

ARCHIVE

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PAUL ELUARD'S ADDRESS AT THE WORLD CONGRESS OF INTELLECTUALS IN DEFENCE OF PEACE, 1948

I INTRODUCTION

The 20 August 1948 issue of Odrodzenie weekly featured a photographic profile portrait of a man holding a newspaper. It was Paul Eluard, the caption said.¹ The photo can be analysed in two aspects, direct and metaphorical. The direct layer opens the column of photographic portrayals of Members of the French Delegation to the Congress in Wrocław. Below the Eluard portrait, the effigies of Laurent Casanova, Vercors, Louis Aragon, Claude Aveline, Armand Salacrou, Le Corbusier, and Jean-Louis Barrault were placed. The team was made of twenty-seven delegates, and a portrait of Irène Joliot-Curie and her husband Frédéric was published on the front page. The selection and arrangement of the photos might have been incidental, but it may as well have reflected an underlying design. Basically, Eluard positioned above Aragon and Vercors might have been in line with the inviter's sympathies.

This incites one to look at the photograph from a different perspective, treating it as a cultural text to communicate a specific content, consciously or unconsciously. In this perspective, the grasped details seem to be critical. It takes a while to note that the paper Eluard is 'reading' is Odrodzenie.² The problem is that the French poet had no command of Polish, and it is hard to suspect him of particular interest in Andrzej Strug, as it is an article about this Polish writer that he is apparently studying. So, it was not about a specific issue but the periodical as such. Can this sign be approached as authentication of shared convictions of the French artist and the Polish

¹ 'Delegaci francuscy na kongres wrocławski', *Odrodzenie*, 35 (1948), 3. *Odrodzenie* – one of the most important Polish literary magazines published between 1944 and 1950, its editors-in-chief were Karol Kuryluk and Jerzy Borejsza.

² See *Odrodzenie*, 49 (1947), 1.

journal? Or, of a peculiar sympathy and artistic patronage manifested by his poems published in what was the tribune of 'soft communist revolution' in Poland? Probably, all these aspects and contents, direct and metaphorical ones, concurred with one another. From today's point of view, one may regard the photograph as a credo and a peculiar message, particularly in the context of the developments of the year 1948, including the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace held in Wrocław.

The issue featured more pictures showing the delegates arriving at the Congress held in the 'capital town' of what was referred to as Poland's Recovered Territories [Ziemia Odzyskana]. Two pages earlier, the 'Soviet people' took the lead, headed by Alexandr Fadeev, who appeared to be the key figure in that political strife, and was portrayed together with Ilya Ehrenburg. Along with them, the images of cultural activists Leonid Leonov, Oleksandr Korniychuk, Samed Vurgun, Sabit Mukanov, Yevgeniy Tarle, Alla Tarasova, and Vyacheslav Volgin were shown.³

Pieces of information on the Congress about to be held in Wrocław appeared one by one in *Odrodzenie* much earlier. In the three consecutive issues, beginning with no. 34 of 22 August, reports on the event were dominant. Paul Eluard was featured in all these papers, basically through his poetry; the cycle opened with the piece entitled 'Poezja powinna sobie stawiać za cel prawdę użyteczną' [La poésie doit avoir pour but la vérité pratique], translated into Polish by Ewa Fiszer. The title was probably a quote drawn from a speech by a communist activist and was additionally reinforced by the dedication: "To my demanding friends" [À mes amis exigeants]. But propagandist elements were absent in the poem. It perfectly fitted the 'soft revolution' concept to come to an end several months later. At the time concerned, one sympathising with communism did not yet have to be attested by 'engaged' texts written in a socialist manner. The presence itself, and the allusions that could be interpreted in line with what the authorities expected, sufficed. Such was the function of the following stanza in the poem mentioned above:

Since you go forward with no purpose, unaware that the people
Must be united in the hope for the struggle
So that the world is translated so that the world be transformed.⁴

³ See 'Członkowie delegacji radzieckiej na kongres wrocławski', *Odrodzenie*, 35 (1948), 3.

