Anna Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk

CENSORSHIP

OF LITERATURE IN POST-WAR POLAND:

IN LIGHT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL BULLETINS FOR CENSORS FROM 1945 TO 1956

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I dedicate this book to my mother

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INTRODUCTION

Censorship is like a long-time mistress.
You're often fed up with her, sometimes she's tiresome
and frustrating,
and you know her inside out.
And yet, it's difficult to leave her.[1]

Some Remarks about Censorship in Poland in the Years 1944–1990

My book is about censorship in Poland in the years 1945–1956.[2] It does not, of course, describe all aspects of the activity of the institution responsible for limiting speech in that period, as such a work would require several thousand pages of elaboration. In the book, I mainly focus on the ways of censoring literature described in the confidential Bulletins for censors.[3]

The efforts to establish a censorship institution in Poland began even before the end of World War II. The first censorship unit was created as early as 1944. In 1945, Centralne Biuro Kontroli Prasy (CBKP, the Central Press Control Bureau) was formed. In that same year, it was renamed Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (GUKPPiW, the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances), and in 1981 – Główny Urząd Kontroli Publikacji i Widowisk (GUKPiW, the Main Office for the Control of Publications

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[1] "Wypowiedzi pracowników UKPPiW," *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* no. 1 (37), January 1955, p. 63 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 110). A statement by one of the censors quoted in a survey conducted by the editors of the Bulletin on the tenth anniversary of the existence of the censorship office.

[2] This book is based on a monograph originally published in Polish in 2021 (*Książki z Mysiej. Literatura w świetle poufnych Biuletynów urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956*, Warszawa: IBL PAN). In this revised edition, the author added an introduction and explanatory notes, while also expanding some parts and shortening others, but the most significant modification has been adapting the book to non-Polish-language readers.

[3] Throughout the book, the word is capitalized when it refers to the discussed Bulletins for censors.

and Public Performances). Apart from the GUKPPiW, censors worked in the field, and in voivodeship or district censorship offices scattered all over Poland. They comprised a network that enveloped the country and constituted the basic censorship institutions controlling the written word, media, as well as intellectual and artistic life in post-war Poland.

The Russians had a deep influence on shaping the censorship system in Poland. The employees of Glavlit (Central Board for Literature and Press Affairs), Piotr Gładin and Kazimierz Jarmuż, came to Lublin in 1944 to take part in the initial work on the establishment of censorship, including the creation of documents defining the scope of the institution's activity on Polish territory. The censorship office was to be subordinate to the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party (KC PPR) and, from 1948, to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (KC PZPR, which emerged when the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party were combined). Institutional censorship in Poland was reliant on the USSR, although the degree of that dependency varied throughout its operation.

Censorship in the form developed in the 1940s and early 1950s functioned practically until the end of the Polish People's Republic,[4] although not always in equal intensity. After the socio-political upheavals of 1956, 1968 and 1970, it usually eased for some time, resulting in periods of so-called "Thaw" (*odwilż*). Attempts were also made to fight it through open protests and the creation of an alternative publishing circuit, so-called "second circulation" (*drugi obieg*): a system of underground publishing houses, which printed outside the scrutiny of censorship. During the entire period of the Office's existence, there was preventive censorship – assessing materials before publication, and secondary censorship – evaluating materials already published.

Institutional censorship was abolished in Poland by the decree of April 11, 1990, which came into force on June 6 of the same year.[5]

It is worth remembering that post-war censorship functioned in Poland against the officially binding constitution of March 1921, recognized by the government. According to its article 105: "Freedom of the press is guaranteed. Cen-

[4] The Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, henceforth PRL) was the official name of Poland from 1952 until 1989. From 1918 to 1952, the official name was the Republic of Poland (Rzeczpospolita Polska, henceforth RP). People's Poland (Polska Ludowa) was a semi-official, propagandistic name of the state from 1944 to 1989.

[5] "Ustawa z dnia 11 kwietnia 1990 r. o uchyleniu ustawy o kontroli publikacji i widowisk, zniesieniu organów tej kontroli oraz o zmianie ustawy – Prawo prasowe" (Dz.U. 1990, nr 27, poz. 173, s. 378–389, http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19900290173 (accessed July 27, 2021)).

sorship, or the system of licensing printed matter, may not be introduced."[6] Similarly, when the constitution of the Polish People's Republic was enacted on July 22, 1952, the existence of censorship was contrary to its article 71, which read: "The Polish People's Republic shall guarantee its citizens freedom of speech, of the press, of meetings and assemblies, of processions and demonstrations."[7]

Research Assumptions

The censor has no right to abuse the scissors,
he is not allowed to trim a work according to his
literary or political taste.[8]

