/III-93, p. 26.

<sup>231</sup> Stanisław Piasecki, *Prosto z mostu: Wybór publicystyki literackiej [Straight from the Shoulder: A Selection of Literary Works]*, ed. By Maciej Urbanowski (Kraków: Acana, 2003); Pilaciński, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, 223; Rev. Jan Stepień, "Centralny Wydział Propagandy Stronnictwa Narodowego (C.W.P.) w okresie okupacji niemieckiej" [The Central Propaganda Section of the SN During the German Occupation], *Słowo Narodowe [The National Word]* (Warsaw), no. 2 (10) (February 1990): 30; "Bitwa w drukarni 'Walki'" [The Battle For the "Combat" Printing Shop], *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików [Wrocław Catholic Weekly]*, no. 491, 7 December 1980; Marek Zachariasz, "Stanisław Piasecki – po latach" [Stanisław Piasecki After Many Years], *Słowo Narodowe [The National Word]* (Warsaw), no. 7–8 (15–16), July–August 1990, 14–15.

<sup>232</sup> Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego*, 62–64.

publication was put out on printing machines under the title of the *Warsaw National Voice*. Because of the high print quality and its high intellectual standards, this periodical became a serious competitor of the official *Combat*, while, at the same time, enjoying a great deal of autonomy from the central SN leadership. Neither of these printing facilities was ever discovered by the Germans and thus both served the publishing needs of the resistance fighters during the uprising in Warsaw.<sup>233</sup>

After the split within the SN and the NOW caused by the merger of the mainstream SN with the ZWZ, the CWP and all of the periodicals issued by it remained loyal to the SN's mainstream leadership and refused to support the secessionists. The situation varied throughout the country, but, in general, the majority of the press backed unification with the ZWZ to form the Home Army. For the secessionists, who, after uniting with the "Rampart" Group and the Lizard Union (ZJ), established the National Armed Forces (NSZ), the lack of publications was a serious challenge in organizing new political structures. It also weakened them politically. They quickly began to build their own propaganda structures and founded new periodicals and printing and copying facilities. *Great Poland* became the most important official publication of the secessionist SN and NOW. The founding of the clandestine National Publishing House, which was located in the basement of Fukier's old tenement house at 44 Piwna Street near the Old Market in Warsaw, was a breakthrough. Because of this facility's impressive efficiency, the propaganda department of the dissident SN became an influential publishing entity within months.

The National Publishing House began to function at the end of June 1943. It was run by four employees whose real identities remain unknown – their code names were "Józio," "Pudel," "Wiktor," and "Stanisław" – and by Mieczysław Druździał ("Marek"). The latter's accounts provide a good illustration of the workings and appearance of the National Publishing House, the security measures used, and the organization of the work.<sup>234</sup>

The basement was completely rebuilt. The previous entrance was dismantled and a new one built and well camouflaged. The new entrance was situated in the side wall of the printing room behind oak shelves. There were two niches in the wall and both were partitioned off by thick wooden boards. One of those niches helped mask the entrance. For this reason a thin brick wall spanning the whole length of the niche was removed (knocked out) and a special metal frame (wings) designed by "Stefan" was mounted. The frame was equipped with reinforcing bars and filled with bricks. On the exterior these bricks did not differ in appearance from the others. The wing of the frame was sturdy and heavy and thus its mounting was very difficult. The lower wing of the entrance could only be activated by a latch which could only be manually opened from the outside by opening a cleverly hidden lock located in the upper wing. The place where both of those frames were connected together was disguised by a thick oak shelf which would be slid into previously prepared holes. ... By July 1943 we were able to procure the following equipment for the printing shop: along with two basic machines (a basic machine and a linotype), we also had a paper cutter and a correction machine. Other necessary equipment and tools supplemented this. The

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<sup>233</sup> Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego*, 66–69.

<sup>234</sup> Mieczysław Druździał's account is housed in the Central Military Library in Warsaw.

cutter (a so-called guillotine) was an old manual device. ... The correction press was a small but indispensable piece of equipment. It was used to make copies of the various columns to check and correct them. Large shelves with cases and the manual typesetting workshop (located by the wall adjacent to the courtyard) occupied the most room in the underground printing facility. Next to the typesetter's places we set up shelves for holding paper along the building's main wall. It included several shelves on which we placed sheets of paper unpacked from bales. Some of them were usually prepared or cut down to print in the A5 or B3 formats while the rest remained in bundles. Behind the rack and next to the main wall there was a table for organizing and cutting paper and the cutter. Farther down there were two tool cabinets and the correction machine and a plate with a roller to spread the ink onto the paper. Next to the old wall with metal doors, which was hidden by a new wall after some modifications, there stood a "Viktoria" pressure machine powered by an electric motor. Next to it there was a stand for the paint rollers, and on the other side of the machine, next to the dividing wall, there was a cast iron plate meant for assembling the printing forms. This plate was mounted on a sturdy cabinet holding ink, grease, varnishes, gasoline, frames, formats, wedges and other printing utensils necessary for the preparation of forms and printing. Farther off behind the cabinet with the plate there was a linotype. ... The wings masking the entrance were mounted near the linotype keyboard, almost directly opposite the paper rack. Behind the entrance there stood a table with a signal (alarm) board and a large radio receiver. ... There was only one weekly for which we kept fixed dates: *Great Poland*, the official paper of the (secessionist) National Party. We printed 5,000 of this periodical per issue and it would usually contain eight pages (sometimes twelve) in the A5 format (148 mm × 210 mm). I received the materials in the form of typed manuscripts (hand-written texts were rare) on Wednesday morning and the texts would be put together by the evening hours of the same day. Before "Wiktor" received the columns and put the issue together on Thursday morning, they were copied and Stefan corrected them. Meanwhile, I was "transferred" to take down the most current news from the most recent radio broadcasts. All of these efforts had to be completed by 11 o'clock in the morning on Thursday. All the delays also influenced the printing completion time and the "send out" time, i.e. the shipping of the issues to the distribution points. The "send out" time was closely observed and was set for Friday between 10 and 10:30 o'clock and could be extended for only the most important reasons. ... Printing would usually be completed on Thursday and would not be extended past 20:00. The plans for formatting and printing all the other periodicals were adjusted to the timetable for printing *Great Poland*. We also printed two other sixteen-page monthlies<sup>235</sup> whose production cycle was sufficiently long as not to cause us many problems. ... Books, brochures of various length and different conspiratorial publications supplemented the above.<sup>236</sup> These were mostly instructions of various kinds pertaining to technical and combat training and diversions as well as the usage

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<sup>235</sup> These were *The All-Pole* and *Technology in the Nation's Economy*.

<sup>236</sup> Some of the more famous SN program-oriented brochures published by the National Publishing House include: L. Grodecki [Jerzy Pilaciński], *Tragizm śmierci gen Sikorskiego [The Tragedy of Gen. Sikorski's Death]* (1943); *Sprawa Wsi [Rural Issues]* (1943); Andrzej Rawicz [Jan Lilpop], *O co walczą Narodowe Siły Zbrojne [What the National Armed Forces Are Fighting For]* (1943); Szczepan Runiewicz, *Awiatyzacja Świata i jej wpływ na politykę, strategię i gospodarstwo [The Aviatization of the World and its Impact on Political Strategy and the Economy]* (1943/44).

and conservation of weaponry. We also printed various diversionary publications in German, i.e. the so-called *enki*. ... Sometimes we would also receive publications that we could not call brochures because of their length, and because they dealt with historical or future-related topics. One of the works I put together, entitled *The Aviatization of the World*, was one of the few that really stuck out in my memory because of its striking subject matter but also because of its length, 11 sheets (176 pages), which was quite rare in conspiratorial circumstances. There were also special circumstances. Sometimes we would “host” other underground periodicals which, usually because of “incidents” or temporary publishing problems, would be printed by our publishing house. Such occasional services and help provided to other publishers were common practice at the time. From among the many periodicals that passed through our facility, one was issued several times, *Lux Mundi*, the Polish Church’s periodical for the clergy and religious congregations.<sup>237</sup>

Because the printing facility on Piwna Street maintained a good cover, the National Publishing House functioned until the outbreak of the Warsaw Rising.