⁴ Paul Eluard, 'Poezja powinna sobie stawiać za cel prawdę użyteczną', transl. Ewa Fiszer, *Odrodzenie*, 34, 1. The quotation in the original reads: "Car vous marchez sans

Only when set in the context of its surrounding messages, the text gained a different meaning. Also, it reinforced the message of the proclamation 'Pokój po wrocławsku' [Peace, the Wrocław way] by Jerzy Borejsza,⁵ the originator of the Congress and Chairman of the 'Czytelnik' Publishing Cooperative, which declared as follows:

There is a swarm of us now – 'us' meaning the citizens of those countries where the change of the social and political system has annihilated the sources of wars, made the struggle for peace real and durable – as compared to the citizens of the countries ruled by adherents of new wars or their obedient executors. The Second World War has proved that struggle for peace ceases to be a vain and worthless cliché only when combined with the struggle for progress ...

The very fact that the Wrocław Congress was convened has gained unusual momentousness. It testifies to the fact that the world is resisting the intimidation with a phantom of war, or encouragements to capitulate. It testifies to unfading courage and optimism among the academics and cultural personages.⁶

These lofty announcements, particularly given the increasingly complicated international situation, triggered a mass movement that was joined by several outstanding intellectuals and artists with leftist views. None of them could, in fact, know what had incited Stalin to organise such a congress not in the victorious Moscow but in the formerly German city of Wrocław. Historians agree that similarly to Tsar Nicholas II Romanov's initiative proposed in the Hague half a century earlier (in 1899), its purpose was the opposite of what was officially declared. Not a care about peace but winning the valuable time and gaining the military edge – in the form of atomic bomb, already developed and used by the United States – underlay the project.

As to the association of Eluard, one of the most outstanding French twentieth-century poets, with Odrodzenie, his presence in the journal was not limited to the Wrocław Congress. This might support the argument that

but sans savoir que les hommes / Ont besoin d'être unis d'espérer de lutter /Pour expliquer le monde et pour le transformer", quoted after https://www.bacfrancais.com/bac_francais/653-eluard-la-poesie-doit-avoir-pour-but-la-verite-pratique.php [Accessed: 31 May 2021].

⁵ Jerzy Borejsza (1905–52) – a communist activist and journalist. After the Second World War, he established the 'Czytelnik' publishing cooperative, the most potential one in the then book market, which helped to liquidate the illiteracy in Poland.

⁶ Jerzy Borejsza, 'Pokój – po wrocławsku', *Odrodzenie*, 34 (1948), 1.

there was an artistic kinship between the weekly (or, more precisely, its editor Karol Kuryluk⁷ and publisher Jerzy Borejsza) and the French literary circles.⁸ I will explore the Congress link below, whereas the later texts, written in 1950: 'To My Friends Printers' [*À mes camarades imprimeurs*] and 'In Memory of Paul Vaillant-Couturier' [*À la mémoire de Paul Vaillant-Couturier*] are worthy of note.⁹

However, neither *Odrodzenie* nor any other Polish periodical published Eluard's text which is most important in the context of this essay – namely, his address at the Congress. It was delivered on 25 April 1948 during a plenary session. Should yet another poem, 'Rachunek do wyrównania' [*The Account to Square Off*], "written during the Congress" (as the editors' annotation had it), be regarded as the address's substitute?¹⁰ Not really, but there are certain interesting similarities with the speech (see below). The poem itself seems worth reminding: taken out from the ad-hoc context, it appears not to have lost anything of its timeless purport:

Ten friends were killed in the war
 Ten women were killed in the war
 Ten children were killed in the war
 A hundred friends were killed in the war
 A hundred women were killed in the war
 A hundred children were killed in the war
 And a thousand of friends and a thousand of friends and a thousand
 of children
 We can count the dead well
 In thousands and millions

⁷ Karol Kuryluk (1910–67) – a cultural activist and publisher, cofounder and editor-in-chief of the *Odrodzenie* weekly (1944–8). In 1956–8, he served as Minister of Culture and Arts and then as Polish ambassador to Austria.

