



Melchior Wańkiewicz (Courtesy Dawid Walendowski, Wańkiewicz's great-grandson).

Literary Reportage or Journalistic Fiction? Polish Reporters' Struggles with the Form

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Abstract: This study explores the national specificity of Polish literary reportage and its historical changes from the second half of the nineteenth century to contemporary times. It analyzes selected examples of Poland's literary journalism in the context of the interdependencies between journalism and fiction, fact-based and fictional prose, and, finally, the press and the book sector. In particular, the analysis highlights the role of sociopolitical factors in the evolution of Polish reporters' writings and their professional ethics. Special emphasis is placed on literary devices derived from the allegorical narrative strategy of the so-called "small realism," which was often the only chance to pass censorship in Communist Poland. Moreover, the study examines the circumstances that have led to a symbiotic relationship between press and book forms of Polish reportage. It also discusses the aesthetics of the genre established along two separate lines: the journalistic variety and the literary variety (with the latter represented, among others, by Ryszard Kapuściński, the most recognizable Polish reporter worldwide). The genre of Polish reportage is further investigated, referring to two theoretical visions of the reporting craft that have gained currency in post-war World War II Poland: Melchior Wańkiewicz's and Krzysztof Kąkolewski's approaches. Wańkiewicz's concept, referred to as the mosaic theory, challenged the canonical journalistic principle of keeping fact and fiction separate. In this study, the mosaic approach is discussed as a source of potential, though not obvious, similarities between the Polish and U.S. forms of literary journalism. In addition, the study also touches on possible directions developing Polish reportage in the digital media age.

Keywords: Polish literary reportage – journalistic fiction – mosaic theory – small realism – book reportage

In the late 1940s, Kazimierz Wyka, an eminent Polish literary critic, remarked that reportage was consistently ahead of literary prose, because reporters took up themes that were too current to become a legitimate object of artistic creation.¹ Originally intended as a comment on books falling on the borderline between the novel and documentary prose, Wyka's observation soon became part of the accepted theory of Polish nonfiction writing. The tradition of creative nonfiction in Poland also comprises literary reportage, a unique form of reporting on real-life events or problems presented from the author's perspective, which makes use of artistic literary devices.

Apart from combining current themes and narrative techniques derived from fiction writing—the two characteristics that Wyka proposed—Polish reportage meets the universal criteria of literary journalism, such as immersive reporting, accuracy, focusing on everyday life events, and symbolic consciousness.² These are indeed independent of any national context, as the same features came to the fore both in U.S. New Journalism and, earlier, in the east and west European approaches to fact-based prose. Although Polish literary reportage follows well-tested patterns, it also has a number of distinctive characteristics. These specific features can be traced to the dynamic sociopolitical changes that transformed twentieth-century Poland and gave rise to a symbiotic relationship between the press variety of the genre and the Polish book market.

The purpose of this study is to discuss the evolution of this hybrid text form, which not only crosses the borders between journalism and literature, or fact-based prose and fiction, but also crosses the boundary between the newspaper and the book publishing industries.

Journalism or Literature? Two Varieties of Polish Reportage

The tension between documentary journalism and the classically defined notion of literature can be seen at every stage of the development of reportage in Poland. The immediate antecedents of this genre emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in Polish travel writings, spanning various kinds of reports, descriptions, and travel letters. Fact-based forms that preceded reportage also found their way into artistic prose, especially prose based on the poetics of realism and naturalism. On the other hand, the origin of Polish reportage is closely related to the emergence of the mass press, which in the 1870s in Poland was heavily influenced by west European, especially French, models.

This influence has been noticed by Jolanta Sztachelska, who states that Polish newspapers in the nineteenth century were consciously patterned after French newspapers. She argues that the French impact on the newspaper

market resulted in the emergence of tabloids that were “on a much lighter note, less demanding of their readers, more egalitarian.”³ It is because of these influences that the tabloid formula of reporters' writings became widespread in Poland, with clearly pejorative associations attached. Initially, as noted by Sztachelska, the term “reporter” was used to refer to “a supplier of sensational topics, gossip, and indiscretion.”⁴

Thus, even before it grew into a free-standing genre, Polish reportage was developing along two separate lines: its journalistic variety blending into other press genres and its literary variety comprising mainly travel documentary prose written by widely read authors (including selected writings by the Nobel Prize-holders Henryk Sienkiewicz and Władysław Stanisław Reymont).

This bipolarity was reinforced during the twenty years of the interwar period—that is, from 1918 through 1939—which is commonly regarded as the time when Polish reportage took shape as a genre in its own right. Indeed, it was not until the 1930s that reportage became fully developed, which coincided with the demand for up-to-date factual accounts, growing out of Poland's independence, regained in 1918. The rebirth of the Polish state, which since the end of the eighteenth century had been under Prussian, Russian, and Austrian partition, effected a change in the public's expectations. There emerged an audience who “demanded immediate and reliable information both about events and situations that occurred in their own country (which was developing in a rapid and conflictual rhythm) and about events that took place around the world.”⁵

This need to acquaint the reader with current facts was satisfied on the one hand by travel reportage, which evolved into tourist prose, and accounts of adventurous journeys to faraway corners of the globe.⁶ On the other hand, there were journalistic reports documenting the unstable political and economic situation in Poland and abroad. Prime examples of this strain are selected writings of Ksawery Pruszyński and Melchior Wańkowicz. Pruszyński is famous for *W czerwonej Hiszpanii* (In the red Spain), his 1937 correspondence from a Spain torn by “red” revolution; Wańkowicz for *Na tropach Smętka* (Following Smętek), his 1936 report on an expedition to Nazi East Prussia, as well as later books, such as *Bitwa o Monte Cassino* (The Battle of Monte Cassino), published from 1945 through 1947, in which he documented the participation of Polish soldiers in World War II.⁷

Thus, the 1920s and 1930s interwar tradition of reportage in Poland was cocreated by documentary writings focused on a particular problem on the one hand, and by literary forms bordering on fiction on the other. Both approaches played an important role in the contemporaneous debate on innovation and antitraditionalism in art. Viewed as the opposite of narrative

strategies rooted in nineteenth-century realistic prose, reportage became “part of the dispute about the direction of development of the twentieth-century literature.”⁸ Reportage’s theoretical foundations were shaped by then-popular calls for authenticity and by two foreign models: German New Objectivity and Russian *literature of fact*.⁹

