

Global Chopin: The 1949 Centenary and Polish Internationalism during the Early Cold War

J. MACKENZIE PIERCE

On February 21, 1949, the hardline Communist president of the Polish Republic, Bolesław Bierut, took the podium in front of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw. His speech that day inaugurated the Chopin Year, an eight-month program of festivities commemorating the death of Fryderyk Chopin one hundred years earlier.¹ Bierut emphasized Chopin's significance not only for Poland, but also for the world:

Admiration and adoration of Fryderyk Chopin's talent and works goes far beyond Poland's borders. The enchanting sounds of his music and the glory of his name have reached all corners of the world. He brought renown to the name of Poland in the field of music. . . . Today, when the Polish people have taken the fate [of the nation] into their mighty hands, the work of Chopin should become the property of millions of ordinary people in Poland; it should become a link in the most noble brotherhood of peoples.²

For insightful comments on this project, I wish to thank Erica P. Levenson, Barbara Milewski, the students in my seminars on eastern European music and Chopin reception at the University of Michigan, and the two anonymous reviewers for this **Journal**.

1. Discussions of the 1949 Chopin Year include Lin, "Myth and Appropriation," 83–97, which focuses on Russian-Polish relations during the Year; Applebaum, *Iron Curtain*, 325–26, which briefly considers the events in relation to Communist-led appropriations of Polish culture; and Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad*, ch. 2, which focuses on the 1949 Chopin Piano Competition. Beyond the Chopin Year, an extensive literature has explored the cultural processes through which composers have been commemorated and memorialized. On eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commemorative cultures, see Rehding, *Music and Monumentality*, and Richards, "1784 Commemoration." Recent studies of twentieth-century composer commemorations include Snyder, "Once Misjudged"; Potter, "Politicization of Handel"; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, ch. 5; Yang, "Power, Politics"; Kelly, *Composing the Canon*, ch. 3; and Custodis and Mattes, "Celebrating the Nordic Tone."

2. Bierut, "Przemówienie otwarcia 'Roku Chopinowskiego 1949': "Podziw i uwielbienie dla talentu i twórczości Fryderyka Chopina wybiegają daleko poza granice Polski. Czarujące dźwięki jego muzyki, sława jego imienia dotarły do wszystkich zakątków świata. Wsławił on imię Polski w dziedzinie muzyki. . . . Dziś, gdy losy te lud polski ujął w swe mocarne dłonie, twórczość Chopina powinna się stać własnością milionów prostych ludzi w Polsce, powinna się stać łącznikiem najszlachetniejszego braterstwa ludów."

Bierut's assertions were not empty rhetoric: the 1949 Chopin Year was a hitherto unmatched act of Chopin commemoration that brought his music to an estimated three-quarters of a million Poles and promoted it around the world, all funded and overseen by the Polish state.³ Performances of Chopin's complete works were given in thirteen of Poland's cities; there were four hundred concerts in schools, one hundred performances in *światlice* (centers for education and leisure, often in rural areas or attached to factories), dozens of concerts in Warsaw, and amateur vocal competitions involving thousands of contestants.⁴ The Chopin Year brought about the much-delayed publication of the Paderewski edition of Chopin's works, a competition for new compositions inspired by Chopin, a lavish feature film about his youthful years,⁵ and the first postwar iteration of the Chopin Piano Competition. It also featured a sustained effort to convince around thirty countries in Western and Eastern Europe, North, South, and Central America, and beyond to create parallel celebrations that fêted Chopin around the world.

The main focus of this article is the 1949 Chopin Year's extensive international programming. In adopting this focus, I build on the work of scholars Lisa Jakelski, Penny M. Von Eschen, Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Anne Searcy, and many others, who have analyzed the Cold War as a vibrant period of music-centered internationalism.⁶ They have studied the role of international concert tours, artistic exchanges, and music festivals in creating new sites of cross-border contact and fomenting international cultural competition. Such studies generally take as their starting point the geopolitical conditions of the Cold War era, such as the emergence of a bipolar world order dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union, competition between the two superpowers for influence across the globe, and the decolonization of the Global South. Since the Cold War was both implicitly and explicitly a worldwide conflict, they have shown, it placed new emphasis on the international realm and, in turn, increased the salience of music in mediating international relations.

Cold War geopolitics were, however, only one dimension of the Chopin Year's internationalism. As I explore in this article, the Year's international

3. See AAN-366/1-747 (untitled budget calculations). The Chopin Year's budget of 196.4 million złoty exceeded that of, for example, the Polish Ministry of Post and Telegraphs (142 million złoty); see *Rocznik statystyczny 1949*, 151.

4. See AAN-366/1-235 and AAN-366/1-747, "Program koncertów Chopinowskich w roku 1949," June 17, 1948.

5. *Młodość Chopina*, directed by Aleksander Ford. Although initially conceived for the 1949 Chopin Year, the film was not produced until 1951 and was released in 1952.

6. Jakelski, *Making New Music*; Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Ansari, "Shaping the Policies"; Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*; Kelly, "Performing Diplomatic Relations"; Searcy, *Ballet in the Cold War*; Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad*; Park, "From World War to Cold War."

projects were also built by repeating, appropriating, and reworking cultural trajectories that predated the early Cold War, often by decades.⁷ Most centrally, the Year's organizers sought to capitalize on the symbolic significance that Chopin's worldwide fame had accrued for Poland over the preceding century. Additionally, in order to create the events, the Year's organizers turned to the networks that had connected Poles across borders in the same period, reactivating decades-old transnational linkages. By revealing the traces of these older modes of musical exchange, the Chopin Year invites us to understand Cold War internationalism within a longer lineage of border-crossing that had been a major aspect of European musical culture since at least Chopin's lifetime. The past, in this case, was as important as the present in shaping Cold War musical culture.

