

From *Restrictions* *to Freedom*

*The Perilous Path to the First
Warsaw Autumn Festival*

CINDY BYLANDER

Independent Scholar, Fort Collins, Colorado USA

Email: bylanderc@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The genesis of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was fraught with both potential and real complications. Musical life in Poland at the end of the first postwar decade was in a state of flux, if not turmoil, as ideological disagreements and material complications contributed to an atmosphere of dismay and distrust among musicians and authorities. This paper provides insight into the context in which the Festival's organizers were operating, particularly the shortcomings of musical life in mid-decade that threatened to derail the Festival before it even began.

INTRODUCTION

The generally accepted history of the genesis of the Warsaw Autumn Festival acknowledges that an officially approved cultural thaw releasing artists from the harshest restrictions of socialist realism was underway in Poland in the mid-1950s and that, simultaneously, Polish composers wished to reunite with the contemporary musical world, from which they had been separated during the Second World War and again since approximately 1949. The government, for its part, was interested in publicizing the achievements of Polish composers through a comparison of contemporary music from both sides of the Iron Curtain. The experience gained by the Polish Composers' Union (hereafter ZKP) in organizing a Festival of Polish Music in 1955 was also thought to be of vital importance as it faced the more challenging task of organizing an international festival little over a year later.¹

Yet the story is not that simple. Musical life in Poland at the end of the first postwar decade was in a state of flux, if not turmoil. Deficiencies in music education, dissatisfaction with the country's orchestras and its monopolistic radio and music publishing institutions, unproductive attempts to publicize Polish music in other countries, insufficient knowledge about recent works written abroad, and struggles to translate shifting ideological views to concrete actions all contributed to an atmosphere of distrust, frustration, and, in some cases, animosity among those who would be involved in either preparing or participating in the first Warsaw Autumn Festival. Although corrections to some of these issues were being considered in mid-decade, their prospects for success were debatable. While the Festival's organizers worked as calmly and efficiently as possible, it is perhaps

worthwhile to look again at the context in which they were operating, for the birth of this event did not occur in a vacuum nor did its relative success resolve all the shortcomings apparent in Poland's musical life.

SOCIALIST REALISM UNDER ATTACK

The death of Stalin in March 1953 is often considered a defining moment in the evolution of socialist realist ideology as practiced in the Polish arts. However, the prevailing strictures of the socialist realist aesthetic in music were not relaxed uniformly or without consternation on the part of its advocates. Although Włodzimierz Sokorski, the Minister of Culture and Arts, had alluded in late 1953 to past mistakes and, a few months later, to greater possibilities for creative freedom, albeit still within the context of accessible works,² such remarks were not interpreted by composers as an enthusiastic endorsement of unlimited opportunities in compositional style. Moreover, in the Composers Union's plans for 1955, ideological courses on Marxist aesthetics were still scheduled, indicating that a complete break with previous constraints was either not foreseen or was considered a dubious target, even though the Warsaw Autumn Festival was also included in the union's intended activities.³

Nevertheless, composers had already begun to shift the narrative of compositional evaluation from the socialist realist rhetoric of formalism vs. realism to one of more legitimate artistic quality. At ZKP's Executive Board meeting in December 1952, some composers, including Tadeusz Szeliński and Witold Lutosławski, alluded to the low quality of many new compositions. At a similar meeting in 1953, derogatory comments related to branding compositions as formalist, not normally voiced in such an official setting, were made during discussions on national traditions in contemporary music.⁴

¹ See e.g. C. Bylander, (1989). *The Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music 1956-1961: Its Goals, Structures, Programs and People*. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, pp. 89-93; L. Jakelski, (2017). *Making Music in Cold War Poland. The Warsaw Autumn Festival 1956-1968*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 18-21.

² The Polish Composers' Union (hereafter ZKP) Akt 12/22, Protokół surowy obrad rozszerzonego Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich – odbytego w Warszawie w dniach 16 i 17 grudnia 1953 [The Unamended Minutes of the Meeting of the Polish Composers' Union's Extended Managing Board, held in Warsaw on 16th-17th December 1953]; ZKP Akt 12/7, VII Walny Zjazd (24, 25, 26.IV.1954 Wwa) [7th PCU General Assembly, 24th-26th April 1954, Warsaw], pp. 63-68.

³ ZKP Akt 12/22, Plan pracy Związku Kompozytorów Polskich na 1955 rok [The Polish Composers' Union's Work Schedule for 1955].

⁴ Ibid., Stenogram z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. w Poznaniu 11 grudnia 1952r.; and Porządek

By 1954, some ZKP members felt even more comfortable expressing critical opinions, referring not only to the negative effects of socialist realism in music, but also targeting colleagues whose opinions differed from their own. Indeed, a combative atmosphere reigned at that year's general conference, where a remarkable onslaught of criticism was directed at musicologists, particularly the union's most active proponent of socialist realism, Zofia Lissa. In rather scathing terms, Zbigniew Turski castigated her alleged role in advising the Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS), through which she wielded some degree of authority in evaluating composers and their works, while Piotr Perkowski described her as a dictator.⁵ Although others admonished Turski for his lack of decorum, this willingness to contest the status quo in an attempt to re-establish the center of power in ZKP away from those who supported socialist realism to those desiring to push more urgently for compositional freedom and its corollary endeavors (for ex., contact with the West), was to be further explored over the next few years, until this new approach became the union's *modus operandi*. Such efforts played an integral role in establishing the Warsaw Autumn Festival, whose initial approval was granted this same year, 1954.

The accusations directed at Lissa were not completely exaggerated, for evidence exists that she was indeed providing reports to MKiS and, more frequently, to the Cultural Department of the Party's Central Committee from as early as 1950 until at least the end of 1955. These were not personal letters between colleagues and friends, but summaries of her impressions of meetings with composers sent to governmental agencies. For example, in her January 1951 communiqué about a Young Composers meeting, she blamed the older generations for their lack of commitment to Marxist aesthetics and provided brief summaries of each young composer's ideological leaning and compositional promise.⁶ In November 1955, she described a "gloomy picture" in which composers were returning to formalism in their compositions. She also falsely accused Lutosławski of keeping his Concerto for Orchestra "in the drawer" for

a year while waiting for "further loosening of the screw," or a more favorable atmosphere in which to release the work. At the same time, she asked the Party's Cultural Department for "instructions" on how to behave at the upcoming Composers Union's Executive Board meeting.⁷

Lissa was, we should point out, one of the few ZKP musicologists to attend its general conferences. As such, in 1955 she was forced to defend herself and her absent colleagues against another diatribe, this time Kazimierz Serocki's strident critique of musicologists for, among other things, their tendency to denounce composers' "lack of ideological zeal" rather than promote contemporary Polish compositions.⁸ Given Lissa's esteemed stature prior to the war, her acquaintances initially may have been reluctant to be overtly critical of her actions. However, as one of the most vocal proponents of socialist realism in music composition, she had exposed herself to such retribution. At the same time, we should temper claims of harshness on Lissa's part by pointing to her cordial relations with many of her colleagues as well as her abiding interests in improving musical literacy in Poland, shown through her work with radio, publishers, and education. According to Mieczysław Tomaszewski, she also appreciated the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky, although she refrained from admitting this publicly during this time, choosing instead to observe the socialist-realist line.⁹

Members of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) who also belonged to ZKP (of which there were twelve in 1954, including Lissa) also met separately with the

7 Lissa claimed that other ZKP members and cultural officials (including Roman Jasiński, Stefania Łobaczewska, and Józef Chomiński) supported her allegation concerning Lutosławski's *Symphony*. Lutosławski stated that he worked on the Concerto for Orchestra from 1950 to August 1954; it was premiered in Warsaw 26 November 1954 and presented during the 1955 Festival of Polish Music. Lissa had also published an analysis of the piece in *Muzyka* (1955), nos. 3-4, which indicates she had probably seen at least a substantial part of the score. Given her usual care with such details, Lissa's claim in November is thus startling and apparently unjustified. W. Lutosławski, (2008). *Zapiski*, Z. Skowron (Ed.), Warsaw: Witold Lutosławski Society, p. 17; D. Gwizdalanka and K. Meyer (2003). *Lutosławski. Droga do dojrzałości*. Kraków: PWM, p. 269; AKP, Korespondencja Z. Lissy [Z. Lissa's Correspondence], 27 November 1955.

