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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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CONTENT AND IDEOLOGICAL
ORIENTATION OF TWÓRCZOŚĆ
(1945-1955)

by Michael Poninski

Thesis presented to the
School of Graduate Studies
of the University of Ottawa as partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

Ottawa, Ontario, 1977

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

Literary magazines have occupied an important position in Polish culture. As a result of considerable delays, literary works are more likely to find their way into periodicals than to appear in the form of a book. Long before the reader has a chance to become acquainted with the book, its message becomes obsolete or gains universal acceptance thanks to the mediation of a periodical. The student of contemporary Polish literature will, therefore, be well advised to turn to periodicals as the source of material.

In the period under study (1945-1955), the books could not keep up with the sudden, frequent, and often totally unexpected changes in the internal policies of the country. Nor could the publishing houses or the authors keep pace with the vertiginous rate of change. A short story, a poem, an essay or a casual contribution to criticism was all that a writer could finish to meet the deadline. All that has a bearing on contemporary Polish literature can thus be found in periodicals.

The publishing activities of the Polish literary journals during the period from July 22 (Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation) to the second half

¹ Towarzystwo Literackie im. A. Mickiewicza Pamiętnik Literacki, Warszawa, Vol. 6, 1947, p. 146.

of January, 1945, (so-called "liberation" of Warsaw and Kraków) exhibit an understandable uniformity imposed by technical difficulties and the lack of material: Odrodzenie was the only literary weekly published². Its publication began on September 1st, 1944, in Lublin, and the periodical soon became the focus of literary and publishing activities, as well as the cultural center expected to perform a variety of functions which normally are carried out by a gamut of literary publications. Odrodzenie fell short of these expectations simply because this enormous task exceeded the capabilities of an eight-page magazine severely limited, at that, by inadequate technical facilities and the general chaos that reigned during the first months of freedom.

In view of this, a decision was made in August 1945 to publish Twórczość - a monthly of prose, poetry and literary criticism³. Considering the sluggish publishing activities of the first post-war years, Twórczość was expected to fill in for the lacking books. In an array of short-lived magazines subject to frequent changes of ideological orientation, Twórczość stands out as a journal deserving the attention of literary historians.

2 Stanisław Kwapien, Książka i kultura, Zakład im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, Vol. 11, 1946, p. 22.

3 Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Nowiny Literackie, Warsaw, No. 32, 1948, p. 7.

The purpose of this thesis is to carry out a content analysis of the periodical in terms of the main thematic components and major ideological trends during the 1945-1955 period.

Twórczość being postwar Poland's oldest and most representative literary magazine, reflects the vicissitudes of the country's literary development and the Communist Party's ideological program, policies and controls. This thesis will focus on several topics. These include the content of the monthly in terms of major literary genres, criticism, translations and other items, as well as the extent and character of discernible changes and their relationship to the political regime and its cultural policies. Special attention will be paid to the ideological policies reflected in the inclusion or exclusion of certain works and authors. The attitudes of the editors toward foreign and Polish literature of the prewar period, as well as their attitude toward "social realism" will constitute another focus of the dissertation.

The corpus of this research includes all the issues of the periodical published between August 1945 and September 1955. Information on the history of the periodical was gathered from several short articles published in other magazines and newspapers, usually commemorating the anniversaries of Twórczość.

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The writer has examined the indexes of M.A. and Ph.D. theses in related fields published in North America and Western Europe for the period of 1950 to 1972 and has found no topics related to Twórczość. The examination of Polish sources shows no relevant material comparable to the scope of the present thesis.

The present thesis is basically bibliographical in character. It is hoped that it will be useful to readers because: 1) it contains information on the content of the issues in a given period, 2) it classifies the material contained in the issues for the ten-year period according to strictly defined thematic groups, 3) it analyzes the changes in ideological attitudes of the editors concerning the fundamental problems of Poland's literary life, and finally, 4) it has been provided with an exhaustive content and author index.

The first chapter deals with the history of the periodical's foundation and gives the background of the editors responsible for the publication. An attempt has been made to establish the degree of public acceptance of the writers and poets whose works appeared in Twórczość and to assess the ideological orientation and the literary value of the latter.

Chapter II contains a study of the articles dealing with culture, art, history, science, biography, politics and

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economics and outlines the extent to which Twórczość participated in Poland's cultural and social life.

The treatment of poetry, drama, and theater in the various issues of Twórczość is discussed in Chapter III. An attempt has been made to reflect the frequent changes in the content and form of literary works prompted by the country's political vicissitudes.

Chapter IV contains an analysis of prose works published in Twórczość, the latter being the core of the material appearing on the pages of this monthly. It also deals with literary criticism - a line of endeavor that the monthly's editors hoped to establish and maintain its seriousness and high professional standards. Reviews of literary works - an important column in any literary magazine - are included in this chapter as well.

The index appended to the present thesis refers to all the issues of Twórczość published between August 1945 and September 1955. It does not refer to the thesis itself. It should facilitate the prompt finding of the wanted information, both the various contributions to the monthly and their authors. It is a cross-reference index containing seven hundred and twenty entries.

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CHAPTER I

CULTURAL BACKDROP

This chapter will outline the situation in the field of Polish culture after World War II and the state of periodical literature in Poland during the years 1945-1955.

The events leading up to the foundation of the magazine will be discussed along with profiles of the various publishers, the ideological stance of the magazine and the breadth and variation of the works published.

1. The Rebirth of Cultural Life in the 40's.

The September catastrophe, the German and Soviet occupation and the resulting political and economic situation of the country at the time when war ended, wrought fundamental changes in the character of Polish culture. First of all, Poland sustained enormous losses in population and economy, millions of people having perished in concentration camps and as a result of military operations. Thousands of intellectuals and prominent figures of Polish cultural life chose not to return to Poland or did so with considerable delay (Tuwim, Słonimski).

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Upon losing important cultural centers, such as Lwów and Wilno and regaining Wrocław and Szczecin, the focus of Polish cultural life shifted to the western part of the country, Wrocław replacing Lwów, and Toruń assuming the role of Wilno. The migration brought about by shifting frontiers, war destruction, the change of the political system, repatriation and renewed emigration, had a profound effect on shaping the country's culture. To give an example, some four and a half million Poles - about twenty percent of total post-war population - moved to the western part of the country in the years following the war and about twenty-five percent of all intellectuals arriving in Wrocław, Toruń and Szczecin were former residents of Poland's eastern territories, mostly Lwów and Wilno¹.

Another important factor in the appearance of new cultural centers was the initial decentralization prompted by the destruction of the national capital. Before September 1939 a great majority of artists and intellectuals lived in Warsaw, the center of most cultural initiatives.

¹ Irena Turnau, Studia nad strukturą ludnościową Polskiego Wrocławia, Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1960.

Whereas more than fifty percent of all publishing activities in pre-war Poland were associated with Warsaw, only about ten percent corresponded to the national capital in 1946. Some twenty daily newspapers and hundreds of weekly and monthly periodicals were being published in Warsaw in 1939, of this number only six dailies remained in 1947.

Warsaw was the center of literary and artistic life. Two-fifths of all Polish theaters had their seat in Warsaw, and forty percent of the country's scientists worked in this city, which also boasted of the largest number of students, the finest libraries and archives and the best museums and collections². All this cultural heritage was lost in the war and no other Polish city was in a position to take the lead. Krakow, the city that suffered least in the war, now harbored most scientists and literary figures. The presence of these people soon became noticeable in an enlivened cultural atmosphere that quickened the pace of literary and theatrical activities. The coast, as well as the cities in the regained areas, joined in the cultural work, in which a place of particular importance was reserved for Katowice.

² Central Bureau of Statistics, Poland in figures, 1944-1961, Warsaw 1962.

The post-war years in Poland were marked by a cultural regeneration. Soon after the cessation of hostilities, Poland rapidly began to rebuild its school system at all levels of instruction, despite economic difficulties and shortages of trained staff. Learned associations, headed by the Academy of Sciences, soon took up their scholarly and publishing activities, putting out a number of professional journals in the field of medicine, technology, sports etc. Dramatic activities received a new thrust from local theater groups and drama schools organized in all larger cities.

Music also showed a vigorous development in the first post-war years, as witnessed by newly established conservatories. Opera houses started performances in Poznań, Warsaw and Wrocław. As early as 1945, concerts by philharmonic orchestras were given in Łódź, Katowice, Kraków and the cities of the coast³.

The years 1945-1948 were also marked by a revival of film production and a rapid development of Polish plastic arts.

³ Central Bureau of Statistics, Poland in figures, 1944-1961, Warsaw 1962.

The end of 1945 saw the creation of "Film Polski", a state-operated agency, whose activities centered around the rebuilding of the Polish film industry and serving as an information and propaganda office. This latter aspect of its activities took on the form of film chronicles. Exhibitions of plastic arts attracted a number of competing artists. The press offered its columns to heated discussions about the plastic arts, the direction in which they should develop and the tasks they were facing. Kraków's Academy of Fine Arts reopened its doors in February 1945, whereas a sister institution was inaugurated in Łódź by the end of the year⁴.

In the context of the period, the years 1945-1948 must be viewed as particularly favorable to the arts in Poland, a time in which all forms of artistic expression bore the imprint of the enthusiasm of reconstruction. The Communist Party refrained from overt interference with artistic activities, retaining, however overall control with the aid of various state agencies.

⁴ "Diariusz Kultury Polskiej za rok 1945", in Twórczość, vol. 2, 1946, p. 161-207.

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This situation continued until April 21st, 1948. Soon afterwards, upon achieving the unification of most leftish parties into a new body known as PZPR, the Party embarked upon a complete take-over of all literary and artistic activities, in order to impose "social realism" as a compulsory cultural dogma.

Another characteristic feature of the post-war period may be seen in the rapid growth of professional associations, which were utilized as a means to control cultural activities. Writers, plastic artists, musicians, composers and actors were organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, which officially advocated complete autonomy of the arts⁵. Nevertheless, the nationalization of the publishing houses worked as a brake on publishing. Thus, the list of books published during 1945, surprisingly, does not include one single novel. Poland's pre-war belletristic production totaled more than 500 items every year. Moreover, just as many literary works were appearing yearly in instalments in periodical publications.

⁵ Tadeusz Sulimski, "Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka" in Kultura, Paris, Instytut Literacki, March 1952, p. 124.

The first year after the war saw the publication of only a dozen old novels and four new novels. Comparably, the output of daily newspapers in 1946 was barely forty percent of that of 1938⁶.

One must also point out the almost complete disappearance of sensational publications catering to popular tastes, in view of its rejection by the Party as ideologically harmful to a socialist society.

In summing up, the first years of cultural activities are marked by a dynamic growth on the ruins of economically devastated Poland; and this despite the growing political controls.

11. Literary Journalism in the Years 1945-1950.

The acute thirst for the printed word felt during the occupation was gradually quenched by the rapidly developing press, which included periodicals of various orientations and different professional standards. As far as literary journalism is concerned, Twórczość had tough competition in Kuźnica, a periodical of lofty ambitions and considerable

⁶ "Przegląd czasopism" in Nowiny Literackie, No. 32, 1948, p. 7.

elan, which started publication in August 1945, in Łódź as an official organ of Poland's young literary left. S. Żółkiewski was its chief editor until 1949, being later replaced by Paweł Hoffman.

Kuźnica counted among its collaborators such well-known writers and political journalists as K. Brandys, P. Hertz, M. Jastruń, J. Kott, R. Matuszewski, S. Pollak and A. Ważyk. It was a literary publication with a broadly Marxist outlook and a clear-cut purpose; its approach to many problems met with general appreciation even in circles that did not share its ideology. The literary credo of Kuźnica proclaimed adherence to "high realism" such as, it was believed, had been the trade-mark of Diderot and Balzac. A polemic with the principles of the Vanguard, its program of "high realism" and its stand against dogmatism led, during the "Zhdanov period", to its closure in 1950⁷.

Another literary magazine reappeared in the Łódź scene in late 1945 under a changed name; we have in mind Zagadnienia Literackie known before the war under the name of Życie Literackie.

⁷ Zbigniew Żabicki, Z problemów literatury polskiej XX wieku, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1965, p. 106-130.

The editors claimed to be setting out to create a propitious climate for discussing problems of literary theory from different philosophical premises. Thus, scholarship rather than popularization was what Życie Literackie was aiming at.

The Poznań branch of the Association of Polish Writers launched the publication Życie Literackie under the editorship of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, who later was replaced by Wojciech Bąk. The contents of the magazine ranged from contemporary Polish and foreign prose and poetry, to criticism and articles of general interest on culture, science, and especially philosophy⁸.