The influence of the Russian model is of particular importance and requires a further overview. In the late 1920s, the theoretical propositions of Soviet writers grouped around the magazine *Novyi LEF* (New Left Front of the Arts) were adopted by Polish leftist journals. The texts these journals published in the 1930s usually had a propagandist tone, in keeping with their goal to present the problems of the working class and to lay bare the pathologies of everyday life in the time of economic crisis. Józef Rurawski has noted that Polish left-wing journalists of this period often wrote reports on authentic events or actions (e.g., strikes) while they were occurring. The main function of such texts, which Rurawski identified as examples of “socialist” reportage, was to mobilize workers and the unemployed to actively fight for their rights.¹⁰

Still, as Zygmunt Ziątek demonstrated, and contrary to widespread assumptions, reportage was not the key nonfiction genre in Poland of the 1920s and 1930s. Nonfiction writings also included other forms, more or less closely related to it: from proletarian and societal prose, to memoirs and autobiographical accounts that representatives of various professional groups wrote. What is more, the term *literature of fact* was applied mainly to works of fiction that aimed at authenticity in recording concrete individual or community social experiences.¹¹ This was the goal of the writers who in 1933 formed the literary group *Przedmieście* (The Suburb). Calling for empirical observation of marginalized social groups, its members often used the reportage technique.¹²

The example of *Przedmieście* demonstrates the 1920s and 1930s interwar tendency to regard Polish reportage as a certain method of writing, exploited by fictional writers as well. The identification of reportage with a specific narrative strategy, which at that time was the subject of literary debates, strengthened its affinities with literature. At the same time, however, the development of this genre in Poland was stimulated by events demanding immediate commentary or intervention, that is, by circumstances typically associated with journalism.

These journalistic circumstances coincided many times in the post–World War II history of Polish reportage. Such groundbreaking events—especially the political thaw of the late 1950s and the later workers’ strikes accompanying the birth of *Solidarność* (Solidarity)¹³—inspired heated discussions about

the then-current condition and the future of this genre. Especially controversial in this respect were opinions voiced by Melchior Wańkowicz, whose concept of the *reportage mosaic* challenged the canonical principle of keeping facts and fiction apart.

Facts or Fiction? Polish Reporters versus Literary Verity

Wańkowicz (1892–1974), a prolific author of various texts devoted to national, war, and emigration issues and a bard of an innovative narrative technique drawing upon the poetics of *gawęda*—a story, Polish epic literary genre—is hailed as the father of Polish reportage.¹⁴ He is also remembered as a theoretician of the genre, who argued for the legitimation of elements of fiction in reporter’s prose.

In a series of essays published since the mid-1960s, Wańkowicz compared writing reportage to laying out a mosaic, of which “no element can be painted, but each must be found in its natural color.”¹⁵ It is, however, admissible—or indeed recommended, he argued—that isolated facts (e.g., facts concerning several real-life characters) should be combined into a complex whole. This broadening of the category of verity sought to show the universal truth, the essence, albeit at the expense of literal truth. Wańkowicz’s ideas, brought together and systematized in his two-volume *Karafka La Fontaine’a* (La Fontaine’s carafe),¹⁶ contributed to a redefinition of literary reportage in Poland. As author of the mosaic view of the genre, Wańkowicz defined the literary quality of a text not as its stylistic property but rather as a synthesis of facts into a multidimensional (and, technically speaking, partially fictional) story.

Wańkowicz aired his views despite the then-widespread tendency to marginalize reportage, which was considered inferior to fiction. The unfavorable opinions on this genre originated in the 1920s and 1930s. As noted by Czesław Niedoński, reportage in that interwar, Polish era was associated with the inadequacy of traditional forms of artistic expression and with the crisis of twentieth-century European culture.¹⁷ Niedoński claims that the perception was precisely because a large number of Polish literary critics regarded this genre as an “extreme expression of contemporary naturalism.”¹⁸ During this interwar period, the reportage technique of writing was often characterized as a tendency to depict reality by what were considered “dry,” highly objective reports. Niedoński states that, according to some critics, the naturalistic aesthetic was an evidence of the expansion of ideas regarded as “destructive” and “nihilistic.”¹⁹

Reportage was also associated with lower literary quality in the first, post-World War II years, which were dominated by strictly journalistic accounts

aimed at documenting the Polish wartime experiences.²⁰ Finally, the negative valuation of reporters was connected with the fact that their texts were regarded as a convenient tool for spreading propaganda. This was particularly the case with biased, socialist-realistic production reportage of the years 1949–55, which reflected extreme levels of authors' ideological involvement. The stereotype of a hack reporter writing panegyric texts about "building progress and socialism"²¹ was challenged by Wańkowicz's vision of an artist-reporter who was equal to fiction writers. Hence, in his approach he called not only for the freedom to make use of fiction but also—indirectly—for the restoration of the professional reputation of the reporter.

Interestingly, although at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s the mosaic technique stirred controversies among Polish scholars investigating this genre, the approach itself was not unknown abroad. Aleksandra Ziółkowska-Boehm points out that a similar strategy of merging truth with fiction can be found in the works of Valentin Ovechkin—a Soviet writer known for his *oчерki*, which John C. Hartsock described as semi-fictional (yet still received as journalistic) "sketches of collective farm life in Russia"²²—and in Egon Erwin Kisch's collections of reportage.²³ Indeed, Wańkowicz in *Karafka La Fontaine'a* made repeated references to the German "Raging Reporter," that is, Kisch²⁴ and his technique. Wańkowicz argued that Kisch, through the form of semi-fictional reportages, gave a "deep human content to the collected facts."²⁵

A separate note must be made of Wańkowicz's reflections on some of the U.S. writers, whose work was associated with narrative journalism. Wańkowicz followed closely the current trends in U.S. literature and culture, which seems quite understandable considering his travels across North America before and after World War II. While working as a correspondent for the interwar *Kurier Warszawski* (Warsaw daily), Wańkowicz traveled to Mexico in the late 1920s. After World War II, in 1949, he moved to the United States and stayed until 1958 (in 1956, he even acquired U.S. citizenship). While on emigration, he traveled across the United States and Canada. After settling back in Poland, he went on other trips in the 1960s to the United States and Mexico.²⁶