8 ZKP Akt 12/8, VIII Walny Zjazd (4, 5, 6.VI.1955) [8th PCU General Assembly, 4th – 6th June 1955], Day 1, pp. 25-31, 79-84.

9 Tomaszewski's recollection seems to be related to the editing of Lissa's *Historia Muzyki Rosyjskiej* (PWM, 1955). AKP, Korespondencja Z. Lissy [Z. Lissa's Correspondence]; AKP, Z. Lissa: Korespondencja polskojęzyczna [Z. Lissa – Polish-Language Correspondence]; A. Czekanowska, (2015). *Ku Niedalekiej Przyszłości. Z Doświadczeń Badacza i Nauczyciela 1947-2002*. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, pp. 42-44; Krzysztof Droba, (2011). *Odczytywanie na nowo. Rozmowy a Mieczysławem Tomaszewskim*. Kraków: PWM, p. 86.

dzienny rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. w dn. 17 i 18 marca 1953 [Stenographic Record of the Plenary Sessions of the Polish Composers' Union's Extended Managing Board, 17th-18th March 1953].

5 ZKP Akt 12/7, VII Walny Zjazd (24, 25, 26.IV.1954 Wwa) [7th PCU General Assembly, 24th-26th April 1954, Warsaw], pp. 12-13, 28-29.

6 Lissa had not been employed by MKiS since 1948 and had resigned from ZKP's leadership in March 1955. Archive of Polish Composers, Warsaw University (hereafter AKP), Korespondencja Z. Lissy [Z. Lissa's Correspondence] (1945-1955), 5th January 1951, 28th September 1951, 20th February 1952, 24th March 1955, 27th November 1955.

Cultural Department. In 1954, they critiqued Polish Music Publisher's (PWM) achievements and its lack of Party members. ZKP also came under attack as late as 1955 by members of the same group for its "lack of any sort of ideological position" and its "dictatorial... isolationist" behavior towards all areas of Polish musical life.¹⁰

Although Lissa at times was willing to concede that changes needed to occur in the implementation of socialist realism in music, most noticeably in a 1954 *Muzyka* article, it seems that such statements may have been nothing more than public posturing. Although they may have reflected an internal division between the Cultural Department (the most frequent recipient of Lissa's reports) and MKiS (represented by Sokorski), it is more likely that Lissa and her PZPR-ZKP colleagues were becoming estranged from current Party policy, which was slowly embracing a loosening of certain restrictions in the cultural arena.¹¹ Her persistence in pursuing a strict socialist realist ideology in official reports and meetings even after her *Muzyka* article was published (and despite her private admission of respect for more adventurous composers), the more permissive attitude expressed by the Minister of Culture and Art, and the 1954 approval for the creation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, which involved conversations with both the Party premier and MKiS, point to just such a waning of her influence in governmental cultural institutions.

Nevertheless, ZKP members, many of whom desired an operational strategy less encumbered by external (i.e., Party or government) policies, were most likely aware of the continuing accusations made by Lissa and her colleagues. Some, including Chomiński and Witold Rudziński (who were not PZPR members), acknowledged policy mistakes, but conceded only that the restrictions of socialist realism needed to be modified,

not overturned.¹² Unable to foresee the outcome of the ongoing struggle over the ideological direction expected of the arts, some composers were understandably hesitant to radically alter their musical language and activities in the mid-1950s. Many ZKP members, whether Party-affiliated or not, still struggled with how to respond to issues regarding, for example, a uniquely Polish musical identity or elite vs accessible composition. Although many also disliked the criteria used to commission and evaluate new compositions, they recognized the necessity to retain these processes in some form.¹³

At the same time, those championing more aggressive changes were being taken more seriously. Zygmunt Mycielski and Stefan Jarociński were among those pushing the envelope, so to speak, by openly requesting extrication from the government-imposed withdrawal from the world of contemporary music.¹⁴ These musicians wished to experience the freedom of travel and compositional choice, much as they had before the war and in the initial rebuilding period afterward. One can imagine the intense atmosphere at ZKP meetings and other planning sessions attended by musicians and governmental officials, where participants were aware of each other's personal biases, particularly considering the allegations that had been raised in 1954 and 1955. Such tensions had existed earlier, but in the early 1950s negative opinions of colleagues had rarely been voiced at official meetings. Bringing such personal recriminations into the open undoubtedly affected the efforts of ZKP members to make their way through an unstable situation characterized by disparate goals regarding Polish composition. Not surprisingly, ideologically-tinged issues also permeated many other areas of Polish musical life, as we will see below.

10 Some joined PZPR to advance their job prospects, not for their ideological views. Archiwum Akt Nowych [Central Archives of Modern Records] (AAN), KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Notatka w dniu 28.iii.br [Note made on 28th March (1955)], and Lista wybitniejszych muzyków polskich – członków Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej [List of Eminent Polish Musicians – Members of the Polish United Workers' Party] (March 1955?); AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Notatka dnia 12.III.br [Note of 12th March] (1955); AKP, Korespondencja Z. Lissy [Z. Lissa's Correspondence], 5 January 1950.

11 Z. Lissa, (1954). Z perspektywy dziesięciolecia, *Muzyka*. Vol. 5, Nos. 7-8, pp. 3-25; See also Z. Mycielski (1999). *Dziennik 1950-1959*. Warsaw: Iskry, p. 204.

12 ZKP Akt 12/7, pp. 37-39.

13 Ibid., pp. 33-34; ZKP Akt 12/5, V Walny Zjazd (16, 17, 18.VI.1950 Wwa), 48-49; ZKP Akt 12/9, Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od 6.VI.1955 r [Report on the Work of the Polish Composers' Union's Managing Board for the Period until 6th June 1955], pp. 7-7a.

14 ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 2, 14-15; Z. Mycielski, (1955). O polskiej twórczości muzycznej dziesięciolecie, *Muzyka*. Vol. 6, Nos. 7-8, pp. 20-22. Paradoxically, the term „isolation” was also used in 1949 to describe the relationship of Polish composers to society and the corresponding need to adhere to socialist realism principles. (1949), Konferencja kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim, *Ruch Muzyczny*, Vol. 5, No. 14, p. 30.