During the period of institutional control of speech, which was imposed in the Polish People's Republic in the years 1944–1990, every cultural text related to literature, journalism, painting, music, theater or film, was subjected to assessment by functionaries of the censorship office.[9] The supervisory system was total, at least according to the assumptions of its creators: there were attempts to extend the state "care" to all products of human creative activity, as a result of which "censorship numbers were found on bread stickers."[10] However, the invigilation apparatus designed in this way was not perfect; for example, underground publications and samizdat issued without state supervision found their way to the publishing market. This phenomenon appeared on a larger scale in the 1970s, but examples of such activities can already be found in the earlier

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[6] "Ustawa z dnia 17 marca 1921 r. – Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," http://libr.sejm.gov.pl/tek01/txt/kpol/e1921.html (accessed September 1, 2021).

[7] "Konstytucja Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej uchwalona przez Sejm Ustawodawczy w dniu 22 lipca 1952 r.," http://libr.sejm.gov.pl/tek01/txt/kpol/e1952a.html (accessed September 1, 2021).

[8] "Ocena pracy cenzury prewencyjnej. Uwagi ogólne," *Biuletyn Instrukcyjny* no. 1, May 1945, p. 1v ("*Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe* 1945–1951" (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4)).

[9] On the difficulties of defining the word cluster "cultural text" see, e.g.: *Słownik pojęć i tekstów kultury. Terytoria słowa*, Third Revised Edition, ed. E. Szczęsna, Warszawa: WSiP, [2004], p. 307 et seq.; S. Żółkiewski, *Teksty kultury. Studia*, Warszawa: PWN, 1988; M. Rygielska, "O 'tekście kultury,'" *Zeszyty Etnologii Wrocławskiej* 2015, no. 1, pp. 27–43; cf. also S.J. Żurek, "Koncepcja podstawy programowej z języka polskiego," [in:] *Podstawa programowa z komentarzami* vol. 2: *Język polski w szkole podstawowej, gimnazjum i liceum*, Warszawa: Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 2009, pp. 55–59.

[10] "Druki ulotne," *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* no. 8, August 1952, p. 28 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 81).

period.[11] Books published by Instytut Literacki and other émigré publishing houses also reached Poland, smuggled across the borders (which involved considerable difficulty and risk).[12]

Aware of the existence of those "islands of freedom," I have chosen to focus on the art which was, to varying degrees, enslaved and mutilated; the art which was born in direct confrontation with the censorship office. This choice was a consequence of my multi-year research into constraints put on freedom of speech. In my earlier works, I also described post-war Polish culture in the context of the activities of the censorship office,[13] but in this case, I decided to investigate poorly explored sources, namely, the confidential Bulletins for censors. I was primarily interested in the articles published there devoted to fiction, although my research also covered materials on non-fiction and other texts of culture.

Once again, my several years of studying the Bulletins confirmed that it is impossible to discuss the history of the literature of People's Poland without outlining the political context. This is evident from reading the articles published there, which did not conceal the fact that the reviews of literary, film or dramatic works were meant to bolster ideology. Censors discussed specific texts, referring to current political events and adjusting their assessment to the guidelines formulated by the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party, and from 1948, the Polish United Workers' Party.

Taking into account both of these contexts – cultural and political – had a fundamental influence on the shape of this book. An additional role was also played by the way in which I decided to present materials published in censorship periodicals. Bulletins, like any serial publications, can be read and analyzed chronologically – according to the order of their appearance – or problematically – devoting attention to selected topics and questions; both types of reading perform slightly different functions. The former allows us to look at the periodicals in their historical development; the latter, to isolate and discuss only the topics

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[11] W. Kajtoch [W. K.], "Drugi obieg," [in:] *Encyklopedia książki* vol. 1: *Eseje. A–J*, eds. A. Żbikowska-Migoń, M. Skalska-Zlat, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UWr, 2017, pp. 539–540.

[12] Instytut Literacki (The Literary Institute) – one of the most important Polish émigré publishing houses, established in Rome in 1946 (in 1947, it was moved to Maisons-Laffitte near Paris). It was founded by Jerzy Giedroyc, Zofia Hertz, Zygmunt Hertz, Józef Czapski and Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, and published many Polish and foreign writers whose works were banned in communist Poland (e.g., Czesław Miłosz, Witold Gombrowicz, George Orwell) as well as very important magazines: *Kultura* and *Zeszyty Historyczne*.

[13] See, e.g.: A. Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk, "The censorship review in the Polish People's Republic as cryptotext," *The Polish Review* 2019, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 31–49; eadem, *"Czytelnik" ocenzurowany. Literatura w kryptotekstach – recenzjach cenzorskich okresu stalinizmu (na materiale GUKPPiW z 1950 roku)*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPN, 2018.

of interest. However, even if we forgo a linear reading and focus on selected problems, considering the chronology is still possible during the presentation of the material, and in the case of texts so politically entangled, it even seems necessary.

