

Michał MIJAŁSKI

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Lech Wałęsa or TW *Bolek*? Hero or traitor? Analysis of the media discourse after disclosure Agent *Bolek*'s files by General Czesław Kiszczak's wife

Abstract: The article is a summary of a study on the analysis of media discourse after the release of the files of TW Bolek in February 2016 by the wife of general Czesław Kiszczak. Two main narratives concerning the past of Lech Wałęsa were identified and described. Information materials and publicist programs on TVP 1 and TVP Info from TVN were compiled and compared. The research also included media reports after the IPN conference, during which the signatures of Lech Wałęsa were authenticated (31.01.2017).

Key words: Lech Wałęsa, hero, president, TW Bolek, agent, folder, Kiszczak, TVP, TVN, analysis, media discourse

1. Introduction

The issue of possible collaboration by Lech Wałęsa, the former president of the Republic of Poland and the icon of the Solidarity Movement, with the communist Security Service keeps resurfacing and heats up public opinion in Poland. Wałęsa spoke about the matter in public several times, but his pronouncements do not always add up. In his book titled *Way of hope*, published by Znak (ISBN 9788324007271), the first leader of the Solidarity Trade Union confessed: “[...] I said then – and it is in the records – that if they blocked the establishing of true workers’ organizations, capable of expressing their views and controlling the reality, they could expect shortly a much larger drama. And it is also true that I have not remained untarnished after that struggle. They requested me to sign, and then I signed.” (Wałęsa, 1989, p. 66). Later, on 17th April 2009, at dziennik.pl, an article was published, which quoted L. Wałęsa who described his activity during the communist period while talking to students in Toruń. Its sense deviates from what could be read in *Way of*

hope: „[...] My role was completely different. We may say it was good and bad. Perhaps I was clumsy and turned someone in, but I wasn't an agent. I didn't want to betray anyone. I wasn't an agent and I didn't work for the other side [...]. I swear and I can be damned if I'm lying.” (AG, LUKI, 2009, paragraph 1).

To make a more complete picture, another pronouncement by the former Polish president can be quoted. In October 2008, he commented the stir related to him in his interview for the web-based Wirtualna Polska news portal: “*What else can those* paranoid people come up with? The topic of the Black Files comes back! The book didn't help them. It was just a lot of hot air and libel, and films developed to smear me didn't help either. Perhaps now, they will come up with the black files and a graphologist from Toronto. Shall we laugh or cry? It's pointless to comment on it. Another thing is how far communists could go to destroy and discredit me. I would like to see all the documents myself, documents which the secret police developed themselves. There are tons of them filling the storages. Many of those that I got from the Institute of National Remembrance, I must admit, were very well done and they managed to fool many people, and so they still do. These include documents that were potato stamped! And this is what they use against me, those frustrated and small people. Those are weak arguments indeed, since no one can find any collaboration statement that I signed. No one will ever find it, since there has been none.” (Blinkiewicz, 2008, paragraph 5).

In his pronouncement, L. Wałęsa referred to the monograph by Sławomir Cenckiewicz and Piotr Gontarczyk titled *Secret Police and Lech Wałęsa: a contribution to the biography*, published in June the same year of 2008. Emotions were high since the book was published by the Institute of National Remembrance (ISBN-13: 978-83-60464-74-8), and the statutory objective of the organization is to collect and manage documents developed by state security services between 22nd July 1944 and 31st July 1990. The Institute runs a specialist Lustration Office (Law, 1998, Art. 1 and 18).

Interestingly, in 2005, the Institute of National Remembrance granted L. Wałęsa the status of a victim of the communist state. Five years earlier, the Lustration Court ruled that the screening statement by the former president was true. It also confirmed that documents supporting L. Wałęsa collaboration with the secret service were falsified to smear the former Solidarity activist (Albin, 2017, paragraph 14).

On 18th February 2016, Maria Teresa Korzonkiewicz-Kiszczak, the widow of Czesław Kiszczak, delivered to the Institute of National Re-

membrance documents which her late husband illegally kept in his closet. The documents included a file of a secret informer *Bolek*, which, according to the documents, was the code name of the former president (Zagner, 2016, p. 2). This triggered heated discussions and analyses of L. Wałęsa's past, which pervaded the media and public discourse.

On 31st January 2017, after months of specialist analyses, during a dedicated press conference, Jarosław Szarek, the Chairman of the Institute of National Remembrance, informed that there was no doubt as to the authenticity of signatures. It meant that *Bolek* was L. Wałęsa (Majewska, 2017, paragraph 1).