The literary magazine Kamena, which had been published for six years prior to 1939, was revived by its former editor Kazimierz Jaworski. It remained true to its old image, devoting most of its pages to poetry.

Among the revived magazines one also finds Lewy Tor, a Warsaw literary monthly, which first was associated with the Popular Front but later became restricted to literature and a small section of political journalism. The popular style of Lewy Tor made this magazine accessible to readers with less sophisticated literary tastes.

⁸ Stanisław Kwapien, Książka i kultura, Warsaw, No. 11, 1946, p. 24.

The magazine Wies, published in Łódź by A. Król and intended for the peasantry, underwent an evolution during the two years of its existence in an effort to meet the growing cultural demand of the Polish village. It first showed a preference for social problems, relegating literary questions to the background. However, as soon as the peasant press reached an adequate level of development, Wies narrowed down the range of its interests and began to devote more space to cultural problems. A different type of journalism, a quite special lyric poetry that tended to create a school, as well as fresh themes and a wide range of interests, are proof that Wies did not lack ambition and originality.

The reconstruction and development of the "recovered" territories, the Polish-German relations and the literature of Poland's western provinces were the center of attention of the Katowice weekly Odra, edited by Wilhelm Szewczyk from 1945 until its temporary closure in 1950. Another literary biweekly appeared in September 1946, namely the magazine Pokolenie under the general editorship of Roman Bratny. L. Bartelski, J. Bocheński, T. Borowski, B. Czeszko and T. Rózewicz were among its editors.

Being the organ of the youngest generation of publicists and men of letters, this publication discussed sensitive matters, such as the Home Army, underground activities, the Warsaw uprising, the Polish army in the West, emigration, etc. Due to this tendency, Pokolenie was a source of irritation for the party leadership; its short-lived existence (1946-47) is thus understandable⁹.

In the period discussed, special consideration is due to the sector of Catholic press represented by Znak, Tygodnik Powszechny, Tygodnik Warszawski and Dziś i Jutro. The most widely read Tygodnik Powszechny published articles discussing problems of culture, philosophy, sociology and politics from the Catholic point of view. This weekly also contained much literary material, such as excerpts of prose works, poetry, criticism and essays. Tygodnik Warszawski on the other hand, paid more attention to politics, providing information on pertinent events at home and abroad. By a comprehensive review of happenings of the preceeding week, Tygodnik Warszawski endeavored to substitute, at least partly, for a Catholic daily newspaper¹⁰.

⁹ M. Żywicki, "Wymowne cyfry 13;7", in Prasa Polska, Warsaw, No. 3, 1949.

¹⁰ Stanisław Kwapien, in Książka i kultura, Warsaw, No. 11, 1946, p. 25.

Also published in Warsaw, Dzis i Jutro was the organ of PAX, the so-called Catholic left, which subscribed to the Communist platform in questions of social relations. In addition to literature, this publication included articles on economic issues at home and abroad.

The blossoming period of literary journalism in post-war Poland was short. During the years 1949-1954 many reviews were closed down, while others were transformed into regional bulletins in which literary questions received but a marginal treatment. In the early 1950's literary activities centered around two weeklies and one monthly; Nowa Kultura, Przegląd Kulturalny and Twórczość. One may complete the list by adding the Kraków weekly Życie Literackie. Thus, the

literary journalism of this period compares unfavorably with the first post-war years, when this field was represented by Odrodzenie, Kuźnica, Nowiny Literackie, Znak, Zeszyty Wrocławskie, Zeszyty Krakowskie, Dziennik Literacki, Pamiętnik Literacki, Odra, Pokolenie, not counting a greater involvement with literature of the daily press and the illustrated magazines.

The lowering of the quality of literary journalism and diminished activity in all the sectors of Poland's cultural life begins after the Fourth Congress of Polish Writers held in Szczecin, January 1949. The resolutions adopted at this congress were of special importance for Polish literature. In their papers read at the meeting, Party spokesmen - notably deputy minister for culture and arts W. Sokorski and Stefan Żółkiewski - outlined the principles of "socialist realism" to be adhered to by all creative writers¹¹. The resolutions adopted at the congress imposed on all literature the obligation to engage actively in "building socialism" in Poland.

The congress of Szczecin practically eliminated the already limited autonomy enjoyed by Polish writers. Instead, the commissars for culture were offering the Soviet model to be followed by all. Adam Ważyk, the chief editor of Tworczość, gave the following formulation of literature's tasks:

¹¹ Stefan Żółkiewski, "Aktualne zagadnienia powojennej prozy polskiej", (Referat zjazdu) in Kuźnica, No. 4, 1949.

The struggle against Gomolkaism and the defeat of bourgeois estheticism in poetry and prose are responsible for the fact that socialist tendencies became prevalent in literature. Ideas relevant to the building of socialism, imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the struggle for peace, and the struggle against imperialism, are dominant in it¹².

From now on literature will be concerned with anything but the problems of art, because "poetics is an extension of ideology and must perform ideological functions".^{12A}

A clamping down on fantasy and imagination, an imposition of thematic and ideological guidelines and the elimination of experimentation combined to paralyze literary creativity. The freedom of scholarly research and artistic experimentation became limited by the ideological controls of the Communist Party. It had become impossible to publish the results of scientific research whose authors refused to adopt the principles of Marxism in its Soviet version. Dogmatism, schematism and the monopoly of Marxism-Leninism in literature and art worked as a damper on cultural activities in Poland.

The so-called Zhdanov period proved to be the most sterile in the history of Polish culture and literature.

¹² Adam Ważyk, "Uwagi o kryteriach poezji", in Twórczość, Vol. 8, 1952, p. 30.

^{12A} Ibid., p. 31.

This situation was slowly changed as a result of political events that occurred in Poland in 1954-1955. Stalin's death, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the return of Gomółka were factors in the rejection of socialist realism as a compulsory doctrine of creative arts. The cultural life of those tempestuous years and the following decade developed under the conditions of a more relaxed party control. Gomółka's takeover marks a new era in the cultural history of the Polish People's Republic.

111. General Characteristics of Twórczość.

In the spring of 1945, a group of writers, poets, critics and literary publicists came together in Kraków to agree, among other things, on the name of a projected monthly literary publication. The gathering enthusiastically endorsed the name of Twórczość proposed by Julian Przyboś. The title met all the expectations of the founding members¹³.

The country devastated by the Nazis could boast of few books while the publishing houses were in the process of reconstruction. The daily and weekly press could publish but

13 W.N. Nowiny Literackie, No. 32, 1948, P. 7.

a fraction of the writers' wartime production. There was an urgent need for a large literary periodical as a substitute for the unavailable books.

Leon Kruczkowski - playwright, novelist, publicist and an activist of the left - became, upon his return from a German concentration camp, the first editor of the new periodical. Because of his political convictions (he had had contacts with the Polish Socialist Party before the war, and from 1945 on was member of the Polish Labor Party and member of Parliament), as well as because of his experience in journalism (he had written for Gazeta Literacka and Wiadomości Literackie), Leon Kruczkowski had all the qualifications required for the chief editor of Twórczość. He was a connoisseur of poetry, whereas playwriting became the main form of his literary expression (adaptation for the stage of Kordian and Ham, The Hero of Our time, Julius and Ethel, the well-known play The Germans, for which he was awarded an international prize in literature etc). In Twórczość Leon Kruczkowski published his plays (e.g. Odwiedziny), articles, poetry and short stories in which he discussed, from Marxist positions, the problems of freedom and state power¹⁴. During

14 Vol. 7, 1955, p. 7-45.

his time in office as editor-in-chief, Kruczkowski favored the publication of short stories and articles dealing with the Nazi occupation. Kruczkowski had time to publish only the first issue of Twórczość before he was appointed deputy minister of Culture and Arts¹⁵. The said issue, run off on newsprint and clad in a carton cover, appeared early in August 1945; considering the situation of Poland's publishing business at the time, the number of copies - ten thousand - was truly impressive.

In September 1945, the office of editor-in-chief passed from Kruczkowski to Kazimierz Wyka, at the time chairman of the Krakow branch of the Writers' Association, one of the most outstanding historians and students of Polish literature, as well as a prominent critic, teacher and essayist. During the war, Kazimierz Wyka was involved with secret literary publications and lectured at an underground university. He started to teach at the Jagiellonian University in 1948 and from 1952 to 1956 served as a member to the Sejm. He was entrusted the directorship of the Institute of Literary Research as of 1955. Kazimierz Wyka participated in the

15 Tadeusz Bujnicki, Autorzy naszych lektur, Zakład im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, 1967, p. 221.

the activities of the Polish Writers' Association, holding the office of its vice-chairman. In 1954 he was appointed titular professor. He died suddenly in January 1975.

Kazimierz Wyka developed a critical method of his own, focusing his attention on literature from social and moral positions but, at the same time, taking pains to respect the artistic autonomy of the author and the individual characteristics of his work. Both in his literary and critical work and in his editorial activities, Wyka was able to reconcile objectivity and tolerance with determination and individualism. Kazimierz Wyka remained in office as editor-in-chief of Twórczość until 1949, the year in which the magazine was transferred to Warsaw and its publication entrusted to the Board of Directors of the Polish Writers' Association¹⁶.

The removal of Wyka undoubtedly was a political decision. At a time when "social realism" was launching its first offensive, the Party wanted to see so important an office occupied by a trustworthy person, unquestionably devoted to the ideals of Communism. Accordingly, during the

¹⁶ Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Słownik Współczesnych Pisarzy Polskich, Vol. III, Warsaw, 1964, p. 547.

years 1950-1954 the office of editor-in-chief was occupied by Adam Ważyk, a prolific writer, poet and translator, the recipient of a state prize for literature.

Throughout the era of Stalinism, Ważyk acted as an ardent propagator of communist ideology which he clearly favored in the columns of Twórczość. During his time in office, the magazine's pages were crammed with the so-called "production" prose, politically oriented poetry, reports of current political events and communist propaganda. Early in 1955 (during the period of "thaw"), there occurred a change in Ważyk's political opinions which was evidenced in his notorious and ideologically significant Poem for Adults, published in No. 67 of Twórczość for the year 1955. Severely critical of the absurd aspects of current social realities, the said poem was something of a surprise to those readers who were acquainted with the poet's earlier production which surely had been interpreted as an apology of the Stalinist era.

The next and last man to occupy the office of editor-in-chief of Twórczość (after 1954) was the senior of Polish literature - Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. His literary

work impresses one with its bulk, wealth and diversity of genre and form. He had authored poems, plays, essays and critical reviews, besides a number of short stories and novels. He had translated from Danish, Spanish, English, French, Italian, Russian and German. Between the two wars and after World War II, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz was involved in a variety of literary and political activities, among others he was the co-founder of the poets' club Skamander, editor of the biweekly Życie Literackie, chairman of the Polish Writers' Association, editor of the weekly Nowiny Literackie and delegate to the Sejm. The government acknowledged his contribution with several high distinctions.

All the appointments to the office of editor-in-chief of Twórczość were politically motivated. The Party needed an outstanding literary figure, a man of proven ideological stance who, while in office, could be trusted to implement the literary policies of the Central Committee. There is no doubt that the Party's expectations were met. The excessively

liberal Kazimierz Wyka, who was not a communist, became victimized by Stalinism. Then came Wazyk, who in turn was removed from office when political expediency required a non-communist who would be a prominent literary figure at the same time. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz filled that demand.

The scope of Twórczość was best defined in the platform of the editorial board published in the first issue of the magazine:

Our monthly is intended to be above all a faithful reflection of contemporary prose and poetry, a record of those spiritual and social transformations of recent years that already have found an expression in the works of our writers. In its first stage, the magazine will be - we are fully aware of the connotations of the epithet used - variegated, because the present day Polish literature exhibits this characteristic. Our publication wishes to provide leadership in developing a humanistic social realism in prose and to assist in finding a new style in poetry. 17

Thus, the editors of Twórczość considered as their principal task to acquaint the readers with the outstanding productions of Polish prose and poetry by publishing, in full or in excerpts, the most representative works. The platform article made clear the editors' intention to include in their selections, and even to favor, essays, literary reportage and works which "in a measure accessible to us are novel and creative".

Genres such as the essay - literary, political or philosophical - and the reportage, though rare on the Polish scene, have a greater impact on the reader at this time of competing social forms and there is an urgent need for precisely these literary kinds .