Since much scholarship on Cold War musical internationalism has focused on the period after Stalin's death in 1953, it may seem surprising that Poland organized a wide-ranging program of international and Western-facing musical events in 1949, at the height of the Stalinist period. Indeed, the late 1940s were defined by the consolidation of Communist power in Poland and growing anti-internationalism in the Eastern Bloc. By late 1948, the Polish United Workers' Party (as the Communist party was known) had consolidated power, which ended a brief moment of relative ideological liberalism after World War II.⁸ As the Polish state fell in line behind the growing Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, Poles' international (and especially Western European-oriented) projects encountered new headwinds from late 1948 onward. To give one example, the 1948 Conference of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace in Wrocław, organized by leading Polish intellectuals to demonstrate that Poland was not isolated from the West behind the Iron Curtain, had nearly the opposite of its intended effect when the Soviet delegation unexpectedly denounced Sartre and Picasso. This prompted some Western European guests to leave in protest.⁹ Nor were such pressures felt only in intellectual circles. By early 1949, the mobility of Poles was curtailed by a new passport regime and the sealing of the country's borders. It became more difficult to travel out of the country or emigrate, just as officials were seeking to garner worldwide attention through the Chopin Year.¹⁰

Composers and classical musicians in Poland—many of whom promoted the Chopin Year abroad—also came under pressure to distance themselves from Western Europe and the United States in 1949, although we should be careful not to overstate the constraints they encountered during the

7. For a discussion of Cold War music studies' frequent focus on contemporary politics rather than larger historical patterns and precedents, see Potter, "Introduction: Music and Global War," 4–7.

8. For an overview of the political situation in early postwar Poland, see Porter-Szücs, *Poland in the Modern World*, 189–230.

9. See Shore, *Caviar and Ashes*, 270–73.

10. See Stola, *Kraj bez wyjścia?*, 34–41.

Stalinist period.¹¹ The introduction of socialist realist aesthetics in late 1948, which was itself a result of the antiformalist campaign then sweeping Soviet music, led to the disparagement of contemporary Western compositional practice, such as modernist and avant-garde music, a trend that reached its height between 1949 and 1952.¹² The stakes involved in breaching these principles became clear when a major musical periodical, *Ruch Muzyczny* (The musical movement), was shut down in late 1949 after being criticized in the Soviet musical press for publishing articles sympathetic to Western modernism.¹³ Further reinforcing this anti-Western bent, the Polish section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was disbanded in early 1950, having in previous years regularly sent Polish composers and new compositions to festivals held abroad.¹⁴ That the Chopin Year's extensive international efforts occurred despite these pressures reminds us that at no time was Eastern Europe hermetically sealed from the outside world.¹⁵ It also confirms that the flourishing of musical exchange and diplomacy in post-Stalinist Eastern Europe had precedents in earlier periods.¹⁶

Rather than viewing the Chopin Year's international events as exceptional, it is more accurate to understand the Polish state's willingness to promote a global vision of Chopin as one aspect of its larger project of appropriating and refashioning the Polish classical canon under state socialism. As scholars including Pamela M. Potter, Sławomir Wieczorek, Elaine Kelly, and Pauline Fairclough have demonstrated, European Communist states readily adopted the classics as their own, even though the roots of this repertoire were to be found in the bourgeois societies that these states claimed to have surpassed.¹⁷ As part of this process in Poland, it was a relatively straightforward matter for

11. An extensive literature explores composers' agency and state power during the Stalinist period in Poland. Contributions include Thomas, "File 750"; Thomas, *Polish Music*, chs. 3–5; Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line*; Wieczorek, *Na froncie muzyki*; Bylander, "Clichés Revisited"; and Vest, *Awangarda*, ch. 2.

12. See Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line*, ch. 1.

13. See Gwizdalanka and Meyer, *Witold Lutosławski*, 191–94.

14. See AAN-366/1-728, "Sprawozdania z działalności wydziału muzyki 1948–50."

15. See David-Fox, "Iron Curtain," and Péteri, "Nylon Curtain." Much of the historical research on the transnational history of the Eastern Bloc and USSR focuses on the post-Stalin period; see, for example, Babiracki and Zimmer, *Cold War Crossings*; Mazurek, "Polish Economists"; and Gilburd, *To See Paris and Die*.

16. Lisa Jakelski, for instance, traces the roots of the Warsaw Autumn Festival of Contemporary Music to both Stalinist-era music festivals and the 1939 ISCM festival in Poland: Jakelski, *Making New Music*, ch. 1. It is important to recall that the Eastern Bloc and USSR were not monolithic in this regard. The possibilities of international music exchange were more constrained in the USSR than in Poland before the death of Stalin; see Fairclough, "Détente to Cold War," and Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad*, ch. 1.

17. Potter, "Politicization of Handel"; Kelly, *Composing the Canon*; Wieczorek, *Na froncie muzyki*, ch. 4; Fairclough, *Classics for the Masses*. Commemorations and anniversaries, such as the 1959 Handel bicentenary, were pivotal moments during which composers' politics were refashioned.

Chopin's extensive connections with aristocrats and his predilection for fine gloves to be written out of his biography, while his dubious sympathy for the peasant classes and tenuous links with radical social movements were given new weight in official narratives.¹⁸

Chopin's exile in France and his fame far beyond Poland's borders, however, presented a more complex set of challenges and opportunities for the cultural officials, diplomats, composers, and musicians behind the Chopin Year. On the one hand, his emigration evoked an older cultural geography, one that connected Poland not to Moscow but to France, which now lay on the other side of the deepening schism between the Eastern and Western Blocs. To celebrate the international Chopin was also to remind audiences of Poland's westward-facing connections. On the other hand, Polish commentators had for decades viewed Chopin's success in France and western Europe as evidence of Poland's national legitimacy, a point I explore below. At a time when Poland's postwar rulers wished to shore up their popularity through nationalist ploys of all sorts, Chopin could be a useful symbol indeed.¹⁹

The Polish state would never exert full control over Chopin's cultural significance, whatever that might have entailed. Instead, as we will see, a plurality of actors, with various stakes in state socialism, competed over the meaning of Chopin and his accomplishments, often advancing interpretations of his significance that they had held from before the Communist era. At first glance, their claims about his legacy might seem as diverse as they were contradictory. Some composers, musicians, and cultural officials saw him as a symbol of nationalist rebirth from trauma, others as a prophet of worldly modernist aesthetics. Some believed he was a prototype for Communist internationalism, and still others saw him as pointing to the triumph of the Western-led, liberal international order. These seeming disagreements, however, masked a shared assumption that Chopin was a powerful symbol capable of asserting Poland's membership in global culture and of carving out a foothold for Poland in international politics. This belief had roots dating back to the nineteenth century, but it had gained significance when Poland regained statehood after World War I, and it would persist despite the establishment of Communist rule after World War II. It is this underlying belief that Chopin's musical internationalism could ultimately advance diverse nationalist agendas, I will suggest, that helped to build support for a global vision of his significance among the Polish intelligentsia of the late 1940s.