MUSIC EDUCATION AND ITS LEGACY

Although seldom discussed by scholars, music education was perhaps the most crucial element of Polish musical life in the early postwar years.¹⁵ As a key piece of the socialist realist paradigm, *umuzycznienie*, or cultivating music appreciation, was dependent on increasing proficiency in music education on both student and adult levels. However, from at least 1948 through 1955 (and perhaps since the end of the Second World War), general education offerings for students included little, if any instruction in music. Musical instruments were also scarce. ZKP approved resolutions on improving music education at nearly every general conference that decade, seemingly to little avail.¹⁶ For students seeking higher education in music, the situation also seemed bleak. Even Zofia Lissa in 1955 lamented the low quality of entry-level university music students, claiming they had no knowledge of harmony and could not read musical scores.¹⁷

Inadequate preparations for professional employment as musicians, caused by the subsequent need to lower expectations at the higher education level, contributed to a crisis in the quality of the country's symphonies and radio orchestras. Although the number of such ensembles increased during the first postwar decade, their artistic quality was widely acknowledged to have diminished to nearly unacceptable levels.¹⁸ By 1955,

numerous conversations and meetings held at the Culture Department referenced attempts to enhance the quality of the Warsaw orchestra, newly renamed the National Philharmonic.¹⁹ Its artistic director, Witold Rowicki, was released from his position and replaced in spring 1955 by Bohdan Wodiczko, formerly with the Kraków Philharmonic.²⁰ To assist the National Philharmonic in reaching its newly approved stature as one of Poland's premiere orchestras, the Cultural Department decided in June to increase the ensemble's size and move musicians from other orchestras to the Polish capital.²¹

Simultaneously, it was suggested that to ensure a higher level of artistic quality elsewhere, some cities hosting both radio and state philharmonic orchestras would henceforth have to be satisfied with only one ensemble.²² By October 1955, the Polish Radio orchestra in Bydgoszcz had been merged with the Bydgoszcz Philharmonic. Musicians of lower quality from both ensembles were to be transferred to other regional orchestras.²³ Other performers from

15 L. C. Vest (2014). *The Discursive Foundations of the Polish Musical Avant-Garde at Midcentury: Aesthetics of Progress, Meaning, and National Identity*. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, passim.

16 ZKP Akt 12/4, Deklaracja Walnego Zgromadzenia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w Warszawie [Declaration of the General Assembly of the Polish Composers' Union] (1948); ZKP Akt 12/5, letter from W. Rudziński to Minister of Education; ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 1, p. 69.

17 Another aspect of Polish musical life more burdensome than helpful was the presence of loudspeakers and megaphones of inferior quality, which broadcast music almost continually on streets, work places, cafes, etc. Composers complained of their incessant noise and its negative effects on improving musical literacy. ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 1, pp. 79-80; ZKP Akt 12/22, Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Z. K. P., odbytego w dniach 11 i 12 grudnia 1952 roku w Poznaniu [The Minutes of the Plenary Session of the Polish Composers' Union's Extended Managing Board, held in Poznań on 11th – 12th December 1952].

18 The number of philharmonic and symphony orchestras increased from 14 in 1948 to 27 in 1956, while four radio orchestras existed by 1947. E. Skowrońska, (1968). *Ruch*

koncertowy i operowy. In: E. Dziębowska (Ed.). *Polska Współczesna Kultura Muzyczna 1944-1964*. Kraków: PWM, pp. 243, 247; B. Frydrychowicz. *Radio, telewizja i fonografia muzyczna*. Ibid., pp. 218-220; Archive of New Acts (AAN) KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Protokół z narady poświęconej II Festiwalowi Muzyki Polskiej odbytej w Wydziale Kultury KC w dniu 22.XI.1954 r. [Minutes of a Meeting Dedicated to the 2nd Festival of Polish Music, held at the Culture Dept. of the Party's Central Committee on 22nd Nov. 1954]

19 AAN KC PZPR 237-XVIII-120, Letter from Filharmonia Narodowa to S. Żółkiewicz, Wydział Kultury, Komitet Centralny P.Z.P.R. [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee], 19.X.1955, and Notatka dnia 12.III.br [Note of 12th March] (1955).

20 <http://www.ruchmuzyczny.art.pl/index.php/tematy/kontra/1509-dyrygent-nowoczesny>.

21 This was not the first reduction of orchestral forces in postwar Poland. In January 1953, Grzegorz Fitelberg, conductor of Katowice's Polish Radio orchestra was told to reduce his orchestra by ten members. AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Notatka dnia 11 czerwca b.r. [Note of 11th June] (1955), and Notatka do Wydziału Kultury Komitetu Centralnego P.Z.P.R., 5 lipca 1955r. [Note for the Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee, 5th July 1955]; Leon Markiewicz, ed. *Korespondencja Grzegorza Fitelberga z lat 1941-1953*, Katowice: Fundacja Muzyczna Międzynarodowego Konkursu Dyrygentów im. Grzegorza Fitelberga, 2003, p. 367.

22 Ibid., Notatka do Wydziału Kultury Komitetu Centralnego P.Z.P.R., 5 lipca 1955r. [Note for the Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee, 5th July 1955]; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Notatka w dniu 28.III.br [Note of 28th March] (1955).

23 AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Letter from Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Kultury [Union of the Workers of Culture] to Wydział Kultury KC PZPR [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central

Bydgoszcz and the Poznań Philharmonic had joined the National Philharmonic, while several previously employed with the Warsaw orchestra had been dismissed.²⁴ Understandably, some members of these ensemble were displeased. Stanisław Wiślocki, the Poznań Philharmonic's artistic director, had appealed to the Minister of Culture and Art in an apparently unsuccessful attempt to retain his musicians.²⁵

Complicating attempts to produce esteemed ensembles was the intrusion of Party ideology – or more importantly, critiques thereof – into the functioning of these ensembles, despite the lack of evidence that such actions led to artistic supremacy. Shortly after Wodiczko's appointment, a group of National Philharmonic musicians was reportedly in "rebellion" against him, in part because the new artistic director was a Party member. Moreover, even as the Cultural Department approved guidelines for the aforementioned personnel changes, it also wished to improve the political ideology of these ensembles, hoping to stem the "unhealthy elitist tendencies" of musicians (including ZKP members). As such, the Department supported Wodiczko in his efforts to improve Party affiliations at the National Philharmonic.²⁶

Internal dissension at the Philharmonic existed well into 1956. Accusations regarding Wodiczko were sent by one musician, a Michał Czerwiński, to the Cultural Department. These were related to a promotion (with accompanying pay increase) promised him by Rowicki, but rejected by Wodiczko after the performer derided his conducting abilities, allegedly arbitrary decisions, and inability to accept criticism. According to Czerwiński, other ensemble members, including those holding Party membership, supported at least some of his allegations,

making the dispute not only one of ideology, but also one on a professional, even personal level. In May 1956, Wodiczko submitted his resignation, hoping to force new elections for the Philharmonic's Party cell. Such elections were held, although some musicians allegedly boycotted it. Wodiczko remained with the orchestra; Czerwiński was dismissed a month later.²⁷

These ideological battles in Warsaw were intertwined with the complexities of living in a city still being rebuilt following the war. Even before the Philharmonic's size was increased in 1955, a severe shortage of apartments existed in Warsaw.²⁸ This situation had not been alleviated as the Warsaw Autumn Festival approached, despite pleas sent to the Central Committee in 1955 by numerous agencies, including the Philharmonic's management and Party cell, ZKP, and Warsaw's State Higher School of Music. The Philharmonic's musicians seized the opportunity to compel authorities to aid their cause. These performers (including those new to the orchestra) threatened to go on strike during the Warsaw Autumn Festival if their demands for housing and pay increases were not met. According to Czerwiński, Wodiczko supported his musicians by stating that he would not conduct unless these conditions were fulfilled. (Party vs. non-Party concerns within the orchestra were not the primary issue in this situation; rather, the government's lack of material support for their own directive – an improved orchestra – took precedence.) Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz intervened to guarantee apartments and salary adjustments. (Czerwiński, however, claimed these had not materialized just a few days before the start of the Festival.)²⁹ The need for a leading government

Committee] 21.ix.1955r., and unsigned letter dated 12 September 1955 about the Polish Radio Orchestra in Bydgoszcz.