2. Research problem and questions

The research focuses on the analysis of the media discourse in Poland. The author examines the narrative supported by specific editorial boards. The main emphasis was on two issues important for the case: disclosure of documents by the widow of General Cz. Kiszczak and the opinion of a graphologist regarding the authenticity of L. Wałęsa's signature. The analysis aimed at confirming that Lecha Wałęsa's past was a factor which significantly polarizes public opinion in Poland, as expressed and strengthened by completely different narratives created and used by other journalists.

The author examined the way the media broadcast news concerning new facts related to the past of the former president of the country. Do those narratives add up? If not, what are the differences? Is it possible to point to any premeditated reasoning in those materials? What references were quoted in journalist reports? Was Andrzej Stankiewicz, journalist at *Rzeczpospolita* and the co-author of the book *Wałęsa. Traitor or hero?* (ISBN 9788365411037) right when he said in the interview for *Onet.pl*: "[...] biography of Wałęsa is subject of the current political dispute. If someone sympathizes with the PiS (Law and Justice), they should consider him a traitor. However, if someone supports opposition, liberals, and the KOD (Committee for Defense of Democracy), they consider him a hero. And for this reason, many people find it difficult to have an objective view on the biography." (Zychal, 2016, paragraph 2). The sample was carefully selected and materials key coded. Some of the factors considered included the following: prevalence of a *piece of news* on a given topic, duration of the material broadcast and news service, announcement of the news by

the announcer, content in the info bar, selection of experts, references to past events and judgmental words used by authors of news. The analysis also examined whether the opinion of the graphologist changed the narrative of specific news programmes, and if so in what way.

3. Research sample

Materials, which comprised the sample, can be divided into two groups. The first one includes the content of main news and current affairs programmes broadcast at similar hours during the first three days after documents were disclosed by M. Kiszczak. Considering a clear divide in the political dispute on the subject, as well as the nation-wide range of the news, it was decided to juxtapose TVP 1 and TVN, as well as TVP Info and TVN 24 (Pyza, Wikło, 2018, pp. 22–24). Finally, the research sample included:

- “Fakty” TVN of 18, 19 and 20 February 2016;
- “Wiadomości” TVP 1 of 18, 19 and 20 February 2016;
- “Fakty po Faktach” TVN 24 of 18, 19 and 20 February 2016;
- “Minęła 20” TVP Info of 18, 19 and 20 February 2016.

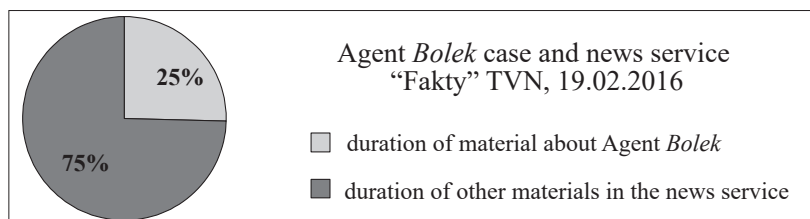
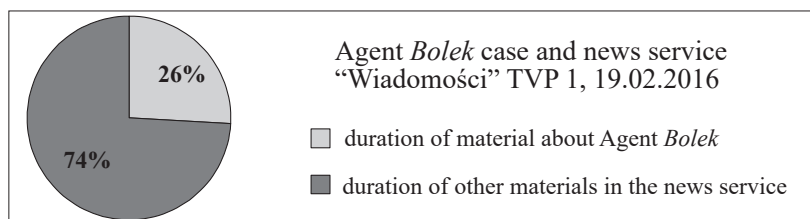
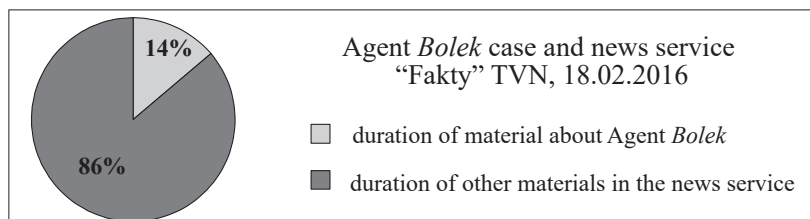
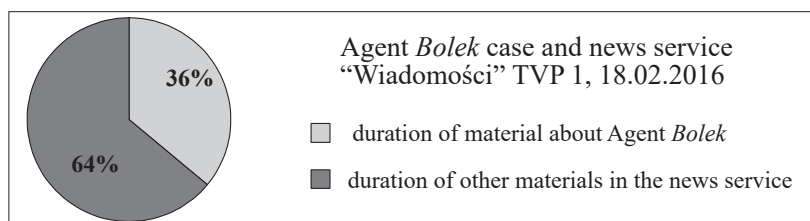
The second part of the research sample included news after the press conference by the chairman of the Institute of National Remembrance of 31st January 2017, a conference which confirmed the authenticity of documents examined and that signatures in Agent *Bolek* Files were made by L. Wałęsa (konferencja prasowa Prezesa Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, 31.01.2017). In this case, the main focus was related to this very day, and in order to enlarge the content of the sample, the research range extended beyond news services. Analysis also included major press articles published on that day in 4 web-based portals. Two of them, Tvn24.pl and Tvp.info, are web portals belonging to TV information channels examined. Two other were collated since they stood in opposition to each other and they attracted larger audiences. The following web-based portals were selected: Gazeta.pl and Wpolarityce.pl. Thus, this part of the sample consists of:

- “Fakty” TVN of 31st January 2017;
- “Wiadomości” TVP 1 of 31st January 2017;
- *Experts: Agent Bolek’s handwriting identical with that of Wałęsa* in Tvn24.pl, 31st January 2017;
- *“Nearly each single work has been analyzed”. Opinion of graphologists has a final say* in Tvp.info, 31st January 2017;

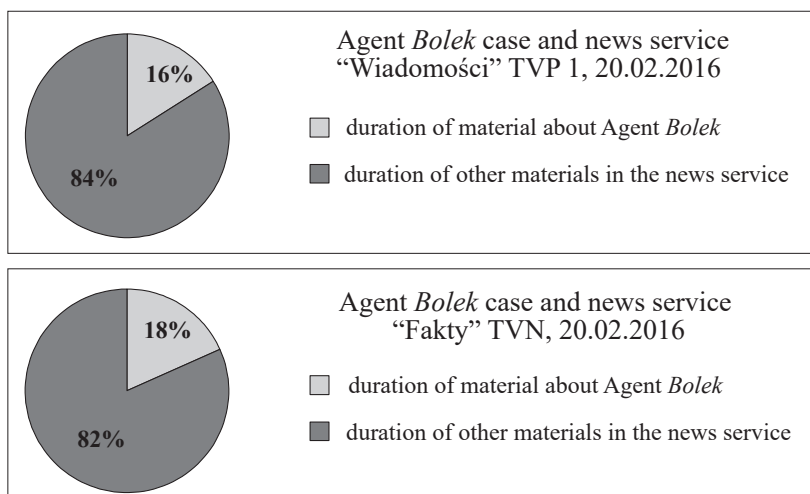
- “Bolek” is Wałęsa. But it is important that he terminated collaboration with the Secret Service. How he did it in *Gazeta.pl*, 31st January 2017;
- Unambiguous opinion of graphologists: *Wałęsa’s signatures in the Agent Bolek Files are authentic. Check details!* in *Wpolityce.pl*, 31st January 2017.

4. Analysis of materials

a) Analysis of materials after documents have been revealed



“Wiadomości” of 19.02.2016 broadcast pieces of news concerning Agent *Bolek*: one informative and one critical. According to the author, the informative *news* was the one where the journalist did not use judgmental terms, and its goal was to provide objective information that something happened and someone said something. In the critical piece of news, the journalist presented his position on the case and apart from plain information users received also comments by the journalist and unfavorable narrative regarding L. Wałęsa. The editorial board of “Fakty” also developed two pieces of *news*: the first one defended L. Wałęsa. A journalist provided a positive narrative, and he emphasized merits of the hero, whereas the second one presented how the stir about the past of the former president of the country was perceived abroad.



Source: Author’s materials.

The analysis helped to separate two lead narratives in news on the *Bolek’s files*:

- Lech Wałęsa – the traitor;
- Lech Wałęsa – the hero.

Lech Wałęsa – the traitor:

This narrative was typical for news in “Wiadomości” TVP 1 and it also prevailed in “Minęła 20” TVP Info. It should be emphasized, however, that in his current affairs programme, Adrian Klarenbach did not foster

any specific narrative. He clearly let other participants to express their opinions. However, the choice of guests invited to the programme was not accidental, and pronouncements contributed to the image of Lech Wałęsa as the traitor.