18. On the reshaping of the canon in postwar Poland, see Wieczorek, *Na froncie muzyki*, ch. 4. For an English-language discussion of Stalinist-era Chopin reception, drawn from this book, see Wieczorek, "Chopin in Stalinist Poland."

19. On the alliance of Communism and nationalism in postwar Poland, see Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations*, ch. 9, and Zaremba, *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm*.

Since my focus is on Polish imaginings of the international realm through the prism of Chopin, I primarily draw on sources that document the views of Poles looking outward. While at times I discuss the perspectives of non-Polish participants in the Chopin Year, such views are usually filtered through the priorities of Polish commentators. To begin, I establish the *longue durée* of the reception of Chopin as an international figure, which the Chopin Year both drew on and revised. Turning next to the archival record of the Chopin Year itself, I consider how actors representing various outlooks and political priorities—from modernist composers, to politically disengaged scholars of Chopin, to Communist politicians—shaped the course of the Year, even as the events became more centralized under the Ministry of Culture and Art and the president of the republic. Archives from Polish diplomatic missions and the Bureau for International Cooperation of the Ministry of Culture and Art shed further light on the successes and failures of implementing a vision of Chopin as an international figure against the backdrop of sharpening Cold War antagonisms. I pay special attention to the extensive diplomatic efforts between Poland and France in the run-up to the Chopin Year. Finally, I show that ideas about Chopin's internationalism also found support from within the Western Bloc, and suggest that the mutually reinforcing views of Chopin as national and international continued to shape his reception after 1949.

The International Chopin: From the Era of Partitions to Polish Independence

The notion that Chopin was simultaneously a national and international figure did not originate in the 1949 Chopin Year. Rather, it had circulated among Polish musicians and intellectuals for decades, and provided a groundwork on which the Chopin Year organizers built. The roots of this discourse stretched back to Chopin's lifetime and the political context of nineteenth-century Poland. In 1772, 1793, and 1795, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been partitioned by the Russian Empire, Habsburg Monarchy, and Kingdom of Prussia, which together had eliminated the Polish state from the map. As a result, Chopin was born a subject not of Poland but of Russia, which controlled Warsaw and the eastern territories of the former Commonwealth. Against this backdrop, Polish intellectuals and artists had in the nineteenth century sought to forge a sense of Polish national identity, often turning to culture, literature, and music to do so. While elites in many other European nations engaged in similar projects, Polish cultural and political figures had the explicit aim of restoring Polish statehood.²⁰ This background foreshadows the part that nationalism would play in Chopin reception during his lifetime and after.

20. The classic genealogy of nineteenth-century Polish nationalism is Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate*.

Chopin's internationalism, by comparison, was often seen as deriving either directly or implicitly from his emigration to France and the fame he had garnered beyond Poland's borders. After receiving a thorough musical and general education in Warsaw, Chopin left the city in November 1830, hoping to launch a career as a touring pianist-composer. Within several years, he found a more amenable career in Paris, where he established himself as a premier composer and teacher of the Parisian upper classes.²¹ As a result of his relocation, most of his mature compositions were written after leaving Poland, including those in genres most strongly associated with Polishness, such as the mazurka and polonaise. In the 1830s and 1840s, however, it was not unusual for expressions of Polish nationhood to emanate from France rather than Polish lands. Following the defeat of the November Uprising in 1831 (an armed insurrection led by Polish military officers against Russian rule), thousands of members of the Polish intelligentsia and ruling class had fled from Poland to France, including many of Poland's most renowned poets and writers, in what was known as the Great Emigration. Chopin was not an exile from the November Uprising: he left Warsaw shortly before it began and had not returned to Poland to participate in it. His relationship to the Polish exile community in Paris was far from straightforward, and the extent of his sympathies for this milieu has been debated by scholars.²² Yet this national-exilic context, in which literary and philosophical conceptions of Polish nationhood had been created abroad in the mid-nineteenth century, would nonetheless shape the way members of the Polish intelligentsia viewed Chopin for years to come.²³

To examine with greater precision how Chopin's relation to nation and exile was interpreted by later commentators, it will be helpful to establish the conceptual relationship between the terms "nationalism," "transnationalism," and "internationalism," and to show how these three ideas have been reflected in Chopin scholarship to date. Nationalism has long been a focus of Chopin studies, and scholars have aimed to develop nuanced and nonessentialist accounts of the ways Chopin's music participated in constructions of Polish nationhood.²⁴ Another body of scholarship has explored his transnationalism, a term used by scholars to denote the circulation of people and

21. See Samson, *Chopin*, ch. 3.

22. See Pekacz, "Deconstructing a 'National Composer,'" and Goldberg, "'Remembering That Tale.'"

23. My focus is primarily on Chopin reception among the Polish intelligentsia, the stratum of educated, professional classes that had since the mid-nineteenth century been ascribed a central role in Polish national affairs. As a social formation, the intelligentsia remained relatively stable despite the political upheavals that affected Poland over the course of the period discussed in this article; see Jakubowska, *Patrons of History*, esp. ch. 2.