The small group of NLOW (National Populist Military Organization) activists, with their flagship periodical *Nation State*, also had a printing shop at their disposal in Warsaw. This numerically small and underfunded circle succeeded in compensating for its shortcomings by demonstrating great organizational skills and publishing a great deal. Scarce information available about this group indicates that, in addition to its official paper (which appeared in 1941 duplicated by copying machines, and in printed form from October 1942), it published other periodicals as well. At least four ideological brochures were put out by the NLOW: L. Podolski’s (Prof. Karol Stożanowski, “Błażej”) *The Future Poland as a Nation State* (1940), his *The Western Provinces and the Nation State* (1943), J. Kaliski’s (same author, different pseudonym) *The Western Slavic State* (1942), and Baliński’s (identity unknown) *Corporatism* (circa 1942).<sup>238</sup> After 1942 the group publishing the *Nation State* retained its autonomy as a political affiliate of the National Armed Forces.

## 9. Printing Facilities Subordinate to the NSZ Political Wing

Kielce was another important center for the nationalist underground and, at the end of 1942, a printing facility organized by members of the NSZ and SN began to operate there. Its task was to publish the official paper of the NSZ Kielce District, *The Path of the Bold (Chrobry Szlak)* (Bolesław I Chrobry was the first crowned Polish king who reigned during the early eleventh century and built a strong kingdom; he became a principal symbol of the Endek movement; the word “Chrobry” also means “bold”). Zdzisław Jędrzejkiewicz, one of the printers and writers, described his work as follows:

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<sup>237</sup> The author is mistaken. *Lux Mundi* was not a Church paper; it was a publication of the NSZ pastoral ministry edited by Rev. Dr. Michał Poradowski (“Benedykt”). See Leon Kuśmierczyk, Ludwik Meresta, *Kapelani Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych [The Chaplains of the National Armed Forces]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka „Szczerbca,” 2000), 62.

<sup>238</sup> *The Nation State*, no. 10/11, 30 November 1942.

*The Path of the Bold* was printed in Kielce, in Włodzimierz Kulesza's first floor apartment at 37 Stolarska Street. The facility was set up in quite a clever way. The hallway inside the apartment was shortened and divided by a partitioning wall. One entered the facility housing the printing shop through a room where a bookcase was placed at the entrance. A horizontal shelf (a board) would have to be removed and one would enter the 1.70 by 1.70 meter room through a 60 by 50 cm hole that would be exposed. The vicinity of the railroad tracks and frequent rail traffic muffled the work of the printing machine. The printing facility consisted of a manual press, a so-called Bostonian, a rack with typesets and a paper cutter. ... I would listen to the radio, make notes, and then pass those on to "Klemens". ... The notes would be typeset by "Klemens" and would also come from two other sources. ... I would print the periodical (or more precisely, copy it on a machine) four times in the printing room itself when I covered for "Rafał," who was ill. Publishing A. [Arkady] Fiedler's book, *Squadron 303*, in the first quarter of 1944, was the first great publishing and organizational achievement of the "Path of the Bold" group. ... One thousand numbered copies were published. The book had a 16 by 13 cm format and a light-blue cover bearing the inscription "House Notes". ... In 1944, the editorial board of *Chrobry's Path* also published a series of instruction manuals on the use, technical parameters and conservation of weapons, such as: *The Parabellum 0.8 Pistol*, *Using the Stielhandgranate 24*, *Using the M.G. 13 Dreyse*, and *The Guide to City Fighting*.<sup>239</sup>

In 1944, in addition to *The Path of the Bold*, this particular printing facility also published the *Rely Race* daily (*Sztafeta*), the military instruction periodical *Youth Rely Race*, and NSZ brochures such as *The Duties of a Polish Soldier*.

"The Path of the Bold" printing facility functioned without interruption until the end of the German occupation and during the first months of the new Soviet occupation. This was probably the only such facility utilized by the nationalist underground at this time, although it lasted for only two months under the Soviets. The facility was liquidated on March 10, 1945, by the NKVD and UB (the Polish Communist "Security Agency") during a grand sweep aimed at the independentist underground. Włodzimierz Kulesza ("Rafał") was arrested when the underground printing shop was discovered. The Communists found 14 kilograms of various nationalist newspapers and leaflets in the shop that day.

## Conclusion

Between 1939 and 1944 the journalists, reporters, propagandists, printers, distributors, and, in the end, also the readers – virtually all of them unpaid volunteers -- of the Polish nationalist underground press performed extraordinary, Herculean efforts in the service of Polish freedom, independence, and welfare as well as the Endek cause. The price they paid for this was terrible. We estimate that the majority of those involved in the propaganda war were either killed by the enemy or suffered from various types of persecution ranging from Soviet and German concentration camps to prisons and postwar discrimination and pauperization. Perhaps the most severe punishment meted out by the

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<sup>239</sup> Zygmunt Jędrzejkiewicz's letter to Wojciech Muszyński, 30 July 1997.

Communists for the nationalists' dedication to Poland was to sully their legacy in the minds of most Poles. To begin with, between 1944 and 1989, particular examples of their struggle and dedication were condemned to oblivion by means of censorship and a ban on conducting research on the nationalist movement for all but (regime) "licensed" historians and publicists. Thus, the separate threads represented by memoirs and testimonies given by different nationalists could not be merged with other accounts to form a complete picture of war-time remembrance. Moreover, the Communists conducted a constant, sustained, and virulent hate campaign of slander against the Polish nationalists for half a century. The Communist propaganda employed most foul of calumnies. These included the unrelenting accusations of collaboration with the Nazis, murdering Jews, an anti-Jewish obsession, avoiding combat with the enemy, "reactionary" treason, serving foreign interests, a lack of wider popular support among the Poles, ultra-extremism, obscurantism, intellectual philistinism, and a lack of an intellectual or professional base in general.

As mentioned, research on any of those accusations was forbidden before 1989. Moreover, the Polish intelligentsia became unconsciously imbued with the spirit of these calumnies and Communist propaganda stereotypes continue to dominate among much of Poland's elite. As far as the *Endecja* is concerned, the average representative of the intelligentsia is not interested in any empirical research on the subject. Prejudices suffice because they were shoved into their captive minds by the occupying Soviets, and then reinforced by the Communist "people's regime," initially by coercion and later by patient repetition of lies. The Communist version of the history of the Polish nationalist movement remains still as victorious in Poland as it is in the West. Terror, censorship, and Communist propaganda introduced demonology into the realm which should be reserved for honest scholarship.

Our research indicates that the common stereotypes about Polish nationalists should be thrown to the garbage heap of history. Polish nationalism was defined by its recognition of the primacy of Christianity above the nationalist ideology. This limited its radicalism and ensured a bond with Polish tradition. In the context of other contemporary radical ideologies or extremist parties the Polish nationalist movement and its ideology appear to have been much more moderate.

Our research also indicates that during the Second World War the nationalists also contained and very much toned down their anti-Jewish rhetoric. This was due to the nightmare of the German Nazi extermination of the Jews. Unfortunately, certain anti-Jewish stereotypes also appeared in the nationalist press, mostly in association with the condemnation of Communism or banditry. This question calls for more research and soul-searching on the moral level. The latter is especially required of the modern-day heirs of the nationalist movement.

A review of the nationalist press shows that the *Endecja* was a modern movement greatly interested in Poland's modernization, prosperity, and technological advancement. The economic ideas proposed by the nationalists were influenced by the primacy of private property and corporatist ideas modified, to a certain degree, by liberal economic solutions. Their economic program had a great chance of actually being implemented because the nationalist movement had mass support and a large pool of professional members. One can even claim, without much risk, that until the middle of the twentieth century the Polish intelligentsia, without regard to party affiliation, was under the

influence of the Endek ideology as a system of beliefs espousing the primacy of Polishness above other nationalisms. The intellectual patrons of the nationalist ideal contributed to this greatly since so many of them were gifted and well-known intellectuals, scholars, and men and women of culture and the arts. Most of them were either killed, persecuted, silenced, or banished from Poland by the Nazis and the Communists.