24 Ibid., Letter from M. Czerwiński, Filharmonia Narodowa [Warsaw Philharmonic], to Wydział Kultury przy KC PZPR [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee] 27 września 1956r [27th Sept. 1956]; Letter from Filharmonia Narodowa [Warsaw Philharmonic] to Wydział Kultury, Komitet Centralny P.Z.P.R. [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee], 19.X.1955 r. [19th Oct. 1955], and Letter from Zast. Kierownika Wydziału Kultury i Nauki KC [Deputy Head of Culture and Science Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee] to Urząd Rady Ministrów [The Council of Ministers] 23.III.1956.

25 S. Wiślocki, (2000). *Życie jednego muzyka*. Warsaw: RYTM, p. 86.

26 AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Sektor Muzyki [The Music Sector], 18.VI.1955 r., and Notatka dnia 5.III.br [Note of 5th March] (1955).

27 The Warsaw orchestra had 10 Party members. A somewhat different version of these events included the liquidation of the Philharmonic's Small Orchestra after Wodiczko's arrival. Z. Siedlecki (1956). Nie ma dwu statutów. *Trybuna Ludu*, 14 May; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Lista wybitniejszych muzyków polskich – członków Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej [List of Eminent Polish Musicians – Members of the Polish United Workers' Party]; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Letter from M. Czerwiński to Wydziału Kultury przy K.C. P.Z.P.R. [Letter from M. Czerwiński to the Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee], undated but after June 1956.

28 AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Protokół z narady poświęconej II Festiwalowi Muzyki Polskiej odbytej w Wydziale Kultury KC w dniu 22.xi.1954 r. [Minutes of a Meeting Dedicated to the 2nd Festival of Polish Music, held at the Culture Dept. of the Party's Central Committee on 22nd Nov. 1954]

29 <http://palester.polmic.pl/index.php/pl/felietony-wolnej-europy/1956/91-o-trudnos-ciach-bytowych-muzyko-w-w-prl>; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120, Letter from M. Czerwiński, Filharmonia

official to be consulted may seem unusual, but since in some respects the Festival was to mark Poland's re-entry into the international cultural scene, a positive view of the country needed to be presented to the event's foreign visitors. Input from officials at the top of the authoritative chain was required to accomplish this.

Warsaw's orchestra was not the only ensemble to suffer from a lack of governmental support. Jan Krenz, the young director of Poland's most distinguished radio orchestra, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra in Katowice (then called Stalinogród), also reported issues with housing, salaries, and qualified musicians. He announced in July 1956 that in view of these difficulties, the orchestra would present only one concert at the Warsaw Autumn Festival instead of the projected two events.³⁰ In the end, however, the orchestra did perform two concerts. These anecdotes about Poland's orchestras demonstrate the complexity of personal and professional relationships in Polish musical life in the first half of the 1950s, which were not always aligned on Party vs non-Party ideological views.

PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLICITY

Poland's inadequate levels of music education were exacerbated by a scarcity of scores, books on music, and recordings, shortages that persisted even after a decade of recovery efforts. This situation was not improved by the government's refusal to import such items from countries not aligned with the Soviet Union. As part of her response to Serocki's criticism about the relative lack of articles on contemporary music (cited above), Lissa noted the need for musicologists to compile a series of texts on music history, surely a time-consuming effort. Others pointed to shortfalls in printed music for school-age children.³¹ Although Polish Radio frequently recorded performances on tape, vinyl pressings of contemporary classical music

were rarely, if ever produced by Muza, the state recording enterprise.³²

In 1955, composers complained that it took six months for PWM to print their submitted works and that even then, only a few copies of each piece were issued. (Parts needed for performances were frequently duplicated by machine, not formally published.)³³ They also asserted that PWM, following a 1953 merger with Czytelnik (a publisher of shorter works primarily for amateurs and students), was unable to deal with the demands for publishing books and scores for professionals, schools, and the general public. ZKP proposed creating a smaller publisher specifically intended to print its members' works and a similar entity to handle dance and popular music. Neither endeavor was pursued further, however.³⁴

The availability of scores and parts affected what pieces could be performed, which in turn played a role in what could be presented at such headline events as the Warsaw Autumn Festival and the 1951 and 1955 Festivals of Polish Music. However, since ZKP was one of the organizations advising PWM on repertoire selection, composers perhaps should have focused their complaints on the publishing process, which required multiple approvals from government institutions, with their attendant delays, rather than criticizing PWM itself. In fact, the *PWM Katalog 1945-1955* lists a wide variety

32 According to W. Elektorowicz in 1951, Muza released 1.8 million dance records annually. Others criticized the quality of Polish Radio's recordings. ZKP Akt 12/6, VI Walny Zjazd [6th General Assembly] 1951 (11, 12, 13.XII.1951 Wwa [11th – 13th Dec. 1956, Warsaw]), p. 6; ZKP Akt 12/22, Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P z dnia 10 marca 1952 r. [Minutes of the Plenary Session of the PCU Extended Managing Board, dated 10th March 1952]

33 ZKP Akt 12/5, Ogólne Sprawozdania z Działalności Zarządu Głównego ZKP w okresie kadencji od listopada 1948 do czerwca 1950 roku [General Reports on the Work of the PCU Managing Board during its Tenure, Nov. 1948 to June 1950]; ZKP Akt 12/6, Załącznik 3 [Appendix 3], Z. Mycielski, Referat na walnym zgromadzeniu członków Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w Warszawie, 11 grudnia 1951 r. [Paper Delivered at the PCU General Assembly in Warsaw, 11th Dec. 1951], p. 18; ZKP Akt 12/7, 76; ZKP Akt 12/23, Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 1 i 2 grudnia 1956 r. [Minutes of the Plenary Session of the PCU Extended Managing Board, dated 1st – 2nd Dec. 1956]; A. Sitarz, (2012). In the Shadow of PWM (the Polish Music Publishing House). *Musica Iagellonica*, Vol. 6, pp. 231-232.

34 Z. Helman, (1968). Wydawnictwa muzyczne. In: *Polska Współczesna Kultura Muzyczna 1944-1964*, p. 233; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Notatka w dniu 28.III.br [Note of 28th March] (1955); ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 2, p. 43.

Narodowa [Warsaw Philharmonic], to Wydział Kultury przy KC PZPR [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee] 27 września 1956r [27th September 1956], and Letter from Filharmonia Narodowa [Warsaw Philharmonic] to Wydział Kultury, Komitet Centralny P.Z.P.R [Culture Dept. of the PUWP Central Committee] 19.x 1955 r.