24. Examples of this scholarship include Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, ch. 1; Milewski, "Chopin's Mazurkas"; Pekacz, "Deconstructing a 'National Composer'"; Milewski, "Mazurka and National Imaginings"; Goldberg, "'Remembering That Tale'"; and Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*.

ideas across national borders.²⁵ One major current in transnational studies has looked at the reception of his works in various national contexts, often outside France and Poland.²⁶ Others have argued that the transnational circulation of Chopin's music heightened the perception of it as national, since his musical evocations of Polishness functioned as forms of exoticism for German and French listeners.²⁷ A third body of transnational scholarship has considered how his displacement across national borders may have imbued his music with a sense of melancholic longing and, at times, jarring fragmentation.²⁸

In distinction from both nationalism and transnationalism, the term "internationalism" refers to institutionalized and formalized transborder exchanges, often led by states. Such projects were sometimes although not always driven by the idealist conviction that "nations and peoples should cooperate instead of preoccupying themselves with their respective national interests," in an attempt to form what the historian Akira Iriye has termed a "global community."²⁹ While Chopin's relations to nationalism and transnationalism have both been extensively explored, there has to date been less discussion of the place of his music within internationalist projects of global cooperation or diplomacy.³⁰

Although scholars have often written the history of internationalism as that of international institutions, such as the League of Nations or the United Nations, the term may also refer to a mindset or attitude relating to such projects. Crucially, the cultivation of an international outlook is not inherently opposed to support for nationalism, as the historian Glenda Sluga has demonstrated.³¹ By the late nineteenth century, the increasing density of cross-border contacts, driven by advances in trade and technology, had led

25. See Vertovec, *Transnationalism*; Jakelski, "Pushing Boundaries"; and Collins and Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism." For an informative discussion of the influence of transnationalism on historical scholarship, see Macdonald, "Transnational History."

26. See, for example, Samson, "Chopin Reception." Edited volumes and conference proceedings on Chopin routinely include a number of studies on transnational reception history. The proceedings of the 2010 Chopin bicentenary conference, for example, include studies on Chopin in Cuba, France, Germany, England, Russia, Spain, the Czech lands, Lithuania, and Denmark: Poniatowska and Chechlińska, *Chopin 1810–2010*, 2.

27. A classic statement of this perspective is Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 37. See also Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, ch. 7. Following James Parakilas, Taruskin terms this phenomenon "tourist nationalism": Taruskin, "Nationalism."

28. See Milewski, "Mazurka and National Imaginings"; Milewski, "Magical Returns"; Przybylski, *Swallow's Shadow*; Boczkowska, "Chopin's Ghosts"; and Goldberg, "Nationalizing the Kujawiak."

29. Iriye, *Global Community*, 10. The focus on cooperation and exchange distinguishes internationalism from the related term "cosmopolitanism," which has been used by music scholars to describe the disruption of national framings by transnational activity; see Collins and Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism."

30. An important exception is Lin, "Myth and Appropriation," which explores Chopin's mediation of Polish-Russian relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

31. Sluga, *Internationalism*.

to a belief that international cooperation was largely compatible with the liberal order composed of nation-states. Nineteenth-century socialist thought, although critical of liberalism, had likewise endorsed a vision of internationalism, albeit one premised not on the triumph of the bourgeois state but rather on the idea that the class interests of a global proletariat would transcend national identifications. By the beginning of World War I, the nation had become established as the basic unit out of which internationalism was built, and after the war it was enshrined in the nation-based membership structures of institutions such as the League of Nations, the ISCM, and the PEN Club.³² Socialists and Communists, too, started revising their prior commitments to class-based internationalism at this time, as they began to view nation-centered activism as a potentially effective means of spreading international Communism. This trend was especially prominent in the Soviet Union, where the cultivation of national cultures soon took precedence over global class solidarity.³³ By the mid-twentieth century, the idealism of global cooperation was often underwritten by the realist desire to advance national interests, a belief that reached its high point with the founding of the United Nations after World War II.³⁴

As I will endeavor to show in the remainder of this section, Chopin's reception in Poland from his death in 1849 onward reflected this wider trend in which both nationalist and internationalist views grew in a compatible manner. The growing nationalist discourse about Chopin's music in the years after his death has long been apparent to scholars, who have interpreted his reception in Poland as part of an ongoing attempt to create and preserve a sense of Polish national identity in the absence of a Polish state after the partitions (1795–1918).³⁵ Yet the argument made by partition-era commentators that Chopin was a significant national figure often hinged on the fame of his music outside of Poland and thus on the opinions of non-Poles, a tension that has been acknowledged less often.³⁶ Nineteenth-century commentators frequently asserted that his importance derived from his (alleged) exportation of Polish folk idioms to western Europe, and his integration of what they saw as “Polish music” into the common-practice musical language of the day. In the late 1850s, for instance, the poet Cyprian Norwid described Chopin as having brought “the folk to humanity writ large” (playing

32. See Shreffler, “International Society for Contemporary Music,” and Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 73–86.

33. See Frolova-Walker, “National in Form,” and Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*.

34. See Sluga, *Internationalism*, esp. chs. 1–2.

35. See Chechlińska, “Chopin Reception”; Pekacz, “Nation's Property”; and Dziadek, “On the Collective Forms.” These commemorations were part of a broader endeavor that turned to the past in an attempt to create a sense of Polish nationhood extending beyond the country's elite; see Dabrowski, *Commemorations*.

36. A significant exception is Milewski's scholarship (especially “Mazurka and National Imaginings” and “Chopin's Mazurkas”), which examines how Chopin's successful exportation of Polish Romantic nationalism abroad established a model that future composers from the European periphery would seek to both emulate and surpass.

in Polish on the common root of “folk” and “humanity” in the word “lud,” or “people”), an idea repeated by later commentators with varying degrees of precision.³⁷ The view that he had synthesized national music with the mainstream of Western classical music only gained in prominence after Russian composers, most notably Milii Balakirev, modeled their own projects of musical nation-building on a similar view of Chopin.³⁸

Prior to Poland’s regaining of independence in 1918, the assertion that Chopin was a national composer who was also well established in the European canon of classical music implicitly advanced broader claims concerning Polish cultural and political legitimacy. In a speech of 1871, for instance, the historian and literary critic Stanisław Tarnowski claimed that Chopin’s music had given Poland the “right to citizenship in the state of music, which before Chopin we did not possess.”³⁹ The elision of cultural and legalistic rhetoric here in an era in which Poland lacked a state (and the rights conveyed by statehood) suggests that Chopin’s success in the international realm of culture connoted political power of some sort.