As far as losses are concerned, we estimate that, of all the Polish political groups, the nationalists suffered the greatest casualties during the Second World War its aftermath. This applies to both the leadership of the movement and the members as well.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, the *Endecja* was clearly the most patriotic of all the political movements since it propagated the theory of two enemies, Hitler and Stalin, the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, from the very beginning. The nationalist military record in combating both the German National Socialists and their local collaborators, on the one hand, and the Soviet International Socialists and their native henchmen, on the other, is also praiseworthy.

Perhaps the most important lesson gained from a review of the nationalist underground press concerns the evolutionary character of the movement. The Endeks had their *imponderabilia* but they were not dogmatics. Pragmatism allowed them to modify both their practices and even their ideology.

It would have been expected that had Poland actually won the Second World War (in fact, she was actually treated as if she had been a Nazi satellite), the *Endecja* would have probably taken over the government. The democratic process may have resulted initially in the election of the PSL (Peasant Party), but the peasant movement lacked professionals and intellectuals in its ranks. The PSL ideology was also quite lacking. The class-oriented element binding its ideology and followers together, i.e. populism in a peasant garb, hardly stood much of a chance of galvanizing the whole nation (except as an anti-Communist reaction), modernizing and rebuilding Poland from the rubble, and winning the collective soul of the intelligentsia. Postwar Poland, had it been a free and independent one, would most probably have been rebuilt and organized by the experts, politicians, and ideologues tied to the nationalist movement. Under those circumstances, the *Endecja* would probably have undergone yet another evolution in the liberal-democratic direction but in its parliamentary conservative version.

At present, it is easy to criticize the Polish nationalist movement, especially since many of its current-day followers created the impression of having been frozen in time in the 1930s and 1940s. It is also easy to base the criticism of nationalist history on liberal standards, in particular on the modern penchant for the primacy of the interests of national and other minorities over the interests of the majority, and thus apply modern sensibilities to prewar, wartime, and postwar circumstances. Such an approach is anachronistic and ahistorical however. The *Endecja* has to be researched in the contemporary context of an era of extremism, war, revolution, and terror. And one should keep in mind that extreme circumstances obviously tend to breed extreme behaviors. Only then shall we be able properly to evaluate the phenomenon of Polish nationalism and the Polish nationalist movement. We must remember that is the spirit of the times

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<sup>240</sup> To familiarize oneself with merely one example of the fate of the nationalist elites, see “An Incomplete List of Fraternity Members Actively Involved in the National Camp,” *Glaukopis*, no. 1, (2003): 42–56.

that essentially determines the ideology and actions of various political factions and movements.

Let us draw the following analogy. Vladimir Zeev Zaborinsky's Zionist Revisionists evolved from the prewar New Zionist Organization (NZO) and its youth organization, the Betar, into the wartime Jewish Military Union–National Military Organization (i.e. the JMU–*Irgun Zwei Leumi*), the postwar Hagana and the Stern Group all the way to the Revisionist assumption of power in the State of Israel as the Likud Party. It is worthwhile to examine the prewar pagan nationalism espoused by the NZO, full of admiration for Fascism and militarism, followed by the radicalism of the Zionist Revisionist underground in the face of the Holocaust, and then the extremism – unmatched by any other Jewish faction – demonstrated during Israel's fight for independence and, finally, the Likudniks' behavior in and out of power. Extreme Zionist Revisionism thus evolved towards liberal democracy. It functions quite well within that political system and has abandoned its most radical characteristics despite the fact that Israel is in constant danger and an almost permanent state of war.<sup>241</sup>

One can thus dare to extrapolate that even radical nationalist movements can evolve. Let us compare the Zionist Revisionists to the much less dynamic, much more conservative, traditional, and religious Endeks. The nationalist would also have been subject to the laws of political evolution in a just, free, and democratic Europe. Moreover, this evolution would have been more complete than in the case of the Zionist Revisionists since no serious threat would have existed in postwar Europe and Poland after the defeat of both Nazism and Communism. The Polish nationalist movement would have had a chance to relax its guard and a probable evolution towards a more liberal and moderate direction would have occurred, the first indications of which could already be noticed during the war.

Unfortunately Poland lost the Second World War and, instead of a natural evolution of the Polish nationalists, populists, socialists, democrats, and conservatives, a radical break with tradition occurred as a result of the Soviet occupation via the local Communist proxies. This occupation lasted for half a century and its results are tragic. To begin with, it is very difficult for Poles to communicate with each other because the

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<sup>241</sup> There are very few scholarly works available on the Zionist Revisionists. On the prewar period see Piotr Gontarczyk, "Trumpeldorczyzy – czyli żydowski narodowy radykalizm" [The Trumpeldor Followers or Jewish Radical Nationalism], *Glaukopis*, no. 2/3 (2005): 322–26; on the Betarites under the first Soviet occupation see Piotr Gontarczyk, "Komunistyczny antysemityzm kontra żydowski antykomunizm, 1939–1941" [Communist Antisemitism vs. Jewish Anti-Communism, 1939–1941], *Glaukopis*, no. 2/3 (2005): 327–39; for the German occupation period see Rachel J.K. Grace, "Awake and Fight: The Jewish Military Union and the Warsaw Ghetto," *Nihil Novi: The Bulletin of the Kościuszko Chair of Polish Studies, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA), no. 2. (Fall 2002): 21–22; Chaim Lazar Litai, *Muranowska 7: The Warsaw Ghetto Rising* (Tel Aviv: Massada–P.E.C. Press Ltd., 1966); David Wdowiński, *And We Are Not Saved* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1980). For Zionist Revisionism in general by sympathizers see Yehuda Benari and Joseph B. Schechtman, *History of the Revisionist Movement* (Tel-Aviv: Hadar Publishing House, Ltd., 1970); Eran Kaplan, *The Jewish Radical Right: Revisionist Zionism and Its Ideological Legacy* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005); for the 1930's and 1940's by a fierce critic of all kinds of Zionism see Lenni Brenner, ed., *51 Documents of Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis* (Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade, 2002); and Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Westport, CT, London and Canberra: Lawrence Hill and Croom Helm, 1983). On the tragic fruits of radical Zionism see Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006).

Communists hijacked and distorted the discourse. Secondly, they also seized the national symbols to promote “national Bolshevism.” Thirdly, terror, censorship and propaganda succeeded, to a great degree, in destroying the sense of a Polish community. The Communists imposed an enslaved mindset onto the intelligentsia, while the common people were subjected to a miserable atomization. Most of the intelligentsia remains thus cynically alienated from Polish traditions. The common people are only sometimes capable of demonstrating the national desires through instinctive Catholicism and patriotism, and “Solidarity” was one of the most beautiful expressions of this phenomenon. It is high time to restore continuity within tradition, to emancipate ourselves from the captive mindset, and to care for the common cause. The priority should be to win back the memory of Polish history, including that of the nationalist movement.

### **Selected Works on the History of the Nationalist Camp**

The authors have been studying the subject of the nationalists during the Second World War for over twenty years now. When we undertook the task of researching the nationalist underground press we had to take into account a very narrow selection of published materials and documents and especially scholarly monographs. Research on the history of the Polish nationalist movement is, after all, still in its infancy and the topic has not been the subject of serious scholarly inquiry for more than half a century. There is a lack of monographs dedicated to the movement’s general history as a whole, as well as more detailed studies concerning the various aspects of this movement. Many fundamental sources have not been published yet and they do not really even exist in academic and scholarly circulation.