At least partially in consequence of Wańkowicz's cultural experiences with North America, his theoretical essays were clearly inspired, among others, by the fiction and nonfiction works of Mark Twain, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Norman Mailer, and Truman Capote. Wańkowicz was very familiar with their prose, as shown by multiple comments and citations he included in *Karafka La Fontaine'a*. Particularly worth mentioning are his remarks on Truman Capote's nonfiction novel *In Cold Blood*, which—as noted by Sophia Leonard—is often recognized by scholars as "the earliest manifestation of New Journalism that became widespread in American journalism in

the late 20th century."²⁷ Leonard argues that critics called most of their attention to novelistic techniques Capote applied in the book. These literary devices—as multiple analyses have shown—included using omniscient narration, providing insights into characters' thoughts, dividing stories into sequential sections, juxtaposing killers' and victims' perspectives, imposing a viewpoint of panoptic supervision, as well as creating symbolic meanings through the extreme detail and emotive imagery.²⁸ Wańkowicz, however, found Capote's *In Cold Blood* successful primarily due to its poetics of narrative suspense, enhanced through deliberate arrangement of facts. He compared this device to the cinematic technique of parallel editing and, next, linked it to his own mosaic strategy.²⁹

These references may be seen as a potential, though purely hypothetical, source of some parallels between Wańkowicz's writings and U.S. New Journalism, which was taking shape at approximately the same time as the mosaic approach in Poland. To begin with, it must be emphasized that there was no direct analogy to the U.S. formation in Polish reportage of the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, Wańkowicz's texts shared certain features with the model elaborated by proponents of the New Journalism. Even though the Polish reporter's prose did not contain all four literary devices Tom Wolfe enumerated,³⁰ its most salient elements, such as narrative panache, strong subjectivism, and a high level of linguistic sophistication, are close to the poetics of the New Journalism.

Following from that, there are also important similarities in the reception of the two approaches. In the United States, Wolfe's revolutionary assumptions were opposed by both conservative journalists and literary artists. Wańkowicz, with his mosaic approach, provoked a similar, though milder, reaction in Poland. In his case, opposition came mostly from other reporters, while professional literary critics remained largely passive.³¹ Krzysztof Kąkolewski (1930–2015)—hailed, next to Ryszard Kapuściński and Hanna Krall, as a cofounder of the Polish school of reportage (hence, its tag 3xK, or the 3Ks)—expressed particularly fierce criticism. Kąkolewski was a proponent of the psychological form of this genre and at the same time a radical proponent of the fact-based approach. He considered fiction a symptom of lacking skill, flouting the conventions, and squandering readers' trust. Kąkolewski associated the literary quality of writing with the ability to discern events which of their own accord formed a story line or called only for skillful selection and editing. He wrote, "In both cases, however, the artistic value concurs with the information value."³² This perspective stood in direct opposition to the key assumptions of the mosaic approach.

In consequence, Kąkolewski engaged in a dispute with Wańkowicz

in an extended, 1973 interview entitled *Wańkowicz krzepi* (Wańkowicz invigorates),³³ in which two alternate visions of the reporting craft were juxtaposed. One perspective highlighted the primary status of facts and was advocated by a large number of post–World War II journalists (including Wojciech Giełżyński and Andrzej Krzysztof Wróblewski). The other drew on the work of Wańkowicz and is associated mainly with Ryszard Kapuściński, whose literary poetics has also become recognizable abroad. Of course, this division must be treated as a simplification, with the border between the objective verity and the authorial verity in the middle-aged and young generation of reporters (e.g., Jacek Hugo-Bader, Wojciech Jagielski, Mariusz Szczygieł, Wojciech Tochman, Witold Szablowski, Andrzej Muszyński) becoming increasingly blurred. This situation is captured by Mateusz Zimnoch, who observes that “it is something of a dilemma in Polish literary journalism studies that more and more nonfiction books are being considered in terms of fictional literature rather than of factual journalism at all.”³⁴

The tendency noted by Zimnoch is also reflected in the works of Kapuściński, who was repeatedly accused of inaccuracies³⁵ or even of purposeful use of fiction. The publication of Artur Domosławski’s controversial biography³⁶ prompted, for example, the following question: “Does reportage understood as an allegory of the world still belong to fact-based prose (and, hence, does it have to satisfy the criterion of ‘truth’), or does it lie in the province of literature, where the criterion of ‘probability’ is more likely to apply?”³⁷ In this way Zbigniew Bauer opens his analysis of the discussion of Domosławski’s *Ryszard Kapuściński: A Life*. More importantly, though, Bauer in his study refers to Gonzo journalism, as represented by Hunter S. Thompson.³⁸

Bauer’s analysis again brings into focus the potential similarities between Polish and U.S. literary journalism at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, mentioned above with reference to Wańkowicz. Paradoxically, the work of Kapuściński, while often associated with the poetics of the New Journalists, seems to contradict this analogy. This is because of the different sources of literary art, which in his case were determined by the Polish reality of his time.

It was a reality in which the freedom of speech was indeed limited. For reporters who wrote in Poland in the time of Communism, making use of literary devices was often the only way to pass censorship and publish in official circulation. As noted by Diana Kuprel:

In the totalitarian system that governed postwar East-Central Europe, reporters had to employ in their reportage sophisticated strategies of encoding in order to pass censorship, and readers had to deploy a highly developed critical sensibility to decipher the language of allegory and metaphor.

Reporters, borrowing techniques from imaginative literature and approaches from the social sciences . . . , would write about anything but the contemporary Communist system.³⁹

In reportages that dealt with home affairs this so-called “camouflage policy” was based on what Grzegorz Gazda describes as “mały realizm,” which translates as “small realism,” that is, on a narrative strategy “concerned with everyday and mundane reality, without any attempt at generalization or a social diagnosis.”⁴⁰ However, these ordinary events were used to conceal the intended, allegorical sense of the text. In fact, an “everyday reality” depicted by Polish post–World War II reporters abounded in hidden references to the current political situation at home. In overseas reportage, on the other hand, the banned content was often disguised by descriptions of exotic places, seemingly remote from the Polish realities. A prime example of this strategy is the reception of Kapuściński’s *The Emperor*, which was read—both at home and abroad—as a parable and an allusion to the Communist government in Poland.⁴¹

By contrast, the literary quality of the works of the New Journalists, immersed in the liberal atmosphere of the U.S. counterculture, stemmed from radically different sources. It was a symptom of the experimental attitude as well as the basis of a dispute with the worn-out models of objective journalism and—according to Wolfe—with contemporary literature, which he claimed shunned current social issues.⁴²

It is also worth noting the fact that U.S. prose moved away from realism can be associated with postmodernism. Jerzy Durczak argues that, in the 1960s, the growing popularity of antiveristic tendencies in the U.S. literature was caused—among others—by exploring works of writers soon to be labeled as postmodern (e.g., Thomas Pynchon, John Barth, Robert Coover, John Hawkes). As Durczak points out, all these authors considered imagination and metaliterary reflection to be “more important for artist than the realistic depiction of society and the mechanisms of its functioning.”⁴³ In contrast, postmodernism was never fully present in Polish literature as it was in prose removed from realism. In the 1970s, there was a widespread opinion in Poland that fiction was useless and works that openly ignored real-life problems were dismissed. Thus, reportage was not meant to counterbalance literature but, on the contrary, to reestablish its genre principles.