Other commentators drew attention to Chopin’s potential to act as an ambassador for Poland and Polish independence in the eyes of foreigners. For the 1910 Chopin centenary in Lemberg, the novelist and playwright Stanisław Przybyszewski delivered remarks that he then published in a pamphlet titled *Chopin and the Nation*:

If we are concerned with the glory and greatness of our nation in relation to Europe—and we are very concerned with this—we must thank Chopin more than all the other sons of the Polish lands. Moreover, we should not deceive ourselves: Mickiewicz is known in Europe only by a couple of philologists, and they read *Pan Tadeusz* with the same difficulty as the Mahābhārata. . . . In relation to Europe, we can take pride only in Chopin. And in fact there is no corner in the entirety of Europe where a piano does not play laudatory dithyrambs in veneration of him.⁴⁰

37. Quoted in Jakubowski, “Norwid i Chopin,” 686: “ponoszenie ludowego do Ludzkości.” Further examples of this trope include Noskowski, “Istota utworów Chopina,” 95; Lin, “Myth and Appropriation,” 79; and Żeleński, “W pięćdziesiąt rocznicę zgonu,” 64.

38. See Swartz, “Chopin as Modernist,” and Lin, “Myth and Appropriation,” ch. 1. Balakirev’s visits to Warsaw and the commemorations organized by him at Chopin’s birthplace in Żelazowa Wola were especially consequential for reminding Polish composers of this interpretation, as Lin discusses.

39. Tarnowski, *Chopin i Grottger*, 8: “prawo obywatelstwa w państwie muzyki, któregośmy przedenią nie mieli.”

40. Przybyszewski, *Szopen a naród*, 8–9: “Bo jeżeli nam chodzi o chwałę i wiekopomność naszego narodu wobec Europy, a chodzi nam o to bardzo—to zaiste nikomu z synów ziem polskich tyle nie zawdzięczamy, co właśnie Szopenowi. Przecież się chyba ludzi nie można: Mickiewicz w Europie zna zaledwie parę filologów, ‘Pana Tadeusza’ czytają z tysamym trudem, z jakim nad Mahabharatą. . . . Wobec Europy tylko Szopenem pochłubić się możemy. I rzeczywiście niema dziś zakątka w całej Europie, gdzieby nie piano pochwalnych dytyrambów na cześć Szopena.” Przybyszewski’s portrayal of Poland and eastern Europe as distinct

There is no little irony in Przybyszewski's elevation of the politically reticent Chopin over Adam Mickiewicz, a Romantic poet and contemporary of Chopin who delivered fiery speeches calling for the overthrow of the partitioning powers and who organized on behalf of Polish independence. (Mickiewicz also chided Chopin for his lack of advocacy on behalf of the national cause.)⁴¹ Nor did Przybyszewski believe that Chopin's work was done. In distinction from other speakers at the 1910 event, such as Ignacy Paderewski, who sought to downplay Chopin's non-Polish influences,⁴² Przybyszewski pointed to the Chopin celebration as a further opportunity to direct international attention toward Poland. "For the first time in living memory," he declared, "that famous 'all of Europe' . . . looks at us, this time with full solemnity and respect."⁴³ Needless to say, such views were not full-throated endorsements of internationalism. But they do evince a belief that Chopin could help connect Polish music to Europe at large and, in the process, grow support for Polish sovereignty.

The regaining of Polish independence in 1918, after over 120 years of statelessness, was a watershed moment in advancing the narrative that Chopin was at once of Poland and for the world. For modernist composers, eager to cast off what they saw as the stifling legacy of partition-era musical culture, Chopin showed how Polish music could be both national in character yet also keep abreast of current musical trends.⁴⁴ The most significant representative of this thinking was the composer Karol Szymanowski, who, in addition to recrafting Chopin's cultural significance in a series of widely discussed essays, was an eager participant in the pan-European movement and in international musical organizations such as the ISCM.⁴⁵ He influentially described Chopin as "a Pole who composed Polish Music which at the same time is universal art of the highest standard."⁴⁶ This was an old idea, but Szymanowski updated it in significant ways. For example, he framed the question of national style in terms of the Polish "race," writing about the importance of preserving Poland's "racial peculiarities" while engaging with music of western Europe.⁴⁷ Moreover, western Europe was no longer a

from "Europe" proper was a trope with roots in the Enlightenment; see Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, and Karnes, "Inventing Eastern Europe."

41. The relationship between Chopin and Mickiewicz is discussed in Pekacz, "Deconstructing a 'Nationalist Composer,'" 170–71.

42. Paderewski, "Pieśń polskiego narodu." For an analysis of the 1910 centenary, see Lin, "Myth and Appropriation," 47–79.

43. Przybyszewski, *Szopen a naród*, 9: "po raz pierwszy od niepamiętnych czasów ta słynna 'cała Europa' . . . ogląda się na nas, ale tym razem z całą powagą i szacunkiem."

44. See Milewski, "Mazurka and National Imaginings," chs. 3–4.

45. See Chylińska, "Szymanowski and Politics." On the internationalism of the ISCM, see Shreffler, "International Society for Contemporary Music."