Bearing this in mind, I have adopted a problem-based system, devoting subsequent chapters to separate topics, the selection of which organizes the main structure of the book. Although the chronological order has been applied to the presentation of the censorship documents only in a few cases, this system is strongly present in all parts of the work. My goal was to analyze the material in relation to the time in which it was created and in the context of the cultural and political situation. In this way, I have avoided "reading out of context,"[14] whether it was historical, political, social, or cultural factors. I hope that I have reconciled the two systems, because I do not believe that a "pure alternative: either by chronology or by problems"[15] could have been employed.

This book could not possibly cover all the topics that had surfaced over the eleven years of my research.[16] However, I have tried to point out the problems that garnered particular attention, recurred in the censors' "reflections" or shed new light on previous knowledge about "Mysia Street and its environs" (throughout its existence, the Main Office for the Control was located at 5 Mysia Street in Warsaw).[17]

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[14] A. Nasiłowska, "Problemowo czy chronologicznie? Kilka argumentów," *Zeszyty Szkolne. Edukacja humanistyczna* 2007, no. 2, p. 47 (The author discusses two systems in the teaching of literature in secondary schools, but certain insights and findings seem to be universal and applicable to the teaching and research of various humanities disciplines, not only at the level of school education).

[15] Ibidem, p. 48.

[16] The selection I had to make will be complemented by the "Appendix" (forthcoming) in which I record all the authors and their works appearing in the Bulletins.

[17] I use this expression in reference to censorship understood as an institutionalized phenomenon occurring in Poland in the years 1944–1990. It is worth noting that the building at Mysia Street, which housed the censorship office, had not been completed until 1950. When the Central Press Control Bureau moved from Lublin to Warsaw, it first took the building at Szeroka Street, then 31 Koszykowa Street (see: K. Kamińska-Chełminiak, "Przeniesienie Centralnego Biura Kontroli Prasy z Lublina do Warszawy," [in:] eadem, *Cenzura w Polsce 1944–1960. Organizacja. Kadry. Metody pracy*, Warszawa: Wydział Dziennikarstwa, Informacji i Bibliologii UW i Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2019, pp. 73–75). The Bureau's new office in Warsaw was mentioned in the Bulletin from June 1945; this may have been the premises at 31 Koszykowa Street, to which it moved in August 1945 (see: "Przemówienie dyrektora ob. Zabłudowskiego," *Biuletyn Instrukcyjny* no. 2, June 1945, p. 18 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 210)). While the censorship office was located at 5 Mysia Street, in some publications we can find the address 6/8 Bracka Street – both refer to the same block; I thank PhD, Eng. of Architecture Tomasz Majda for the consultation on this matter (see, e.g.: M. Leśniakowska, *Architektura w Warszawie*, Third Revised Edition, Warszawa: Arkada. Pracownia Historii

Considering the above, I have divided the book into three main parts, preceded by the "Introduction" and concluded with the "Summary."

In the first part, entitled "In Search of a Definition: What Were the Confidential Bulletins for Censors? Characteristics of the Source Material," I have presented basic information about the Bulletins: the purposes they served, their structure and the nature of the material presented in them. The reflections end with a definition of confidential Bulletins for censors.

The main objective of the second part, "Literature and Current Literary Phenomena," was to reconstruct the picture of literary life as it was presented in the Bulletins in the years 1945–1956. I was interested in how texts that were produced in the post-war geopolitical conditions were discussed, as well as in the attitude towards the past – broadly understood as the domestic and foreign heritage, from the early literary activity to the texts describing the war and occupation. Do the periodicals contain familiar strategies with which "Mysia Street" attempted to train or eliminate authors? Did subsequent issues of the magazine reflect the changes that the post-war literary era was undergoing? To what extent did contemporary writing constitute an important segment of the Bulletins' reflections?

In order to answer these and other questions, it was necessary to include not only materials discussing literary phenomena, but also those which explored other issues, especially cultural ones. In the last part entitled "'Camera Censorica.' What Else Was Discussed in the Bulletins?" I briefly outlined the matters that were not the subject of previous discussion, including those concerning film, radio and plays, as well as the institutional base of control. The last section of the main considerations is devoted to censors who were also artists. In the chapter "Before the Proper Summary, or… the Censor as an Artist: The Literary Work of the Functionaries of 'Mysia Street and Its Environs,'" I provide "evidence" for the literary bent of the political functionaries, as the censors were called in the 1950s. Employees of the Main Office and those in field branches scattered around Poland not only practiced the difficult skill of controlling others; some of them aspired to create their own literary works. The main reflections are concluded with one such poem.