To conclude these considerations, reporters’ writing in the 1960s and 1970s was promoted to the category of art in different ways in Poland and in the United States. The frames of the Communist regime and socialist reality precluded the provocative, defiant formula used by the New Journalists. In Poland, the openly interventionist function of the genre was hence replaced

by the literary poetics of camouflage, that is, “small realism,” which became much more popular with reporters than did the radical ideas proposed by Wańkowicz.

This preference remained unchanged even after the period of violent workers’ demonstrations and the wave of strikes on the Polish coast in August 1980.⁴⁴ Both publishers and critics voiced opinions asserting the crisis of reportage and artistic stagnation of its authors.⁴⁵ While theoretically providing conditions similar to those that the counterculture created for the New Journalists, the turbulent changes of the sociopolitical scene in Poland did not produce a spirit of artistic liberation. In the 1980s many journalists quit the profession and works in official circulation were still subject to censorship. The situation was further aggravated by the collapse of the printing industry, affecting in particular the book form of reportage.

Finally, it is worth noting that while originally published in daily press and periodicals, reporters’ texts were also available from literary publishing houses. This is another feature of Polish reportage, closely related with the national book market.

The Press or the Book? Reportage in the Polish Book Market

The fact that reporters’ prose spread to the publishing sector does not necessarily mean their style became more literary. It can be said that not all book editions demonstrate high artistic merit. Likewise, it can be said that press-printed texts may represent a writing style that is way more sophisticated than that of typical fact-based narratives. Still, the problem of the medium seems important to the present discussion because, in Poland, collections of reportage—both those written to be published in book form and those originally published in the press—have been an integral part of national literary production.

This is shown by the fact that reporters’ works appear in the catalogs of the most prominent publishing houses, often as part of thematic series. One of the most recognizable reportage series has been established by the Czarne (Black) Publishing House, which actively promotes Polish and foreign reportage. Literary journalism is also propagated by the Institute of Reportage in Warsaw, which runs the publishing house Dowody na Istnienie (Evidence for existence), named after the title of Hanna Krall’s book, and by a nonfiction bookshop combined with a coffee bar, Wrzenie Świata (Boiling of the world), named after the four-volume collection of Kapuściński’s writings published in the late 1980s. Books written by Polish reporters feature prominently in all-Poland literary contests. There is also the Ryszard Kapuściński Award,⁴⁶ dedicated specifically to literary reportage, which is gaining in prestige.

There are various reasons for this contemporary trend in the history of the genre. The popularization of book-length reportage in Poland resulted, among other reasons, from changes in the preferences concerning the reception of news in the mass media. Ziątek points out that reportage “calls for a democratic audience,”⁴⁷ thus making use of outlets that offer unlimited access to current information. In the interwar, 1918–1939 period, newspapers were vehicles of such content for Polish readers. Reporters published their texts in all-Poland leftist magazines (in particular, in *Miesięcznik Literacki* [Literary monthly], which promoted nonfiction) and in sociocultural weeklies (e.g., in the prominent *Wiadomości Literackie* [Literary news]). Book editions of reportage, printed by private-sector publishing and bookselling houses, were at that time elitist. Lucjan Biliński observes that because of the high cost and limitations connected with the then-common illiteracy, “the book was generally inaccessible for a wide range of potential receivers.”⁴⁸

This situation changed radically after World War II because of an education program introduced by the Communist government. A large-scale action aimed at making books popular among the masses and promoting reading habits helped to restore Poland’s cultural heritage. During World War II, a major part of national book collections was destroyed as a result of military action or the purposeful policy of the occupying forces. In the planned restoration, reportage played an important role, because it satisfied the basic need of the centrally controlled publishing market—it enabled education of the society in the spirit of socialism.

This assumption influenced the choice of books published in the first years of the People’s Republic of Poland (PRL), established after World War II under Communist rule. Apart from works of literary classics and professional writings, the market was dominated by sociopolitical literature,⁴⁹ which readily made use of reportage techniques. These texts, often in the form of a commentary on the current Polish and world politics, were mostly—but obviously not with the same intensity—infused with ideological content. Dariusz Jarosz argues that in post-World War II Poland, the term “sociopolitical book” actually referred to multiple and diverse writing genres: belles-lettres, publicity, reportage, popular science, or strictly scientific papers on social, political, and economic issues. However, the one trait all these publications shared was “the direct utility in forming the awareness, attitudes and social behaviors recognized as appropriate by the Communist authorities.”⁵⁰

The official governmental propaganda noted above was directly denounced by underground prints, published in the second half of the 1970s in the so-called “second circulation” (which also included reprints from emigrant publishing houses outside Poland).⁵¹ This term refers to both the “pub-

lishing movement outside the reach of censorship” and the “social-cultural movement, which was organised independently of the PRL authorities.”⁵² Stanisław Siekierski states that sociopolitical literature (which consisted primarily of journalistic writing) made up approximately forty percent of books published in the “second circulation” in Poland between 1976 and 1986. During that period, all the Polish underground writers “were sharply critical of the so-called social realism in the USSR and people’s democracy countries.” As noted by Siekierski, this criticism was concerned with “the ideological assumptions, the past, and the existing reality.”⁵³ Moreover, a high proportion of these illegal publications discussed the sociopolitical consequences of martial law imposed in Poland in December 1981 in an attempt to crush the Solidarity movement.⁵⁴

It is also worth noting that these underground books included memoirs, essays, and interviews with dissidents as well as reports documenting current events and activities of the opposition.⁵⁵ Such literary and journalistic works were accompanied by various kinds of archive materials, documents, reprints of history textbooks, or lexicons created before World War II and by emigrants to other countries, articles, and monographs concerning post-World War II Poland. As noted by Magdalena Mikołajczyk, all these forms were qualified by Polish underground publishers as source materials compatible with the existing “preference for the documentary record of the epoch.”⁵⁶ With regard to reportage, providing this kind of record was the purpose of many texts published in the Reporters’ Series OKO (Eye), founded by the underground publishing house Pokolenie (Generation).⁵⁷

For underground publishers, the reportage technique was a means to fill in the missing pages in the censored history of Poland. As noted by Ryszard Ciemiński: “Virtually all generations of reporters . . . were to meet first in the second circulation press and somewhat later in the second circulation books. Knowing little of one another and, with few exceptions, never coming in touch, they all sat to write their yet unwritten books.”⁵⁸ This observation demonstrates the characteristic feature of Polish underground publishing, which initially focused on magazines. Individual houses usually emerged as outlets for specific press titles, with the uncensored materials supplementing texts printed in various journals, periodicals, and booklets, known as *bibuła* (independent, illegal publications). It must be noted, however, that underground book reportage, published with primitive printing methods, did not fully respect the principles of the genre. It often overlapped with other nonfiction genres, in particular, with memoirs and interviews.