⁸ In 1946–50, when *Odrodzenie* was edited by Karol Kuryluk and, subsequently, Jerzy Borejsza, a total of eight poems and one short story by Eluard was published there. See *Odrodzenie (1944–1950). Bibliografia zawartości*, prefaced and ed. by Grzegorz P. Bąbiak (Warszawa, 2017), 111; *id.*, "Czerwona Marianna". O polsko-francuskich związkach literackich na łamach *Odrodzenia (1945–1950)*, *Prace Polonistyczne*, lxx (2015), 9–29.

⁹ Paul Eluard, 'Moim towarzyszom drukarzom' and 'Pamięci Pawła Vaillant-Couturier', transl. into Polish by Zbigniew Stolarek, *Odrodzenie*, 5 (1950), 1.

¹⁰ I was unable to find the French original of the poem and it is unsure whether it was later published in France as well. The English translation below is based upon the Polish version.

We can count, but everything passes away quickly
All becomes blurred between one war and the other
May but one dead suddenly rise
In the face of our memory
And we shall live against death
Fight against war
Struggle for life¹¹

Unique and ephemeral as it was (if really written during the Congress), this piece has retained its poetic essence and value. It could not compensate for the speech, whose absence in the journals was not incidental, which also holds true for addresses or speeches presented by some other significant Congress members. The publication of reproductions of Picasso's paintings, along with the poems of Aragon and Eluard, was meant to 'exorcise the reality' after the speech delivered by Alexander Fadeev. Fadeev, as we know, had attacked the French intellectuals (including Jean-Paul Sartre and André Malraux), comparing them to hyenas and accusing of favouring warmongers. It is hard to suppose that in writing his piece, the poet was inspired by these insults – a notorious comparison of Jean-Paul Sartre to a hyena. The more reasonable presumption is that he denied publication of his address next to the one of Fadeev.¹² He thus distanced himself from the events in Wrocław, but not (yet) from the movement as such in general or its leftist backing. Besides, Eluard eventually stayed longer in Wrocław, along with a part of the French delegation, Irène Joliot-Curie and Pablo Picasso. The poet's sojourn in Poland was crowned by his decoration – along with that of Picasso – with the Commander's Cross with the Star of the Polonia Restituta Order, by communist President Bolesław Bierut, on 4 September 1948, in recognition of his merits in Polish-French cultural contacts.¹³

¹¹ Paul Eluard, 'Rachunek do wyrównania', transl. into Polish by Witold Wirpsza, *Odrodzenie*, 36 (1948), 4.

¹² A reproduction of the poem on the Congress letterhead, as published in *W Obronie Pokoju* magazine, features the date '25 VIII 1948', in the author's hand, which was one day before Fadeev's address.

¹³ A picture from the event can be found in the digital resources: <https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/525021269058199708/> [Accessed: 10 Oct. 2020]. The National Museum in Warsaw keeps photographs from Eluard and Picasso's visit to the Museum on 29th August 1948; see <http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=44723> [Accessed: 10 Oct. 2020]. Photos of Congress delegates on sightseeing in Warsaw have been published: <https://tygodnik.tvp.pl/47695171/>

The aforementioned laudable purpose was the most explicitly expressed by the final Resolution, a document that was agreed upon with difficulty and in which the acuteness of Fadeev's speech was alleviated. This was put forth as the condition for a part of the delegation to stay. The proclamation read:

Deeply confident in the need for unrestrained development and dissemination of the achievements of progressive culture across the countries, in the name of peace, progress, and the future of the world, we hereby protest against any restriction imposed on such freedoms and emphasise the necessity for cultures and nations to arrive at a mutual agreement, in the interest of civilisation and peace.¹⁴

The name of Paul Eluard was featured below the Resolution, as were several hundred names of the other attendees.