In the "Summary," I synthesized the results of my observations on how literature and other arts were presented in the confidential Bulletins for censors produced from 1945 to 1956.

The book ends with "Bibliography," including the List of Authors and Works Documented in the Bulletins for Censors from 1945–1956 (Selection) and the List of the Bulletins for Censors and *Biblioteczki Biuletynu Informacyjno-Instrukcyjnego GUKPPiW* – I treat these elements as inherent parts of the story of communist censorship that require no comment.

Sztuki, 2005, p. 104; J. Rutkowska, R. Zdziarska, H. Szwankowska, *Warszawa. Przewodnik*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sport i Turystyka, 1966, p. 296).

State of the Art

Compiled information is fruit for thought,
therefore, it is harmful.[18]

The bibliography on literary issues discussed in the confidential Bulletins for censors from 1945–1956 is relatively modest.

The journal is part of a large collection of training and instructional materials produced by "Mysia Street" and most often appears in this context in the statements of researchers describing the specificity and division of labor in the institution. The training and instructional materials created in the Main Office were investigated by the representatives of different fields – historians, historians of the press and the publishing market, political analysts, bibliologists and library scholars, including Zbigniew Romek, Bogusław Gogol, Dariusz Jarosz, Kamila Kamińska-Chełminiak, Daria Nałęcz, Piotr Nowak, Andrzej Paczkowski, Stanisław Adam Kondek, Aleksander Pawlicki and Robert Looby.[19] In some of the studies, issues related to the publishing market appeared, however, the censors' "reflections" on specific literary works or analyses of the country's cultural life presented in the Bulletins were only on the margins of the main deliberations (if they were discussed at all).

The first literary studies fully devoted to the Bulletins were published by Kamila Budrowska. In 2011, she published the article "Tajne pismo cenzury. *Biuletyn*

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[18] "Uzasadnienie ingerencji," *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Szkoleniowy* no. 1, October 30, 1948, fol. 80r (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4).

[19] See, e.g.: Z. Romek, *Cenzura a nauka historyczna w Polsce 1944–1970*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010; B. Gogol, *"Fabryka fałszywych tekstów." Z działalności Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w Gdańsku w latach 1945–1958*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2012; D. Jarosz, "Zapisy cenzury z lat 1948–1955," *Regiony* 1996, no. 3, pp. 2–37; K. Kamińska-Chełminiak, *Cenzura w Polsce 1944–1960…*; *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy 1945–1949*, compiled by D. Nałęcz, Warszawa: ISP PAN, 1994, series *Dokumenty do Dziejów PRL* issue 6; P. Nowak, *Cenzura wobec rynku książki. Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk w Poznaniu w latach 1946–1955*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2012; A. Paczkowski, "Cenzura 1946–1949. Statystyka działalności," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 1996, issue 116, pp. 22–57; S.A. Kondek, *Władza i wydawcy. Polityczne uwarunkowania produkcji książek w Polsce w latach 1944–1949*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1993; idem, *Papierowa rewolucja. Oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948–1955*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1999; A. Pawlicki, *Kompletna szarość. Cenzura w latach 1965–1972. Instytucja i ludzie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2001; R. Looby, *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland*, Leiden (Netherlands)–Boston (Massachusetts): Brill Rodopi, 2015.

Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny w latach 1952–1955"[20] [The secret journal of censorship. *Informational and Instructional Bulletin* between 1952–1955]. In the subsequent essay, "Wewnętrzne pismo cenzury. *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* w latach 1952–1955" [The internal journal of censorship. *Informational and Instructional Bulletin* between 1952–1955], the researcher offered an overview of the content of the indicated resource,[21] while in the article "Od orderu do 'zapisu.' Jak GUKPPiW oceniał pisarzy w latach 1952–1955?" [From honors to "the Index." How did the GUKPPiW rate writers in the years 1952–1955?], she focused on a specific issue, namely, the "relationship: writer – state," which was precarious and ambiguous in People's Poland.[22] She used the Bulletin records as the basis for her considerations.

Three years later Budrowska published "archival material from the fonds of the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications, and Public Performances from mid-1955" on Kazimiera Iłłakowiczówna's work – the text indicated came from a Bulletin issued in July of that year.[23] Work on the confidential Bulletins from 1955 continued in the Białystok fonds. Its effect was a selection of documents from the journal from that year, published under Budrowska's editorship.[24] It should be added that already in 2009, the researcher had made several references to the advisories in question, and in 2013, she pointed to the latest findings on what period these confidential advisories were written.[25]

In the works mentioned so far, the main focus was on the Bulletins from 1952–1955. In the resources of the State Archive in Gdańsk, I found subsequent

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[20] K. Budrowska, "Tajne pismo cenzury. *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* w latach 1952–1955," [in:] *Komunikowanie się Polaków w latach 1944–1989*, eds. K. Stępnik, M. Rajewski, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2011, pp. 51–61.