Among those sources that have been published about the nationalist movement one should mention the following: Roman Dmowski, *Pisma [Writings]*, vols. I–X (Częstochowa: Antoni Gmachowski i sp., 1939); Mariusz Kułakowski [pseudonym: Tadeusz Zieliński], *Roman Dmowski, w świetle listów i wspomnień [Roman Dmowski: In the Light of Letters and Memoirs]*, 2 vols. (London: Gryf, 1972); Wojciech Wasiutyński, ed., *Wybór Pism Romana Dmowskiego [Roman Dmowski: Selected Writings]*, 4 vols. (New York: The Roman Dmowski Historical Institute, 1988); Roman Wapiński (preparation), *Roman Dmowski: Wybór pism [Roman Dmowski: Selected Writings]* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1990); Bogumił Grott, ed., *Religia, Kościół, etyka w ideach i koncepcjach prawicy polskiej: Narodowa Demokracja [Religion, the Church and Ethics in the Ideas and Conceptions of the Polish Right]* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 1993); Jan Ludwik Popławski, *Wybór Pism [Selected Writings]* (Wrocław: Nortom, 1998); Jerzy Kornaś (ed.), *Stanisław Głąbiński o ustroju Państwa Polskiego i parlamentarystyce [Stanisław Głąbiński on the Political System of the Polish State and Parliamentarism]* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1999); Krzysztof Kawalec (ed.), *Stanisław Grabski o Sejmie, samorządzie i zadaniach państwa [Stanisław Grabski on the Sejm, Local Government and the Tasks of the State]* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2001); Stanisław Kilian (ed.), *Wacław Komarnicki o ustroju państwa i konstytucji [Wacław Komarnicki on the State’s Political System and a Constitution]* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2000); Bogumił Grott (ed.), *Adam*

*Doboszyński o ustroju Polski* [Adam Doboszyński on Poland's Political System] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1996); Szymon Rudnicki (ed.), *Roman Rybarski o ustroju i gospodarce* [Roman Rybarski on the Political System and the Economy] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1997); Stanisław Piasecki, *Prosto z mostu: Wybór publicystyki literackiej* [Straight from the Shoulder: A Selection of Literary Works], (ed.) by Maciej Urbanowski (Kraków: Arcana, 2003); Jacek Majchrowski (ed.), *Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku* [Polish Political Thought in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries], Part III: *Nacjonalizm: Myśl "potomstwa obozowego"* [Nationalism: The Ideas of the "Children of the Camp"] (Kraków: Jagiellonian University, 1993); Wojciech Wasutyński, *Dzieła Wybrane* [Selected Works], 2 vols. (Gdańsk: Exter, 2000); Adam Doboszyński, *Studia Polityczne* [Political Studies] (Munich: [published by the author], 1947); Adam Doboszyński, *Ekonomia Miłosierdzia* [The Economics of Mercy] (Warsaw: Prolog, 1995); Adam Doboszyński, *W pół drogi* [Halfway Along] (Warsaw: Prolog, 1993); Adam Doboszyński, *Ustrój Państwa Narodowego* [The Political System of a Nation State] (Warsaw: Prolog, 1995).

It should also be mentioned that between 1945 and 1989 only one short anthology concerning the early period of nationalist political activity would actually appear in Poland: Barbara Toruńczyk, ed., *Narodowa Demokracja: Antologia myśli politycznej "Przeglądu Wszepolskiego" 1895–1905* [National Democracy: An Anthology of the Political Thought of the "All-Polish Review," 1895–1905] (Warsaw: Nowa, 1981; reprinted: London: Aneks, 1983). However, as the editor's introduction indicates, her goal was to, on the one hand, criticize and condemn the nationalist orientation and, on the other, to teach the nationalist tactics to her own political faction, the so-called "Lay Left," or more precisely, the post-Stalinist, post-Revisionist, post-Maoist, and post-Trotskyite circles. This milieu, which oftentimes stemmed from the Communist elite, attempted to redefine itself in the newly-changed conditions after the 1968 anti-Jewish purge in the Communist Party and the power apparatus. Having evolved from Trotskyism and Euro-Communism, they attempted to develop a language and *modus operandi* which would allow them to establish closer ties with the liberal Catholic intelligentsia, which was often descended from the prewar independentist elites, including the nationalists. In other words, the leftists strove to camouflage their Marxist and Socialist ideology by employing pseudo-patriotic and even pseudo-pro-Church rhetoric. The legacy of the Endeks came in very handy as far as their tactics were concerned.

The nationalist movement's historiography is more abundant. Memoirs and political publications dominated among those works published between the wars: Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, *Narodowa Demokracja 1887–1918: Fakty i Dokumenty* [National Democracy, 1887–1918: Facts and Documents] (Warsaw: 1933; second edition: London: Polish Cultural Foundation, 1998) – a work that is more of a scurrilous pamphlet than a scholarly monograph; Feliks Fikus (ed.), *Roman Dmowski 1864–1939: Życiorys, wspomnienia, zbiór fotografii* [Roman Dmowski, 1864–1939: A Biography, Memoirs and Collection of Photographs] (Poznań: Drukarnia Polska, 1939); Jan Tarnowski, *Nasze przedstawicielstwo polityczne w Paryżu i Petersburgu* [Our Political Representation in Paris and Petersburg] (Warsaw and Kraków: Księgarnia E. Czerneckiego, 1923); Władysław Jabłonowski, *Z biegiem lat 1890–1939: Wspomnienia o Romanie Dmowskim* [The Years 1890–1939: Reminiscences on Roman Dmowski] (Częstochowa: Antoni Gmachowski i sp., 1939); Janusz Rabski, *Na drodze walki o duszę*

*młodego pokolenia [On the Path of the Struggle for the Soul of the Young Generation]* (Warsaw: Drukarnia Artystyczna, 1936); *Roman Dmowski: Przyczynki – przemówienia [Roman Dmowski: Contributions and Speeches]* (Poznań: “Głos,” 1939); Stanisław Grabiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne [Political Memoirs]* (Pelplin: Wydawnictwo Pielgrzymia, 1939); Adam Wierny [Jędrzej Giertych], *Na szlaku Romana Dmowskiego [Following Roman Dmowski’s Path]* (Piotrków Trybunalski: By the author, 1939); *Pamięci Romana Dmowskiego 2–7 I 1939 [To Roman Dmowski’s Memory: 2–7 January 1939]* (Warsaw: Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy, 1939); Zygmunt Wasilewski, *Na wschodnim posterunku: Księga pielgrzymstwa [On the Eastern Outpost: The Pilgrimage Book]* (Warsaw: E. Wende i sp., no date [after 1919]).

Émigré publications were, with several exceptions, dominated by memoirs, political polemics, and those that dwelt on issues of secondary importance. Two émigré books could, however, be described as scholarly: Stanisław Kozicki’s *Historia Ligi Narodowej [History of the National League]* (London: “Myśl Polska,” 1964); and Jędrzej Giertych’s *Rola Dziejowa Dmowskiego, tom 1: Rok 1914 [Dmowski’s Historical Role, vol. 1: The Year 1914]* (Londyn: The Publishing House of the Roman Dmowski Society, 1968).

The following memoirs, regarding mostly the pre-1939 period, were also published abroad by émigrés: Tadeusz Bielecki, *W szkole Dmowskiego [In Dmowski’s School]* (London: The Polish Cultural Foundation, 1968); Jędrzej Giertych, *Stronnictwo Narodowe a kryzys dziejowy 1938 roku: Relacja pamiętnikarska [The National Party and the Historical Crisis of 1938: A Memoir]* (London: The Publishing House of the Roman Dmowski Society, 1987); Mieczysław Harusewicz, *Adam Doboszyński* (London: The Roman Dmowski Institute in London, no date); Mieczysław Harusewicz, *Za carskich czasów i po wyzwoleniu [The Tsarist Times and After Liberation]* (London: Published by the author – Veritas, 1975); Zygmunt Wasilewski, *Pokolenia w służbie Narodu [Generations In the Service of the Nation]* (London: Veritas, 1962); and Stanisław Głabiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne – tom uzupełniający [Political Memoirs: A Supplementary Volume]* (London: The Publishing House of the Roman Dmowski Society, 1986); Edward Marcin Kemnitz, *Wspomnienia z pracy politycznej i społecznej w latach 1923–1956 [Memoirs From the Political and Social Work During the Years 1923–1956]* (London: Copyrighted manuscript, 1983).