*This brief essay introducing the document published below is not meant to serve as a concise history of what happened in Wrocław between 25 and 28 August 1948; nor does it attempt to situate the event in a broader complex of problems related to the exacerbating political struggle between the East and the West at that time. The Wrocław Congress has its own literature; historians have systematically explored its course and contexts since the 1980s.¹⁵ This introduction is confined to outlining the framework in which Eluard's speech was compiled and presenting arguments in favour of the French poet's authorship. It seems inevitable that the address in question has never before appeared in print. The bulletin *W Obronie Pokoju*, published during the Congress 'on the spot', seemed to give some hope that the speech in question might have been published there.¹⁶ Well, Eluard is indeed featured in issue no. 3, but only with the reproduction*

kongres-intelektualistów-w-obronie-pokoju-przyciagnal-w-1948-do-polski-plejade-wielkich-nazwisk-picassa-huxleya-greena [Accessed: 10 Oct. 2020].

¹⁴ 'Rezolucja Światowego Kongresu Intelktualistów we Wrocławiu', *Odrodzenie*, 36 (1948), 1.

¹⁵ Of the important studies, the following are worth listing: Zygmunt Woźniczka, 'Wrocławski Kongres Intelktualistów w Obronie Pokoju', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xciv, 2 (1987), 131–57; Jacek Ślusarczyk, *Ruch obrońców pokoju w latach 1948–1989. Kompendium* (Warszawa, 1986); *id.*, *Polityczna działalność ruchu obrońców pokoju na tle sytuacji międzynarodowej 1948–1989* (Białystok, 2000); Eryk Krasucki, *Międzynarodowy komunista. Jerzy Borejsza – biografia polityczna* (Warszawa, 2009); Mieczysław Wojtczak, *Wielką i mniejszą literą. Literatura i polityka w pierwszym ćwierćwieczu PRL* (Warszawa, 2014).

¹⁶ See *W Obronie Pokoju*, 1–4 (1948), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, ref. no. 06127.

of the autograph manuscript of his poem 'Rachunek do wyrównania' [The Account to Square Off] and the poem itself, which was subsequently reprinted in *Odrodzenie*.¹⁷ What is more, no relevant edition or study refers to such a speech; in none of them have I encountered the information that scholars analysing archives from that time have taken note of it. These findings would, however, still need to be verified (in more beneficial circumstances).¹⁸

No doubt, in consequence of the events that took place at the Plenary Room of the Wrocław University of Technology after Fadeev's speech, no conference materials were published at all (despite the announcements to the contrary), apart from those published in the press on the ongoing basis. That publication of such materials was planned is definite, given the intended propagandist potential of the event and the printing and publishing potential of the 'Czytelnik' cooperative. All the more that such publications summarised the subsequent congresses. The Italian pamphlet *La cultura per la pace. Il Congresso di Wrocław*, published in Rome, dated 20 November 1948, can be regarded as a sui generis ersatz Congress publication, as it comprised Alexander Fadeev's account with fragments of his address (with the most controversial bits cut out), the addresses delivered by Ilya Ehrenburg and the Rev. Jean Boulier on 25 August, as well as the final resolution.¹⁹

At this point, another issue related to the material published herein below is worth addressing. Jerzy Borejsza's home archive (of which more will be said below) includes two books that attest to this activist's interest in the movement long after he was deprived of its leadership; this is testified by his signatures on both volumes. The books are *Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Paris – Prague 20–25 avril 1949* and *Obrady II Światowego Kongresu Obrońców Pokoju. Warszawa 16–22 listopada 1950*.²⁰ Also,

¹⁷ P. Eluard, 'Niewyrównany rachunek', *W Obronie Pokoju*, 3 (1948), 1 (reproduction of the autograph); 3 (Polish translation of the poem).