Already on the first day (18.02.2016), the Agent *Bolek case* received much wider coverage in “Wiadomości” TVP 1 (36% of news programme, whereas “Fakty” less than 14%; total length of both news services is similar). The Polish Television also broadcast a special service of “Minęła 20”, which took over 100 minutes.

In their critical materials, journalists of the Polish Television highlighted that “documents are unbiased” (e.g. “Wiadomości” of 18.02.2016). It is worth reminding that the documents concerned did not yet undergo a thorough examination at that time, and therefore, such narrative might be surprising.

Although the television broadcast a number of pronouncement of people speaking in favor of L. Wałęsa, this was revised by the journalist developing the news material. An excellent example of this is the *news* by Jarosław Olechowski and Jakub Wojtanowski, which was broadcast by “Wiadomości” on 18th February 2016, when they quoted Donald Tusk: “they confirmed what Lech Wałęsa has always, though sometimes not very aptly, talked about.” This statement was immediately followed by a negative comment of the journalist: “this is a farfetched opinion.” To strengthen the words of the announcer, the TVP television station presented a historical statement by L. Wałęsa, when the former president highlighted that he had never betrayed anyone and had never been an agent. A pronouncement by Professor Andrzej Paczkowski heated up the issue, since he believed that the disclosure of the said documents should be treated as a breakthrough for historians (“Wiadomości”, 18.02.2016).

Interestingly, both “Wiadomości” TVP and “Fakty” TVN of 18th February 2016 included information that M. Kiszczak felt ashamed after she revealed the documents. Both television stations had different interpretation of that shame. TVP stated that she must have not read a note left by her husband. In that note, General Cz. Kiszczak instructed his wife to disclose the documents not earlier than five years after the death of L. Wałęsa to protect him since he was a Polish hero. According to TVN journalists M. Kiszczak was ashamed because she decided to do it in exchange for remuneration and sold mysterious documents she found in the closet.

An important element that contributed to the negative image of L. Wałęsa was the reference made by TV journalists to the presence of

slips confirming payments for reports delivered by Agent *Bolek*. It is important, since this issue did not come up in TVN news. To strengthen the message regarding paid reports, TVP journalists used a pronouncement made by Henryk Jagielski – several years ago L. Wałęsa’s colleague from the Gdańsk Shipyard and now the opposition activists at loggerheads with the former president – who stated directly that L. Wałęsa indeed received money in exchange for his collaboration with the Secret Service. Moreover, he also got an apartment. It was emphasized that denunciations by Agent *Bolek* caused serious damage and problems for particular people and their entire families.

“Wiadomości” draw attention to the mysterious atmosphere about the past of L. Wałęsa. They used historical pronouncements made by the former president in particular years, who every time said something different about the alleged collaboration. A journalist referred to it as “obstruction of justice” (“Wiadomości”, 18.02.2016). The same *news* reminded the audience that during L. Wałęsa’s presidency, a lot of documents of 1970s and 80s disappeared, and some of them were destroyed when the former president borrowed them. Accusations were also addressed to Adam Michnik who supposedly “plundered the archives of the Secret Service.”

A characteristic feature of TVP news was that L. Wałęsa was presented as a person who had always been linked with the communist camp for ever. For this reason, news services included pictures from “Magdalena,” primarily toasts, warm welcome to General Cz. Kiszczak and words spoken about sharing power. Since 1989, for some viewers could appear too distant, they decided to show that also during the broadcast, i.e. 18th February 2016, those links were still alive. L. Wałęsa’s interpreter during his visit to Venezuela was wife of General Marek Dukaczewski, a former head of the Military Information Service. What is important, the news said nothing about the purpose of the visit of the former president to South America. The purpose of the visit, however, was emphasized by “Fakty”, since L. Wałęsa was invited to attend the congress of Noble prize winners.

“Wiadomości” also showed examples showing how L. Wałęsa overreacted to allegations related to his past. They referred to the so-called “night change,” or overthrowing of Jan Olszewski’s government, and images from that period were accompanied with the following comment made by the journalist: “everyone who spoke about unclear contacts Lech Wałęsa had with communists risked a lot.” They also remembered the court trial of the former president involving another “legendary opposi-

tion activist” Krzysztof Wyszowski, and they emphasized that L. Wałęsa lost in court.