[21] Eadem, "Wewnętrzne pismo cenzury. *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* w latach 1952–1955," [in:] eadem, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze w Polsce Ludowej w latach 40. i 50. XX wieku*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Alter Studio, 2014, pp. 95–106. See also: eadem, "Przeszłość ocenzurowana. GUKPPiW a obraz historii Polski w literaturze lat 1945–1958," [in:] eadem, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze w Polsce Ludowej…*, pp. 28–29.

[22] Eadem, "Od orderu do 'zapisu.' Jak GUKPPiW oceniał pisarzy w latach 1952–1955?," [in:] *Kariera pisarza w PRL-u*, eds. M. Budnik, K. Budrowska, E. Dąbrowicz, K. Kościewicz, Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2014, series *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL* vol. 4, p. 79.

[23] Eadem, "O twórczości Kazimiery Iłłakowiczówny. Materiał archiwalny z zespołu Głównego Urzędu Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk z połowy 1955 r.," *Napis. Pismo poświęcone literaturze okolicznościowej i użytkowej* 2017, series 23, pp. 364–386.

[24] *"Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny." Wybór dokumentów z 1955 r.*, eds. K. Budrowska, M. Budnik, W. Gardocki, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Alter Studio, 2018, series *Cenzura w PRL. Archiwalia* vol. 3.

[25] K. Budrowska, *Writers, Literature and Censorship in Poland. 1948–1956*, Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020, p. 27 et seq.; K. Budrowska, *Zatrzymane przez cenzurę. Inedita z połowy wieku XX*, Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2013, series *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL* vol. 2, p. 33.

issues of the journal (from 1945, 1949, 1950 and 1956), which at that time had been poorly studied or lacked any analyses. This was an important addition to the considerations, which helped complement the previous findings. The results of my research were published in 2017 and 2019 in the articles "'O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką' – biuletyny urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956 w perspektywie literaturoznawczej. Rekonesans" ["For a higher level of work on the book" – bulletins for censors from 1945 to 1956 from a literary studies perspective. A reconnaissance study] and "Bulletins of the Polish censorship office from 1945 to 1956. A reconnaissance study."[26] The resources of the State Archive in Poznań also turned out to be helpful; they contained other issues, which were little known and absent from literary studies. I presented the results of my work on the voluminous folder containing 291 folia of Bulletins from the years 1945–1951 in the article "Archiwalia 'pionierskiego' okresu powojennej cenzury. Literatura w poufnych biuletynach urzędu cenzury (1945–1951)"[27] [Archival records of the "pioneer" period of postwar censorship. Literature in the confidential bulletins for censors (1945–1951)].

In 2020, I published two more texts about the Bulletins. This time I examined the "Competition for a censorship review of Wanda Wasilewska's novel *Rzeki Płoną*," which was announced in one of the Bulletins published in 1952.[28] In a popular science article entitled "'Cenzura jest jak stara kochanka…,' czyli o czym pisano w poufnych poradnikach dla cenzorów" ["Censorship is like a long-time mistress…," or the content of confidential advisories for censors],

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[26] A. Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk, "'O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką' – biuletyny urzędu cenzury z lat 1945–1956 w perspektywie literaturoznawczej. Rekonesans," [in:] *Cenzura w PRL. Analiza zjawiska*, eds. Z. Romek, K. Kamińska-Chełminiak, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2017, p. 61–74; eadem, "Bulletins of the Polish censorship office from 1945 to 1956. A reconnaissance study," *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 2019, no. 4, pp. 311–331 (this is a slightly revised and expanded version of the 2017 article cited above).

[27] Eadem, "Archiwalia 'pionierskiego' okresu powojennej cenzury. Literatura w poufnych biuletynach urzędu cenzury (1945–1951)," *Sztuka Edycji. Studia Tekstologiczne i Edytorskie* 2021, issue 2 (20), pp. 51–62; see also: "*Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe* 1945–1951" (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4). At this point, I would like to correct the incomplete information I gave in my article "'O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką'…": I wrote there that Daria Nałęcz did not provide the file reference numbers of the Bulletins from 1945 and did not characterize their contents; indeed there was no characteristic of the collections, however, the reference numbers were given on p. 45, which I overlooked (see: *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy…*, p. 45).

[28] A. Wiśniewska-Grabarczyk, "Konkurs na recenzję cenzorską powieści Wandy Wasilewskiej pt. *Rzeki płoną*. Materiał archiwalny z poufnego biuletynu dla cenzorów z roku 1952," *Bibliotekarz Podlaski* 2020, issue 1, pp. 215–233, https://bibliotekarzpodlaski.pl/index.php/bp/article/view/427/489 (accessed January 21, 2021).