Besides, the platform article promised that Twórczość would actively engage in literary criticism. The magazine intended to concentrate on fostering serious criticism and on training a new generation of literary critics:

We shall endeavor to educate the future essayists and literary critics on great examples of Western and Russian criticism offered in translation. We shall also try to prepare future poets by publishing samples of great poetry. Thus, by offering examples of great literary works and by laying the foundations for a broadly understood criticism, the magazine hopes to improve the quality of our literature. It truly deserves the appellation of a journal of literature and criticism¹⁸

In the following years, particularly during the period of Stalinism (1949-1954), the literary policies of Twórczość, bending to Party directives, differed considerably from the above declarations. Up to 1949, however, the outlined program was adhered to and Twórczość published works by

18 Twórczość, Vol. 1, 1945, p. 5.

writers of both the younger and the older generations, by beginners and recognized masters of the art. One finds in it poetry by Staff, Słonimski, Jastrun, Przyboś, novels by Maria Dąbrowska, short stories by Iwaszkiewicz, contributions by Dobrowolski, Grzybowski, Tadeusz Peiper, Karol Irzykowski, Wacław Borowy, Roman Dybowski, Józef Feldman and others.

Prose constituted the literary core of Twórczość. "An essential feature of a magazine of this type is that it publishes larger works in full, rather than in part, so that they may be discussed in literary circles"¹⁹.. Twórczość became the forum above all of the newest Polish prose: Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Borkowski, Kazimierz Brandys, Leopold Buczkowski, Tadeusz Breza, Stanisław Dygat, Tadeusz Hołuj, Józef Kisielewski, J. Kozłowska, K. Olszewski, S. Ōtwinowski, K. Pruszyński, W. Zukrowski - this was the spectrum of names and talents indicating that the editors' conception of a new "realism" was rather broad.

Far from ignoring the literature of the older generation - on the contrary, frequently referring to it - Twórczość confronted the various literary groups and aimed at keeping the public informed of the newest literary achievements. Besides a rich and varied selection of prose works

¹⁹ "From a discussion on Twórczość", in Twórczość, Vol. 1, 1952, p. 38.

(fragments of novels, short stories, literary reportage) and poetry, this monthly devoted much place to criticism, both generations being represented: W. Borowy, K. Zawodziński, W. Taszycki, K. Wyka, S. Kott, W. Kubacki, R. Lichajski, W. Mach, H. Pregerowna and H. Vogler were closely connected with the magazine. In time, the work of several of these critics showed attempts at a reappraisal of prewar literature coupled to a more explicit advocacy of "social realism".

The monthly maintained close contacts with current European literature, publishing translations from English, French, Spanish, German, Russian and Ukrainian, as well as essays on topics related to foreign literature. Some issues were devoted entirely to a specific foreign literature, thus volume 3 for 1949 dealt exclusively with the Czech and Slovak literatures, and volume 3 for 1946 with the French literature.

Poetry constituted an especially significant contribution of Twórczość during the period under discussion. Each volume contained several poems exhibiting a different theme and technique. It might have been poetry written by acknowledged masters or beginners, Polish or translated.

Plays - in excerpts or in full - were published in practically every other issue, attesting to the editors' keen

interest in this literary kind. However, it was literary criticism that occupied the largest and most significant place. In every issue one finds several, at times as many as twenty, brief reviews of the most recent books of prose and poetry. Although admittedly not exhaustive, these reviews represented a very important source of information.

As expected, Twórczość engaged in political journalism at all times in its column "On The Horizon", publishing reports of a variety of congresses, events, conferences and political speeches. Classics of Marxism thus far unpublished in Polish also appeared in this column. Political commentaries on so-called capitalist countries also were a regular feature.

The range of interests of Twórczość transgressed the realm of literature: a large number of essays and discussion were devoted to plastic arts, painting, sculpture and folk art. Problems of Polish film industry and music were vented in the column headed "Current Events", which also included information and critical reviews of the newest developments in the theater.

One of the methods of approaching current problems of literature and culture that we find in this magazine is the

printing of a number of topical articles in the same issue. Thus, issue 2 of 1946 was devoted to Kościuszko and the uprising of Kraków, issue 2, 1946 to contemporary French literature and Polish theater, issue 3, 1946 to Czech and Slovak literatures.

In time, the range of interest of the magazine expanded. Twórczość became a mirror focused on a wide spectrum of literary and cultural activities of those years.



CHAPTER II

HUMANITIES

This chapter will discuss the material in Twórczość, devoted to the matters of culture and art, history, science, biography, politics and economics. Only representative articles of considerable impact have been selected and analyzed with respect to the space allotted to each particular theme, the trends in interpretation, the personality of the contributor and the significant changes occurring in any of these elements. It is hoped that the analysis will establish the magazine's interests and consequently the degree to which it reflected the cultural and social life of the country.

The chapter will discuss the various elements of humanities in the following sequence: Culture and Art, Biography, Philosophy and Science, Politics and Economics.

1. Culture and Art.

As it has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the interests of Twórczość are broader than literature proper. The monthly published articles on matters pertaining to culture and art, history, biography, politics and economics. A permanent feature of Twórczość was a column devoted to motion

pictures, music, painting, sculpture and theater. In the period 1945-55, letters from Poland's larger cultural centers were the prevailing form of reporting in this area. Among others one finds Hertz's Letters from Łódź, Zakrzewski's Letters from Poznań, letters by Karczewska, the articles Cultural Geography of the Years 1947-1948 and The Position of Kraków by Wyka, etc.

During the first three years following its foundation, Twórczość published an annual survey entitled Diary of Polish Culture which amounted to a chronicle of cultural events. Regrettably, this useful feature was abandoned later.

A number of articles and essays were devoted to painting and the problems of museums. Thus the article A Museum on Wheels by Kazimierz Wyka¹ dealt with popularizing the masterpieces of plastic arts. The author also gave a sketch of the history of Polish plastic arts exhibitions from the earliest ones to the postwar plastic arts mobiles that were to visit the small provincial towns.

Other authors, for example, Roman Zrębowicz discussed the modernization of museums, a correspondent signed A.B.

1 Vol. 7, 1948, p. 128-137.

the reorganization of Louvre, Juliusz Goryński the problem of kitsch in plastic arts, Mieczysław Porębski the artistic meaning of image in modern painting, etc. Most reports and reviews of exhibitions of paintings were signed by Helena Blumówna, Tadeusz Dobrowolski, Mieczysław Porębski, Jacek Puget, Helena Wielowiejska and Konrad Winkler. These journalists, reporters and critics - most of them young - in analyzing the works of individual artists, introduced them to the wider reading public.

Many essays and critical articles were devoted to the individual painters. Thus, Tadeusz Dobrowolski published an essay on Pankiewicz and another one on Rembrandt². Helena Blumówna discussed the style and the use of color in the works of Olga Boznańska³ and those of Zbigniew Pronaszko⁴, whereas Zygmunt Kałużyński stressed the greatness and the importance of Louis David.⁵

2 Vol. 4, 1947, p. 20.

3 "Twórczość Zbigniewa Pronaszki", Vol. 12, 1948, p. 64.

4 "Olga Boznańska", Vol. 2, 1946, p. 95.

5 "O krzywdzie, wielkości i aktualności Louis Davida", Vol. 4, 1949, p. 38.

Jerzy Wolf dealt with the biography and the paintings of Pierre Bonnard⁶, etc. In an essay Standing Guard for Humanistic Arts⁷, Białostocki gave a cross section of the work of Maria Hiszpańska, an outstanding representative of Polish graphic arts in the 1940's. J. Białostocki summed up the main characteristics of her art: variety, versatility and an intense emotional attitude toward her creations.

In the column "Current affairs", a place of importance is given to reporting on all sorts of exhibitions, handicrafts and folk art. The column carried articles by Stanislaw Gebethner An Exhibition of Textiles and Handicrafts at the National Museum in Warsaw, Tadeusz Dobrowolski The Textiles of Helena and Stefan Gałkowski and Gobelins of Helena and Stefan Falkowski, Karol Homalacz The Role of Handicrafts in the Mass Culture, Wojciech Mol A Commentary on the Exhibition of Art of the Peoples of Yugoslavia in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Tadeusz Peiper Artistic Dances, etc. Tadeusz Seweryn's report of the great exhibition of sculptures, paintings and popular graphic art at Kraków's

6. Vol. 5, 1947, p. 17.

7 Vol. 9, 1948, p. 34.

Fine Arts Society is one of the most extensive⁸.

The film industry and its problems were reported on usually by Jan Białostocki, Zygmunt Kałużyński and Kazimierz Wyka. These were short articles discussing the situation in Polish film making. In lengthier critical studies they reviewed the achievements of the American, Soviet, British and Italian cinematography. For example, in the article A Voyage to the Island of Improbabilities⁹ Kazimierz Wyka examined the effect of the movies on the collective mind.

Zygmunt Kałużyński's article Sergey Eisenstein or the Rehabilitation of History¹⁰ was devoted to the work of this outstanding innovator of Soviet cinematography.

Musical reviews appearing in Twórczość and other items related to music, bear mostly the name of Jerzy Broszkiewicz. This prose writer and music critic, who is a trained musicologist and former editor of the periodical Muzyka published reviews of every major musical event in Poland. In an essay entitled Important Anniversaries¹¹, Broszkiewicz discussed two significant dates in 1947: the

8 "W Świątkarni", Vol. 3, 1948, p. 96.

9 Vol. 10, 1946, p. 38.

10 Vol. 7, 1948, p. 23.

11 Vol. 12, 1947, p. 74.

10th anniversary of the passing of Karol Szymanowski and the 35th anniversary of Stanisław Moniuszko's death.

What is New in Music in Kraków and Musical Activities in Poznań - a series of reports published by Broszkiewicz and Szczeligowska - discussed the vital problems of musical art in these centers. Philharmonic orchestras, operas, appearances of soloists, symphony concerts were some of the topics discussed.

The section devoted to problems of culture contained mainly short reports from the principal cultural centers, written mostly by staff correspondents. The reports tried to recreate the cultural atmosphere of a given place and included information on new books, stage performances, literary magazines and their staff. In the second place, by sheer volume, one finds reviews of all sorts of exhibitions - graphic arts, paintings, handicrafts, as well as reviews of stage performances. A somewhat smaller number of reports are devoted to the discussion of individual artists or individual works.

By publishing this kind of reports, reviews, articles and essays, the editors of Twórczość attempted to present a relatively complete picture of cultural activities in individual sectors, pointing out specific local problems.

stressing the positive and dynamic elements, as well as criticizing those aspects of Poland's cultural life which they considered to be static, petty bourgeois or simply reactionary.

11. Biography

The first ten years of Twórczość were marked by an abundance of biographic items. These very useful articles always are read for a variety of reasons by a vast clientele, ranging from supplementary school reading to scholarly research on an individual artist or a period in the history of art. It is especially significant that the 19th century, speaking broadly, and domestic topics highlight the biographic material published in this magazine. The point is illustrated, for instance, by Samuel Sandler's article At the Sources of Marxist Esthetics in Poland¹² (a monograph on Bronisław Białblocki who died in 1888 at the age of 27) and a biographic essay The work of Zbigniew Uniłowski¹³, Sienkiewicz in Vienna in 1914 and Three Encounters with Reymont by Alfred Wysocki and Stanisław Łempicki¹⁴ (Life and scientific activity) by Juliusz Kleiner.

12 Vol. 6, 1953, p. 138.

13 Vol. 2, 1950, p. 125

14 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 82.

15 Vol. 3, 1948, p. 72.

In the decade of 1945-1955, Twórczość published materials dealing with the life and work of such Polish writers and poets as J. Słowacki, A. Mickiewicz, K. Tetmajer, Karol Szymanowski, Jerzy Kornacki, J.I. Kraszewski, L. Szenwald, W. Umiński, J. Tuwim, G. Zapolska, T. Pawlikowski, Z. Nałkowska and others.

The following foreign authors were discussed: Gorky, Thomas Hardy, David Lawrence, John Galsworthy, Tirso de Molina, François Mauriac, Christo Smirnenski, Iwan Olbracht, Franciszek Halas and Lope de Vega.

Most essays and articles of a biographic character were signed by Wojciech Natanson. In them he discussed a short story about Hermann Hess¹⁶ (Nobel Prize for literature, pacifist, novelist, poet and painter), Albert Camus' drama Caligula¹⁷, Bruno Frank's novel Cervantes, in which, among other things, he tries to distinguish between historical novels and biographic novels¹⁸.

16 "Nowy Laureat Nobla", Vol. 3, 1947, p. 54.

17 "Albert Camus", Vol. 7, 1947, p. 81.

18 "O Cervantesie (1547-1616)", Vol. 5, 1948, p. 112.