As mentioned above, while reporters’ books that were published underground criticized the party elites’ abuse of power, those published officially

were often used to mold desirable social attitudes. Jarosz describes these behaviors as “socialist patriotism,”⁵⁹ defined by anti-clericalism, leftist interpretation of the past and contemporary history, proletarian class consciousness, as well as criticism of the so-called bourgeois ideology and revisionism.

It should be noted, though, that Polish readers were explicitly indoctrinated with such ideas primarily in the Stalinist period, through classic Marxist texts and socialist-realistic books.⁶⁰ However, after the political thaw of 1956 (also known as “Gomułka’s Thaw” or “Polish October”),⁶¹ when the process of de-Stalinization reached its climax in Poland, the number of works renouncing the propagandist tone in favor of the “camouflage” policy—discussed earlier—distinctively increased. Apart from that, clearly not all reportage books published in official circulation aspired to demonstrate high levels of political engagement.

Paradoxically, the last remark applies also to reportage practices remote from exclusively ideological intent, yet well-received by the Communist regime. By way of explanation, a separate note must be provided here. In post-World War II Poland, fact-based literature referring to socialist principles served in some cases educational goals perceived as a priority. For instance, reportage technique spread to popular science prose that promoted knowledge from various fields. By providing a long-term social value, this didactic approach was consistent with the prime directives of the then-governing party. Regardless of the political basis, this educational attitude may be seen as valuable from the contemporary perspective as well.

Furthermore, the ambition to educate and improve citizens was also visible in children’s and youth literature, which was the speciality of the National Publishing House Iskry (Sparks) founded in the 1950s. Its range of publications included reporters’ works seeking to arouse interest in the surrounding world. Urszula Kowalewska noted that “virtually from the beginning of its activity, this publishing house drew outstanding, original journalists, in this way forming a kind of Polish post-war school of reportage.”⁶² Widely read book series, including *Naokoło świata* (Around the world) and *Świat się zmienia* (The world is changing), contributed to this development with stories written by reporters and travelers in adventure-book style. In this way the publishing house developed a recognizable brand of fictionalized reportage describing expeditions to remote parts of the globe and aspiring to educate young minds.

Incidentally, it should also be pointed out that a large number of those far-off-land stories—especially the ones taking place in Third World countries—represented the poetics of Cold War socialist internationalism. On the whole, the term referred to a policy of maintaining political, economic, and cross-cultural friendship relations within the Soviet Bloc.⁶³ This principle had

a noticeable impact on travel destination choices made by Polish correspondents and, thus, resulted in reportage series depicting the PRL's allied nations. These "solidarity" publications were compatible with the government's education program mentioned earlier, as they provided the reading public with current accounts of places regarded as socialist-friendly. The discussed trend—shown, for example, in Ryszard Kapuściński's well-known reportage books concerning the Third World⁶⁴—seems to be another evidence of Polish reporters' problematic but, at least in Kapuściński's case, not so patently obvious entanglement with the ideology.

To return to the previous point, the adventure variety of reportage gained an enormous popularity with readers and publishers in Poland under Communist rule (continuing also after the political transformation of the country⁶⁵). In addition, in the second half of the twentieth century, reportage books were brought out on a massive scale in sociopolitical and general book series. These were published by leading Polish publishing houses, such as the publishing cooperative Czytelnik (Reader), the first press founded in Poland after World War II, which brought out early editions of Kapuściński's works.

However, despite the growing number of reportage books published, at that time reportage was still more popular in the press. It became "the basic genre in literary and sociocultural weeklies,"⁶⁶ such as *Po prostu* (Simply), *Świat* (World), *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Cultural overview), *Życie Literackie* (Literary life), *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal weekly), *Nowa Kultura* (New culture), and *Polityka* (Politics). In the 1970s, reporters' works continued to be popularized mainly by two journals: *Literatura* (Literature), published in Warsaw, and the monthly *Kontrasty* (Contrasts), published in Białystok.

Interestingly, since the 1920s and 1930s, and throughout the whole post-World War II period, pieces of reportage were often published in literary studies periodicals or next to texts that concerned the theory of literature. For example, reporters' works as well as the genology of reportage, that is, a description of the genre, were regularly discussed by critics in the literary annual *Rocznik Literacki* (Literary yearbook). In the late 1950s, the editorial board of this magazine established a separate reportage section. However, as noted by Joanna Jeziorska-Haładyj, in the 1960s, reportages were published in the journal alongside fiction genres, such as novels and novelettes,⁶⁷ whereas in the 1970s, the reportage section was incorporated into a broad and diverse prose section.⁶⁸

This trend demonstrates once again that in Poland reportage was closely associated with the field of newspaper and other periodical literature on the one hand and with the book market on the other. Its connection with the latter was reinforced by the fact that most texts published in journals were later

reprinted in single-authored collections or in anthologies, which often came into being after journalism contests. As noted by Krystyna Goldbergowa, a longtime editor of *Iskry* and a propagator of the works of Polish reporters, book editions "were never mirror images of the reportage pieces published in the press."⁶⁹ Although this remark can be read as an attempt to elevate the status of reportage books, Goldbergowa's perspective taken here positions them as inferior with regard to the first press editions. It seems so because Goldbergowa defines the book form of reportage not by its own characteristic qualities (implied by the specificity of the book medium), but by measuring its distance from the press reportage. Thus, she unwittingly exposes the dependence of book reportage on the press variety of the genre.