30 ZKP Akt 12/23, Protokół z IV Plenum Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. z dnia 1 lipca 1956 r. [Minutes of the 4th Plenary Session of the PCU Managing Board, dated 1st July 1956]

31 ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 1, 50-51. The first volume of *Historia Muzyki Powszechnej* [History of Music], ed. Zofia Lissa and Józef Chomiński, was published by PWM in 1957.

of compositions from the first postwar decade, from mass songs to solo works for various instruments, quartets, cantatas, and symphonies, reflecting the breadth of works published during this period.³⁵

Socialist realism and its proponents were never far from the PWM scene, as was the case with all cultural organizations. Lissa, a member of PWM's advisory board, in yet another report sent to the Cultural Department – this regarding PWM's publishing plans for 1955 – complained that the organization was more interested in producing “elite positions” than in fulfilling its mission, which was to provide equal amounts of popular pieces for amateurs and more serious pieces aimed at trained musicians. She also suggested that PWM's primary activities should be relocated from Kraków to Warsaw, eventually diluting the ideologically radical “clique” (i.e., not disposed towards socialist realism) that its director, Tadeusz Ochlewski, employed at its current location.³⁶

As the organizer of many concerts of contemporary Polish compositions, PWM was the leading promoter of new Polish music during the first postwar decade. It was also involved in publicity efforts. In the years immediately after the war, PWM, working with ZKP, sent materials on Polish compositions to festivals and institutions in other countries. This activity was co-opted in mid-1950 by the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation (KWKZ).³⁷ In the early 1950s, ZKP reported it had minimal influence on KWKZ's selection of works or their destinations, alluding to an almost complete lack of coordination between the two entities. In the union's opinion, such action had not yielded satisfactory results; information about Polish music was severely lacking in other countries.³⁸

35 ZKP Akt 12/5 Ogólne Sprawozdania [General Reports]; ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 3, p. 38; *PWM Katalog 1945-1955*. Special thanks to Daniel Cichy for providing me with this catalog.

36 PWM's headquarters remained in Kraków. AKP Korespondencja Z. Lissy [Z. Lissa's Correspondence], 13th November 1954.

37 ZKP Akt 12/5, Ogólne Sprawozdania; ZKP Akt 12/8, Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od 26.IV.1954 do 4.VI.1955 roku [Report on the Work of the PCU Managing Board for the Period from 26th April 1954 to 4th June 1955], 9-14; http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4-s123-145/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4-s123-145.pdf

38 ZKP Akt 12/7, pp. 16, 20.

In late 1954, the union requested that KWKZ begin sending materials to individuals instead of institutions, perceiving that such contacts would be more beneficial for their purposes. The union's Presidium would select the materials and recipients. Although this brought improved results, the arrangement was still cumbersome. Personal efforts were thwarted by the requirement that citizens obtain permission from the Foreign Ministry to send packages abroad that weighed more than a half kilogram. A partial solution to this bottleneck was reached in 1954 when the Polish institution Press and Book agreed to expedite shipments and to negotiate distribution agreements with foreign publishers and recording companies.³⁹ By 1956, composers could communicate directly with artists beyond the Iron Curtain, which aided them immensely in organizing the Warsaw Autumn Festival.

CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN MUSIC

Obtaining information about newer music written elsewhere in Europe was a daunting, but not impossible task. Although Polish composers were aware of the isolation they experienced due to their government's policies, it was still possible to discover something about recent compositions written beyond their borders. For those with access to shortwave radio, the broadcasts hosted by Roman Palester on Radio Free Europe beginning in 1952 allowed them to obtain information from outside of Poland on an array of topics about concert life and compositional endeavors in Western Europe and their own country.⁴⁰ As could be expected given his decision not to return to Poland after 1949, Palester's commentaries, which typically ended with excerpts from recordings, sharply criticized what he called the “Sovietization of Polish music,” the country's detachment from the Western world, and the resulting poverty of compositional imagination.⁴¹ The number of listeners to

39 ZKP Akt 12/8, Sprawozdanie [Report], 9-14; ZKP Akt 12/7, Analiza wykonania planu działalności Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w II kwartale 1954 r. [Analysis of the Performance of PCU Work Schedule in the 2nd Quarter of 1954]; ZKP Akt 12/5, Ogólne Sprawozdania [General Reports].

40 Palester's information about Poland seems to have been gleaned primarily from *Przegląd Kulturalny* and, to a lesser extent, his limited contacts with Polish musicians.

41 AKP, Palester Audycje RWE [Radio Free Europe broadcasts], *Muzyka obala granice* [Music Abolishes Boundaries] nr 68,

these programs is unknown, but it is not hard to imagine that many of Palester's colleagues in Poland would have agreed with most of his opinions. It is also reasonable to assume that Poland's shortcomings were confirmed by the few other composers who travelled beyond the Iron Curtain (see below).

Palester's most important contribution may have been his discussions of twentieth-century Western European composers. While Polish composers were aware of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern from their own prewar and immediate postwar experiences or, for younger composers, from knowledge passed on from their older colleagues and teachers, they were unable to hear public presentations of compositions by these or other more modern composers.⁴² Yet through Palester's efforts, they would have been able to listen to Schoenberg's *Organ Variations* in 1953, the same composer's *Five Works for Orchestra*, Bartók's *Viola Concerto*, and excerpts from Messiaen's *L'Ascension* in 1954, and Stravinsky's *Les Noces* in 1955. Also in 1955, they would have heard Palester discuss the works of Varèse and Stockhausen as well as Pierre Schaeffer and *musique concrète*.⁴³

Works such as these (including more radical pieces from within the Soviet sphere) were rarely, if ever heard on concert programs or Polish Radio broadcasts prior to the start of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Between 1949 and 1954, concert and radio audiences wishing to hear twentieth-century compositions from Western Europe were limited to just a few works by composers such as Roussel, Bartók (his smaller folk-inspired miniatures), and Stravinsky (*Firebird Suite*). Beginning in 1954, the

possibilities were broadened, with programming of works by Gershwin (*Porgy and Bess*, *Rhapsody in Blue*, *American in Paris*), Messiaen (*Les Offrandes Oubliées*), Hindemith (*Mathis der Maler*), Milhaud (*Spring Concertino*), Stravinsky (*Symphony of Psalms*), Honegger (*Symphony No. 3*, *Symphony No. 5*), Bartók (*Viola Concerto*), and Berg (*Violin Concerto*). Some of these had been conducted by Wodiczko, who championed twentieth-century music; one wonders if his disgruntled orchestral musicians were equally interested.⁴⁴ Only Honegger's symphonies had been completed since the war. The gap in knowledge of the newest compositions thus was not alleviated by these programs, although the more adventurous pieces mentioned above undoubtedly were revelatory for some musicians.

Still, Polish composers were not completely oblivious to more adventurous compositional trends. If an international contemporary music festival was to be organized in Poland, awareness of such pieces would seem to be of vital importance. Composers had traveled abroad in the immediate postwar years, and although few had the opportunity to travel westward in the early 1950s, the border was not completely closed. Bacewicz, Panufnik, and Lutosławski had traveled beyond the Soviet sphere between 1950 and 1955. In 1956, a virtual explosion in the number of composers allowed to travel westward was seen, as Baird, Lutosławski, Sikorski, Dobrowolski, Szeligowski and others all attended musical events in Western Europe.⁴⁵ During their travels, these composers likely had the opportunity to learn about new compositions, which they discussed later with their colleagues at home.

Other private efforts also helped alleviate feelings of isolation. Baird studied scores of Schoenberg and Webern that were circulated privately in Poland in 1954.⁴⁶ Scores and recordings of Berg's *Wozzeck* and *Lyric Suite* were played at ZKP headquarters, probably in early 1955. In the fall of 1955, Lutosławski loaned Mycielski a score for Stravinsky's *Les Noces* and Mycielski, Serocki, and

27.x.53, Sowietizacja muzyki polskiej, cz. I [Sovietisation of Polish Music, Part 1]; Z. Helman (1999). *Roman Palester. Twórca i dzieło*. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, pp. 169-172.