46. Szymanowski, "On Contemporary Musical Opinion," 84.

47. Szymanowski, "Fryderyk Chopin," 195. See also Milewski, "Mazurka and National Imaginings," ch. 3; Trochimczyk, "Chopin and the 'Polish Race'"; and Helman, "Dilemma of

vaguely defined court of public opinion, as it had been for partition-era commentators, but rather the source of contemporary musical innovation with which Polish composers must engage.⁴⁸

When dozens of composers took Szymanowski's ideas to heart and traveled to Paris for studies, they believed they were following in Chopin's footsteps and arrived eager to write music that was at once Polish and "universal."⁴⁹ One of the earliest composers to make this journey (albeit not at Szymanowski's urging) was Alexandre Tansman, who wrote that he wished his compositions to display a "marvelous synthesis of Polish sensibility filtered through French clarity and moderation," which he believed Chopin had accomplished nearly a century earlier.⁵⁰ Members of the collegial organization established by Polish musicians and composers in Paris, the Association of Young Musicians-Poles in Paris, likewise saw themselves as continuing Chopin's legacy. As the association's president Feliks Łabuński remarked during a speech at Chopin's grave in 1931, "With this departure to the capital of France, Chopin showed [Polish] music its true path."⁵¹ These Paris-trained composers would be especially significant for the 1949 Chopin Year, since by the late 1940s they had climbed to prominent positions in Poland's conservatories, publishing houses, and other musical institutions, all while maintaining stakes in cultural narratives about Chopin.

A second significant trend brought about by the regaining of independence was an increase in the number of institutions capable of promoting Chopin and Polish music, both at home and abroad. One of the most significant of these institutions was the Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (IFC), which would play a central role in the 1949 Chopin Year. It was founded in 1934 as

Twentieth-Century Polish Music." The use of the term "race" in interwar Polish (musical) discourse has yet to be fully theorized. Trochimczyk and Helman have suggested that Szymanowski used "race" as a synonym for "nation." This is correct insofar as he does not seem to have had in mind the discussions taking place in Polish anthropology, eugenics, and medicine. On Polish race science, see Stauter-Halsted, "Bio-politics between Nation and Empire," and Gawin, *Race and Modernity*, 131–32. The claim that the terms are mere synonyms is also unsatisfying, however, since Szymanowski was a formidable prose stylist who chose his words with care, and he chose to use the term "race" instead of and (more often) in addition to "nation." Even if the conceptual domains of "nation" and "race" often overlapped, the terms also had distinct connotations in interwar European discourse more broadly, "race" often implying a set of essentialized, historically rooted national characteristics; see Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race*, 12–14; Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution*, ch. 7; and, as background, Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race.'" The sense of "race" as a set of immutable and ingrained national qualities is largely consistent with Szymanowski's use of the term.

48. See Vest, *Awangarda*, ch. 1.

49. See Helman, "Dilemma of Twentieth-Century Polish Music."

50. Letter to Édouard Ganche, February 11, 1927, quoted in Poniatowska, "Le 'credo musical,'" 46: "merveilleuse synthèse de la sensibilité polonaise filtrée par la clarté et mesure françaises."

51. AKP-K-LV/102: "Tym wyjazdem do stolicy Francji Szopen wskazał tej muzyce jej prawdziwą drogę."

a private institute, but its board included figures who had significant ties to the Polish interwar government, suggesting an interest in Chopin promotion on the part of officialdom.⁵² The IFC's president at the time of the founding was August Zaleski, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and current member of the Polish senate, who served alongside both musicians and other state officials.⁵³ The institute's primary mission was to collect Chopin manuscripts and promote Chopin scholarship, and many of its activities, such as attempting to open a Chopin museum and publishing popular brochures about the composer, were domestic in scope.⁵⁴ Yet its signature project, the publication of the first complete Polish edition of Chopin's works, was fueled by the belief that the lack of a Polish edition spoke to a national inadequacy on the world stage, given the numerous Chopin editions published by Russian, French, and German firms.⁵⁵ To ensure the success of the new edition abroad, and especially in the United States, the IFC secured Ignacy Paderewski's honorary patronage over it, although most of the editorial work fell to the pianist Józef Turczyński and the musicologist Ludwik Bronarski.⁵⁶ The publication of the so-called Paderewski edition, delayed by the war, was a major accomplishment of the 1949 Chopin Year.

The most direct precedent for the idea, common during the 1949 Chopin Year, that Poland's national standing could be burnished through engagement with international music making is to be found in the three prewar iterations of the International Fryderyk Chopin Competition (*Konkurs Międzynarodowy im. Fryderyka Chopina*), held in 1927, 1932, and 1937.⁵⁷ The competition was born out of nationalist impulses: for the first competition, the founder Jerzy Żurawlew created a jury consisting exclusively of Poles, so that "foreign countries, who were vying for the Chopin prize, would be forced to take into account the Polish understanding of how his works should be performed."⁵⁸ Yet by the second and third competitions, it had become clear to Żurawlew

52. See Zaleski, "Ze wspomnień byłego prezesa."

53. Other members of the IFC's administration with government ties included Franciszek Pułaski (who had served as a *chargé d'affaires* in Polish embassies), Władysław Korsak (an official in the Ministry of Internal Affairs), and Kazimierz Sosnkowski (a general); see Idzikowski, "Działalność Instytutu."

54. See Michniewicz, "Geneza i działalność."

55. See Idzikowski, "Jak powstała i jak się zrealizowała," and Maliszewski, "Historia powstania Instytutu."

56. See AAN-100-414, "Sprawozdanie wygłoszone w dniu 11.IV.1934 r. na zebraniu informacyjnym członków założycieli stowarzyszenia 'Instytut Fryderyka Chopina'"; and AAN-100-414, Ignacy Paderewski to IFC, draft reply to letter of February 8, 1936.

57. There was a Europe-wide turn to culture as a tool in diplomacy during the interwar years; see the various contributions to Martin and Piller, "European Cultural Diplomacy." States lacking in international hard power, such as Hungary, had recourse to culture to bolster their international standing during these decades; see Nagy, "Race for Revision."