¹⁸ I am indebted to Eryk Krasucki for initial information in this respect; the problem calls for a detailed query at Archiwum Akt Nowych (Akta Kongresów Pokoju. Światowy Kongres Intelktualistów, ref. no. 157), which has been prevented due to pandemic-related restrictions.

¹⁹ See *La cultura per la pace. Il Congresso di Wrocław* (Roma: Centro Diffusione Stampa, 1948).

²⁰ *Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Paris – Prague 20–25 avril 1949*, *Compte rendu présenté par le bureau du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix* (Paris, 1949); *Obrady II Światowego Kongresu Obrońców Pokoju. Warszawa 16–22 listopada 1950* (Warszawa, 1951) [Jerzy Borejsza's private archive].

a number of photographs from Paris and Prague can be found. In light of this information, the question becomes quite obvious: Is it the only trace of this particular activity that has been preserved in the archive? And, was it the only such trace? (Or, perhaps, was it really *this much?*)

Under normal conditions, it could be taken for granted that the role mentioned above of Jerzy Borejsza as the initiator and organiser of the Wrocław peace conference must have left an archival trace, be it in the form of private correspondence, domestic and foreign. Even with Borejsza's possible flippancy concerning documents, the collection of the Secretary-General of the Congress would have contained hundreds, if not thousands of letters, notes and keepsakes – all the more so that he was personally acquainted with several delegates (among them Picasso, Eluard, Neruda, the Joliot-Curies and more). This is reflected by their books with personal dedications to Borejsza, preserved in his library. However, an almost complete emptiness in his private archive arouses disbelief at first glance and provokes a series of questions. And, it reinforces the rationale behind referring to what has incidentally been found as 'as much as that' and 'only so little' at the same time.

The tragic vicissitudes of Jerzy Borejsza have heavily contributed to such a state of affairs since the Congress marked the beginning of the end of his position and political role.²¹ In his political biography of the activist, Eryk Krasucki has analysed this process in detail. Borejsza's fate translated into no less dramatic vicissitudes of his legacy, which I describe in detail in the introduction to an edition of his correspondence.²² Suffice it to remind that it is a collection I have described as 'demined', as it comprises no material that might be used as potential evidence charging the activists sympathising with Władysław Gomułka.²³ The ill-famed Colonel Jacek Różański, then

²¹ Borejsza represented the liberal faction of communist activists and advocated for a 'soft revolution', i.e. gaining even those authors and artists who were originally hostile towards Communism. This ended in 1948, in tightening the political course and adopting the Soviet pattern in Poland. Activists such as Borejsza were either deprived of their previously high positions (this was his fate), or arrested.

²² See "Na rogu Stalina i Trzech Krzyży". *Listy do Jerzego Borejszy 1944–1952* [a selection of letters to J.B.], selected, edited, with an introduction and notes by Grzegorz P. Bąbiak (Warszawa, 2014); and, *id.*, 'Listy prywatne, listy służbowe. Problemy edycji korespondencji prezesa 'Czytelnika' J. Borejszy z archiwum domowego', *Sztuka Edycji*, 2 (2019), 79–86.

²³ In 1948, Władysław Gomułka was accused of a 'rightist-nationalist deviation' which was followed by stripping him of his posts and imprisoning (1951–4). Those suspected of supporting him were considered eligible for imprisonment as well.

head of the Security Service (in fact, Borejsza's brother) played a vital role in the action. As is known from a later account, he looked through his brother's papers after his death and took away a portion of them. How much of that he destroyed before he put the remainder on Bierut's desk will remain a secret forever. The lack of any preserved letters from West European intellectuals who were friends with Borejsza testifies that the job was done methodically and carefully.

So, what remained was no more of a threat or got misplaced among the other materials. The latter option was probably the case with the Eluard speech. In its heading, no name of the speaker is mentioned; there is no signature at the end. The document is described merely as an 'account' or 'report' [relacja].