42 Baird, Krenz, Serocki and Skrowaczewski studied composition during the war. <http://www.serocki.polic.pl/index.php/en/biografia/dziecinstwo-i-mlodosc>; https://pwm.com.pl/pl/kompozytorzy_i_autorzy. Schaeffer was aware of dodecaphonic techniques in the early 1950s, probably as a result of his studies with Jachimecki in Kraków. I. Lindstedt (2001). *Dodekafonia i serializm w twórczości kompozytorów polskich XX wieku*. Lublin: Polihymnia, p. 87.

43 AKP Palester Audycje RWE [Radio Free Europe broadcasts]: Muzyka obala granice [Music Abolishes Boundaries] nr 75, 22.xii.1953, Olivier Messiaen; Muzyka obala granice [Music Abolishes Boundaries] nr 106, 6.x.1954, Bela Bartok; Muzyka obala granice [Music Abolishes Boundaries] nr 111, 10.xi.1954, Festiwal w Donaueschingen [Donaueschingen Musiktag]; Muzyka obala granice [Music Abolishes Boundaries] nr 122, 2.ii.1955, Tendencje młodej muzyki zachodniej [Tendencies in Young Western Music].

44 This Messiaen piece was also played by the Kraków Philharmonic on 25th September 1953 under the title "Symphonic Fragment." Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library] (BN) Concert Program Collection, Kraków 1953.

45 *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1952), no. 2, and (1956), no. 3; I. Poniatowska and Z. Kułakowska (1968). Diarusz. In: *Polska Współczesna Kultura Muzyczna*, pp. 335-337; J. Paja-Stach (1997). *Lutosławski i jego styl muzyczny*. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, pp. 33-34..

46 T. Zieliński, (1966). *Tadeusz Baird*. Kraków: PWM, p. 32.

Kisielewski listened to Stravinsky's *Mass* at Bacewicz's home. Regamey also visited Poland and spoke about Boulez, serial music and musique concrète with several composers, including Bacewicz, Baird, Lutosławski, Mycielski, Rudziński, Sikorski and Szeligowski.⁴⁷ Józef Patkowski's 1956 article on electroacoustic music cited works by Cage, Stockhausen, Krenek, and Pierre Henry, among others; this information had most likely been gleaned from his recent trips to Western electronic music studios.⁴⁸ Thus, information about more recently written compositions began to seep slowly into Poland as preparations for the first Warsaw Autumn Festival were underway.

1955 FESTIVAL OF POLISH MUSIC

The second Festival of Polish Music was one of three major events involving Poland's music community in 1955, the others being the International Chopin Piano Competition and the Fifth World Congress for Youth and Students. In contrast to the first such festival in 1951, ZKP maintained tighter control over its repertoire selection. A planned organizing committee was never appointed by MKiS, although KWKZ and other agencies assisted ZKP. Meetings with conductors and artistic directors were, in Baird's words, "difficult and uneasy." The union's presidium reportedly spent more than half of its time on this event; ZKP members commended Baird and Serocki, the union's vice presidents from 1954-1955, for their efforts as its primary organizers.⁴⁹

The Festival's aim was to provide a review of the achievements in Polish music of the last decade. Signs of the cultural thaw were in evidence. A jazz concert took place on May 8, 1955 and the Minister of Culture

and Art allowed Lutosławski's *First Symphony*, banned from the concert stage since late 1949, to be scheduled, although according to available programs and concert reviews, such a performance never transpired.⁵⁰

Advocates of socialist realism continued to push for their imprint on the festival. At a November 1954 meeting not attended by members of ZKP's Presidium, Lissa and Mieczysław Drobner pointed out the lack of Party influence on the selection of compositions. In their opinion, the works to be performed represented a rather one-sided view of contemporary Polish composition. Similarly, in another document issued by the PZPR's Central Committee, an allegation was made that some (unnamed) compositions were not 'realist', but instead reflected composers' work from "the threshold of liberation."⁵¹ As Baird pointed out, however, orchestras declined to present contemporary cantatas and no one wanted to risk preparing a new opera or ballet. Such hesitation was, perhaps, a sign that ensembles now realized the restrictions of socialist realism could be ignored without negative consequences.

No longer were critiques based on a work's adherence to the tenets of socialist realism, as had occurred with the first Festival of Polish Music in 1951. As Baird noted, the 1955 event portrayed the achievements and weaknesses of Polish composition. Stefan Kisielewski, always a voice of opposition during the era of the Polish People's Republic (although not a fervent advocate of experimental music), claimed there were only thirty works worthy of performance; the presentation of 300 (in his words) diminished the quality of the festival and the public's perception of Polish composition. Even Sokorski, the Minister of Culture and

47 T. Baird and I. Grzenkowicz, (1982). Op. cit. Kraków: PWM, p. 30; Mycielski. *Dziennik 1950-1959*, pp. 115, 118, 158.

48 J. Patkowski (1956). O muzyce elektronicznej i konkretnej. *Muzyka*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 49-68; L. C. Vest (2014). Op. cit.s, p. 192.

49 Archival evidence contains reports on the festival's preparations, but they do not indicate how much help was provided by non-ZKP entities. ZKP Akt 12/8, T. Baird, II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Referat Sprawozdawczy [The 2nd Festival of Polish Music: A Report]; AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, Protokół z narady poświęconej II Festiwalowi Muzyki Polskiej 22.XI.1954 r. [Minutes of a Meeting Dedicated to the 2nd Festival of Polish Music, held at the Culture Dept. of the Party's Central Committee on 22nd Nov. 1954]; ZKP Akt 12/8, Sprawozdanie [Report]; ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 1, p. 42; Day 2, p. 72.

50 ZKP Akt 12/22, Protokół surowy obrad rozszerzonego Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich odbytego w Warszawie w dniach 16 i 17 grudnia 1953 [The Unamended Minutes of the Meeting of the Polish Composers' Union's Extended Managing Board, held in Warsaw on 16th-17th December 1953]. See also S. Wieczorek (2013). Od kakofonii dźwięków do wielkiej muzyki. Krytyka muzyczna socrealizmu o muzyce Witolda Lutosławskiego. *Res Facta Nova*, p. 222.

51 A 10-page list of works compiled by ZKP for possible performance at the festival is different from the one described by Lissa. AAN KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143, W sprawie repertuaru i przygotowań do II Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej [On the Repertoire of, and Preparations for, the 2nd Festival of Polish Music] (undated, unsigned, but includes a KC PZPR stamp and refers to an October 4, 1954 meeting); ZKP Akt 12/129, Utwory współczesnych kompozytorów polskich przewidziane przez ZKP do wykonywania w ramach II Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej [Pieces by Contemporary Polish Composers Selected by the PCU for Performance during the 2nd Festival of Polish Music].