There are also political polemics worth mentioning: Jędrzej Giertych, *Pół wieku polityki polskiej: Uwagi o polityce Dmowskiego i polityce polskiej lat 1919–1939 i 1939–1947 [Half a Century of Polish Policies: Comments on Dmowski’s Policies and Polish Policies between 1919–1939 and 1939–1947]* (Western Germany, 1947); Wojciech Wasiutyński, *Źródła Niepodległości [The Sources of Independence]* (London: Roman Dmowski Institute, 1977); Wojciech Wasiutyński, *Czwarte pokolenie: Szkice z Dziejów Nacjonalizmu Polskiego [The Fourth Generation: Essays From the History of Polish Nationalism]* (London: Odnova, 1982); Adam Doboszyński, *Studia Polityczne [Political Studies]* (Munich: No publisher, 1947); *Rok Dmowskiego w Ameryce [Dmowski’s Year in America]* (New York: Published by the Anniversary Committee, 1968); Zbigniew Gołąb, *Sto lat Polskiej Myśli Politycznej: Doświadczenia i widoki na przyszłość [One Hundred Years of Polish Political Thought: Experience and Outlooks for the Future]* (Chicago: The Roman Dmowski Institute, 1986); Jan Kanty Miska, *Roman Dmowski a chwila dzisiejsza [Roman Dmowski and the Present Era]* (Chicago: The Roman Dmowski

Institute, 1989); Jan Barański, *Lata młodości i walki* [*The Young and Fighting Years*] (London: Veritas, no date); Stefan Jackowski, *Roman Dmowski i Jego droga do Niepodległości* [*Roman Dmowski and His Road to Independence*] (London: Poldom, 1980); Zdzisław Stahl, *System Dmowskiego wczoraj i dziś* [*Dmowski's System Yesterday and Today*] (London: Gryf Publications, 1953); J.(?) Lechno, *W Służbie Narodowi* [*In the Service of the Nation*] (London: "Myśl Polska," 1948); *Wieczór Wersalski – w 60 rocznicę podpisania Traktatu Wersalskiego* [*An Evening at Versailles: In Memory of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Signature of the Treaty of Versailles*] (London: The Roman Dmowski Institute, 1980); Wojciech Wasutyński, *Ruiny i fundamenty* [*Ruins and Foundations*] (London: Biblioteka Książki Polskiej, 1947).

The scholarship of the émigré community was seriously limited because of the lack of access to documents. Thus, only two truly **scholarly works** issued from that milieu: Zbigniew S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* [*The National Armed Forces*] (London: Odnova, 1982); and Lesław Jurewicz, *Zbrodnia czy początek wojny domowej* [*A Crime or the Beginning of a Civil War?*] (London: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, 1980).

Memoirs are a more common genre among the émigrés, in particular the following: *W marszu i w boju. Z walk i przeżyć partyzanckich żołnierzy Brygady Świętokrzyskiej* [*Marching and Fighting: The Guerrilla Battles and Experiences of the Soldiers of the Holy Cross Brigade*] (Munich: Zarząd Główny Samopomocy Żołnierzy Brygady Świętokrzyskiej, 1948); Józef Rokicki, *Blaski i cienie bohaterskiego pięciolecia* [*The Bright and Shadowy Sides of a Heroic Five Years*] ([Munich] West Germany: [no publisher listed], 1949); Władysław Owoc, *Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa. Wojna i Konspiracja /wspomnienia/* [*The National Military Organization: War and Resistance, a Memoir*] (Paris: published by the author, 1977); Jerzy Pilaciński „Lech”, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne. Kulisy walki podziemnej 1939-1946* [*The National Armed Forces: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at Underground Resistance, 1939 - 1946*] (London: Towarzystwo im. R. Dmowskiego, 1976); Antoni Bohun-Dąbrowski, *Byłem dowódcą Brygady Świętokrzyskiej* [*I was a Commander of the Holy Cross Brigade*] (London: Veritas Foundation, 1985); Władysław Kołaciński "Żbik", *Między młotem a swastyką* [*Between the Hammer and the Swastika*] (Chicago: Published by the author, 1961, followed by underground editions in Poland in 1988 and 1989, and an official one - Warsaw: „Słowo Narodowe”, 1991); Piotr Woźniak, *Zapluty karzeł reakcji* [*The Spittle Besmattered Reactionary Dwarf*] (Paris: Editions „Spotkania”, 1983); Stanisław Żochowski, *O Narodowych Siłach Zbrojnych* [*On the National Armed Forces*] (Brisbane-London: 1983); Jerzy Ptakowski, *Oświęcim bez cenzury i bez legend* [*Auschwitz without Censorship and without Legends*] (New York: Instytut Romana Dmowskiego, 1985); *Zeszyty do Historii Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych* [*Notebooks on the History of the National Armed Forces*], 5 vols. (Chicago: no publisher listed, 1961-1990); Wiktor R. Skiba, *Na skibach Świata* [*On the Furrows of the World*] (London: Veritas, 1979); Zbigniew Stypułkowski, *W zawierusze dziejowej* [*Caught in a Historical Storm*] (London: „Gryf” 1951); Zbigniew Stypułkowski, *Zaproszenie do Moskwy* [*An Invasion to Moscow*] (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1989).

Whereas the early period of the history of the Polish nationalists is seriously understudied, their war-time and post-war experience is virtually unknown. During the communist era the activities of the Polish nationalists during the Second World War were one of the most manipulated and falsified subjects in modern Polish history. Historical

works published during the PRL period were not only subjected to Party propaganda but also to pervasive and omnipresent censorship, which severely compromised their scholarly value. For that reason very few works from that era can be recommended to contemporary researchers. Included among the small number of some scholarly value are Janusz Terej's works, Robert Bielecki's "*Gustaw*" – "*Harnaś*". *Dwa powstańcze bataliony* [*Two Insurrectionary Battalions*], (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1989); and Jan Dobraczyński's memoirs entitled *Tylko w jednym życiu* [*In Only One Lifetime*] (Warsaw: PAX, 1970).

For the record, the following publications appeared during the Communist era in Poland: Andrzej Micewski, *Roman Dmowski* (Warsaw: Verum, 1971); Szymon Rudnicki, *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny: Geneza i działalność* [*The National Radical Camp: Its Origins and Political Activities*] (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1985), compare with: Wojciech Wasiutyński, "Historia ONR Rudnickiego" ["Rudnicki's History of the ONR,"] *Polityka Polska* [*Polish Politics*] (Gdańsk), no. 9 (1987); Roman Wapiński, *Endecja na Pomorzu 1920–1939* [*The Endecja in Pomerania, 1920–1939*] (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1966); Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939* [*National Democracy, 1893–1939*] (Wrocław: Zakład Wydawniczy im. Ossolińskich, 1980); Roman Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski* (Lublin: Wyd. Lubelskie, 1988); Janusz Jerzy Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka: Ze studiów nad dziejami najnowszymi Narodowej Demokracji* [*Reality and Politics: From the Studies on the Most Recent History of National Democracy*] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1979), Janusz Jerzy Terej, *Idee, mity i realia: Szkice do dziejów Narodowej Demokracji* [*Ideas, Myths and Reality: Essays on the History of National Democracy*] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1971); Jerzy Marczewski, *Narodowa Demokracja w Poznańskim 1900–1914* [*National Democracy in the Poznań Region, 1900–1914*] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967); Zygmunt Kaczmarek, "Obóz Wielkiej Polski: Geneza i działalność społeczno-polityczna w latach 1926–1933" [The Camp of Great Poland: Its Origins and Activities During the Years 1926–1933], *Rocznik Akademii Rolniczej w Poznaniu: Rozprawy Naukowe* [*The Annual of the Poznań Agricultural Academy*] (Poznań), no. 103 (1980): 59–70; Jan Molenda, *Piłsudczycy i Narodowi Demokraci 1908–1918* [*The Piłsudskites and the National Democrats, 1908–1918*] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1980); Zenon Kmiecik, *Program polityczny "Głosu warszawskiego" (1908–1909) i "Gazety warszawskiej" (1909–1915)* [*The Political Program of the "Warsaw Voice" (1908–1909) and the "Warsaw Gazette" (1909–1915)*] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980); Urszula Jakubowska, *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne "Gazety warszawskiej" i "Warszawskiego dziennika narodowego" w latach 1918–1939* [*The Ideological and Political Character of the "Warsaw Gazette" and the "Warsaw National Daily" During the Years 1918–1939*] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984); Urszula Jakubowska, *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji w dobie zaborów* [*The National Democratic Press During the Partition Era*] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988).