An important part of the issue was that according “Wiadomości”, L. Wałęsa could have been black mailed by communists during his presidency, and the collaboration with communists had actually never ended. In one of the news claimed that General Cz. Kiszczak did not sent Agent *Bolek files* to the Institute of National Remembrance, he was cleared as regards allegations of the pacification of the “Wujek” mine and had never been brought to the State Tribunal. According to the author of this article, it was a very serious allegation addressed to L. Wałęsa.

Alleged links between L. Wałęsa and communists and “sharing of power” in 1989 were the main themes for journalists representing the public television, and the themes were used to question the achievements of the entire 3rd Republic of Poland. In this context, “Wiadomości” used such terms like “larger agreement,” “myth based on a lie,” and “influence of agents.” It is also worth noting the comment made by a journalist: “without Kiszczak, Lech Wałęsa would be nobody.” The image of L. Wałęsa created by “Wiadomości” was clearly negative. They used statements made by people hostile to the president. They suggested that “new documents would finally open people’s eyes” [Konrad Berkowicz]. They also called L. Wałęsa names, e.g. “Lech Wałęsa is a coward, not a hero” [H. Jagielski], “a hero would never rat on his own colleagues, and he did it in exchange for money. I will never forgive him” [H. Jagielski], “Wałęsa is a manipulative person” [Andrzej Gwiazda], “my grandma used to say that Wałęsa was a traitor and spy” [Piotr Walentynowicz], “listening to Wałęsa’s response is pointless, it’s gibberish; he should be examined by a psychologist or rather a psychiatrist – some Bolek” [Jerzy Targalski].

In “Wiadomości”, the announcer Krzysztof Ziemięc encouraged viewers to have a glance at a documentary on “Agent *Bolek*” by S. Cenckiewicz and P. Gontarczyk. The film, visibly critical towards the former president, was broadcast immediately after “Wiadomości” TVP 1.

Lech Wałęsa – the hero:

Such a narrative was present in “Fakty” TVN and “Fakty po Faktach” TVN 24. The announcer, Justyna Pochanke, together with her guests, developed the narrative and directly expressed her opinion. The author of the article will refer to the fact in the further part of the article. The choice of guests, as it was in TVP Info, was not accidental.

“Fakty” was more cautious regarding judgements. They emphasized that the documents could not be considered credible before specialist examine them, and they quoted statements by historians who expressed doubt regarding authenticity of those documents. They also mentioned that there were already known cases showing that the Secret Police used to develop false documents, so this time it could be a mere provocation by the secret service.

The main feature of the narrative was that L. Wałęsa admitted to sign a loyalty statement (Quoted after *Way of Hope* and historical statement by L. Wałęsa of 2011 in “Kropka nad i” TVN 24). However, it was premeditated as a necessary step to finally succeed and overthrow communism in Poland.

As mentioned before while discussing the Lech Wałęsa – the traitor narrative, it is futile to look any information in “Fakty” about possible denunciations by Agent *Bolek in exchange for money*, and the shame M. Kiszczak felt was due to the fact that she handed over the documents for financial gains only.

A new element, which the “Wiadomości” audience was not exposed to, was a personal attack on Jarosław Kaczyński, strengthened with a comment by the “Fakty” journalist: “Wałęsa was attacked by those who, in liberated Poland, had different political views; for them, more important was a several-year breakdown in 1970s rather than more than ten years of hard work which ended with a democratic process instigated in our country” (“Fakty”, 18.02.2016). It is worth emphasizing that the author of the material believes that the case of the alleged functioning of L. Wałęsa as an agent was only a substitute topic.

“Fakty” journalists sought positive opinions of various people about the former president. They quoted several foreign politicians and journalists, e.g. Martin Schulz, who said that L. Wałęsa would always be a hero for him.

It is worth noting that “Fakty” eagerly used the then statements by L. Wałęsa, since the former president gave an exclusive interview in Venezuela to Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska (“Fakty po Faktach”, 20.02.2016). The Polish Television did not give L. Wałęsa a chance to speak. Or perhaps it was the former president who did not want to talk to journalists representing “Wiadomości”. Nevertheless, viewers were deprived of any such information.

Contrary to “Wiadomości”, instead of pictures from “Magdalenka”, “Fakty” used materials from the period when L. Wałęsa was the most

popular. They showed Wałęsa lifted up by the crowd which chanted his name.