Is it, then, the actual text by Paul Eluard and his 'lost' speech delivered once in Wrocław? Partly, definitely yes, but the wording is certainly not exact. Moreover, many of the examples quoted in the text come from early November 1948, so it is pretty apparent that the poet could not refer to them three months earlier. The two texts share, perhaps, the form and the message; the examples of repressions from French secret services were reinforced (if not replaced) by the subsequent incidents from the following weeks. Furthermore, while the authorship of the French poet cannot be confirmed with certainty, since the manuscript copy lacks any mark such as an annotation or signature, the title mentioned above put at the document's end leaves no doubt as it says, "Paul Eluard's address in the account from the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace, in Wrocław". To be better understood, the message should be read together with its last segment: "Salle de la Mutualité, 28 November 1948, Paris".

This mention gives us a premise for the next hypothesis. If this is not a direct communication (as I have suggested earlier), it can be regarded as an indirect form. Despite the resolute formulation, the text contains no 'account' (or 'report') from Wrocław, though it does not preclude one – as it might be just a part of a larger, non-surviving whole. Out of a report on the deliberations, only the Eluard statement was retained and dispatched to Warsaw. The afore-quoted annotation provides one more piece of information. On 28 November 1948, exactly three months after the Wrocław Congress ended, a convention of French Peace Defence Committees was held in Paris. Extensive reports on the event can be found in the 28 November 1948 issue of the communist-inclined daily *Ce Soir*, whose editor was Louis Aragon. It opens with a conspicuous heading: 'Les assises nationales de la paix et la liberté' and several photographs of relevance. It informed, on

an ongoing basis, of the developments accompanying the action. The main sessions were held at the triple room of the Palais des Expositions, where 10,000 attendees gathered. Smaller-scale meetings were held in other points of the city, including the Salle de la Mutualité – the traditional meeting venue of the French Left. The account from Wrocław, which included the Eluard speech, was presented to the public. Whether he delivered it in person is not to be ascertained; the cited press release does not mention his name among the guests. As it tells us instead, the following were present: the Parliament's speaker Louis Saillant, Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, abbé Jean Boulier, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Alain Le Léap and Benoît Franchon, François Billoux, Charles Tillon, Laurent Casanova, Marcel Prenant, General Jean-Martin Petit, Admiral Emile Muselier, Louis Martin-Chauffier, Vercors, Justin Godart, Jean Cassou, Raymond Aubrac, Madeleine Braun, Marcel Barral, and Marcel Willard.²⁴

The message of Eluard's speech, if indeed identical with what he communicated in Wrocław, ideally fit the increasingly exacerbated internal situation in France. If the poet's design was to show concrete incidents of violation of human rights, persecution of workers and chicaneries against foreigners, their impact was more potent the more topical they were. This may explain why the later facts were mentioned in the speech apparently delivered earlier. The scale and intensity of the brutal response from the authorities on the eve of the Paris convention might have enforced up-to-date content. The repressive measures doubtlessly came as a response to the mass movement organised in Wrocław, which – combined with the social dissatisfaction – posed a threat of a much severer explosion and could have gained traits of anti-bourgeoisie riots already known from the history of France. In the conclusion of another text printed in *Ce Soir*, the following idea was emphasised:

To sum up, the Communal Councils of Freedom and Peace shall regard themselves as guards of the republican tradition and substitutes of the will of the French Résistance, which has received the most painful sacrifices so that France may renew a country of freedom.²⁵

²⁴ 'Les assises nationales de la paix et la liberté', *Ce Soir* (28 Nov. 1948), 3; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32738400h/date.r.langFR> [Accessed: 5 Oct. 2020].

²⁵ *Des Conseils Communaux pour la Liberté et la Paix vont être créés dans toute la France*, *ibid.* (30 Nov. 1948), 3; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32738400h/date.r.langFR> [Accessed: 5 Oct. 2020].