During the final years of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) the first serious works without vulgar Communist indoctrination were published: Jacek Majchrowski, *Szkice z historii polskiej prawicy politycznej lat Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [*Essays from the History of the Polish Political Right During the Second Republic*] (Kraków: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, no date [after 1985]); Krzysztof Kawalec,

*Narodowa Demokracja wobec faszyzmu 1922–1939 [National Democracy vis-à-vis Fascism, 1922–1939]* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1989); Andrzej Friszke, *O kształt niepodległej [On the Shape of the Independent State]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka “Więzi,” 1989); as well as the first official publication of Dmowski’s *Polish Policies and the Rebuilding of the State*, ed. by Tomasz Wituch (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1989).

During the Soviet occupation of Poland until 1990 some publications, in addition to reprints of Roman Dmowski’s works and reprints of prewar and émigré works and memoirs, appeared in the underground between 1977 and 1989, including: Jacek Wileńczyk, *Pierwsza nowoczesna organizacja niepodległościowa [The First Modern Pro-Independence Organization]* (Warsaw: Rytm, no date); Józef Płoska, *Dzieje Obozu Narodowego do 1914 roku [The History of the National Camp Until 1914]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Miesięcznika “Pod Prąd,” 1988; a reprint of the 1953 London edition); Ignacy Chrzanowski, Stanisław Kozicki, *Roman Dmowski – zarys biograficzny [Roman Dmowski: A Biographical Outline]* (Warsaw: Wyd. św. Andrzeja Boboli, 1986); Jędrzej Giertych, *Polski Obóz Narodowy [The Polish National Camp]* (a reprint of the London edition; several underground editions including: Warsaw: Wyd. Narodowe Chrobry, 1981); Łukasz Jodko [Jerzy Łojek], *Orientacja rosyjska w polskiej walce niepodległościowej [The Russian Orientation in the Polish Fight for Independence]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Literacka i Historyczna, 1981); Aleksander Hall, *Dziedzictwo Narodowej Demokracji [The National Democratic Legacy]* (Warsaw: No publisher, 1984); *Polska i Europa w dobie powojennej [Poland and Europe in the Postwar Period]* (Wrocław and Warsaw: Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu, 1983); Wojciech Wasutyński, *Rozważania o nacjonalizmie [Thoughts on Nationalism]* (Gdańsk: Wyd. Młoda Polska, 1981); *Ślubowanie Jasnogórskie Anno Domini 1936 [The Jasnogóra Vows, A.D. 1936]* (Warsaw: Wyd. Jestem Polakiem, 1983); Edward Węgierski, *Fragmenty z dziejów Ruchu Narodowego i nie tylko: Stulecie pracy i walki, 1886–1986 [Fragments From the History of the Nationalist Movement and More: A Century of Work and Struggle, 1886–1986]* (Warsaw: Wyd. Jestem Polakiem, 1988).

A real breakthrough in research on the wartime and post-war nationalist underground occurred in the mid-1990’s. The appearance of several works containing **document collections and organizational sources** contributed to it: *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne. Dokumenty, struktury, personalia, oprac. Leszek Żebrowski [The National Armed Forces: Documents, Structures, Personages. Edited by Leszek Żebrowski]*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: 1994-1997); Kazimierz Litwiejko, *Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa. Okręg Białystok 1941-1945 [The National Military Organization: Białystok District, 1941 - 1945]* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Benkowski, 2002); *Rozkazy dzienne Brygady Świętokrzyskiej NSZ [Daily Orders of the Holy Cross Brigade]*, ed. by Czesław Brzoza, (Kraków: Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego, 2003); Lucyna Kulińska, *Dzieje Komitetu Ziem Wschodnich na tle losów ludności polskich Kresów w latach 1943-1947 [The History of the Committee of the Eastern Borderlands in the Context of the Fate of the Population of the Polish Kresy during the period of 1943 - 1947]*, 2 vols., vol. 2: *Dokumenty i materiały zgromadzone przez działaczy i członków KZW [Documents and Materials Collected by Activists and Members of the Committee of the Eastern Borderlands]*, (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza ABRYS, 2001-2002); *Kryptonim „Orzeł”. Warszawski okręg Narodowego Zjednoczenia Wojskowego w*

dokumentach 1947-1954 [Code Name 'Eagle': The Warsaw District of the National Military Union in Documents, 1947 - 1954], ed. by Kazimierz Krajewski et al. (Warsaw: IPN and Oficyna Wydawnicza „Rytm,” 2004).

From the mid-1990's on **studies** about the NSZ and other nationalist underground groups began to appear alongside published primary source materials. Some of the more important ones include: Marek J. Chodakiewicz, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne. „Ząb” przeciw dwu wrogom* [*The National Armed Forces: "The Tooth" against Two Enemies*] (Warsaw: WAMA, 1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Fronda, 1999); Krzysztof Kaczmarek, *Podziemie narodowe na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939-1944* [*The Nationalist Underground in the Rzeszów Region*], (Rzeszów: IPN, 2003); Franciszek Miczuga, *Konspiracja Stronnictwa Narodowego w Poznaniu i w Wielkopolsce* [*The National Party Underground in Poznań and the Wielkopolska Region*] (Poznań: Published by the author, 1995); Artur Paszko, *O katolickie Państwo Narodu Polskiego. Inspiracje Katolickie w ideach politycznych Grupy "Szańca" i Konfederacji Narodu* [*For the Catholic State of the Polish Nation: The Catholic Inspiration Reflected in the Political Ideas of the "Rampart" Group and the Confederation of the Nation*] (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy "Nomos", 2002); Katarzyna Utracka, *Zgrupowanie AK "Chrobry"* [*The Home Army's "Chrobry" Unit*] (Warsaw: Bellona 2002); Wiesław Charczuk, *Formacje zbrojne Obozu Narodowego na Południowym Podlasiu w latach 1939-1947* [*The National Camp's Military Formations in Southern Podlasie in 1939 - 1947*] (Siedlce: Instytut Historii Akademii Podlaskiej, Siedleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2003); Sylwester Fertacz, *Polska myśl słowiańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej* [*The Polish Slavic Idea during World War II*] (Katowice: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2000); Waldemar Basak, *Rzecz o majorze Antonim Żubrydzie. Samodzielny Batalion Operacyjny Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych kryptonim "Zuch" 1944-1947* [*On Major Antoni Żubrydz: The Independent Operational Battalion of the National Armed Forces Codenamed "Intrepid", 1944 - 1947*], (Krosno: [no publisher listed], 2008); Paweł Tomasik, *Dzieje sprawy Adama Doboszyńskiego* [*The Adam Doboszyński Story*], (Warsaw: Published by the author, 1991); Stefan Rusin, *Do końca wierni...* [*Faithfull Until the End ...*], (Poznań and Konin: Wydział Spraw Społecznych Urzędu Wojewódzkiego w Koninie and "Cobrabid-Unidruk", 1993); Dariusz Wegrzyn, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa państwa wobec środowisk narodowych na Górnym Śląsku i w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim w latach 1945-1956* [*The State Security Apparatus vis-a-vis Nationalist Circles in Upper Silesia and the Dąbrowa Basin, 1945 - 1956*], (Katowice-Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2007); Sebastian Bojemski, *Poszli w skier powodzi... Narodowe Siły Zbrojne w Powstaniu Warszawskim* [*Into the Flood: The National Armed Forces in the Warsaw Uprising*], (Warsaw and Charlottesville: Glaukopis, 2002); Wojciech J. Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę. Propaganda zaplecza politycznego NSZ 1939-1945* [*Fighting for a Great Poland: The Propaganda of the National Armed Forces' Political Base, 1939 - 1945*], (Warsaw: Rekonkwista, 2000); Krzysztof Komorowski, *Polityka i Walka. Konspiracja zbrojna ruchu narodowego 1939-1945* [*Politics and Struggle: The National Movement's Military Resistance, 1939 - 1945*] (Warsaw: „Rytm”, 2000); Mariusz Bechta, *Między Bolszewią a Niemcami...: Konspiracja polityczna i wojskowa Polskiego Obozu Narodowego na Podlasiu w latach 1939-1952* [*Between the Bolsheviks and the Germans: Political and military conspiracy of the Polish Nationalist Camp in Podlasie between 1939 and 1952*] (Warszawa: Rytm, 2009).