The period of great historic events that shook the entire world supplied even ordinary individuals with sufficient opportunity to observe and experience, whereas outstanding talents were given a chance for a total display of their energies. The second World War and its consequences thus found a reflection in the overwhelming majority of memoirs published in Twórczość (This theme of the memoirs will be discussed in Chapter Four). The war, though constituting the dominant element, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the content of these memoirs, is not their sole topic. In the first decade of existence of the Polish People's Republic, the party promoted the publication of memoirs of worker's uprisings and rebellions of peasants.

Yielding to pressure, the editors of Twórczość in the early 50's published in almost every issue memoirs of activists of the labor movement, of participants in the revolution of 1905, as well as memoirs of revolutionaries of past historic epochs, both Polish and foreign. As the editors explained, "the memoirs of revolutionaries serve our socialist propaganda, they educate our youth and improve the society's morale"¹⁹.

¹⁹ Twórczość, Vol. 1, 1950, p. 7.

Accordingly, Eugeniusz Płomiński's article On the Eve of the 1846 Uprising of Kraków²⁰, introduces readers into the atmosphere of the days preceeding that rebellion. The rebellion itself is treated by Lucyna Kraśnicka in a note entitled A Memoir from the Year 1846²¹ where in a direct and naive tone she narrates the battles in the city and the arrival of Prussian and Austrian troops. The same period of history is the subject of Roman Werfel's Dembowski i Szela²². In summing up the reasons for the failure of the November Uprising, he fixes a point of departure for some new ideas and trends in the political life of Polish society. Werfel gives an evaluation of the underground organizations that were active in the Austrian zone of the partitioned Poland, as well as a characterization of their leaders, such as Father Ściegienny, Julian Gostor, Walenty Stefański, but he dwells longer on Edward Dembowski, the principal revolutionary in the Principality of Poznań and Galicia. Later Werfel turns his attention to the peasant uprisal of 1846 and its leader Jakub Szela.

20 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 62

21 Vol. 11, 1946, p. 72

22 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 15.

The very same period of Galician plots is the topic of the memoirs of Klemens Mochnacki entitled The Memoirs of a Plotter and Teacher of the Years 1811-48²³. It differs thematically from the other memoirs which usually abound in details concerning the organization of plots, the conduct of investigations or the course the revolutionary struggle might have been taking. Mochnacki's memoir discusses problems of education, schools and social customs. Its analysis of the school system of the period is of special value.

Of special interest is also the content of another memoir of the period of the January uprising - that of Janusz Stępowski entitled A Rhapsody of the Sea²⁴. These are recollections of an old soldier and exile - colonel Teofil Lapinski - who headed a risky voyage from London to the coast of Lithuania to deliver weapons and ammunition to local guerrilla soldiers.

Another type of memoir literature published by Twórczość is represented by Characters and Anecdotes of the 19th Century²⁵, whose authors are Edmond and Jules Goncourt.

23 Vol. 1, 1950, p. 42

24 Vol. 7, 1949, p. 101.

25 Vol. 9, 1951, p. 115.

The memoir records the encounters of the Goncourts with famous personalities of the time - their portraits, anecdotal occurrences and idiosyncrasies, among them meetings with Balsac, Flaubert, Turgenev and Zola.

To sum up, the biographic pages of Twórczość abound in commomplaces; by no means can one speak here of literature proper. They are aimed at the layman and popularization is their keynote. Thematically, the biographic material published by Twórczość in the years 1945-49 gravitates to World War II, foreign occupation and guerrilla warfare. In the years 1949-55, however, one finds more frequently memoirs written by leaders of the labor movement, participants in the Revolution of 1905 and in the peasant uprisals. The publication of this type of memoirs was prompted by the needs of Communist propaganda.

III. Philosophy and Science.

During the decade under discussion, relatively few (about thirty) articles of those published in Twórczość were devoted to philosophy and science. Though varying, the content of these articles shows a very definite bias towards socialist realism and Marxist esthetics, in fact some seventy-five percent of them deal with problems of socialist realism.



The remaining ones discuss a variety of topics, as can easily be seen from the titles. Thus, Rene Huyghes, the chief custodian of paintings at the Museum of Louvre, a well-known author of treatises on Bergson and impressionism, treats the absurd in relation to the present day realities in his article Time of the Absurd²⁶.

In the second issue for the year 1949, Stefan Morawski published a lengthy philosophical treatise entitled Why a Work of Art Should Be Realistic. He gives the reasons for the appearance of realistic art in some periods and for the existence of anti-realistic trends in other periods. He analyses the conditions for the coexistence of the two trends and their conflicts and, finally, tries to prove that realism is a more humanistic school of art.

A very interesting topic is treated by Alfred N. Whitehead in his paper Mathematics as an Element in the History of Thought²⁷, which analyses the influence of mathematics on the various philosophical trends in the course of European history from Pythagoras to Newton.

26 Vol. 9, 1947, p. 95.

27 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 81.

Roman Ingarden studies the nature of time in his treatise Man and Time²⁸, while Stefan Szuman's article On Skills²⁹, does not seem to provide a clear answer to the question of moral value of the skills. The decision is left with society, which must choose between citizens who possess certain values acquired by honest work and those who arrive at the possession of these values with little or no effort on their part.

In another philosophical treatise, entitled In the Climate of Nazism³⁰, Konstanty Grzybowski probes the sources of Nazism, maintaining that this ideology was not conceived in the heads of a few maniacs and lunatics, but was deeply rooted in German history and science.

IV. Politics and Economics.

According to the ideology of Russian Marxism, a literary magazine must engage in constant political journalism. Following this line of thinking, Twórczość featured "On the Horizon" - a special column devoted to problems on economics and politics. There appeared in this column a variety

28 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 49

29 Vol. 4, 1947, p. 67.

30 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 100.

of essays, surveys and reviews dealing with socio-economic problems both on the national and international scale. Among the topics discussed one finds: national income, the effectiveness of investments in socialist economy, the economic situation of the West, accounting in socialist economy, economic crises, economic planning and the like.

Second in importance is the group of articles dealing with the economic and political problems of the Soviet Union. Next come the economy and politics of the U.S.A., the countries of Western Europe, the Near and Far East, as well as reviews and reports of all kinds of meetings, congresses and political conferences.

The items dealing with the Soviet Union and the communist ideology mostly include classics of Marxism that until then had not been published in Polish, such as speeches and letters by Lenin and Stalin. Thus, one finds Lenin's Will the Bolsheviks Retain Power³¹, Stalin's Correspondence, Stalin's Interviews with a Correspondent of "Pravda"³², etc.

31 Vol. 11, 1953, p. 3.

32 Vol. 10, 1952, p. 97.

These articles aim at showing the superiority of Communist ideology and contain a criticism of American imperialism. Other authors, such as Maslin in his Singer and Defender of Socialist Homeland³³ extol Soviet patriotism and the achievements of the October revolution.

Julian Stawiński and Krzysztof Wolicki are the authors of most short reports of the economic and political situation of the United States. In accordance with Marxist ideology, they criticize American colonialism and imperialism, analyze the policies of large corporations and monopolies, as well as the issues of racism, and warn of the consequences of nuclear armaments race. As an example one may quote Krzysztof Wolicki's An Unsettled Matter³⁴, Hard Facts³⁵, Billions and Millions³⁶, The Honeymoon with the Allies³⁷, and Julian Stawiński's A Spiritual Draw of Washington³⁸, Caesaropapism of Imperialism³⁹, A Honeymoon in Hell⁴⁰,

33 Vol. 8, 1951, p. 79

34 Vol. 12, 1951, p. 94.

35 Vol. 3, 1952, p. 81.

36 Vol. 8, 1952, p. 71.

37 Vol. 9, 1953, p. 67.

38 Vol. 7, 1954, p. 223.

39 Vol. 6, 1953, p. 111.

40 Vol. 11, 1954, p. 149.

Against the Monopolies of War⁴¹, etc.

Brief reviews and commentaries on political events in Europe and in the Near and Far East appeared in practically every issue of Twórczość, their purpose was to provide a political orientation for the readers and to educate them in the spirit of socialism. The importance that the editors of this monthly attached to ideology and political problems is attested by the fact that an entire issue was devoted to the Peace Congress held in Wrocław in 1948. This issue carried poems by Max Jacob, murdered by the Nazis, poems by Federico Garcia Lorca - another victim of Fascism, as well as a variety of political speeches and pamphlets. In tune with the spirit of the Congress were especially the short stories by Vercors and Kantorowicz warning against war and its consequences.

In summing up the non-fiction prose published in Twórczość in the years 1945-55, one finds that about eighty percent are taken up by reports and reviews. With regard to the content, these articles were mostly concerned with social

⁴¹ Vol. 12, 1952, p. 113.

and cultural life of Poland and other countries. The editors tried to inform, to describe the events, to say at least a few words about competitions, festivals, concerts and other cultural events taking place in Poland and abroad.

The remaining twenty percent are biographies aiming at informing the public about the work of individual artists, as well as short philosophical or scientific treatises or discussions of current economic and political problems.

The authors of these reports from the various cultural centers were, in their majority, young people, whose names one could meet on the pages of the monthly in the course of recent years; Helena Blumówna, Tadeusz Dobrowolski, Mieczysław Porębski, Jacek Puget, Helena Wielowiejska and Konrad Winkler.

Reports on current political and economic issues were signed mostly by Krzysztof Wolicki, Julian Stawiński and Janusz Gołębiowski, all people deeply involved in the political happenings of their country. Articles dealing with philosophy, science and literary criticism were often authored by the well-known Wyka, Natanson, Ingarden, Sandler, or Kleiner. For political reasons, most articles of informative character concerned themselves with the Soviet Union

and the People's Democracies. The same remark applies, especially in 1949, to biographies and to items dealing with economics and politics.

CHAPTER III

POETRY, DRAMA AND THEATER

This chapter will discuss the outstanding poetic and dramatic productions published in Twórczość in the decade of 1945-1955. Special attention will be paid to the frequent changes in content and form of literary works in connection with the shifting political situation of the country. The chapter opens with a brief survey of Polish poetry between the two world wars and it ends with a sketch of Poland's dramatic works in the discussed period.

1. Poetry.

A fuller understanding of the changes that took place in Polish poetry following the upheavals of political life after the last war calls for a sketchy discussion of Polish poetry between the two wars. Of the various avant-garde trends in poetry in this period, viz. futurism, expressionism, constructivism, formism, pure form, only Kraków avant-garde of the twenties can be credited with the most important influence upon inter-war and later poetry.

It was, however, the group of poets associated with the review *Skamander* who enjoyed the greatest popularity. They managed to reconcile traditional with the new, thus securing a wide reading public. To the poets of the *Skamandrites* belonged J. Tuwim, A. Słonimski, J. Iwaszkiewicz, J. Lechoń and K. Wierciński surrounded by many followers of their own and a younger generation of poets.¹

The war years saw the emergence and extremely rapid maturing of great poetic talents -- young men in their early twenties. Poets died literally on the barricades fighting the Nazis. To this "infected with death" generation belonged Krzysztof Baczyński, Stefan Napierski, Tadeusz Gajcy, Andrzej Trzebiński, Stefan Bojarski and others.²

The first postwar years were marked by a luxuriant growth of Polish poetry nurtured by poets who reached maturity in between the two wars, or who made their debut just before the outbreak of World War II. The press reflected the heated discussions on "humanistic realism" and a "Polish road to socialism", then carried on between various groups.

1 Państwowy Instytut Literacki, Rocznik Literacki, Warsaw, 1955, p. 137.

2 Marian Stępień, W Kręgu Literatury Polski Ludowej, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków, 1975, p. 84.

By publishing poetry, Twórczość tried to reflect the state and the values of the poetry of that time. In the period of 1945-1949, the editors of the monthly made an attempt to present the broadest possible spectrum of Poland's poetry, aimed at representing the poetic production in its entirety.

This was the reason for publishing side by side the works of beginners and those of established Polish classics, as well as translations from French, English, Spanish and Russian poets. Thematically that poetry ranged from citizens' duty through to such fundamental questions of man's existence, of personal matters as love.

Each issue of Twórczość published a score of poems by different authors, or fragments of more extensive compositions. The bias toward certain topics, such as socialism, the promotion of a new system, was understandably the result of the ideological and political orientation of the journal.

During the immediate postwar years Twórczość published a lot of Władysław Broniewski's poetry: fragments of Bayonet on Rifle, parts of the very nostalgic A Despairing Tree, as well as new poems dedicated to the memory of his wife, who perished in Auschwitz. In other poems, he extolled

the heroism of Polish communists, The Fifty Men³. Still in others, such as Poniatowski's Bridge⁴, he sang glory to the new social order.