Art, who normally praised such events as tremendous achievements, admitted that critiques of the festival were predominantly negative, due in part to boring and difficult compositions. He and others linked the relative paucity of quality pieces to the lack of knowledge of contemporary music elsewhere in the world, a seemingly stunning admission coming from a governmental official, but one given after his Ministry had granted approval for the creation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival.⁵²

1956 WARSAW AUTUMN FESTIVAL

As shown above, ineffective policies related to music education, performing ensembles, publications, and programming, as well as continuing tensions over aesthetic ideology were characteristic of Polish musical life at mid-decade. By 1955, many composers and other musicians were clearly dissatisfied with the current state of composition and musical life in Poland. Panufnik, of course, escaped in July 1954 due to his dissatisfaction with the cultural system. Baird, Lutosławski, Artur Malawski, and Kazimierz Wiłkomirski are among those who remained who spoke later of their intense displeasure with their country's musical life in the early 1950s.⁵³

As mentioned above, the decision to create an international contemporary music festival was made in late 1954, during Poland's cultural thaw. According to Kazimierz Sikorski, then the ZKP president, initial approval was granted only after he discussed the matter with Bolesław Bierut, the Party's leader. When the full ZKP gave its approval at its June 1955 general conference (responding to a resolution submitted by Baird and Serocki), KWKZ noted that organizational efforts had to begin immediately, since foreign ensembles needed to be contacted within the next month.⁵⁴

The union's initial efforts were rebuffed. Cyrankiewicz and officials at the Council of Ministers intervened in late 1955 to move the project forward. In the midst of planning, Sokorski resigned his position as Minister of Culture, to be succeeded by Karol Kuryluk. This shift undoubtedly caused delays as information about prior decisions needed to be shared with the new Minister. Baird and Serocki, no longer on the union's executive board, remained committed to the Festival's preparations. ZKP and KWKZ were the Festival's primary organizers, continuing their joint efforts from the 1955 Festival, although other governmental ministries and institutions also carried out certain tasks.⁵⁵

As with the 1955 Festival, this was not an affair that could be organized effortlessly. Despite initial steps taken to increase composers' knowledge of contemporary music, nearly all of them were still unaware of many recently written foreign compositions; in addition, many scores and recordings remained unavailable to them. Due to publicity problems, potential foreign performers were unfamiliar with most Polish compositions. No dedicated staff existed, leaving already overburdened ZKP employees to take on the additional work. The Festival's budget was not approved by MKiS until January 1956, preventing invitations from being sent in the timely manner needed by the major Western orchestras being approached.⁵⁶

Poland's other cultural institutions also frustrated the union's organizational endeavors. According to post-Festival evaluations within ZKP, concert programs were primarily chosen by conductors instead of members of the union, which hampered the incorporation of unfamiliar compositions. Polish orchestras resisted certain pieces – those by Hindemith were specifically mentioned in archival documents. Although the presence of works by Brahms and Tchaikovsky on the program encountered strong criticism both before and after the event, ZKP placed blame for this on MKiS, which had pressured the union to permit compositions by non-contemporary composers. Since the Festival's finances were controlled in large part by the Ministry, the union undoubtedly felt obligated to acquiesce to this demand.

52 ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 1, pp. 42, 66, 72; Day 2, 15, and T. Baird, *II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej* [The 2nd Festival of Polish Music].

53 B. Schäffer (1969). *Portret kompozytora*, in B. Schäffer (Ed.). *Artur Malawski. Życie i Twórczość*. Kraków: PWM, pp. 24, 28-29, 353; K. Wiłkomirski (1980). *Wspomnienia ciąg dalszy*. Kraków: PWM, p. 211; B. A. Varga (1976). *Lutosławski Profile*. London: Chester Music, pp. 8-9; Baird and Grzenkowicz. Op. cit., p. 29.

54 The resolution creating the Warsaw Autumn Festival passed with 26 yes votes and 1 abstention. Zofia Lissa was not in attendance when the vote was taken. ZKP Akt 12/8, Day 3, p. 9, 46, and *Lista członków zwyczajnych Związku Kompozytorów Polskich uprawnionych do głosowania* [List of PCU Ordinary Members Holding the Right to Vote]; Interview with Kazimierz Sikorski, 1986.

55 The organizers included ZKP, KWKZ, and an Organizing Committee of unknown membership and responsibility. Conductors and artistic directors of Polish orchestras were also involved. Baird and Grzenkowicz. Op. cit., p. 107; T. Kaczyński (undated). *Jesień Warszawskie*. Unpublished manuscript.

56 ZKP, Akt 12/9, *Sprawozdania z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od 6.vi.1955 r.* [Report on the Work of the PCU Managing Board for the Period until 6th June 1955], 3a.

KWKZ's haphazard efforts were also blamed for delays in exchanging information with performers, particularly those from Eastern Europe.⁵⁷ Moreover, lingering elements of socialist censorship seemed to affect the program, as some, but not all émigré Polish composers were featured. The Tatrai Quartet wished to present Palester's *Second String Quartet*, but it was not scheduled due to Palester's RFE connections. Two of Michał Spisak's works and one by Antoni Szałowski, however, were included.⁵⁸

Although the first Warsaw Autumn Festival has been discussed in detail elsewhere, suffice it to say that composers recognized it was only a first attempt at such a large-scale event, and that for future incarnations of the event, changes needed to be made in repertoire selection and organizational efficiency.⁵⁹ Moreover, many of the flaws exposed elsewhere in musical life still had to be addressed. Given the mid-decade condition of music education, cooperation between cultural institutions, socialist realist ideology, etc., all of which were of crucial importance to the Festival's success, it seems clear that the event had the potential to fail in multiple ways. That it took place at all is a testament, ultimately, to the good will of the Polish government and the efforts of ZKP.

Although the first Festival did not resolve every complication of Polish musical life, its accomplishments, including the exposure of Polish composers to rarely-heard music from other countries, proved that its continuation was worthy and essential. The government's ongoing support was, of course, invaluable. Although tensions between the government and ZKP, and even within the union itself, continued throughout the era of the Polish People's Republic, the Festival was soon recognized internationally as one of Europe's premiere contemporary music showcases. While such overwhelming success may

have been beyond the initial organizers' dreams, it played a vital role in Poland's emergence as an important player in the field of contemporary composition.

Despite the myriad of shortcomings that confronted Polish musical life in the first postwar decade, the collective efforts of a group of individuals belonging to disparate, occasionally antagonistic organizations – composers, musicologists, conductors, and government officials – resulted not in the complete overthrow of undesirable institutional controls, but in the redirection of policy to permit greater independence in the field of music. In an era when nearly everything seemed to be politicized, the ability of ZKP's leadership to shift its agenda towards compositional freedom and the union's willingness to be intensely engaged in fulfilling its aspirations proved to be of lasting significance not only in Poland but in the field of contemporary music internationally.

SOURCES

⁵⁷ ZKP Akt 12/23, Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 1 i 2 grudnia 1956 r.; ZKP Akt 12/9, Sprawozdania, 3b, 3c; J. Jasieński (1956). *Warszawska Jesień. Trybuna Ludu*, 8 October; L. Kydryński (1956). *O dziwnych utworach i ciekawym festiwalu. Przegląd*, 30 September.

⁵⁸ Spisak, still a ZKP member, came to the Festival; he had not been in Poland since 1948. In contrast, Palester, Szałowski, and Panufnik were expelled from the union after they decided to remain in Western Europe. *Biuletyn Informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1956), no. 3; ZKP Akt 11/1, Letter from Tatrai Quartet to J. Jasieński, May 1956.

⁵⁹ ZKP Akt 12/23, Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniach 1 i 2 grudnia 1956 r. [The Minutes of the Plenary Session of the Polish Composers' Union's Extended Managing Board, held on 1st – 2nd December 1956]

Archive of New Acts (AAN), KC PZPR 237/XVIII-120 [Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party].

AAN, KC PZPR 237/XVIII-143.

AAN, MKiS 366-1 2768 [Ministry of Culture and Art].

Archive of Polish Composers, Warsaw University (AKP), Korespondencja Z. Lissa (1945-1955) [Z. Lissa Correspondence].

AKP, Palester Audycje RWE [Palester. Radio Free Europe Broadcast].