I synthesized the results of previous research, while also examining the censors' own creative work presented in the advisories.[29]

In recent years there have been several literary studies articles based on instructional materials from "Mysia Street." One of them is Barbara Tyszkiewicz's text from 2016, entitled "Sztuka czytania między wierszami. Z problematyki cenzorskich instruktaży drugiej połowy lat 70."[30] [The art of reading between the lines: on censorship instructions from the second half of the 1970s]. The researcher studied *Informacje Instruktażowe* from this very period and analyzed cultural problems presented there. *Sygnały* – another type of instructional document, which featured typescripts of contested texts – was the subject of Budrowska's article from 2014. She described the material deposited in the GUKPPiW as "a confidential, internal bulletin of the office."[31] Training materials were also used by such authors as Wiktor Gardocki and Joanna Hobot.[32] However, despite the frequent convergence of nomenclature, not all instructional archives analyzed in the above-mentioned articles could be defined as "Bulletins for censors."[33]

Source Material

Not a single word (generally speaking) shall be printed or distributed without our scrutiny or knowledge.[34]

The basic source material used in the book were Bulletins for censors issued in the years 1945–1956. These documents are deposited in several state archives in Poland, e.g., in Gdańsk, Poznań and the Central Archives of Mod-

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[29] Eadem, "'Cenzura jest jak stara kochanka…,' czyli o czym pisano w poufnych poradnikach dla cenzorów," *Informator Polski* 2020, no. 3–4, pp. 13–16, https://www.federacja-polonia.dk/pliki/pdf/IP-110.pdf (accessed January 21, 2021).

[30] B. Tyszkiewicz, "Sztuka czytania między wierszami. Z problematyki cenzorskich instruktaży drugiej połowy lat 70.," [in:] *"Sztuka czytania między wierszami." Cenzura w komunikacji literackiej w Polsce w latach 1965–1989*, eds. K. Budrowska, M. Kotowska-Kachel, Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2016, series *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL* vol. 6, pp. 127–158.

[31] K. Budrowska, "O niestosownych zastosowaniach literatury przez cenzurę PRL," [in:] eadem, *Studia i szkice o cenzurze w Polsce Ludowej…*, p. 107.

[32] W. Gardocki, *Cenzura wobec literatury polskiej w latach osiemdziesiątych XX w.*, Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2019, series *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL* vol. 8; J. Hobot, *Gra z cenzurą w poezji Nowej Fali (1968–1976)*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2000.

[33] Below I present my own definition of Bulletins for censors, which, I hope, will serve as a stimulus for further genre and classification study on instructional materials produced by the censorship office.

[34] "Z krajowej odprawy w GUKP," *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* no. 7, July 1952, p. 15 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 84).

ern Records in Warsaw.[35] I have compared the individual issues of the periodicals stored in the above-mentioned centers and can confirm that there are no major differences between them; most of the deviations that I have noticed, e.g., missing pages in some of the issues, were hardly intentional action on the part of the editors of the magazine, but had to do with archival work done later or some unforeseen circumstances or mistakes.[36] Some of the copies bear handwritten annotations, which, of course, cannot be treated as a difference in the actual content of the periodical.[37] The hypothesis of variance in the vocabulary used in different copies of the same issue of the Bulletin requires further research.[38]

The oldest Bulletin I have located is dated May 1945, while the last one comes from February 1956. In total, I have analyzed all the Bulletins from the years 1945–1956 that I was able to find in the archives, i.e., four complete years from 1952 to 1955, twelve issues a year (some appeared as double issues); eleven other issues (or possibly thirteen, which is discussed below) – one each

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[35] In this book, I have primarily made references to the resources of the Gdańsk archives, because I studied them first and they formed the basis of my initial research of the subject, see: Archiwum Państwowe Gdańsk (State Archives in Gdańsk), fonds: Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (The Voivodeship Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances; hereafter cited as APG, WUKPPiW). See also: Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (State Archives in Poznań), fonds: Wojewódzki Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (The Voivodeship Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances; hereafter cited as APP, WUKPPiW); Archiwum Akt Nowych (Central Archives of Modern Records), fonds: Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (The Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances; hereafter cited as AAN, GUKPPiW).

[36] Some of the issues have missing pages, e.g., page 23 is missing from the April 1953 issue of the AAN Bulletin, while the August issue of the same year has no page XIII; in the Gdańsk resources, in the June/July 1953 issue of the Bulletin there is no errata, which can be found in the same issue housed in the AAN (the page is clipped between pages 30 and 31); two copies of the Bulletin from March 1950 included in the Poznań resources in the folder "*Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe* 1945–1951" contain no "Addendum," which preceded that same issue found in the AAN – this is a significant omission, as the "Addendum" reported a delay in publishing the issue, which eventually came out not, as the title page indicates, in March, but in May (see: *Biuletyn Szkoleniowy* no. 1, March (May) 1950, p. 1 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 328)).