**Memoirs and personal accounts** published in Poland are also a rich source of valuable information on the subject: *Zeszyty do Historii Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych* [*Notebooks on the History of the National Armed Forces*], vol. 6 (Montreal and Warsaw: [no publisher], 1994); Jerzy Maderski "Jaxa", *Na dwa fronty. Szkice z walk Brygady Świątokrzyskiej NSZ* [*On Two Fronts: Outlines on the Fighting of the Holy Cross Brigade of the National Armed Forces*] (Lublin: Retro, 1995); Wiesław Widloch, *Inną drogą. Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* [*A Different Road: The National Armed Forces*] (Warsaw: Antyk, [1993]; Skarbimir Socha "Jaskółka", *Czerwona śmierć* [*The Red Death*] (Rzeszów: Światowy Związek Żołnierzy AK, 1997); Mieczysław Kocyłowski, *Byłem zastępca Żubryda* [*I was Żubryd's Deputy*] (Sanok: Muzeum Historyczne w Sanoku, 1999); Antoni Rusin, *Nad Wartą, Prosną i Wisłą* [*On the Warta, Proсна and Vistula Rivers*] (Warsaw: Published by the author, 1991); Tomasz Wolfram, *W kręgu nienawiści* [*In the Circle of Hatred*] (Warsaw: Michallineum, 1993); Władysław Marcinkowski "Jaxa", *Wspomnienia 1934-1945* [*Memoirs, 1934 - 1945*] (Warsaw: Burchard Edition, 1998); Andrzej Kownacki "Jerzewski", *Jak powstało i walczyło Zgrupowanie "Chrobry II"* [*How the "Chrobry II" Unit was Formed and Fought*] (Warsaw: Published by the author, 1993); Tadeusz Maciński "Prus" and Wieńczysław Wagner "Dobrowolski", *Od konspiracji do emigracji. Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa-AK i Okręg Stołeczny Stronnictwa Narodowego podczas II wojny światowej i wspomnienia powojenne* [*From the Underground to Emigration: The National Military Organization of the Home Army and the Capital City District of the National Party during World War II and Postwar Reminiscences*] (Warsaw: Published by the authors, 1994); Aniela Malanowska, *Z dziejów walk z okupantami w powiecie zambrowskim w latach 1939-1945* [*Fighting the Two Occupying Powers in Zambrów County in 1939 - 1945*] (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Rytm", 2003); Ruta Czaplińska, *Z archiwum pamięci. 3653 więzienne dni* [*From the Archive of Memory: 3653 Days of Prison*] (Wrocław: IPN, 2003); Zbigniew Kulesza "Młot", *Śledztwo wyklętych* [*The Excommunicated Ones under Investigation*] (Warsaw: Alfa, 1995); Zbigniew Kulesza "Młot", *Resocjalizacja wyklętych* [*The Resocialization of the Excommunicated Ones*] (Radom: Polwen, 2004); Piotr Kosobudzki, *Przez druty, kraty i kajdany. Wspomnienia partyzanta NSZ* [*Through Barbed Wire, Prison Bars and Shackles: The Memoirs of an NSZ Partisan*] (Wrocław: Nortom 1997); Jarzy Nachtman "Olecki", *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne. Konspiracja w Wołominie* [*The National Armed Forces: Underground Resistance in Wołomin*] (Wołomin: Published by the author, 1996); Tadeusz Tomaszewicz et al., *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne, powiat Węgrów 1942-1950* [*The National Armed Forces in Węgrów County, 1942 - 1950*] (Warsaw: Published by the author 1993); Kazimierz Karlsbad "Radek", *Dwieście kartek wyrwanych z młodości* [*Two Hundred Pages Torn out of my Youth*] (No place: Published by the author, 1994); Barbara Pikuła-Peszkowska, *Gdzie jest twój grób ojczy? [Where is Your Grave, Father?]* (Bytom: Oficyna Wydawnicza 4K, 1997); Czesław Czaplicki, *Poszukiwany listem gończym* [*Wanted*] (Lublin: "Retro", 1995); Jerzy Kucharski, *Zanim odejdziemy. Zapiski z konspiracji 1939-1947 NOW-NSZ-AK okręgów Radom i Łódź* [*Before we Depart: Notes from the Underground, 1939 - 1947. The NOW-NSZ-AK of the Radom and Łódź Districts*], (Gdańsk: Oaza, 1995).

Periodicals have also devoted much attention to many aspects of the wartime and post-war history of the nationalist underground. Among these are: *Szczerbiec* ["The Chipped Sword"] (1991-2005) – the periodical of the Union of NSZ Soldiers (Lublin,

Poland); *Szaniec Chrobrego* [”Chrobry’s Rampart”] (1992-2006) – a periodical of former ONR and ”Rampart” Group activists (Warsaw); and also the historical journals: *Karta* [”Charter”], *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* [”The Bulletin of the Institute of National Remembrance”] (Warsaw), *Glaukopis* (Warsaw), the daily press and various types of regional publications.<sup>242</sup>

The body of available primary and secondary works have been growing exponentially since Poland has regained its independence. Our analysis-cum-documentary collection is yet another contribution to the project to produce a comprehensive synthesis of Polish nationalism in the near future.

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz and Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński

A real explosion of works on the subject occurred after 1989, albeit their standards and professionalism varied: Tadeusz Wolsza, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec chłopów w latach 1887–1914: Programy, polityka, działalność* [*National Democracy vis-à-vis the Peasants During the Years 1887–1914: Its Programs, Policies and Activities*] (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1992); Maciej Łagoda, *Dmowski, Naród i Państwo: Doktryna polityczna “Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego” 1895–1905* [*Dmowski, the Nation and the State: The Political Doctrine of the “All-Polish Review,” 1895–1905*] (Poznań: Agencja Esem, 2002); Władysław Bułhak, *Dmowski – Rosja a kwestia Polska* [*Dmowski and Russia and the Polish Question*] (Warsaw: Neriton and Instytut Historii PAN, 2000); Maciej Marszał, *Włoski faszyzm i niemiecki narodowy socjalizm w poglądach ideologów Narodowej Demokracji 1926–1939* [*Italian Fascism and German National Socialism in the Views of the Ideologues of National Democracy, 1926–1939*] ([Wrocław]: Kolonia Limited, 2001); Piotr Świercz, *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [*National Democracy in Upper Silesia During the Second Republic*] (Kraków: Zakłady Wyd. Nomos, 1999); Mariusz Bechta, *Narodowo Radykalni: Obrona tradycji i ofensywa narodowa na Podlasiu w latach 1918–1939* [*The National Radicals: The Defense of Tradition and the National Offensive in the Polesie Region, 1918–1939*] (Biała Podlaska: Rekonkwista, 2004); Bogumił Grott, *Nacjonalizm Chrześcijański: Myśl społeczno-państwowa formacji narodowo-katolickiej w Drugiej*

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<sup>242</sup>For more on this subject see: Piotr Szucki, *Materiały do bibliografii Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych (od roku 1982)* [*Materials towards a Bibliography of the National Armed Forces (from 1982)*], The Union of National Armed Forces Soldiers (Warsaw: ”Biblioteczka Szczerbca”, 2005).