This poses the question of the autonomy of reportage in the book and the press sector. In Poland, the line between these two has always been fuzzy, as clearly demonstrated by the *Ekspres reporterów* (Reporters' express) series, popular at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. The publishing house advertised it as "the only reportage book series on the Polish book market which addresses up-to-date issues."⁷⁰ Volumes appeared monthly, each containing three pieces: one concerned with a particular event, another discussing socio-cultural problems, and the third one in the form of detective reportage. Thus, *Ekspres reporterów* preserved the press formula and regularity, but in size and volume, it resembled a book. As Lech Borski emphasized in the mid-1980s, it is because of this literary context that publishing in this series was regarded as elevating, especially for young, aspiring authors.⁷¹

Also, today in Poland reportage books are still viewed as a symbol of professional prestige and a complement to the writer's activity in the press. This is demonstrated by *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Electoral newspaper), a high-circulation, sociopolitical daily, which since the early 1990s has been leading the way in promoting Polish reporters. It boasts the biggest reportage section among national papers, first supervised by Hanna Krall and later developed by a long-term editor and journalist Małgorzata Szejnert. Texts published in *Wyborcza* seem to be a prime example of the overlap between press and book reportage. On the one hand, works by authors collaborating with the daily appear in the newspaper's weekly reportage supplement *Duży Format* (Big format). On the other, they are often reprinted in book form by literary publishing houses, such as *Czarne*, *Dowody na Istnienie*, and *Agora* (which is also the publisher of *Wyborcza*).

In her analysis of *Agora*'s position in the Polish literary market, Agnieszka Chamera-Nowak draws radical conclusions: "The press reportage becomes truly successful if it gets published in a book form."⁷² Such a statement may seem radical because the author, whether intentionally or not, implies that

the press reportage itself is not commercially viable or formally attractive enough to gain a wide reading public without an explicit literary signature. In doing so, she clearly emphasizes the preference for book reportage among contemporary Polish readers.

Still, it must be noted that books of reportage published in Poland today are increasingly more remote from the genre prototype. With characteristic subjectivization, stylistic experiments, and adaptation of schemata characteristic of diaristic and essayistic prose, they seem closer to the Wańkowicz paradigm than to the self-disciplined approach advocated by Kąkolewski. Thus, it appears that they are indicative of a transformation of the literary reportage towards journalistic fiction—a hybrid form, but still retaining general characteristics of the original genre.

Literary Reportage or Journalistic Fiction?

In Poland, similar observations have been made by multiple scholars, who have drawn attention to the progressive tightening of the association between art and reportage. Ziątek goes so far as to regard the expansion of this genre as one of the three factors that “shaped the Polish fact-based prose of the twentieth century: directly, by its own development towards literary maturity; and indirectly, by its impact on experimental quests in the field of fiction.”⁷³ Moreover, in his discussion of the present condition of reportage, in turn, Ziątek observes, harking back to the 1920s to 1930s, interwar period:

At the moment we witness a nearly exact reversal of the pre-war situation: there do not seem to be any fact-oriented trends in artistic prose, or even less so reportage-style developments. In contrast, there are increasingly more frequent and more noticeable symptoms of reportage being treated as literature—both by those who write it and by those who read.⁷⁴

According to Ziątek and other scholars, literary reportage is inseparable from journalistic fiction, as it adapts narrative techniques, at the same time engaging in current events and evolving according to their course. Even a brief survey of this evolution shows that the twentieth-century body of texts by Polish reporters is a result of a constant struggle and search for a universal form of expression. This universal technique was to reconcile apparently opposite elements: the social expectations associated with reportage and artistic aspirations of the authors, which were in principled conflict with the journalists' ethos.

The first element is, of course, directly related to the journalistic character of the genre. As Zbigniew Kwiatkowski notes, reportage is “one of the most sensitive barometers indicating changes in the beat of political and social life.”⁷⁵ As shown by the analysis of book reportage published during the Communist

period, the journalistic character is clearly visible in the prose of Polish reporters, who were treated as proponents of ideology, propagators of knowledge, or advocates of freedom, depending on the changing historical context.

It should be noted, however, that the historical variability of social roles seems to be a rather universal attribute of all reporters, regardless of their national background. This assumption is reflected, among others, in Paweł Urbaniak's study on reportage as a source of knowledge about society. Based on the model of communication proposed in the 1950s by Bruce H. Westley and Malcolm S. MacLean, Urbaniak compares reporters to “professional communicators” situated between the social world and its receivers. He enumerates multiple functions of such communicators (e.g., the role of interviewer, gatekeeper, rapporteur, analyst, researcher, interpreter), depending on current social demands. Urbaniak's final conclusion is that in each case “a reporter assumes the role of an intermediary, although the nature of this intermediation is obviously diverse.”⁷⁶

As pointed out previously, the diversity of social demands has had a direct impact on the changes in reporters' social status in Poland. At the same time, the literary element in Polish reportage, present in the debates over fiction and in the allegorical poetics of some texts, is also undergoing a considerable transformation in the age of digital media. For example, in Poland, multimedia reportage has been rapidly developing for some time, and there are also inspirations borrowed from transmedia storytelling. The written mode of the genre is thus constantly competing against the internet reception mode, marked by the dominance of audiovisual culture and interactive involvement with the audience.

These factors are gradually forcing literary reportage out of the printed press. In Poland, the tradition of press reportage is continued on a large scale only by *Gazeta Wyborcza*, although, as pointed out by Chamera-Nowak, its reportage supplement brings no real profit and is published mainly for the reason of prestige.⁷⁷ Małgorzata Wyszynska notes that, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, press reportage has no longer been profitable for editorial boards in Poland and, thus, has been regarded as a “dispensable” and “aristocratic” genre. Wyszynska argues that when a newspaper has financial problems, reportage is more likely to disappear from the columns than news or publicity. The reason for this is that reporting “requires time, profound documentation, costly business trips, arduous work on the form, and the ability to empathize.”⁷⁸

On the other hand, Beata Szady has noted that Polish reporters themselves gradually resign from publishing in the press, due to low wages. Szady regards book publishing houses as an alternative way of funding reportage, but she also makes it clear that, for the time being, book publishers in Poland

are not yet prepared to cover the cost of such reportage production.⁷⁹

These changes call for a redefinition of the general assumptions of Polish reportage and its major directions of development. This need is emphasized by Ziątek, who observes that “driving reportage out of the press means cutting its umbilical cord and suspending the criteria of currency and eyewitness account, thus making it look for another *raison d’être*.”⁸⁰

An analysis of the dynamic transformations in the media market in Poland helps identify two potential directions of further evolution of Polish reportage. On the one hand, it seems beyond doubt that its expansion in the digital world will continue, thus consolidating hybrid forms of multimedia journalism. On the other hand, whether book reportage will continue developing remains uncertain, although current publication trends might support this view.

This prediction may be supported, for instance, by the fact that the book format manages, at least partly, to overcome the limitations of space and funds that are held responsible for the gradual disappearance of the press variety of the genre. The book format also offers favorable conditions for artistic expression and, in this way, corresponds with the literary tradition of Polish reportage and preferences of Polish readers. The book as a media form has long been adapted to audiovisual format. Its electronic editions do not preclude parallel printed versions, which cater to subconscious communication habits of the receivers. Thus, a chance for written reportage to survive appears real not only in Poland, but also in other nations.