AKP, Zofia Lissa: Korespondencja polskojęzyczna [Zofia Lissa: Correspondence in Polish].

Audycje Polskiego Radia od 16.V do 22.V. 1955 Roku (1955) [Polish Radio Broadcasts 16th – 22nd May 1955], *Radio i Świat* [Radio and the World], No. 20.

Biblioteka Narodowa (BN) [National Library] Concert Program Collection, 1945-1956.

Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich [Polish Composers' Information Bulletin], 1952, No. 2, 1956, No. 3.

Konferencja kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim (1949) [Composers' Conference in Łagów Lubuski], *Ruch Muzyczny* [Musical Movement]. Vol. 5, No. 14, p. 30.

Mycielski, Z. (1999). *Dziennik 1950-1959* [Diary 1950-1959]. Warsaw: Iskry.

PWM Katalog 1945-1955 (1955). [PWM Catalog]. Kraków: PWM.

Polish Composers' Union (ZKP), Akt 11/1, I Warszawska Jesień 1956. Korespondencja [Warsaw Autumn 1956. Correspondence].

ZKP, Akt 12/4, IV Walny Zjazd ZKP (20, 21, 22.XI.1948) [ZKP General Conference 20th, 21st, 22nd November 1948].

ZKP, Akt 12/5, V Walny Zjazd (16, 17, 18.VI.1950 Wwa) [ZKP General Conference 16th, 17th, 18th June 1950 Warsaw].

ZKP, Akt 12/6, VI Walny Zjazd 1951 (11, 12, 13.XII.1951 Wwa) [ZKP General Conference 11th, 12th, 13th December 1951 Warsaw].

ZKP, Akt 12/7, VII Walny Zjazd (24, 25, 26.IV.1954 Wwa) [ZKP General Conference 24th, 25th, 26th April 1954 Warsaw].

ZKP, Akt 12/8, VIII Walny Zjazd (4, 5, 6.VI.1955) [ZKP General Conference 4th, 5th, 6th June 1955].

ZKP, Akt 12/9, IX Walny Zjazd (9, 10.III.1957) [ZKP General Conference 9th, 10th March 1957].

ZKP, Akt 12/22, Zebranie plenarne ZG ZKP. Protokoły posiedzeń 1946-1954r. [ZKP Executive Board Plenary Meetings. Minutes 1946-1954].

ZKP, Akt 12/23 Zebrania plenarne ZG ZKP 1955-1963 [ZKP Executive Board Plenary Meetings 1955-1963].

ZKP, Akt 12/129, II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Recenzje - wycinki prasowe - 1955 r. [2nd Festival of Polish Music. Review – Press Excerpts – 1955].

REFERENCES

- Baird, T. and Grzenkowicz, I. (1982). *Rozmowy, szkice, refleksji* [Conversations, Sketches, Reflections]. Kraków: PWM.
- Bolesławska, B. (2015). *The Life and Works of Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991)*, Richard J. Reisner (Trans.). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bylander, C. (1989). The Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music 1956-1961: Its Goals, Structures, Programs and People. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Czekanowska, A. (2015). *Ku Niedalekiej Przyszłości. Z Doświadczeń Badacza i Nauczyciela 1947-2002* [Toward the Recent Past. Teaching and Research Experiences 1947-2002]. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk.
- Dziebowska, E. (Ed.), *Polska Współczesna Kultura Muzyczna 1944-1964* [Polish Contemporary Musical Culture 1944-1964]. Kraków: PWM.
- Gąsiorowska, M. (1999). *Bacewicz*. Kraków: PWM.
- Gwizdalanka, D. and Meyer, K. (2003). *Lutosławski. Droga do dojrzałości* [Lutosławski. Road to Maturity]. Kraków: PWM.
- Helman, Z. (1999). *Roman Palester. Twórca i dzieło* [Roman Palester. Creator and Work]. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica.
- Jakelski, L. (2017). *Making Music in Cold War Poland. The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956-1968*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jasien'ski, J. (1956). *Warszawska Jesień* [Warsaw Autumn]. *Trybuna Ludu*, 8 October.
- Kaczyński, T. (undated). *Jesień Warszawskie* [Warsaw Autumns]. Unpublished manuscript.
- Kydryński, L. (1956). O dziwnych utworach i ciekawym festiwalu [About Strange Works and an Interesting Festival]. *Przekrój* [Cross-Section], 30 September.
- Lindstedt, I. (2001). *Dodekafonia i serializm w twórczości kompozytorów polskich XX wieku* [Dodecaphony and Serialism in Twentieth-Century Polish Composition]. Lublin: Polihymnia.
- Lissa, Z. (1954). Z perspektywy dziesięciolecia [From the Perspective of the Last Decade], *Muzyka*. Vol. 5, Nos. 7-8, pp. 3-25.
- Lutosławski, W. (2008). *Zapiski* [Notes], Zbigniew Skowron (Ed.). Warsaw: Witold Lutosławski Society.
- Mycielski, Z. (1955). O polskiej twórczości muzycznej dziesięciolecie [Polish Music Composition in the Last Decade], *Muzyka* [Music]. Vol. 6, Nos. 7-8, pp. 3-22.
- Paja-Stach, J. (1997). *Lutosławski i jego styl muzyczny* [Lutosławski and His Musical Style]. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica.
- Schaffer, B. (Ed.) (1969), *Artur Malawski. Życie i Twórczość* [Artur Malawski. Life and Work]. Kraków: PWM.
- Siedlecki, Z. (1956). Nie ma dwu statutów [There Are Not Two Statutes]. *Trybuna Ludu* [People's Tribune], 14 May.
- Sitarz, A. (2012). In the Shadow of PWM (the Polish Music Publishing House). *Musica Iagellonica*, Vol. 6, pp. 225-246.
- Varga, B. A. *Lutosławski Profile*. London: Chester Music, 1976.
- Vest, L. C. (2014). The Discursive Foundations of the Polish Musical Avant-Garde at Midcentury: Aesthetics of Progress, Meaning, and National Identity. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.
- Wieczorek, S. (2013). Od kakofonii dźwięków do wielkiej muzyki. Krytyka muzyczna socrealizmu o muzyce Witolda Lutosławskiego [From a Cacophony of Sounds to Great Music. Socialist Realist Music Criticism about Witold Lutosławski's Music]. *Res Facta Nova*.
- Wiślocki, S. (2000). *Życie jednego muzyka* [The Life of One Musician]. Warsaw: RYTM.

Zieliński, T. (1966). *Tadeusz Baird*. Kraków: PWM.
http://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4-s123-145/Dzieje_Najnowsze_kwartalnik_poswiecony_historii_XX_wieku_-r2006-t38-n4-s123-145.pdf.
<http://palester.polmic.pl/index.php/pl/felietony-wolnej-europy>.
<http://www.serocki.polmic.pl/index.php/en/biografia/dziecinstwo-i-mlodosc>.

Cindy Bylander, Ph.D., is a musicologist and independent scholar living in Fort Collins, Colorado, USA. Her research interest is in Polish music since World War II, particularly the role of the Polish Composers' Union and various music festivals in Cold War Poland. She has received the Polish Composers' Union Honorary Award (2017), American Musicological Society Janet Levy Fund grant (2017), National Coalition of Independent Scholars' Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize (runner-up, 2016), and a Fulbright grant for research in Poland. She is the author of *Krzysztof Penderecki: A Bio-Bibliography* and has recently published articles in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, *Polish Review*, *Musical Quarterly*, *Musicology Today*, and *Polish Music Since 1945*.