*Rzeczypospolitej [Christian Nationalism: The Social and State-Related Thinking of the National Catholic Formation During the Second Republic]* (First ed., Kraków: Universitas, 1991; Second ed., Kraków: Ostoja, 1996); Tadeusz Włudyka, “Trzecia Droga” w myśli gospodarczej II Rzeczypospolitej: *Koncepcje Adama Doboszyńskiego a program obozu narodowego [The “Third Way” in Economic Thinking During the Second Republic: Adam Doboszyński’s Conceptions and the Program of the National Camp]* (Kraków: Universitas 1994); Grzegorz Radomski, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec mniejszości narodowych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1918–1926 [National Democracy vis-à-vis the National Minorities in the Second Republic During the Years 1918–1926]* (Toruń: Wyd. Adam Marszałek, 2000); Ewa Maj, *Narodowa Demokracja w województwie lubelskim w latach 1918–1926 [National Democracy in the Lublin Province During the Year 1918–1926]* (Lublin: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002); Ewa Maj, *Związek Ludowo-Narodowy 1919–1928 [The National Populist Union, 1919–1928]* (Lublin: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000); Mieczysław Sobczak, *Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do kwestii żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 [National Democracy’s Attitude Towards the Jewish Question in Poland During the Years 1918–1939]* (Wrocław: Wyd. Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Oskara Langego, 1998); Olaf Bergmann, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki żydowskiej w latach 1918–1929 [National Democracy vis-à-vis the Jewish Problem During the Years 1918–1929]* (Poznań: Wyd. Poznańskie 1998); Jan Zamojski, *Powrót na mapę: Polski Komitet Narodowy w Paryżu 1914–1919 [Returning to the Map: The Polish National Committee in Paris, 1914–1919]* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1991); Mieczysław Ryba, *Naród i polityka: Myśl społeczno-polityczna twórców Ruchu Narodowego w okresie międzywojennym [The Nation and Politics: The Socio-Political Thought of the Founders of the National Movement During the Interwar Period]* (Lublin: Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, 1999); Lucyna Kulińska, *Związek Akademicki “Młodzież Wszechpolska” i “Młodzież Wielkiej Polski” w latach 1922–1947: Struktury, funkcjonowanie i główni działacze [The Academic Union “All-Polish Youth” and the “Youth of Great Poland” During the Years 1922–1947: Its Structures, Functioning and Leading Activists]* (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Abrys, 2000); Janusz Parada, *Narodowa Demokracja w Zduńskiej Woli [National Democracy in Zduńska Wola]* (Zduńska Wola: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Zduńskiej–Muzeum Historii Zduńskiej Woli, 1996); Roman Giertych, *Pod walcem historii: Polityka zagraniczna Ruchu Narodowego w latach 1938–1945 [Under History’s Steam Roller: The National Movement’s Foreign Policy During the Years 1938–1945]* (London: The Publishing House of the Roman Dmowski Institute, 1995); Maciej Urbanowski, *Nacjonalistyczna krytyka literacka [Nationalist Literary Criticism]* (Kraków: Arcana, 1997); Jacek M. Majchrowski, *Polska myśl polityczna 1918–1939: Nacjonalizm [Polish Political Thought, 1918–1939: Nationalism]* (Warsaw: Wyższa Szkoła Handlu i Prawa, 2000); Adam Gmurczyk, *Koncepcje ideowo-polityczne tygodnika “Jestem Polakiem”: Londyn 1940–1941 [The Ideological and Political Conceptions of the “I am a Pole” Weekly: London, 1940–1941]* (Warsaw: Biblioteka „Szczerbca,” 1997); Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Demokratyczna geneza nacjonalizmu: Intelektualne korzenie ruchu narodowo-demokratycznego [The Democratic Origin of Nationalism: The Intellectual Roots of the National Democratic Movement]* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2001); Bohdan Halczak, *Publicystyka narodowo-demokratyczna wobec problemów narodowościowych i*

*etnicznych II Rzeczypospolitej [National Democratic Publications vis-à-vis the National and Ethnic Problems of the Second Republic]* (Zielona Góra: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna im.T. Kotarbińskiego, 2000); Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, *Źródła narodowości: Powstanie i rozwój polskiej świadomości w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006).

The following memoirs were also published: Wiesław Chrzanowski, *Pół wieku polityki [Half a Century of Politics]* (Warsaw: Ad Astra, 1997); Marian Żegota-Januszajtis, *Życie moje, tak burzliwe...: Wspomnienia i dokumenty [My Stormy Life...: Memoirs and Documents]* (Warsaw: published by Jerzy and Krystyna Żegota-Januszajtis, 1993).

To this one must also add biographies: Teresa Kulak, *Jan Ludwik Popławski: Biografia polityczna [Jan Ludwik Popławski: A Political Biography]* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994); Witold Wojdyło, *Stanisław Grabski 1871–1949: Biografia polityczna* (Toruń: Wyd. Adam Marszałek, 2003); Tadeusz Dworak, *Karol Hubert Rostworowski: Ludzie Narodowej Demokracji [Karol Hubert Rostworowski: The People of National Democracy]* (Warsaw: Książka Polska, 1996); Maria J. Żmichowska, *Jan Kordecki 1884–1967: Działalność oświatowa, społeczna i polityczna [Jan Kordecki, 1884–1967: Activism in the Fields of Education, Social Work and Politics]* (Warsaw: Wyd. Interlibro, 1996); Marian Mroczko, *Stanisław Kozicki 1876–1958: Biografia polityczna* (Gdańsk: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1999); Bogumił Grott, *Zygmunt Balicki: Ideolog Narodowej Demokracji [Zygmunt Balicki: A National Democratic Ideologue]* (Kraków: Arcana, 1995); Krzysztof Kawalec, *Roman Dmowski* (Warsaw: Editions Spotkania System, 1996); Jan Zendlewicz, *Wawrzyniec Sielski 30 IX 1874–17 II 1936* (Konin: Nakładem Wydziału Spraw Społ. Urzędu Wojewódzkiego w Koninie, 1994); Bogumiła Jaxa-Kwiatkowska, *Profesor Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski 1881–1948: Ostatnie lata życia [Prof. Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski, 1881–1948: The Last Years of His Life]* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Nauki PAN, 1994); Bernadetta Nitschke, *Adam Doboszyński: Publicysta i polityk [Adam Doboszyński: A Publicist and Politician]* (Kraków: Platan, 1993); Piotr Biliński, *Władysław Konopczyński: Historyk i polityk II Rzeczypospolitej 1880–1952 [Władysław Konopczyński: An Historian and Politician During the Second Republic, 1880–1952]* (Warsaw: Inicjatywa Wydawnicza “Ad Astra,” 1999); Dariusz Sawicki, *Roman Dmowski a Kościół [Roman Dmowski and the (Catholic) Church]* (Warszawa: Burchard Edition, 1997).

Meanwhile, the Western, English language historiography can really boast of only two works dedicated to this subject matter: Alvin Marcus Fountain III, *Roman Dmowski: Party, Tactics, Ideology 1895–1907* (Boulder and New York: East European Monographs and Columbia University Press, 1980), which is excellent; and Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), which sadly fails to contextualize Polish nationalism, to appreciate the role of the Catholic Church, and to deconstruct itself from leftist stereotypes and platitudes. Of related interest, there is Konrad Sadkowski's *Catholic Power and Catholicism as a Component of Modern Polish National Identity, 1863–1918* (Seattle, WA: Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 2001). In addition, various negative remarks, mostly not grounded in solid research, concerning the Polish nationalist movement can be found in many memoirs and monographs on the Jewish minority in Poland. For an example of a recent

work written from a Jewish ethno-nationalist perspective see Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

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