In conclusion, as Marcin Rychlewski observes, “More and more frequently . . . we come face to face with a printed word via screens or monitors. However, the media revolution has not made its assimilation impossible for us.”⁸¹

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Notes

¹ Wyka, *Pogranicze powieści*, 83.

² See Sims, *True Stories*, 6–8.

³ Sztachelska, “Reportaż,” 156 (translation mine). The author expresses deep gratitude to Krystyna Warchał, who translated the first-submission manuscript to English from the original Polish and provided ongoing consultation for the author’s further revisions.

⁴ Sztachelska, 159 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁵ Ziątek, “Autentyzm rozpoznai społecznych,” 701 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁶ The Polish reader more often gained insight into the exotic parts of the world from writers and travelers than from professional journalists. This variety of Polish interwar reportage is exemplified, among others, by Arkady Fiedler, the patron of the award for the best travel book, which has been granted in Poland since the mid-1990s. See “Nagroda [Prizes].”

⁷ Pruszyński, *W czerwonej Hiszpanii*; Wańkiewicz, *Na tropach Smętki*; Wańkiewicz, *Bitwa o Monte Cassino*.

⁸ Niedzielski, *O teoretycznoliterackich tradycjach prozy dokumentarnej*, 110 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁹ See Niedzielski, 122–36.

¹⁰ Rurawski, “O reportażu,” 17.

¹¹ Ziątek, “Literatura faktu,” 84.

¹² Faron, “Przedmieście,” 253.

¹³ Solidarność [Solidarity] is a Polish trade union founded in 1980 under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa. In the 1980s, Solidarity was an anti-Communist resistance movement, whose members used the methods of nonviolent action to fight for workers’ rights and sociopolitical reforms. The Solidarity-led opposition resulted in semi-free elections in 1989 and is regarded as a symbol of the fall of Communism in Poland. For further reading, see, for example: Goodwyn, *Breaking the Barrier: The Rise of Solidarity in Poland*.

¹⁴ Many non-Polish studies use the title “father of Polish reportage” to refer to Ryszard Kapuściński, the most recognizable Polish reportage author worldwide. It must be noted, though, that Kapuściński represents the second generation of reporters, born in the 1930s and publishing their first texts in the 1950s and 1960s, that is, long after Wańkiewicz earned the title.

¹⁵ Wańkiewicz, *Prosto od krowy*, 48 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

¹⁶ Wańkiewicz, *Karafka La Fontaine’a*. Wańkiewicz published the first volume of *Karafka La Fontaine’a* in 1972, and the second volume was published posthumously in 1981. In the study, I refer to the reprints of both volumes from 1983 and 1984.

¹⁷ Niedzielski, *O teoretycznoliterackich tradycjach*, 144.

¹⁸ Niedzielski, 151 (translation mine).

¹⁹ Niedzielski, 149 (translation mine).

²⁰ Occupation was also a frequent topic of documentary-style fiction. However, fiction cannot be analyzed according to the criteria applied to classical reportage.

²¹ Bogołębska, “Dydaktyzm reportażu socrealizmu,” 26 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

²² Hartsock, “Literary Reportage,” 39.

²³ Ziółkowska-Boehm, *Melchior Wańkowicz*, 7.

²⁴ The term “Raging Reporter” refers to the German title of Kisch’s book *Der rasende Reporter*. Kisch himself has also earned a reputation as a “Raging Reporter,” due to his adventurous life. See Kisch, *Der rasende Reporter*.

²⁵ Wańkowicz, *Karafka La Fontaine’a*, 1:196 (translation mine).

²⁶ All these North American travels resulted in several reportage and memoir works, among others: a 1927 collection of political travel writings, *W kościołach Meksyku* [In the churches of Mexico]; a book on the history of Polish immigrants in Canada entitled *Tworzywo* [Material], published in 1954—see also its 1973 English translation by Krystyna Cękalska: *Three Generations*; as well as *W ślady Kolumba* [In the footsteps of Columbus]—a three-volume reportage series on the United States, published from 1967 through 1969. For more biographical details, see Ziółkowska-Boehm, *Melchior Wańkowicz*.

²⁷ Leonard, “Journalism as Artistic Expression,” 11.

²⁸ See Leonard, 7–10.

²⁹ See Wańkowicz, *Karafka La Fontaine’a*, 1:548.

³⁰ Wolfe, “The New Journalism,” 31–33.

³¹ Paradoxically, despite the growing tendency to treat reportage as a literary genre, in the time of the People’s Republic of Poland reportage was not accompanied by specialized criticism coming from outsiders. As noted by Jerzy Jastrzębski, criticism of reporters’ writing had been, since the late 1970s, given as a “colleague self-service,” that is, as a service to their colleagues, “which contributed to the effect of a closed circle.” Jastrzębski, “Prawdy reportażu,” 191 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

³² Kąkolewski, “Wokół estetyki faktu,” 269 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

³³ Kąkolewski, *Wańkowicz krzepi* [Wańkowicz invigorates].

³⁴ Zimnoch, “Literary Journalism in Poland,” 9.

³⁵ See, for example: Marcus, “Prejudice and Ignorance in Reviewing Books about Africa,” 373–78; Ryle, “At Play in the Bush of Ghosts,” 1–16, para. 5ff.

³⁶ Published in English as Domosławski, *Ryszard Kapuściński: A Life*. Translated by Antonia Lloyd-Jones. Polish scholars and critics received the biography (originally titled: *Kapuściński non-fiction*) as controversial, not only because it raised heated discussions on fictional elements in literary reportage, but also due to the way in which Domosławski presented intimate details of Kapuściński’s family life and alleged relationship with the Communist regime. See, for example: Zajas, “Wokół *Kapuściński non-fiction*.”

³⁷ Bauer, “Dziennikarstwo ‘gonzo,’” 81 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

³⁸ See Bauer, 88–92.

³⁹ Kuprel, “Literary Reportage,” 385. The allegorization strategies developed by Polish reporters (with special emphasis on the use of the so-called Aesopian language) are also discussed by Susan Greenberg. See Greenberg, “Kapuściński and

Beyond,” 123–40.

⁴⁰ Gazda, “Mały realizm,” 278 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁴¹ An in-depth analysis of the analogies between the mechanisms of Ethiopian dictatorship described in the book and the Edward Gierek regime can be found in Tighe, “Ryszard Kapuściński and *The Emperor*,” 922–38.

⁴² See Wolfe, “The New Journalism,” 28–29.

⁴³ Durczak, “Nowe Dziennikarstwo,” 2:330 (translation mine).