[37] Cf., e.g., annotations made on the last page of *Biuletyn Instrukcyjny* no. 2 from June 1945, held in the APP (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4, fol. 13r) and lack of these in the copy stored in APG (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 210, p. 19).

[38] See, e.g.: an excerpt about "things of interference" and "things of interpretation" in the chapter "On the Works of Kazimiera Iłłakowiczówna."

from 1950 and 1951, and two each from 1945, 1948, 1949, and 1956; and one undated Bulletin, referenced only with the number 4 (prepared certainly after November 1946 and before October 30, 1948). Due to the lack of the title page, it is difficult to determine whether two additional documents, i.e., ["Materiały z odprawy"; Briefing materials] and "Na marginesie narodowej dyskusji" [On the margin of the national discussion], filed in the folder "*Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe* 1945–1951", can be regarded as two subsequent issues of the periodical in question.[39] It is possible considering that both texts were placed in the folder with other Bulletins; furthermore, this collection, as well as others, contain the so-called special issues presenting transcripts of conferences, briefings and meetings. It seems, however, that it is too early to settle the status of these "problematic" materials, which could have found their way into this collection accidentally.[40]

The discussed periodicals had a supplement entitled *Biblioteczki Biuletynu Informacyjno-Instrukcyjnego GUKPPiW*, also published by the censorship office. So far, I have managed to find seven issues of the supplement, all dated 1955.[41]

Narrowing the material down only to the issues that could unquestionably be classified as confidential Bulletins for censors, I have analyzed 59 issues of the periodical and seven *Biblioteczki*, that is, about 2,670 typewritten pages in total.

While working on the book, I also used other archival materials, mainly documents created in the Main Office or the Voivodeship Offices for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances. When it was justified, I quoted some of them, confronting the information contained therein with the position presented in the Bulletins, e.g., in the case of censorship reviews featured in the magazine.

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[39] ["Materiały z odprawy"]; "Na marginesie ogólnonarodowej dyskusji," fol. 14r–48r, fol. 247r–252r ("*Biuletyny Instrukcyjno-Szkoleniowe* 1945–1951" (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4)). The title ["Materiały z odprawy"] is my proposal – in the resource analyzed, the collection was not provided with a title; the fact that it is a separate entity is evidenced by the subject matter, the continuous numbering within the document, and its "appearance" (the material is damaged and often illegible).

[40] I write more about this subject in the article "Archiwalia 'pionierskiego' okresu powojennej cenzury…"

[41] *Biblioteczka Biuletynu Informacyjno-Instrukcyjnego GUKPPiW* no. 18, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 215); no. 19, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 213); no. 20, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 214); no. 21, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 212); no. 22, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 195); no. 23, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 194); no. 24, 1955 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 193).

Rules for Presenting the Material

The censor's pencil should resemble a surgical lancet rather than a Stone Age club.[42]

The archival sources sometimes contained errors. In most cases, it was not possible to render them in English, but the most glaring mistakes have been indicated by the phrase [*sic*]. My additions to quotations are put in square brackets [...]. The abbreviations appearing in the statements of censors and other functionaries of the censorship office are not expounded; in exceptional cases (e.g., when the abbreviation makes it impossible to understand the text) I provide full names, for example, Non-per[iodical] Public[ations] Department. A list of all abbreviations used is provided at the end of the book.

In a few places, the Bulletins transformed into a kind of "palimpsest," thanks to deletions, corrections and extra information added to the original version. I include this variability in the citations because it reveals the process of working on the text, changes in the censor's thinking or differences in the assessments made by the Office's staff.

In a censor's sheet, also known as a "review form,"[43] there are usually two or three dates: 1) the date the work was submitted to the reviewer (meaning, the date a particular censor was assigned to the task; not to be confused with the date the publication reached the Office); 2) the date below the reviewer's motion (i.e., the date the evaluation was completed); 3) finally, the date when the supervisor evaluating the motion issued a decision. In this book, the default date is the one when the first assessment was made. In exceptional cases, if it is essential for the argument, I include all three dates.

In light of the subject of the work, I have taken particular care in quoting the full titles of the texts reviewed, as well as the names and surnames of the authors, which the editors of the Bulletin repeatedly failed to do. The Bulletin versions that were inaccurate and incomplete, and sometimes erroneous, are signaled in the footnote the first time a given author or title appears.