58. Żurawlew, "Jak powstały konkursy Chopinowskie": "zagranica, ubiegająca się o nagrodę chopinowską, byłaby zmuszona do liczenia się z polskim zrozumieniem wykonania jego dzieł." The first prize nevertheless went to a Soviet pianist, Lev Oborin.

and other organizers that a competition that embraced international exchange would advance rather than constrain a nationalist agenda. The judges for the second competition hailed from Austria (Paul Weingarten), Belgium (Arthur de Greef), Brazil (Magdalena Tagliaferro), France (Marguerite Long), Germany (Richard Rössler), and Italy (Carlo Zecchi), as well as Poland.⁵⁹ The jury of the third competition included such pianistic luminaries as Emil von Sauer, Wilhelm Backhaus, and Heinrich Neuhaus.⁶⁰ While the first competition had featured only European pianists, the second and third also involved competitors from Brazil, Japan, and Palestine.⁶¹

The organizers and patrons of the competitions recognized that international participation raised the profile not only of the events but potentially of Poland itself. Indicative of the cultural weight placed on the competitions, the president of the republic, Ignacy Mościcki, assumed symbolic patronage of them. He invited the competitors and the diplomatic corps to various official receptions, actions that lent the metaphor of Chopin as Polish diplomat a rather more concrete form.⁶² Looking beyond these diplomatic channels, the competition's director, Adam Wieniawski, noted the "cultural propagandistic value" of inviting not only an international panel of jury members but also official visitors such as Maurice Ravel and Marguerite Long.⁶³ The organizers were especially hopeful that the international competitors and jury would attract greater attention from the foreign press, which would be eager to report on the performances of their country's pianists.⁶⁴ Wieniawski even went so far as to declare that as a consequence of such international attention, Warsaw was becoming "among the most important musical centers of Europe."⁶⁵

Postwar Reconstruction, Communist Legitimization, and the Roots of the Chopin Year

The devastation experienced in Poland during World War II and the rhetoric of national reconstruction deployed by Poland's Communist rulers after 1944 only increased Chopin's salience as a political symbol. The Nazi attempts to ban Chopin's music from public performance venues during much of the occupation had pushed it underground and heightened its significance

59. See Wysocki, *Wokół Konkursów Chopinowskich*, 24.

60. See *ibid.*, 30–31.

61. See Lin, "Myth and Appropriation," 132.

62. See Wieniawski, "Z okazji III Międzynarodowego Konkursu."

63. *Ibid.*, 44: "wartość propagandowo-kulturalną." Inviting official observers would remain an important component of Polish musical internationalism during the Cold War; see Jakelski, *Making New Music*, 90–91.

64. See Wieniawski, "Z okazji III Międzynarodowego Konkursu."

65. *Ibid.*, 45: "w szeregu wybitniejszych środowisk muzycznych Europy."

as an emblem of national continuity across cataclysm.⁶⁶ “This was no longer abstract sorrow, despair, or rebellion expressed by sounds,” observed Zbigniew Wielicki of listening to Chopin under German rule, “but rather it was our own despair, the rebellion in our own hearts.”⁶⁷

The ban on Chopin’s music offered a pithy précis of Nazi cultural suppression, one that Poles broadcast widely. Accounts of the destruction of the Chopin monument in Łazienki Park by the Germans in 1940, and the photograph of the head of the monument being carted away as scrap, were circulated from Warsaw to London, Washington, DC, Buenos Aires, and Moscow (see figure 1).⁶⁸ The trope of Chopin’s head sparking international solidarity even appears in a literary vignette by Jan Karol Wende, in which a Tajik soldier in Khujand, Tajikistan, sees the photograph and redoubles his resolve to defeat the Germans.⁶⁹ It is perhaps these or similar tropes that the musicologist Adolf Chybiński had in mind when he updated partition-era notions of Chopin as an exponent of Polishness abroad, declaring in 1945 that “in our worst and most threatening times, Chopin told the entire world that we exist, that we are alive. He spoke to the whole world—to our friends and to our enemies—in a language that was direct, convincing, and understandable to all.”⁷⁰

The unassailable patriotic credentials that the occupation had imparted to Chopin made him an especially useful symbol for Poland’s Communist rulers, who wished to shore up their own popularity among a distrustful and largely anti-Soviet population. An early model for the 1949 Chopin Year was a ceremony organized in October 1945 that allowed Bolesław Bierut, then the head of the Polish Workers’ Party (and from 1947 the country’s president), to present himself as a steward of Polish national heritage by ceremonially returning Chopin’s heart to its resting place in the Church of the Holy Cross in central Warsaw. The heart had been immured in the church since 1879, but through a complex series of events it had been removed before

66. See Régamey, “Muzyka polska pod okupacją niemiecką,” 63, and Rieger, “Życie muzyczne pod okupacją.” See also Naliwajek-Mazurek, “Use of Polish Musical Tradition.”

67. Wielicki, “Chopin pod okupacją”: “To nie był już abstrakcyjny żal, rozpacz, bunt wyrażony dźwiękami, to była nasza własna rozpacz, nasz własny w sercach—bunt.” See also Wilkomirski, *Wspomnienia*, 527–28. Postwar Poland’s first feature film, *Zakazane piosenki* (Forbidden songs), portrays Chopin in a similar manner; see Milewski, “Hidden in Plain View.”

68. See, for example, *Nazi Kultur in Poland*, plate 14 (London); AAN-332-2832, Sigismund Stojowski, “Wherever There Is No Music, Life Also Ceases,” address of April 8, 1944 (Washington, DC); AAN-332-2832, “Uroczyste odsłonięcie pomnika Chopina w 5-tą rocznicę wybuchu wojny (1.IX.1944),” Poselstwo Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Rio de Janeiro to Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji w Londynie (Buenos Aires); and Lissa, *Fryderyk Szopen* (Moscow).

69. Wende, “Koncert F-moll.”

70. Chybiński, “Sprawy szopenowskie”: “W czasach dla nas najgorszych i najgroźniejszych, Chopin mówił całemu światu, że jesteśmy, że żyjemy. Przemawiał do całego świata, do naszych przyjaciół i do naszych wrogów językiem ogólnie zrozumiałym, bezpośrednio i przekonująco.”