After many years of silence, Adam Ważyk published a volume of poetry entitled A Heart of Granite, from which a number of poems were reprinted in Twórczość. Leopold Staff's poems The Destruction of Chopin's Monument in Warsaw, A Sally into the Future and The First Promenade appearing in the August issue of 1946 represent a poetic document of the experiences of a man shaken by the war and the destruction wrought by it. Julian Tuwim published in this monthly fragments of a large poem written during the war and entitled Polish Flowers.

Also some excerpts from the volume As Long As We Live by Julian Przyboś were published there. One could read in Twórczość the very popular poems by Galczyński, for instance A Song About the Flag⁵, The Earrings of Isolde⁶ and The Enchanted Carriage⁷, as well as his grotesque play The Green Goose that verged on the absurd in ridiculing bureaucracy,

3 Vol. 11, 1946, p. 18.

4 Vol. 2, 1947, p. 24.

5 Vol. 5, 1949, p. 15.

6 Vol. 3, 1948, p. 21.

7 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 17.

excessive zeal, the petty bourgeois spirit and other human foibles⁸. Czesław Miłosz also published in Twórczość some poems from his volume The Cure, which comprised his entire poetic work, as well as some translations from Negro poetry⁹. His Treatise on Morality, published in this monthly, was widely discussed in other literary magazines¹⁰.

A number of poets made their debut on the pages of Twórczość, among them Tadeusz Różewicz, Marian Jachimowicz, Andrzej Braun, Witold Wirpsza and Roman Bratny. From 1945 to 1950 one can count up to one hundred collections of poetry by beginning authors on the pages of this magazine. From those mentioned above, the poetry of Tadeusz Różewicz drew the attention of many. His work was then, as it is now, characterized by a particular tragic tone, a sensitivity to conflicts and contradictions, as well as a need for moral and philosophical tendencies.

The poetry of Witold Wirpsza attests to broad intellectual interests, a passion for politics and a lively temperament. His verses differ from each other thematically and with

8 Vol. 7, 1947, p. 16.

9 Vol. 9, 1948, p. 22.

10 Vol. 5, 1946, p. 12.



regard to form, ranging from lyrics and moral dictums to attempts at philosophical treatises. Wirpsza is one of the poets of the postwar generation whose deep political involvement does not preclude an independence of thought and an original approach to his material.

The same may be said about the poetry of Borys Słucki, although he presents a completely different type of imagination. Borys Słucki's best productions reflect the experiences of his youth; these are often very personal lyrics and landscape descriptions.

The poetry of Jerzy Ficowski is characterized by a unique passion for exoticism and folklore. He is also a connoisseur of the language, history and mores of Polish Gypsies. Ficowski has translated Gypsy verses and given examples of folkloric stylizations in his work.

In the course of time, the poets' independence was gradually curtailed. The Party decreed that a writer's morality implied a clearcut political alignment not only in life but also in literature. It demanded an unquestionable declaration in favor of progress in Poland or against it, for or against the Great Reform. And "progress" was formulated by the communist party. Already overt ideological control of art was promulgated.

A total party interference with the life of art began during the Szczecin congress in January 1949, when "social realism" was proclaimed to be the only valid literary dogma. Poets were urged to mobilize poetry in support of the new order and "socialist construction". The refusal to obey these directives would result in nonacceptance of the manuscript by the editors, which was an effective silencing of the author¹¹.

Since this memorable meeting in Szczecin, one can trace a considerable change in the contents and tone of Twórczość. Tuwim, Słonimski and Przyboś were replaced by translations from Soviet and Chinese poetry, as well as by the poetry of Pablo Neruda and the political and civic rhetoric of Broniewski. The place of intimate lyrics and chamber poetry, of poetry searching for new linguistic solutions was taken by the productions of the "youth group"¹², extolling the activities of the factory and the collective farm and featuring quotations from Mayakovsky or Stalin. Jaworski, Holda, Mandalin, Pollak, Woroszyński and others contributed

¹¹ W. Woroszyński, "W walce o literaturę Polski Ludowej", Twórczość, Vol. 5, 1951, p. 161.

¹² Mostly members of the ZMP (The Association of Polish Youth) controlled by the Party.

verses whose titles are self explanatory: On my Daughter's joining the ZMP¹³, Stasia Szczerlińska Reconstructing Berlin¹⁴, A Report from Piotrków¹⁵, etc.

The situation changed slowly as a result of political events that took place in Poland toward the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955. Stalin's death was followed by temporary changes in the Soviet Union, one of them being the relaxation of the despotic censorship. The "thaw" soon spilled over to the "satellite countries". The ensuing discussion subjected to doubt the validity of planning and surveillance in the art sector. Twórczość began to offer a wider selection of poetry to its readers.

Adam Ważyk's Poem for Adults¹⁶, attracted the attention of a wide circle of readers at that time. The poem touched upon a number of thorny problems of social life, which were becoming also the target of journalists. The Poem for Adults reflected the rebellion of the man brought to socialism mainly by rational premises who then discovered contradictions in the surrounding reality that were offending

13 Vol. 1, 1953, p. 6.

14 Vol. 12, 1951, p. 33.

15 Vol. 1, 1953, p. 10.

16 Vol. 6, 1955, p. 12.

his common sense. This rebellion was also directed against the atrophy of critical thought and the growth of dogmatism. Saturated with polemical passion, the poem in a sense took aghast the readers of the author's previous works, which advocated the struggle for "socialist realism".

An examination of the poetry printed in Twórczość in the decade of 1945-1955 reveals two divergent stages. The period of 1945-1949 more or less continued the tradition of the prewar poetry and the years of occupation. Due to an absence of strictly controlled cultural policy, the poets enjoyed relative freedom and also the editors of periodicals felt freer

in their choices. As a result, the poetry published in Twórczość during this period was rich in talents, themes and form. The monthly endeavored to reflect the poetic production of the day as broadly and truthfully as possible. One could find on its pages the poetry of the classics of Polish literature, translations from Italian, French, Spanish and Russian poetry, works by beginning poets, as well as those by recognized masters.

The issues of 1945-1946 are characterized by a dominance of war themes. Soon, though, as war climate subsided

and party interference with culture increased, new names and new topics began to appear in Twórczość. As a consequence of control during 1949-1954, ninety percent of the verses published in Twórczość were thematically related to "socialist construction". The remaining ten percent were taken up by translations from Soviet-Russian and Chinese poetry and a few Polish and Russian classics. The situation began to improve toward the end of 1954, as Twórczość published more valid criticism, discussions and poetry, having a wider range of selections.

11. DRAMA.

Nor did Twórczość neglect the genre which encountered the greatest difficulties on its way to the printing press - namely Polish drama.

After World War II, Leon Kruczkowski was the only publishable dramatist in Poland. He had a few more or less outstanding continuators, like Jerzy Broszkiewicz, Tadeus Hołuj and Bogdan Drozdowski. In the decade of 1945-1955 Twórczość published in full the dramas Stanisław and Bogumił by Maria Dąbrowska¹⁷. The Fete of Winkelrid¹⁸ by J. Andrzejewski and

¹⁷ Vol. 5, 1945, p. 5.

¹⁸ Vol. 7, 1946, p. 11.

Zagórski, A Moment of Royal Weakness¹⁹ by S. Flukowski, A House at the outskirts of Auschwitz²⁰ by Tadeusz Hołuj, Revenge²¹ by Leon Kruczkowski, reflecting the conflict of the postwar period, between the creators of a new social order and the supporters of the old one. Also published in Twórczość was a play Two Theaters²² in which Jerzy Szaniawski discusses inefficiencies of social realities. Homer and the Orchid²³ by Tadeusz Gajcy, expresses the tragedy of the author's "injected with death generation", as well as fragments of dramas by W. Badnicki, A. Maliszewski, J. Feldmanowa, K. Grzybowska, A. Świrczyńska and others. As far as foreign dramatic literature is concerned, Twórczość published excerpts from Electra by Giroux, a drama which under the guise of motives of antiquity discussed what were burning political issues on the eve of the war, and Ruy Blas²⁴ by Victor Hugo, The Mill²⁵ and Fuente Ovejuna²⁶ by Lope de Vega and J. Popov's The Family²⁷ in its entirety (four acts).

19 Vol. 10, 1946, p. 23.

20 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 21.

21 Vol. 4, 1946, p. 19.

22 Vol. 12, 1946, p. 25.

23 Vol. 4, 1947, p. 33.

24 Vol. 8, 1953, p. 156.

25 Vol. 5, 1953, p. 115.

26 Vol. 3, 1948, p. 89.

27 Vol. 2, 1950, p. 19.

The literature of the war period, in particular the drama, displayed features of grotesque. Of the works published in Twórczość, The Fete of Winkelrid by J. Andrzejewski and Zagórski and Orpheus²⁸ by A. Świrszczyńska, may be representative of that style. Both dramas avoid contemporary topics resorting to historical and mythological sources. Nevertheless, the dramas in question cannot be called historical, because they do not recreate the past. The topic is utilized as a background and a pretext. The authors focus on problems that are beyond time: death, sacrifice and suffering. The grotesque form in The Fete of Winkelrid is manifest in the farcical treatment of characters and situations caught between the slogans and their implementation, as well as in exposing the mechanisms of hero creation. The action develops, as it were, along a double path: we are faced with a succession of events and a comment on them. The Fete of Winkelrid and Orpheus concentrate on the behavior of the heroes and the people's attitude toward various systems of values.

Among the plays of those years, special place is occupied by The Year of 1944²⁹ which Jozef Kusmierk opened

28 Vol. 1, 1946, p. 84.

29 Vol. 8, 1954, p. 15.

his dramatic career. Kuśmierek shows the first days of the regime of Pöeple's Poland, the difficulties, the mistakes and conflicts of that period. The selection of the topic and a manner of projection made this drama a literary event of the day. Ballads and Romances³⁰ by Aleksander Maliszewski, is a drama of a different type. Written for Mickiewicz's anniversary (1955), it recounts the years spent by Mickiewicz at Tuchanowicze and Wilno. The first act comprises the youth of Mickiewicz, his romance at Tuchanowicze, his meeting with Count Putkämmer. Then comes Wilno, the friends of his youth, the Philomats. And then the arrests. The drama is a poetic biography of Mickiewicz, showing him the way Poles remember him from their school years.

In the fifties the Polish drama met the fate of the prose and poetry: its development came to a near-halt. The conflict between "socialism" and "capitalism" in its various manifestations was the only theme permitted on the stage. There appeared a number of "production" plays about conflicts in enterprises, offices and party organizations, such as Władysław Bodnicki's Comedian³¹, Flukowski's An Evening at Michajlowskoje³², Gruszczyński's The Train to Marseille³³,

30 Vol. 1, 1955, p. 68.

31 Vol. 8, 1954, p. 41.

32 Vol. 5, 1954, p. 37.

33 Vol. 9, 1951, p. 45.

Kolankowski's The Meteor and the Star³⁴ or Piorkowski's Our Life³⁵.

The prevailing themes of the plays published in Twórczość before 1949 dealt with life in the concentration camps and conflicts between the promoters and opponents of the new regime. From 1949 to 1954 the monthly publishes almost exclusively plays dealing with the conflict between socialism and capitalism and what might be called "production plays". Foreign playwriting was represented mainly by Soviet playwrights, Victor Hugo, Lope de Vega and Michel Giroux.

111. Theater.

In the years between the two World Wars, it was extremely difficult to get a play published. The publishers maintained that nobody was reading plays and, consequently, nobody was buying them. This situation was reversed in post-war Poland. Because of censorship, staging a play, rather than publishing it, met with the greatest obstacles. This

34 Vol. 12, 1953, p. 68.

35 Vol. 5, 1951, p. 72.

point is illustrated very well by the fate of Kordian and Dziady. Published in large numbers of copies and used as school texts, these plays had not been staged until 1955. A play could hit the stage only as a result of a number of compromises and rewritings. Nevertheless, theater life in post-war Poland was marked by dynamism. Some twenty theaters were active throughout the country in the first months following the liberation. As early as 1946, forty theaters were open. By 1949 their number grew to fifty-three. In the course of 1949 more than five million spectators attended these theaters. By 1954 there already were seventy-six theaters, whereas the number of spectators increased to 9,300,000. At the time of this writing, Polish theaters have an annual attendance of ten to twelve million spectators³⁶.

