

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics  
Jane Leftwich Curry  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

**POLAND'S JOURNALISTS  
PROFESSIONALISM AND  
POLITICS**

**Soviet and East European Studies: 66**

*Editorial Board*

Ronald Hill (*General editor*), Judy Batt, Michael Kaser,  
Anthony Kemp-Welch, Margot Light, Alastair McAuley,  
James Riordan, Stephen White

*Soviet and East European Studies*, under the auspices of Cambridge University Press and the British Association for Soviet, Slavonic and East European Studies (BASSEES), promotes the publication of works presenting substantial and original research on the economics, politics, sociology and modern history of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics

Jane Leftwich Curry

Frontmatter

[More information](#)**Soviet and East European Studies**

- 69 CHRIS WARD  
Russia's cotton workers and the New Economic Policy  
*Shop-floor culture and state policy 1921–1929*
- 68 LÁSZLÓ CSABA  
Eastern Europe in the world economy
- 67 MICHAEL E. URBAN  
An algebra of Soviet power  
*Elite circulation in the Belorussian Republic 1966–1986*
- 66 JANE L. CURRY  
Poland's journalists: professionalism and politics
- 65 MARTIN MYANT  
The Czechoslovak economy 1948–1988  
*The battle for economic reform*
- 64 XAVIER RICHEL  
The Hungarian model: markets and planning in a socialist economy
- 63 PAUL G. LEWIS  
Political authority and party secretaries in Poland 1975–1986
- 62 BENJAMIN PINKUS  
The Jews of the Soviet Union  
*The history of a national minority*
- 61 FRANCESCO BENVENUTI  
The Bolsheviks and the Red Army, 1918–1922
- 60 HIROAKI KUROMIYA  
Stalin's industrial revolution  
*Politics and workers, 1928–1932*
- 59 LEWIS SIEGELBAUM  
Stakhanovism and the politics of productivity in the USSR, 1935–1941
- 58 JOZEF M. VAN BRABANT  
Adjustment, structural change and economic efficiency  
*Aspects of monetary cooperation in Eastern Europe*
- 57 ILIANA ZLOCH-CHRISTY  
Debt problems of Eastern Europe
- 56 SUSAN BRIDGER  
Women in the Soviet countryside  
*Women's roles in rural development in the Soviet Union*
- 55 ALLEN LYNCH  
The Soviet study of international relations
- 54 DAVID GRANICK  
Job rights in the Soviet Union: their consequences

*Series list continues on p. 299*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics

Jane Leftwich Curry

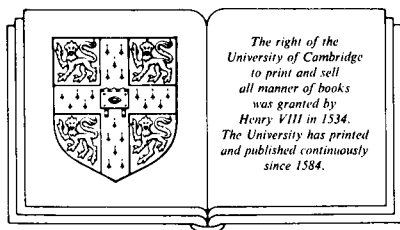
Frontmatter

[More information](#)

# POLAND'S JOURNALISTS PROFESSIONALISM AND POLITICS

---

JANE LEFTWICH CURRY



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics  
 Jane Leftwich Curry  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press  
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
 Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521362016](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521362016)

© Cambridge University Press 1990

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1990

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Curry, Jane Leftwich, 1948–  
 Poland's journalists : professionalism and politics / Jane Curry.  
 p. cm. – (Soviet and East European studies)

Bibliography.

Includes index.

ISBN 0–521–36201–6

1. Journalists – Poland – Biography. 2. Journalism – Political aspects – 19th century – Poland. 3. Journalism – Social aspects – 19th century – Poland. 4. Journalistic ethics – Poland. 5. Mass media – Political aspects – Poland. I. Title. II. Series.

PN5355.P6C8 1989

070.92'2438—dc20 1418 CIP

[B]

ISBN 978-0-521-36201-6 hardback

Transferred to digital printing 2008

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics

Jane Leftwich Curry

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

To Andrew, Matthew, and Megan  
who were born into this book

## Contents

### *Acknowledgments*

<b>1</b>	<b>Journalists as professionals in theory and reality</b>	<i>page</i> 1
	The place of Marxism–Leninism and the mass media	4
	Traditional approaches to groups and policy making: a critique	8
	The professional model	15
	Polish journalists: the virtues of atypicality	23
<b>2</b>	<b>The postwar roots of the profession</b>	35
	First lessons	37
	Stalinism: 1949–1953	39
	The ferment begins: 1953–1955	44
	Radicalization process: from professional to public concerns: 1955–1956	49
	Denouement: 1957–1960	58
	The Gomułka years	62
	The Gierek years	64
	Solidarity and martial law	67
	Journalism history and the Polish media system	69
<b>3</b>	<b>Living and learning journalism</b>	73
	Training for journalism	76
	Lessons of working in journalism	80
	The bureaucratic setting and its lessons	96
	The journalism process	111
<b>4</b>	<b>Professional associations and professional politics</b>	117
	The formal professional organization: the SDP and its successor	121
	Professional leadership	142
		vii