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[42] "Podsumowanie dyskusji nad wierszem Roztworowskiego pt. 'Oskarżam,'" *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* no. 11/12 (23/24), November/December 1953, p. 16 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 9). This metaphor also appeared in other censorship documents, cf. *"Lancetem, a nie maczugą." Cenzura wobec literatury i jej twórców w latach 1945–1965*, eds. K. Budrowska, M. Woźniak-Łabieniec, Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2012, series *Badania Filologiczne nad Cenzurą PRL* vol. 1.

[43] "Recenzja z pozycji literackiej, cz. I" (in the series *O wyższy poziom pracy nad książką*), *Biuletyn Informacyjno-Instrukcyjny* no. 8, August 1952, p. 21, 23 (APG, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 81). "A censor's sheet" is *arkusz recenzyjny* and "a review form" is *blankiet recenzyjny*.

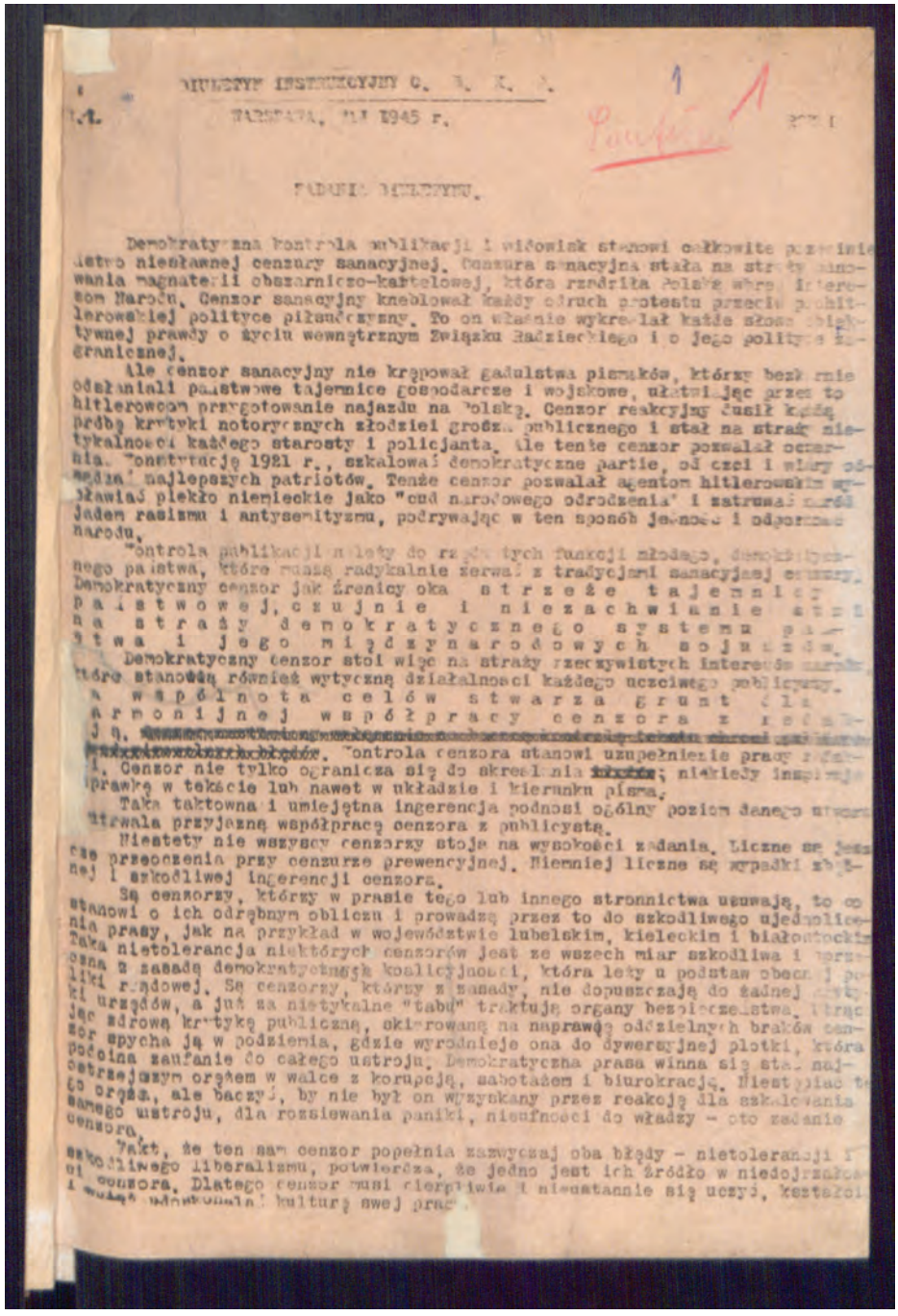

Fig. 1. The first page of the oldest Bulletin yet found, *Biuletyn Instrukcyjny* no. 1, dated May 1945 (APP, WUKPPiW, file ref. no. 4, fol. 1r).