The behavior of Justyna Pochanke, “Fakty po Faktach” on 18 and 19 February 2016, deserves a separate description. The journalist clearly expressed her own opinions and defended Lech Wałęsa, often taking the lead in the interview while overshadowing her guests. At best, guests’ role was to strengthen her own statements and opinions. She also introduced a division into “us” and “them”. Especially the programme of 18th February 2016 included numerous comments made by the lead journalist, e.g. “if someone wants to consider documents developed by the Secret Service as holy books,” “If Lech Wałęsa was an agent and traitor, would Solidarity ever win under his leadership?.” J. Pochanke added her own comments to pronouncements made by her guests. For example, when one of them mentioned the martial law, the journalist said to the camera “[martial law] was crucial, let’s not forget that Wałęsa was then isolated, detained, and away from his advisors – he was alone.” The journalist also referred to opinions expressed by people for whom the alleged collaboration of L. Wałęsa with the Secret Police was an argument to undermine credibility of the entire 3rd Republic of Poland. She said “The other side says that the democracy was a mere agreement.” It is worth drawing attention to the presence of the firm division into “us” and “them.” A very telling example is the pronouncement made on 19th February 2016 by Czesław Bielecki, who said: “At his young age, Wałęsa was lost for certain. The problem is he has never admitted that. The hero has no moral courage and he is not honest. He only beats around the bush and plays games,” what J. Pochanke concluded by saying: “So are heroes.”

b) Analysis of materials after the opinion of a graphologist

Two narratives can be distinguished as described above. It is worth emphasizing, that although texts published at web-based portals were often informative only, they contained elements of specific ideological narrative in line with the agenda of a specific editorial board. It is worth noting that next day, 1st February 2017, “Fakty” TVN did not refer to the topic, whereas “Wiadomości” broadcast news concerning Agent *Bolek*, but the broadcast accounted for less than 10% of the total time allocated for the news service.

Lech Wałęsa – the traitor:

Such a narrative was typical for news broadcast in “Wiadomości” TVP 1 and portals Info.tvp and Wpolityce.pl. From a scientific point of view, pronouncements by Krzysztof Ziemięc can be considered interesting. While announcing the *news* on the past of L. Wałęsa, he said: “There is no doubt that in the 1970s the former president turned in shipyard workers in exchange for money.” The issue of financial gratification was highlighted, since viewers could learn that L. Wałęsa accepted PLN11,700 in exchange for 41 reports (“Wiadomości”, 31.01.2017).

The service focused on the damage caused to shipyard workers and their families. Again, they quoted H. Jagielski who made some clear-cut comments about his former colleague: “he could apologize after all, but this man keeps lying and talks nonsense.”

Grzegorz Schetyna, the leader of the Civic Platform, was presented as a defender, when he said: “it was purely a political action implemented by people who try to destroy the Polish history, and one day they will pay for what they’ve done.” Immediately after these words, the TVP journalist referred to what G. Schetyna said in October 2016, when in the presence of L. Wałęsa he announced the liquidation of the Institute of National Remembrance. This could trigger negative feelings among viewers and create an impression of a network of links among members of the opposition.

“Wiadomości” firmly stated that contacts between L. Wałęsa and the security police had not ended when he ceased to be an agent. The journalist said: “From today on, the question will remain open regarding the influence of the collaboration with the secret service on the Solidarity leader and primarily the president of Poland.” The discussion was extended in the next material with a guiding slogan of “the myth of the 3rd Republic of Poland has been built on a lie”. Interestingly, the web-based portals did not include information that L. Wałęsa had ever terminated his collaboration with the secret police.

Lech Wałęsa – the hero:

Such was the narrative of “Fakty” TVN and portals Tvn24.pl and Gazeta.pl. The introduction of the material by “Fakty” was very telling: “Lech Wałęsa is Agent *Bolek* – Chairman of the Institute of National Remembrance has no doubts.” Although the press conference, which announced the opinion of a graphologist, was led by the chairman of the Institute, the

statement presented allowed to ask a question: Does J. Szarek only have no doubt?

Materials presented L. Wałęsa as a hero and the programme remembered again that the declaration to collaborate signed by the former president of Poland was nothing new. Once again they referred to historical pronouncements by L. Wałęsa.