viii	<b>Contents</b>	
	Informal interaction	149
	The influence of political factors and forces on the SDP	151
	Political-professional association relations in a time of crisis	153
	Association realities and political science theories	159
<b>5</b>	<b>Journalists as political actors</b>	161
	Journalists' professional goals	161
	Combining politics and professionalism	163
	"Leadership" positions	165
	Private contacts	174
	Communiqués and publications	179
	Journalists and their publics	181
	Journalists and alternate elites	182
	Public communications channels	186
	Can political action be professional? The journalists' conundrum	201
<b>6</b>	<b>Solidarity and beyond: the critical test of professionals and professionalism</b>	205
	Professional values for all times	207
	Journalists and the challenges of the eighties	212
	The crosscurrents of the Solidarity era	221
	Journalists in a new professional world	232
	The state of war	236
	Conclusion	240
	<i>Appendix Research methodology: unwritten answers</i>	243
	<i>Notes</i>	247
	<i>Select bibliography</i>	289
	<i>Index</i>	295

## Acknowledgments

This book is the product of what was once intended to be boring dissertation research and what became, very rapidly, exciting living history. Its research and writing have been spread over the years as the events of Solidarity and its suppression commanded my attention and that of the journalists about whom I was writing. In the end, the events of the eighties became the final test of the professionalism I had found in the seventies.

It is also a product of the willingness of Polish journalists to be subjects of my research, and their own queries about themselves and their place in Poland. They were interesting for what they had done and written or produced in periods of quiet and of revolution. But, more than that, on an individual basis and as staff members on journals or as the Association leadership and faculty of the School of Journalism in the seventies, they were far ahead of their time – not only in allowing but in facilitating my research into what was still a minefield of taboos for them. I was, thus, able to research them “as people” and not just as words in an archive. What that opened for me was the valuable level of real action in communist societies which, because of the limits imposed by the rulers, must go on behind the scenes. It also meant that my life has been enriched by friendships that continued even after this research ended.

Although the interpretations and errors are very much my own, I am grateful to the journalists I interviewed, the press specialists I asked for information and advice, and the librarians I hounded for more and more access to archives for their time, their willingness to share, and the special sources they shared with me. Some journalists and press specialists not only met with me but continued, as this book evolved, to be willing to answer my continuing queries and search out whatever answers they did not have. Some, who shall go unnamed, even gave of their time to read this manuscript in its various stages and pick up my



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-36201-6 - Poland's Journalists Professionalism and Politics

Jane Leftwich Curry

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

**x Acknowledgments**

---

errors or challenge my interpretations. Although we did not always agree, my understanding is far richer for their help.

This research was made possible by funding, at various times, from the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Fulbright Commission, and the Rolf Kauntenbourne Foundation. I am also very grateful for the tactical and real support that I received over the years from the faculty and students at Manhattanville College, Columbia University, Vassar College, and Santa Clara University.

Some sections reflect, in part, the additional research that I did on the mass media while I was a consultant on the Rand Corporation project on the Media and Intra-Elite Communication in Poland and the Soviet Union. There, not only was I able to test my data and evaluations with interviews we did with *émigré* Polish journalists but I also received the invaluable mentoring of A. Ross Johnson who, with truly unlimited patience, honed my thinking and writing.

My colleagues provided me with seemingly unlimited personal support and remained convinced that Polish journalists were at least almost as interesting as I thought they were. For this, I am particularly grateful to Jarek Piekalkiewicz, Andrzej Korboński, Sharon Wolchik, Sarah Terry, Owen Johnson, Charles Gati, Erik Hoffman, George Liber, Bill Balderston, Steve Dubrow, Robert Scott, and Anne Snodgrass.

Elsa Dixler and Sheila McEnery did much to make my prose as readable as it is. Małgorzata Terentiew, Renata Siemieńska, and Angela Lauer all did the yeoman's task of keeping the details straight in my writing. Any errors, however, remain my responsibility.

Finally, on a personal level, I am grateful to my parents for their presence, to all those who gave me the time to write (especially Elizabeth Closs, Carolyn Lindsey, and Paul Bignall) and to my children, Andrew, Matthew, and Megan, who provided me with joy and companionship as I researched and wrote. I only hope that the difficulties of having a mom who was always "almost finished" have been made up for by the Poles who have come to be uncles and aunts.