When focusing on the text itself and neglecting whether it was delivered in Wrocław or in Paris, its unusual content attracts attention. The impression becomes prevalent that the issues touched upon by it were inadequate to the rank and scale of both conventions and apparently diverted from the other speeches or addresses. It might have been this singularity that caused a misunderstanding of the message among the contemporaries, who interpreted the detailed exemplification as an illustration of the events currently taking place in France. The journalistic style applied by the author, making the address not quite a reportage, is rather astonishing. To my mind, both tricks were entirely deliberate: the point was to shock the listeners and trigger in them emotion upon which the further message was built. Even the most sublime appeals of intellectuals would not have had a persuasive force comparable to indignation at overt injustice. History, happening there-and-then, called for involvement. Paul Eluard most probably addressed the public in Wrocław in this very spirit, as is indirectly attested by his poems.

*Was it coincidental, or did the poet deliberately select such a formula? Or, did he thus dodge unambiguous declarations? The latter option should instead be rejected, for his trip to Wrocław and, later on, his involvements in overtly communising initiatives in France formed an explicit declaration. Hence, the address in question ought to be considered as deliberate and well thought-over. To my mind, the key lies in its very content and in the position and role of intellectuals in France's public life at the time. Should Émile Zola's impassioned manifesto *J'Accuse...*!, published some fifty years earlier in *L'Aurore*, be evoked in this context, the matter appears to have a different purport. Despite its obviousness, the Dreyfus affair triggered fiery debates in France a good five decades later and set the division line between the conservatives and the Left. In this light, standing in defence of the weaker ones, unfairly harmed – regardless of the consequences – was, so to put it, inherently an obligation of the socially involved intellectual, creative artist who, addressing the public opinion, would give the floor to those who would have otherwise had no chance to be heard. After all, this 'kinship' was reinforced by the journalist style, which Zola also employed in his press interventions.*

In this last segment of my essay, I should like to focus for a while on editorial issues and describe the basis of the present edition. The text of the Eluard speech kept at Jerzy Borejsza's home archive is a four-page typescript made on A4-format sheets, thinner than regular ones. The choice of such material might have been due to its being designed for dispatch so that

the postage could be reduced. This is merely a presumption, as no envelope survives; it might be proved by the fact that the sheets were evidently double-folded to fit into the envelope. The typescript is not a copy since the black colour of the tape, and the very distinct impression of the typewriter's fonts point to it being the original copy. All the sheets are mechanically numbered on the top centre of the page. There are no annotations apart from the one handwritten on the front sheet, in the left upper corner, in Polish (Listy [Letters]); it was probably made by Zbigniew Gregorczyk, who has sorted out the collection. Annotations of this sort are put on other materials in Jerzy Borejsza's archive, in similar handwriting.

All in all, the typescript can be regarded as the final draft. It was apparently made (rewritten) in France or using a typewriter with French fonts. The accent signs are integral with the letters and were not added in hand, as would have been the case had a Polish typewriter been used. Another confirmation of the text's provenance is that the Polish first names and surnames were rewritten in a deformed form, the way they probably functioned in France. A Polish copyist would have automatically corrected them into the appropriate form (as used in Poland). That Jerzy Borejsza instructed a copyist at 'Czytelnik' that the text be rewritten without a single change is quite improbable. The setting of the paragraphs and several instances of typewritten underlining might indicate the points uttered by the speaker with particular emphasis; otherwise, they might have been made by the editor since they quite naturally organise the argument into small entreties. They are left unaltered in the text presented below. The text features no deletions or cross-outs but has many misspellings and punctuation lapses, which are irrelevant in respect of the following translated version.²⁶

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²⁶ I thank Ms. Katarzyna Dunin-Borejsza for her translation of Eluard's speech into Polish and remarks given with respect to its French version.