Twórczość has paid much attention to the theater and its problems. One could always find in it reviews of new plays, as well as essays and discussions of theater performances. Among correspondents from different centers of theatrical activity we find the names of Natanson, Wielowiejska,

³⁶ Janusz Jasińczyk, "Theater", in Kultura, October 1957, Paris, Instytut Literacki.

Wyka, Kwiatkowski, Peiper, Kydryński, Żuławski and others, who discussed the role of theater in contemporary culture, the trends in modern play writing, the problems of the language of art, of staging and directing.

All these articles and essays permit us to visualize the Polish stage of those days. It was in Kraków immediately after the liberation that the authors of new Polish plays formulated their first program. Łódź became the center of the future "Poetic Stage". The first plays to be staged were The Revenge and The Grouse at the Słowacki Theater and The Perfect Husband in the magnificent staging by Andrzej Pronaszko. In June 1945, the Ministry of Art and Culture organized its Theater Sector. The subsequent repertory of Polish theaters became the immediate reason for limiting the scope of modern drama. Shakespeare's plays unquestionably conquered the first place on the Polish stage followed by Brecht, Brodzkiewicz and Wyspiański. Thus, world and Polish classics pushed the modern native drama to the backstage.

The next period in the development of Polish theater was dominated by Poland's most prominent director, Schiller, and his school. There followed

an attempt to reorganize the theater, the intervention of Kazimierz Dejmek and Krystyna Skuszanka, the upheaval of 1955 and the student theaters³⁷.

During the decades under study, Twórczość devoted a series of articles to problems of theater management. In spite of the fact that there were twice as many theaters as before the war, the situation had deteriorated considerably with regard to actors, physical and technical facilities. All sectors were plagued by inadequacies, from electrical equipment (only Wrocław had reflectors meeting European standards) to the quality and selection of wardrobes. There was a lack of competent stage decorators: in 1948, fifty theaters could count on the services of only ten decorators. Nor was the situation any better with regard to actors. Many theaters could not have an adequate repertoire due to the shortage of good actors³⁸. In 1946-67, moreover, a policy of centralization became responsible for the transfer to Warsaw of the best directors and actors, the result being an abrupt drop the provincial theaters' standards.

37 Olga Żeromska, "Theater", in Kultura, Paris, Instytut Literacki, October 1952, p. 128.

38 Maria Maciejewska, Czasopisma teatralne dziesięciolecia 1944-1953, Wrocław, 1956, p. 56.

Problems of this nature were not always dealt with by correspondents specializing in theater arts. Some articles published in Twórczość suffer from amateurishness. There was also a lack of systematic coverage of foreign theaters. Still, the frequent reports and discussions of theatrical activities in Poland and the regular coverage of performances in the provinces are proof of the great importance that the editors of Twórczość attached to theater in the period under discussion.

Poetry, dramaturgy and theater occupy, in terms of volume, the second place after prose in Twórczość. Every issue contains some poetry, and fragments of plays and theater reporting are almost as frequent. Before 1949, the poetry and the plays published in this journal were rather rich thematically reflecting the various facets of Poland's life. In the period of 1950-1954, however, the question of "social realism" prevailed.

In the course of the 1945-55 decade no noticeable changes occurred in the journal's treatment of theater. Even in the Stalinist period the monthly continued to publish

polemical feuilletons, reports and reviews of plays, thus making a significant contribution to the popularization of theater in Poland. Understandably, the polemics concerned peripheral problems, leaving on the side the essential questions of artistic creation. The emergence of new poetry and theater, as well as the prose (which will be discussed in the following chapter) in 1954 or 1955, after a few years of stagnation, helped Twórczość regain the status of a serious literary magazine.

CHAPTER IV

POLISH PROSE, LITERARY CRITICISM, AND REVIEWS.

The present chapter contains an analysis of the prose, literary criticism, and reviews published in Twórczość in the 1945-55 decade with particular focus on the thematical aspect, the authorship, the nature of the contributions and the patterns of selection. The selection has been limited to typical works, those of considerable volume or high frequency of appearance. The inclusion of some works was warranted by the prominence of their creators.

1. Prose

Prose makes up the core of Twórczość. True to its desire to play the role of a large-scale forum for Polish prose, the magazine published works written by the older generation of authors, as well as those belonging to some youthful representatives of the writers' guild. Supplementing the shortage of books in the country, the monthly magazines strived in the first years of their existence to be a true reflection of contemporary prose and of the new attitudes that found their way into the works of fiction.

The development of Polish prose after 1944 was determined by the tragic war and the resulting political, economic and social changes. The introduction of a political and

economic system modeled after that of Russia and Moscow's intervention and tutelage were bound to become a major factor in shaping the Polish literature. Another equally important factor was the moral shock caused by the war experiences, the concentration camps and the guerilla warfare. The combined literary and underground activities requiring total involvement and dedication opened new horizons to the young. For these reasons, the postwar literary life in Poland was dominated by young people working as editors, publicists, or critics. Comparing their wartime experiences with the twenty-year period spanning the two wars, they reproached the literature produced prior to 1939 for lack of social sensitivity, its avoidance of life's real problems, and its false portrayal of people. Thus, the first postwar years witnessed a debate concerning the new roads of literature¹. Literature was required to give a true semblance of the world and of people. Literature was supposed to speak the truth, placing truth above beauty. Stendhal became the preferred classic, while Conrad's moral ideals - remaining true to oneself, perseverance in fulfilling one's obligations, solidarity with one's companions of fate - were expected to be the guidelines for the young generation.

1 Twórczość, Vol. 2, 1946, p. 15.

A considerable number of short stories and fragments of novels appearing in Twórczość in the years 1945-47 were written during the war. One of the most important group of prose writings included fragments and short stories connected with the settling of accounts among the intelligentsia. One must mention here above all Lake Boden by Stanisław Dygat², The Wooden Horse by Kazimierz Brandys³, The Sedan by Paweł Hertz⁴, and The Conspirators by Stefan Kisielewski⁵. The protagonist of these stories is usually a representative of the Polish intelligentsia who, finding himself in a totally different political and social context, realizes the unavoidable necessity of breaking with his past tradition. As a rule, he does it with great difficulty and nostalgia for bygone days.

The publication of numerous fragments of political novels in Twórczość attests to the flourishing of this type of prose during the period under discussion. Such novels as Breza's Heaven and Earth and The Walls of Jericho⁶ and Nałkowska's Bonds of Life dealt with the inter-war years,

2 Vol. 3, 1945, p. 31.

3 Vol. 2, 1947, p. 24.

4 Vol. 5, 1947, p. 17.

5 Vol. 2, 1945, p. 27.

6 Vol. 6, 1946, p. 66.

7 Vol. 1, 1949, p. 45.

with emphasis on its negative aspects.

The Walls of Jericho was the recipient of the first literary award of Odrodzenie in 1946. The novel is politically topical, its characters being drawn from the high officialdom of prewar Poland. Breza's novel deals with people in the highest echelons of political life. The author lays the main stress on psychological aspects and uses a multidimensional type of characterization.

The experiences of the Nazi holocaust imposed a complex tragedy on Polish literature. Twórczość responded to this situation by publishing excerpts from the novels of Andrzejewski, Brandys, Rudnicki, Szmaglewska, Gojawczyńska, Năłkowska and others, which dealt with the wholesale murders, and the horrors of the concentration camps.

An appalling document of camp experiences is found in Seweryna Szmaglewska's novel Smoke above Birkenau⁸. Reminding one of newspaper reporting, this novel was conceived as a tribute to the fellow inmates who perished therein and as a piece of evidence for the Nuremberg trial. The author states: "It is my intention to

⁸ Vol. 5, 1947, p. 71.

describe only what I directly observed or experienced. Whatever I say, I am able to prove before any tribunal"⁹.

Szmaglewska's prose is characterized by supreme discretion. The author avoids being conspicuous. Speaking about her experiences and suffering, she does it as if she were speaking for others. In her narrator role, she is but one of many prisoners. She views Auschwitz as an instrument of mass murder. She observes her fellow inmates and they are constantly on her mind. She always keeps her lucidity. Her book is a true document of moral fortitude of man.

Nałkowska's Medallions¹⁰ is a collection of five short narratives prefaced by the bloodcurdling motto: "This fate was inflicted on man by his fellow man". With restraint, simplicity, and extreme brevity, she recreates from shreds of evidence the testimonies of murderers and victims the horror of the most sophisticated cruelty. The author limits herself to her own experiences and the firsthand reports of witnesses who, owing to their simplemindedness, often failed to realize the horrifying nature of the events. "The Germans have murdered some people?" - retorted Dwojra Zielona - "they wanted to have some New Year's fun."¹¹ The suffering of

9 Vol. 5, 1947, p. 71.

10 Vol. 1, 1955, p. 32.

11 Vol. 1, 1955, p. 47.

individuals depicted in Nałkowska's prose become a symbol of the suffering of universal dimensions.

A similar perception and technique is found in Tadeusz Borowski's stories of camp life. In the cycle, Farewell to Maria¹², he showed horrifying scenes, whose effect was intensified by his restrained narrative manner and the absence of direct commentaries. All Borowski does is to show the human being, his gestures and reactions. His stories reveal with utter frankness the art of survival in a concentration camp. Survival at any price, fight for life and naked egoism on one hand, and on the other hand a moral evaluation of the prisoner who strives for preserving his human face - such is the usual meaning of Borowski's scenes.

The fate of Polish Jews is the theme of many writers. J. Andrzejewski dedicated to it a story in his volume The Night¹³. The tragedy of the Jewish population received the most complete treatment in the novels of Adolf Rudnicki, who in the period in question was represented in

¹² Vol. 4, 1946, p. 19.

¹³ Vol. 9, 1946, p. 79.

Twórczość by fragments from his volumes Shakespeare¹⁴ and The Flight from Yasnaya Polyana¹⁵.

The unusual character of life under Nazi occupation gave rise to a rich literature that drew upon the experiences of war years represented in Twórczość by short stories and fragments of novels.

The battles fought in September 1939 are depicted in Wojciech Żukrowski's Lotna¹⁶, Jan Dobraczyński's The Intruders¹⁷, Stefan Kisielewski's The Conspiracy¹⁸, the stories by Józef Hen¹⁹ and Jan Brzozowski's The Land²⁰. The following authors wrote about the Warsaw uprising: Roman Bratny, Hanna Malewska, Jarochońska, Żwirski, and Zalewski. The German occupation was dealt with by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz in The Old Brick Factory²¹, Jerzy Andrzejewski in The Cuckoo²²,

14 Vol. 2, 1947, p. 62.

15 Vol. 5, 1947, p. 48.

16 Vol. 2, 1945, p. 61.

17 Vol. 7, 1946, p. 14.

18 Vol. 2, 1945, p. 92.

19 Vol. 4, 1949, p. 19.

20 Vol. 2, 1948, p. 71.

21 Vol. 11, 1949, p. 25.

22 Vol. 9, 1946, p. 62.

Stefan Owiniowski in Inhuman Times²³, Jadwiga Kozłowska in The Old Szadchen²⁴, Bohdan Czeszko in The Generation²⁵, Edmund Wierciński in An Acacia Branch²⁶, Arnold Szyfman in A War beyond the Front²⁷, Andrzej Bobkowski in Gris Moisi²⁸, Aleksander Janta in Eavesdropping²⁹, and Tadeusz Hołuj in Exiles³⁰.

The guerrilla warfare was described in Władysław Machajek's Experiences of a Soldier³¹, Witold Ząlewski's Masks³², Aleksander Scibor-Rylski's The Shadow³³, and Andrzej Wróblewski's Game³⁴.

The life of Polish soldiers at the fronts of North Africa, the Middle East, Western and Northern Europe is found

23 Vol. 4, 1946, p. 84.

24 Vol. 5, 1947, p. 18.

25 Vol. 6, 1950, p. 22.

26 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 42.

27 Vol. 4, 1946, p. 51.

28 Vol. 12, 1947, p. 40.

29 Vol. 1, 1947, p. 28.

30 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 43.

31 Vol. 1, 1954, p. 82.

32 Vol. 5, 1946, p. 48.

33 Vol. 7, 1954, p. 74.

34 Vol. 5, 1947, p. 32.

in Pruszyński's The Moon Was Rising above Gambut³⁵, in the stories of Meissner, Fiedler, and others.

The above items do not exhaust the bulk of prose works published in Twórczość. The thematic spectrum of fiction appearing therein is much broader. There are fragments of historical novels by Antoni Gołubiew, Karol Bunsch, and Teodor Parnicki. There are short stories about Warsaw by Kazimierz Brandys, like The Unvanquished City³⁶ and Citizens³⁷. There are fragments of mythological novels by Jan Parandowski, as well as excerpts from Maria Dąbrowska's novel The People from Down There³⁸.