⁴⁴ In mid-August 1980, thousands of shipyard workers led by Lech Wałęsa went on strike in Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk. They demanded labor reforms and the reinstatement of a crane operator, Anna Walentynowicz, who was dismissed due to her engagement in trade union activities. The strike quickly transformed into a massive wave of antigovernment demonstrations in other cities located along Poland’s Baltic coast. Those events resulted, among other things, in the formation of Solidarity. See, for example: Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980–82*.

⁴⁵ This is demonstrated by the telling titles of some contemporary publications. See, for example: Goldbergowa, “Jak odrodzić reportaż?” [How to revive reportage?], 3–8; Sidorski, “Czy agonía reportażu?” [Is reportage in agony?], 40–41; Branach, “Pogrzeb bez nieboszczyka” [A funeral without a corpse], 37–38.

⁴⁶ See Nagroda im.

⁴⁷ Ziątek, “Autentyzm rozpoznań społecznych,” 701 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁴⁸ Biliński, *Zarys rozwoju ruchu wydawniczego w Polsce Ludowej*, 14 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁴⁹ Biliński reports that “the publishing output in the field of sociopolitical literature in the years 1945–1951 amounted to about 3,500 titles, with the total printed copies of 50 million copies.” Biliński, 23 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁵⁰ Jarosz, “Władza a książka społeczno-polityczna w PRL 1956–1989,” 136 (translation mine).

⁵¹ A considerable part of the underground publishing in Poland comprised reprints of emigrant publications (press articles, books, excerpts from diaries, poems, etc.), especially the ones previously published in the Paris-based monthly *Kultura* [Culture], edited by Jerzy Giedroyc. See Siekierski, “Wydawnictwa drugiego obiegu 1976–1986,” 24.

⁵² Tatarowski, “Enclaves of freedom,” 201–202.

⁵³ Siekierski, “Wydawnictwa drugiego,” 26 (translation mine).

⁵⁴ See Siekierski, 26.

⁵⁵ See, for example, books published by Independent Publishing House ‘NOWA’: *Wspomnienia starobielskie* [Memories of Starobielsk] by Józef Czapski—re-edited memoirs of the author’s stay in a Soviet prison camp (1979); *Niezlomny z Londynu i inne eseje (lektury więzienne)* [The indomitable Londoner and other essays (prison readings)] by journalist and former dissident Adam Michnik (1984); *Szczecin: Grudzień—Sierpień—Grudzień* [Szczecin: December—August—December] by reporters Małgorzata Szejnert and Tomasz Zalewski (1984)—a reportage on anti-Communist workers’ strikes along Poland’s Baltic coast in 1980. Among other

uncensored prints, particularly worth mentioning is the collection of interviews with Solidarity activists by Maciej Łopiński, Marcin Moskit (real name: Zbigniew Gach), and Mariusz Wilk, entitled *Konspira: Rzecz o podziemnej "Solidarności"* [lit. Conspiracy: On the underground "Solidarity"]. The book was first published in 1984 in Warsaw (by the independent publishing house Przedświt [Dawn]) and in Paris (by the Polish emigrant publishing house Editions Spotkania [Encounters]). See also the 1990 English edition of the book entitled *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, translated by Jane Cave.

⁵⁶ Mikołajczyk, *Jak się pisało o historii . . . Problemy polityczne*, 25 (translation mine).

⁵⁷ See, for example, Krall, *Trudności ze ustawianiem* [Difficulties in getting up]. The book contains various pieces of reportage depicting everyday life in Communist Poland, including texts concerning workers' strikes (e.g., a portrait of trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz).

⁵⁸ Ciemiński, "Literatura faktu drugiego obiegu—próba rejestru," 20 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁵⁹ Jarosz, "Władza a książka" 145 (translation mine).

⁶⁰ See Jarosz, 133–34.

⁶¹ See, for example: Kemp-Welch, "Dethroning Stalin," 1261–84; Rowiński, *The Polish October 1956*.

⁶² Kowalewska, "Profil wydawniczy Państwowego Wydawnictwa 'Iskry' w latach 1952–1992," 269 (translation by Krystyna Warchał). Iskry also published reportage prose addressed to an older readership, which fell outside the adventure-travel form. It brought out book debuts by Krzysztof Kąkolowski, Hanna Krall, and selected works of other well-known reportage writers, including Jerzy Lovell, Jerzy Ambroziewicz, Olgierd Budrewicz, and Kazimierz Dziewanowski.

⁶³ For more details, see, for example: Kott, "Cold War Internationalism," 340–62.

⁶⁴ See Zubel, "Black Stars, Red Stars," 131–49. Zubel broadens the analysis of Kapuściński's engagement with socialist internationalism in her PhD dissertation, "Literary Reportage and the Poetics of Cold War Internationalism."

⁶⁵ The *Naokoło świata* book series was renamed to *Dookoła świata* and continued in the 1990s by MUZA, one of the biggest publishing houses in Poland (see Kowalewska, "Rola polskich serii książkowych na przykładzie serii Państwowego Wydawnictwa 'Iskry' w latach 1956–1992," 106). Travel reportage belongs now to the most frequently published kinds of Polish reportage books. Travel reportage pieces are also published in the illustrated travel journal *Kontynenty* [Continents] (<https://magazynkontynenty.pl/>).

⁶⁶ Niedzielski, "Reportaż," 2:99 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁶⁷ Jeziorska-Haładyj, "Literacenie?" 18.

⁶⁸ Jeziorska-Haładyj, 21.

⁶⁹ Goldbergowa, "Kryzys reportażu?" 4 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷⁰ Wolny, *O poetyce współczesnego reportażu polskiego 1945–1985*, 85 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷¹ See Borski, "Bez pary," 128.

⁷² Chamera-Nowak, "Reportaż jako produkt," 132 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷³ Ziątek, *Wiek dokumentu*, 15 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷⁴ Ziątek, "Dwa dwudziestolecia," 358 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷⁵ Kwiatkowski, "O reportażu raz jeszcze," 1 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁷⁶ Urbaniak, "Reportaż jako źródło wiedzy o społeczeństwie," 45 (translation mine). See also Westley and MacLean, "A Conceptual Model for Communications Research," 31–38.

⁷⁷ Chamera-Nowak, 132.

⁷⁸ Wyszyńska, "Życie zwielokrotnione," 42 (translation mine).

⁷⁹ Szady, "Kondycja współczesnego polskiego reportażu," 79.

⁸⁰ Ziątek, "Dwa dwudziestolecia," 360 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

⁸¹ Rychlewski, *Książka jako towar*, 188 (translation by Krystyna Warchał).

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