This time, a reference was made to payments for his denunciations. However, the narrative emphasized that the positive opinion of graphologists had been announced against firm statements by L. Wałęsa. The former president and his representatives, whom TVN, contrary to TVP, enabled to present their position, disregarded the whole matter by saying that it was just an opinion. Additionally, attention was drawn to the fact that the document in question was developed by an employee of the Institute answerable to the Minister of Justice, which suggests that the whole issue is purely political. In front of “Fakty” cameras, the former president of Poland considered whether to ask for support “from an international system” or wait “until courts start operate properly in Poland again.”

Materials analyzed implied that L. Wałęsa gave in when he saw the slaughter of workers in Pomerania, especially that he had a two-year old child himself. He fixed the mistake and since then he remained beyond the influence of the government. They emphasized his perseverance and independence in the 1980s and early 1990s. In the background, they displayed historical photographs taken during the speech L. Wałęsa delivered to the US Congress. Again, there was a firm division into “us” and “them.” They remembered that his effigy was burned “by that camp,” in other words J. Kaczyński’s supported. Texts in web-based portals (Gazeta.pl whole article) specified that L. Wałęsa terminated the alleged collaboration with the secret service.

5. Summary

Two contradictory narratives prevailed in the Polish media: Lech Wałęsa – the traitor vs. Lech Wałęsa – the hero. The publicizing of the opinion of a graphologist confirming authenticity of documents from the “Kiszczak’s closet” changed nothing in the development of the media discourse. Both narratives contain some characteristic features listed below. The narrative of Lech Wałęsa – the traitor was present in materials broadcast by TVP 1 and TVP Info and portals of Tvp.info and Wpolarityce.pl, whereas

the narrative of Lech Wałęsa – the hero in TVN and TVN 24, Tvn24.pl, as well as Gazeta.pl. A. Klarenbach, a journalist running “Minęła 20” in TVP Info, did not take a firm position on the matter, whereas J. Pochanke in “Fakty po Faktach” in TVN 24 clearly supported the narrative of Lech Wałęsa – the hero. Doubts about L. Wałęsa were used by the right-wing media as a starting point to question all achievements of the 3rd Republic of Poland.

L. Wałęsa’s past, the issue of his collaboration with the Secret Police, is used to stimulate the current political dispute in the country. Divided Solidarity, divided politicians, experts and ordinary Poles (Onet.pl, 2016). L. Wałęsa himself was not able to take a stand on the matter.

A quotation from Jerzy Domański, a journalist working for “Przeгляд”, who was a guest to “Minęła 20” on 18th February 2016, was very telling: “Viewers, who carefully follow the media, may be really confused, since they hear different opinions in the state controlled and commercial media.” (“Minęła 20”, 18.02.2016).

Bibliography

- Ab/pszl (2017), „Niemal każde słowo zostało poddane analizie.” *Opinie grafologów stawia kropkę nad „i”*, <https://www.tvp.info/28870993/niemal-kazde-slowo-zostalo-poddane-analizie-opinia-grafologow-stawia-kropke-nad-i>, 11.12.2018.
- Ag/Luki (2009), *Wałęsa przyznaje: Może kogoś wysypałem...*, <https://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/polityka/artykuly/146429,walesa-przyznaje-moze-kogos-wysypalem.html>, 11.12.2018.
- Albin M. (2017), *Historia wycofanej depezy PAP. 27 lat temu Wałęsa miał przyznać się, że podpisywał*, <https://natemat.pl/200551,historia-wycofanej-depeszy-pap-27-lat-temu-walesa-mial-przyznac-sie-ze-podpisywal>, 11.12.2018.
- Blinkiewicz A. (2008), *Stan Tymiński zdradza, co nosił w „czarnej teczce”*, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/stan-tyminski-zdradza-co-nosil-w-czarnej-teczce-6037551609820289a>, 11.12.2018.
- [brak autora] (2016), *Co o Lechu Wałęsie sądzą Polacy? Sondaż IBRiS*, <https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/lech-walesa-i-sprawa-tw-bolek-sondaz-ibris/ptemw0>, 11.12.2018.
- [brak autora] (2017), *Jednoznaczna opinia grafologów: podpisy Wałęsy w teczce TW „Bolek” są prawdziwe. Sprawdź szczegóły opinii!*, <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/325535-grafolodzy-ipn-nie-maja-watpliwosci-podpisy-walesy-w-teczce-tw-bolek-sa-prawdziwe-sprawdz-szczegoly-opinii>, 11.12.2018.
- Majewska D. (2017), *IPN nie ma wątpliwości. Lech Wałęsa był tajnym współpracownikiem SB i pobierał za to pieniądze*, <http://trojmiasto.eska.pl/newsy/ipn-nie>