The rural theme deserves special mention, particularly the excerpts from Leon Buczkowski's novel Ravines³⁹, Józef Morton's The Included Dowry⁴⁰, as well as Józef Pogan's The Fallows⁴¹. Despite their subject matter, these stories were not meant for the ordinary reader: their style

35 Vol. 8, 1946, p. 23.

36 Vol. 1, 1949, p. 47.

37 Vol. 2, 1953, p. 17.

38 Vol. 3, 1949, p. 69.

39 Vol. 4, 1949, p. 52.

40 Vol. 12, 1948, p. 26.

41 Vol. 2, 1949, p. 60.

and specific approach to the material indicate that they were intended for a reader with some literary refinement.

The resolutions of the Writers' Congress held in Szczecin in January 1949 urged Polish writers to exploit material related to the reconstruction of the country, the industrial production, the class struggle and the like. As a result, there appeared the so-called "production novel". Its creators were, as a rule, young, often without talent, but politically involved writers. Thus, Igor Newerly's The Cellulose Souvenir⁴² dealt with the history of strikes and class struggle in the period between the two wars. The topic of reconstruction was treated by Bohdan Hamera in Disregard for Experience⁴³ and Tadeusz Konwicki in At the Construction Site.⁴⁴ Work at the sugar mill is dealt with in Mirosław Kowalewski's novel Campaigning Means Fighting⁴⁵,

42 Vol. 10, 1951, p. 18 and Vol. 11, 1951, p. 32.

43 Vol. 2, 1953, p. 29.

44 Vol. 1, 1954, p. 34.

45 Vol. 4, 1954, p. 16.

while Jan Wilczek's No. 16 Is Producing⁴⁶ focuses on the production process in a candy factory. The ship building was described by Andrzej Braun in Lewanty⁴⁷, and Kazimierz Blahij in The Birth of People⁴⁸. Kazimierz Koźniewski writes about an automobile plant in his Stories about Żerań⁴⁹.

Another group of writings was devoted to the contemporary village. Twórczość reproduced fragments from Julian Hbluj's novel The Vanguard⁵⁰, Zofia Bystrzycka's Asters⁵¹, Maria Jarochowska's The Poor Man's Love⁵², Waldemar Babinicz's Municipal Elections⁵³, Maciej Gryfin's The Crop Master⁵⁴. All these novels applied uniform structure and easy to grasp ideology and intent. The plot usually begins at the time of

46 Vol. 6, 1954, p. 31.

47 Vol. 4, 1953, p. 24.

48 Vol. 5, 1953, p. 28.

49 Vol. 4, 1953, p. 42.

50 Vol. 4, 1951, p. 20.

51 Vol. 3, 1953, p. 35.

52 Vol. 8, 1954, p. 41.

53 Vol. 12, 1954, p. 29.

54 Vol. 8, 1954, p. 33.

a production crisis, which has to be overcome either by appointing a new management or by introducing improvements and inventions. As the plot progresses, shortages of material and technical difficulties appear, giving rise to a class struggle and occasional sabotage. Other motifs may include enemy propaganda, blackmail or attempts on the life of party leaders. Both positive and negative heroes appear, the latter being an agent of a foreign intelligence service. There are also intermediate characters shifting between the two camps, but finally undergoing a positive evolution. The plot culminates in the gathering of the entire factory personnel, on which occasion long speeches and pledges are made, while the management indulges in self-criticism. The novel has a happy ending - the enemy is unmasked and punished, the virtue rewarded and the production plan fulfilled.

It goes without saying that this pattern for prose and the party control of literature did not favor a true creative process. As a result, the prose crop of the monthly is artistically worthless.

After 1948, war and occupation themes are in the background. If they do crop up in a few novels, the approach is different. Instead of concentrating on the experiences of the soldiers, they contain

an accusation of the Polish state and its army for the September disaster. One could quote as an example of this Putrament's September⁵⁵ and Żurkowski's The Days of the Debacle⁵⁶.

Besides excerpts from production novels Twórczość published in the said period many historical and biographical novels striving to show the "progressive" traditions of the Polish culture. One could count in this group A Poem to the Polish Language⁵⁷ and The Meeting with Salome⁵⁸ by Jastruń, the fragments from the diaries of Leon Przemski concerning Edward Dembowski⁵⁹, some excerpts from the diary of Niemcewicz⁶⁰, as well as Petrarca by Jan Barandowski⁶¹.

Nor is Twórczość forgetful of debuts in the period discussed. Of those published, the longest are the excerpts

55 Vol. 1, 1955, p. 18.

56 Vol. 7, 1953, p. 24.

57 Vol. 6, 1954, p. 41.

58 Vol. 6, 1951, p. 39.

59 Vol. 7, 1953, p. 20.

60 Vol. 9, 1951, p. 44.

61 Vol. 12, 1953, p. 16.

from the novels of Zofia Woźnicka, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Stanisław Lem, and Marek Hłasko.

A large group is made up by excerpts from the works of the classics of Polish literature. In the period from 1949 to 1955, Twórczość printed seventeen fragments of the novels of Orzeszkowa, Sienkiewicz, Reymont, and Żeromski.

The year 1953 marked a gradual change in the prose published in this monthly, a phenomenon accounted for by some political events, viz. the death of Stalin and the criticism leveled at the cult of personality. Stories dealing with the war period and the Warsaw uprisal begin to reappear, while the "production novel" is dwindling away. Under the chief editorship of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz since 1955, Twórczość publishes Jan Strykowski's novel Voices in the Darkness⁶², a large psychological novel dealing with the prewar Jewish community in a small town on Poland's eastern border. The Channel⁶³ by Jerzy Stawiński, which is a novel on the Warsaw uprising and the Home Army, as well as Kazimierz Brandys's stories from the cycle Memoirs of the Present Time exhibiting a critical attitude toward the society of the day. Further improvement of the situation and the resulting elimination of

62 Vol. 8, 1955, p. 23.

63 Vol. 4, 1955, p. 17.

monotony in the thematic make-up of the prose published in Twórczość may be observed after the eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the Union of Polish Writers' held in 1956.

II. Literary Criticism.

The preface to the first issue of Twórczość contained the commitment to give serious attention to literary criticism. The monthly took upon itself the task of practicing responsible criticism and of training a new generation of critics. Twórczość lived up to this commitment by offering its pages to a number of well-known contributors: W. Borowy, J. Kleiner, Dybowski, Zawodzinski, R. Ingarden, K. Wyka, J. Kott, Kubacki, S. Żółkiewski, P. Hertz, and others. The thematic range of their contributions was broad, including classical writers, foreign literatures, as well as essays on contemporary Polish literature.

However, items dealing with the newest Polish literature or the literature between the two wars are relatively rare. The bulk of the articles and other materials are devoted to Polish writers from the earliest times to the decline of modernism, with a slant toward romanticism and authors such as Kochanowski, Krasicki, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Sienkiewicz, and Żeromski. A significant number of

contributions by well-known specialists are devoted, in particular, to Mickiewicz and Słowacki. A special issue⁶⁴ deals with Mickiewicz exclusively and contains critical analyses by Kleiner, Kubacki, Okolow, and Wyka. Articles related to a range of problems connected with the poetry of Mickiewicz especially fill the issues of 1955 that had been proclaimed the Mickiewicz year.

A considerable number of articles in Twórczość are devoted to the problems of literary history and the theory of literature mostly revealing a decisive Marxist slant (essays by K. Budzyk, H. Markiewicz, Żmigrodzka, and Żółkiewski, as well as numerous reviews of Polish and foreign treatises on literary theory and Marxist methodology). Consequently frequent arguments concerning the nature of realism and, in particular, of romantic realism (Wyka, Budzyk and Żmigrodzka).

Twórczość displayed an equally keen interest in foreign literatures. In their contributions Miłosz, Dyboski, Morawski, and Bienkowski discussed American poetry and prose, as well as literary developments in England and France.

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A large group of articles discussed the problem of the language of literature. In this category one finds, among others, contributions by Wojciech Górny, Konrad Górski, Kubacki, and Anna Wierzbicka.

The newest Polish literature is rather poorly represented by a few essays of Jan Kott on socialist realism, Wyka's sketches summing up the literary achievements of the last three decades, and the articles by Kubacki, Hertz, and Bak.

A number of reasons account for the quantitatively unimpressive achievements of Polish literary criticism in the discussed period. One ought to point to the crisis precipitated by a sudden revision of the ideological and methodological attitudes recognizing supremacy of extra-literary criteria and the Marxist methodology in literary research. In spite of this, the articles of some critics, for example, Kazimierz Wyka, show objectivity of judgement and attain high standards. His collected essays The Frontiers of the Novel⁶⁵ analyse the development and achievements of Polish prose in the years 1945-48.

65 Vol. 2, 1946, p. 54

In another essay The Bouquet of an Entire Epoch⁶⁶, Wyka discusses Tuwim's Polish Flowers, including a statement of the characteristic features of the digressive poem - a genre of the romantic period. According to Wyka, the digressive poem did not appear by accident; it was clearly the exclusive domain of the rebellious and progressive romantic Left.

Another synthetic article by Wyka on Słowacki represented an attempt at rationalizing the poet's position within Polish literature. Wyka shatters the traditional concept of "three prophets", pointing out that the collaboration of Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Krasiński in a triad had been accomplished only as late as 1870. Wyka also shows that the official policy makers determined which place in the triad should be occupied by whom. Being a radical, Słowacki was the last to be granted a place, and only reluctantly at that. Accordingly, Słowacki's position within Polish literature calls for a thorough-going revision. Wyka's essay was an attempt at such a revision.

In addition to articles of a general nature and discussions of foreign writers, the contributions by Kubacki

66 Vol. 10, 1948, p. 62.

dealt with problems of 20th century Polish literature, for instance The Runaway Quail - an article on Strug, Under the Sign of an Apopee - an article on Dąbrowska, The Prose of Iwaszkiewicz, etc. The same methodological approach is common to all these articles: Kubacki starts with a formal analysis of concrete material and by logical reasoning arrives at general premises which permit him to evaluate a given work of literature.

Among the critics contributing to Twórczość, a special mention must be made of Jan Kott and his numerous articles. In keeping with his programmatic positions prior to 1949, Jan Kott became the main spokesman of socialist realism and a proponent of a Marxist interpretation of classical literature and contemporary dramaturgy. After 1949, Kott concentrated on literary history and theater reviews. With the onset of the Stalinist period, Kazimierz Wyka found a safer place as the director of the Institute for Literary Research. Several other critics followed suit, often forsaking criticism and turning to translation or insignificant reviews.

The social realism of Soviet inspiration, dogmatism, schematism, and bureaucracy of the years 1949-54 constituted

a severe blow to criticism, the results being more devastating than in the sphere of poetry or novel. The compulsory system of critical standards imposed by socialist realism deprived criticism of its status as an art, transforming it into party propaganda. Older well-known critics were accused of bourgeois estheticism and their column in Twórczość were taken over by younger men who had graduated from the school of Soviet criticism: Drewnowski, Waśilewski, A. Kijowski, Żmigrodzka, and Kircherówna.

A slow increase in the number of critical articles published in Twórczość and especially of fragments of monographs is noticeable starting with 1954. The political climate of Poland became more propitious for criticism and discussions on literary topics. There was a growing awareness of errors committed in the cultural policies of previous years. Thus, in the May issue of 1954 Henryk Markiewicz discussed the role of criticism in the struggle for socialist realism, dwelling on all the facts that might be considered milestones in the development of postwar Polish criticism.

The fragments of Sandauer's monograph Poets of Three Generations⁶⁷ treated in a comprehensive, lapidary, and

67. Vol. 12, 1954, p. 126.

polemical style of the poets: Staff, Tuwim, Słonimski, Broniewski, Iwaszkiewicz, Przybos, Gałczyński and Jastruń.

Włodzimierz Maciąg's monograph on Maria Dąbrowska⁶⁸ foregoes almost completely the writer's biography. But Wiktor Woroszyński does just the opposite when writing about Tadeusz Borowski: biography plays a key role in his criticism and he is definitely more interested in Borowski the man than in Borowski the writer.

In 1955 Andrzej Stawar became active again in the field of criticism by publishing his research on the early works of Gałczyński. During the Stalinist period, Stawar wrote a book on Boy-Żeleński, fragments of which were published in Twórczość. The interesting discussion on Czechowicz, initiated by Jan Spiewak and continued by Zbigniew Herbert and Julian Przybos, deserves special attention.