- ma-watpliwosci-lech-walesa-był-tajnym-wspolpracownikiem-sb-i-pobieral-za-to-pieniadze/357280, 11.12.2018.
- Pyza M., Wikło M. (2018), *Formatowanie na ekranie*, "W sieci", nr 50/2018 (313), pp. 22–28.
- Ts/kib (2017), *Biegli: pismo TW „Bolka” tożsame z pismem Wałęsy*, <https://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/ipn-o-teczkach-tw-bolka-pismo-tozsame-z-pismem-walesy,711444.html>, 11.12.2018.
- Ustawa o Instytucie Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu* (1998), <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/o-ipn/ustawa/24216,Ustawa.html>, 11.12.2018.
- Wałęsa L. (1989), *Droga nadziei*, Wydawnictwo Znak.
- Wroński P. (2017), „Bolek” to Wałęsa. Ale istotne jest, że zerwał współpracę z SB. I jak to zrobił [Rozmowa], <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,21315202,bolek-to-walesa-ale-istotne-jest-ze-zerwal-wspolprace-z.html>, 11.12.2018.
- Zagner A. (2016), *Tajemnicza generalowa, czyli kim jest żona Czesława Kiszczaka*, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/1651128,1,tajemnicza-generalowa-czyli-kim-jest-zona-czeslawa-kiszczaka.read>, 11.12.2018.
- Zychal R. (2016), *Stankiewicz: nikt nie jest zainteresowany chłodną rozmową o przeszłości Wałęsy [Wywiad]*, <https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/lech-walesa-bohater-czy-zdrajca-spor-o-przeszlosc-trwa-wywiad/57sr8x,11.12.2018>.

Audiovisual materials:

- Konferencja prasowa na temat opinii biegłych w sprawie teczki TW „Bolka”, 31.01.2017, IPN, <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/dla-mediow/komunikaty/38547,Konferencja-prasowa-na-temat-opinii-bieglych-w-sprawie-teczki-TW-Bolka-Warszawa-.html>, 11.12.2018.
- „Teczki Bolka – autentyczne”, TVP, 18.02.2016, <http://wiadomosci.tvp.pl/24078396/teczki-bolka-autentyczne>, 15.01.2019.
- „Fakty”, TVN, 18.02.2016.
- „Fakty”, TVN, 19.02.2016.
- „Fakty”, TVN, 20.02.2016.
- „Fakty”, TVN, 31.01.2017.
- „Fakty po Faktach”, TVN 24, 18.02.2016.
- „Fakty po Faktach”, TVN 24, 19.02.2016.
- „Fakty po Faktach”, TVN 24, 20.02.2016.
- „Minęła 20”, TVP Info, 18.02.2016.
- „Minęła 20”, TVP Info, 19.02.2016.
- „Minęła 20”, TVP Info, 20.02.2016.
- „Wiadomości”, TVP 1, 18.02.2016.
- „Wiadomości”, TVP 1, 19.02.2016.

„Wiadomości”, TVP 1, 20.02.2016.

„Wiadomości”, TVP 1, 31.01.2017.

**Lech Wałęsa czy TW Bolek? Bohater czy zdrajca?
Analiza dyskursu medialnego po ujawnieniu
przez żonę generała Czesława Kiszczaka teczki TW *Bolka***

Streszczenie

Artykuł stanowi podsumowanie badania dotyczącego analizy dyskursu medialnego po ujawnieniu przez żonę generała Czesława Kiszczaka teczki TW Bolka w lutym 2016 roku. Rozpoznano i opisano dwie główne narracje dotyczące przeszłości Lecha Wałęsy. Zestawiono oraz porównano ze sobą materiały informacyjne i audycje publicystyczne TVP 1 i TVP Info z TVN. Badaniu poddano również doniesienia medialne po konferencji IPN, podczas której stwierdzono autentyczność podpisów Lecha Wałęsy (31.01.2017 r.).

Słowa kluczowe: Lech Wałęsa, bohater, prezydent, TW Bolek, agent, teczka, Kiszczak, TVP, TVN, analiza, dyskurs medialny, Wiadomości, Fakty, Minęła 20, Fakty po Faktach, IPN

About the author

Michał Mijalski [michal.mijalski@amu.edu.pl] – PhD student at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, UAM in Poznań. Scientific interests concentrate on analysis of press and media discourse.