III. Reviews

The column of literary reviews had been the Achilles heel of Twórczość. Upon the takeover of the monthly by the Union of Polish Writers in 1949, this column - thus far

⁶⁸ Sztuka pisarska Marii Dąbrowskiej, Vol. 5, 1954, p. 146.

called "Reports" - was renamed "Among the Books".

The column lacked rhythm, the reviews were late and did not include all the important items, as one can see from the fact that in the ten-year period (1945-55) only about 300 new books or new editions of old books were reported on. In the Stalinist period, the editors would often refrain from publishing the received reviews on the pretext of "ideological immaturity" of the reviewer or the "harmful obliteration of distinctions between poetry and prose"⁶⁹. This is why in 1953 Twórczość stopped reviewing poetry altogether.

Still, some items in the said column deserve our attention. Great value must be attached to some reviews of the collected works of Polish classics, the critical editions of individual works or the correspondence, for instance the review of the National Jubilee Edition of the works of Mickiewicz and Słowacki, the correspondence of Krasicki, the life and work of Juliusz Słowacki. Very important were the reviews of foreign books on questions of methodology and literary theory. Of significance were also the various types of bibliographies, as well as the numerous reviews of publications of bibliographical character. The first group comprised, among other things, the bibliographies of

⁶⁹ Vol. 2, 1953, p. 17.

prominent scholars (Borowy, Krzyżanowski) and poets (Staff), translations (e.g. the Supplement to the Bibliography of Polish Translations of Jean Jacques Rousseau), the acceptance of Polish writers at home and abroad (e.g. Mickiewiczana in Polish Periodicals of 1944-47, Mickiewicz in Hungary), the literary anniversaries, like that of Asnyk and Sienkiewicz, the contents of periodicals, e.g. Krasicki in the periodical Weekly, and finally bibliographies of the Institute for Literary Research or the Adam Mickiewicz Literary Society.

An analysis of the prose, criticism, and reviews published in Twórczość during the 1945-55 decade permits us to distinguish two well-defined periods that parallel the political vicissitudes of Poland. The first period runs from 1944 to 1948. It begins with the "liberation" of Poland's eastern territories including the city of Lublin, which in mid-1944 becomes the center of postwar Poland's literary and cultural life. This period closes toward the end of 1948, when the political events, viz. the complete Communist takeover, have a decisive influence on literature. The second period opens with the Fourth Congress of Polish Writers, held in Szczecin in January 1949. It ends in 1956, when the eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party

elects Władysław Gomułka as its First Secretary.

Eighty percent of the prose works published in Twórczość during the first period deal with the war.

The main themes of this prose are Poland prior to September 1939, the concentration camp, life under occupation, and the struggle against the Nazis.

The said themes, together with the fragments of historical, mythological, and social novels, constitute in the period under discussion a rather varied repertory. The prose of the second period is thematically narrow, of low artistic value, being made up basically of fragments of so-called production novels.

A gradual recovery and return to the themes of the war and the uprisal of Warsaw are noticeable in Twórczość after 1953. There appear again translations of French, English, and German novelists. Prior to 1949, Twórczość abounded in critical essays by prominent Polish and foreign specialists. The range of problems dealt with was broad, although one is surprised by the absence of contributions by the most recent Polish literature. The explanation lies in censorship and party control. During the Stalinist

period, Twórczość published only critical essays that conformed to Soviet models. Their authors were young, politically involved writers.

The literary reviews appearing in the monthly did not cover all the most important publications, if one considers that barely 300 reviews were published in the 1945-55 decade, whereas the year 1953 marked a complete elimination of poetry reviews, apparently because the editors did not consider them to be politically reliable.

Of special interest are the reviews of collected works of Polish classics and publications of a bibliographical nature.

An analysis of 120 volumes of Twórczość published in the period from August 1945 to September 1955 led to the following conclusions:

In the span of the ten years under discussion, the monthly did not change its format or its compositional schemes. The average issue would be printed in ten thousand copies, the great majority of which would reach the readers on a monthly subscription basis.

Prose constituted the core of Twórczość and its main interest: fragments of novels, novellas, and short stories. More voluminous works were published in their entirety only in the immediate postwar period to supplement the missing books.

Up to 1949, this prose was thematically rich and varied. Beginning with the takeover of Twórczość by the Union of Polish Writers (January 1949) and the dawn of Stalinism, the range of themes of the contributions to the monthly became drastically narrowed to the esthetic lems of socialist realism and the struggle against any other ideology. The results of the study seem to indicate that in the 1945-55 decade, Twórczość remained a true reflection and a tool of the ideological program and the cultural policies of the ruling Communist Party.

The office of the editor-in-chief was occupied in succession by prominent men of letters whose appointment depended on Party policies of the day.

These policies, rather elastic in the first postwar years, had reduced Polish literature to the role of a mere medium of ideological service between 1949 and 1954. The said literature presented an image of social life that conformed with the doctrine, rather than with reality.

The result was undoubtedly a lowering of the artistic level of the monthly. Putting the emphasis on the ideological criteria, Twórczość accepted mediocre contributions or even works deprived of any artistic value.

As soon as the political situation improved in 1954, Twórczość again began to publish more diversified and artistically valid works better reflecting the feelings and issues of interest to the readers.

There was a definite turn in the cultural relations with foreign countries. Twórczość published reports from the United States, France and Germany works never published before.

In the early 50's, the emphasis was shifted to the magazine's subtitle: "A Monthly of Literature and Criticism"; Twórczość became a more specialized journal offering its pages to a greater variety of talents and views.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summing up the magazine's character and the role it played against the historical background of postwar Poland, one may say that Twórczość did well in meeting its stated objectives, of course, taking into account the economic and political situation of the day. The shifts in cultural policy and prescription are clearly shown in the changes in editorial staff, choice of contributors, thematic spectrum and the ideological perceptions. Yet, despite these pressures and demands, Twórczość retained, even during the darkest years of Stalinism, a modicum of independence and artistic criteria. For example, when it became clear that nobody could meet the imposed criteria of poetry reviewing, Twórczość ceased being interested. The "thaw" brought a further improvement to the variety and aesthetics of the content.

Twórczość was the only literary magazine to give a faithful picture of cultural life during the first decade of the communist-dominated Polish People's Republic. It has retained this quality to this very day.

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APPENDIX I

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND SUBJECT MATTERS

The following index is intended to facilitate the reader's task of locating the authors and subject matters dealt with in the volumes of Twórczość published during the decade under discussion. The index contains 750 alphabetic entries with cross-references grouped as follows:

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Arts	Philosophy
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Comparative Literature	Prose
Congresses and Conferences	Publishing
Criticism	Questionnaires
Diary of Cultural Events	Reading
Drama	Realism
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IN ALPHABETIC ORDER

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Against the Monopolies of War	Przeciw Monopolom Wojny
Asters	Astry
At the Construction Site	Na Konstrukcji
At the Sources of Marxist Esthetics in Poland	U Początków Marksistowskiej Estetyki W Polsce
Ballads and Romances	Ballady i Romanse
Bayonet on Rifle	Bagnet na Bróń
The Birth of People	Narodziny Ludzi
Bonds of Life	Węzły Życia
Caesaropapism of Imperialism	Czaropapizm Imperializmu
The Cellulose Souvenir	Pamiątka Z Celulozy
The Channel	Kanał
Characters and Anecdotes of the 19th Century	Charaktery i Anegdoty XIX Wieku
Citizens	Obywatele
Comedian	Komediant
The Cuckoo	Kukułka
Cultural Geography of the Years 1947-1948	Geografia Kulturalna Roku 1947/48
A Despairing Tree	Drzewo Rozpaczające

The Destruction of Chopin's Monument in Warsaw	Zniszczenie Pomnika Chopina w Warszawie
Diary of Polish Culture	Diariusz Kultury Polskiej
The Earrings of Isolde	Kolczyki Izoldy
The Enchanted Carriage	Zaczarowana Dorożka
An Evening at Michajłowskoje	Wieczór w Michajłowskoje
An Exhibition of Textiles and Handicrafts at the National Museum in Warsaw	Wystawa Tkanin i Rękodzieła Artystycznego w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie
Exiles	Wygnania
Experiences of a Soldier	Doświadczenia Żołnierza
The Family	Rodzina
The Fete of Winkelrid	Święto Winkelrida
The Fifty Men	Pięćdziesięciu
The First Promenade	Pierwsza Przechadzka
The Flight from Yasnaya Polyana	Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany
The Frontiers of the Novel	Pogranicze Powieści
The Generation	Pokolenie
The Green Goose	Zielona Gęś
Hard Facts	Twarde Fakty
A Heart of Granite	Serce Granatu
Heaven and Earth	Niebo i Ziemia
The Hero of Our Time	Bohater Naszych Czasów
A Honeymoon in Hell	Miodowy Miesiąc w Piekło
The Honeymoon with the Allies	Miodowy Miesiąc z Sojusznikami
A House at the Outskirts of Auschwitz	Dom pod Oświęcimiem

Important Anniversaries

Inhuman Times

Institute of Literary
Research

In the Climate of Nazism

The Intruders

Kordian and Ham

Krakow's Academy of Fine Arts

Lake Boden

The Land

Man and Time

Manifestor of the Polish
Committee for National
Liberation

Masks

Mathematics as an Element
in the History of Thought

Madallions

The Meeting with Salome

A Memoir from the Year 1846

The Memoirs of a Plotter
and Teacher of Years
1811-48

The Meteor and the Star

The Mill

A Moment of Royal Weakness

The Moon Was Rising above
Gambut

A Museum on Wheels

Ważniejsze Rocznice

Nieludzkie czasy

Instytut Badań Literackich

W Klimacie Hitleryzmu

Najeźdźcy

Kordian i Ham

Krakowska Akademia Sztuk
Pięknych
Jezioro Bodeńskie

Ziemia

Człowiek i Czas

Manifest Polskiego Komitetu
Wyzwolenia Narodowego

Maski

Matematyka Jako Element w
Historii Myśli

Madaliony

Spotkanie z Salomeą

Pamiętnik z Roku 1846

Pamiętnik Spiskowca i
Nauczyciela 1811-1848

Meteor i Gwiazda

Młyn

Chwila Królewskiej Niemocy

Księżyc Wschodził nad
Gambutem

Muzeum na Kółkach

Musical Activities in Poznan	Poznańskie Życie Muzyczne
The Night	Noc
No. 16 is Producing	No. 16 Produkuje
The Old Brick Factory	Stara Cegielnia
The Old Szadchen	Stary Szadchen
On the Eve of the 1846 Uprising of Krakow	Przed Wybuchem Powstania Krakowskiego w 1846 Roku
On the Horizon	Na Widnokręgu
On My Daughter's Joining the ZMP	Na Legitymację Zetempowską Córki
One Day in Hermenzy	Dzień na Harmerzach
Our Life	Nasze Życie
The People from Down There	Ludzie z Tamtąd
Poem for Adults	Poemat dla Dorosłych
Poets of Three Generations	Poeci Trzech Pokoleń
Polish Flowers	Kwiaty Polski
Polish Writers' Association	Związek Literatów Polskich
A Report from Piotrkow	Reportaż z Piotrkowa
Revenge	Odwety
A Rhapsody of the Sea	Rapsod Morski
The Role of Handicrafts in the Mass Culture	Rola Rzemiosła Artystycznego w Kulturze Mas
The Runaway Quail	Uciekła mi Przepióreczka
A Sally into the Future	Rzut w Przyszłość
September	Wrzesień
The Shadow	Cień
Singer and Defender of Socialist Homeland	Piewca i Obrońca Socjalistycznej Ojczyzny
A Song About the Flag	Pieśń o Fladze

A Spiritual Draw of
Washington

Stalin's Interviews with a
Correspondent of "Pravda"

Thaw

Three Encounters with
Reymont

Time of the Absurd

The Train to Marseille

Treatise on Morality

Two Theaters

Under the Sign of an Apopee

An Unsettled Matter

The Unvanguished City

Voices in the Darkness

A Voyage to the Island of
Improbabilities

The Walls of Jericho

A War Beyond the Front

What is New in Music in
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Why a Work of Art Should
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The Wooden Horse

The Year of 1944

Ramię Duchowe Waszyngtonu

Rozmowy Stalina z Koresponden-
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Trzy Spotkania z Reymontem

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Pociąg do Maraylii

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Sprawa, Która Jeszcze nie Jest
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Mury Jerycha

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Dlaczego Dzieło Powinno Być
Realistyczne

Drewniany Koń

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