Figure 1 The head of the Chopin monument in Łazienki Park, Warsaw, being carted away as scrap in 1940. Reproduced courtesy of Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe.

the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 and entrusted to Bishop Antoni Szlagowski.⁷¹ The ceremonial return of the heart was laden with symbolism: it was passed from the bishop to Bierut to other representatives of the state, before traveling back to ruined Warsaw in a motorcade (see figures 2 and 3).⁷² Following a Mass in the severely damaged church, the heart was reimmured. Five days of Chopin-related events followed.⁷³ For atheist Communists like Bierut, the events provided a valuable opportunity to be associated not only with Chopin but also with the Catholic Church.⁷⁴

Communist officialdom was not the only beneficiary of early postwar celebrations of Chopin, however. Between 1945 and 1949, a variety of actors representing several cultural agendas competed for a piece of Chopin's fame and legacy. Indeed, the idea for the "National Celebrations of the Return of the Heart of Chopin to Warsaw" (as the events were officially known) had

71. The heart's wartime travels have been documented by the journalist Andrzej Pettyń in "Chopin w Milanówku."

72. See "Serce Chopina wróciło do Warszawy," *Dziennik Polski*, October 18, 1945.

73. See AAN-366/1-287, "Sprawozdanie kasowe Komitetu Uroczystości narodowych powrotu Serca Chopina do Warszawy."

74. Marcin Zaremba documents a number of similar events organized by officials to legitimize Communism in the early postwar years: Zaremba, *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm*, 140–45.



Figure 2 Chopin's heart is conveyed to Warsaw by composer and pianist Bolesław Woytowicz and students from the Warsaw Conservatory, 1945. The heart is in the box behind the driver's right shoulder. Photograph by Waclaw Żdźarski. Reproduced courtesy of Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe.



Figure 3 Crowds line the war-damaged streets of Warsaw during the heart ceremony in 1945. At this same corner in 1830, Chopin's teacher Józef Elsner and a chorus had bid the young composer farewell when he left the city for good. Photograph by Waclaw Żdźarski. Reproduced courtesy of Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe.

come not from Bierut but from the IFC.⁷⁵ While it might seem surprising that an institution with links to the pre–World War II Polish government desired cooperation with the postwar state, we should remember that, in 1945, the looming strictures of Stalinism were extremely difficult for Polish artists and intellectuals to foresee. Even the true believers in the Communist cause in this early phase argued that Polish Communism would entail a “gentle revolution,” a slow progression toward a Communist culture assembled from national traditions and led by the Polish intelligentsia.⁷⁶ Although many former officials on the IFC board were now living abroad, founding members of the IFC, including Mieczysław Idzikowski and Adam Wieniawski, retained leadership positions when the institute reopened in 1945. Their 1945 meetings with the Ministry of Culture and Art indicate that the early plan was to keep the IFC as a private institute, albeit with support from the ministry and the Polish state.⁷⁷ It was not until 1949 that the IFC was headed by a Communist, the Marshal of the Sejm Władysław Kowalski.⁷⁸ In 1945, then, it was likely that for the musicians and scholars behind the relaunched IFC, the material benefits of state support, and the state’s promises to help increase the “renown” of the institute, outweighed concerns about Bierut’s politics.⁷⁹ Indeed, by appealing to the state for support for the heart ceremony, the IFC gained both higher visibility for the events and funding of over half a million złoty.⁸⁰ What is more, its successful organizing of the ceremony ensured that it was selected to lead the planning of the larger 1949 anniversary, work it was asked to begin barely a month later.⁸¹

With the request in hand to begin work on the 1949 celebrations, the IFC was able to effectively advance its own projects and stature. From soon after liberation, its members had been lobbying the Ministry of Culture and Art for increased funding, for everything from paper to typewriters, from furniture to a permanent headquarters.⁸² In replying to the ministry’s request to begin

75. Mieczysław Idzikowski, a publisher and leading force behind the founding of the IFC in 1934, proposed the plan during a meeting on September 10, 1945; see AAN-366/1-287, “Sprawozdanie kasowe Komitetu Uroczystości narodowych powrotu Serca Chopina do Warszawy.”

76. See Fijałkowska, *Polityka i twórcy*, ch. 1, and Borejsza, “Rewolucja łagodna.”

77. AAN-366/1-287, “Sprawozdanie z walnego zgromadzenia członków Inst. Fr. Chopina 24 maja 1945.”

78. See the Fryderyk Chopin Society website, “History,” accessed December 13, 2020, <https://tifc.chopin.pl/en/history/>.

79. See AAN-366/1-287, “Sprawozdanie z walnego zgromadzenia członków Inst. Fr. Chopina 24 maja 1945.”

80. See AAN-366/1-287, “Sprawozdanie kasowe Komitetu Uroczystości narodowych powrotu Serca Chopina do Warszawy.”

81. See AAN-366/1-287, Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki (MKiS) to IFC, November 21, 1945.

82. AAN-366/1-287, Bronisław Sydow to MKiS, February 20, 1945; AAN-366/1-287, IFC to MKiS, April 18, 1945; AAN-366/1-287, “Sprawozdanie z walnego zgromadzenia

organizing the 1949 Chopin celebrations, the IFC reiterated these demands, underscoring that a permanent headquarters was essential to organizing such large-scale events.⁸³ These demands would eventually be met: in conjunction with its work on the Chopin Year, the institute received a prime piece of Warsaw real estate for its headquarters, the Ostrogski Palace—a major upgrade for an organization that before the war had often met in a conference room in a bank.⁸⁴ In addition, a number of the IFC's long-standing projects came to fruition under the auspices of the Chopin Year, most notably the publication of the Paderewski edition of Chopin's works.

From late 1945 until spring 1948, the IFC and musicians who did not belong to the Communist party were some of the most vocal advocates for greater state involvement and centralization of the Chopin Year. The journal *Ruch Muzyczny*, a bastion of Parisian-trained modernist composers, published a steady stream of demands for greater planning and state-directed leadership between 1946 and the official declaration of the Chopin Year on March 20, 1948.⁸⁵ Often, these commentators pointed to Chopin's worldwide fame to argue that the state should take a more direct role in the events. The IFC made similar arguments. In an early budget proposal for the 1949 anniversary, devised in November 1945, the IFC stated that "these celebrations must be carried out on a global scale and will be highly effective propaganda for Polish culture and the Polish nation."⁸⁶ The natural correlate of this wide scope, it argued, was more intense state involvement, which the IFC hoped would take place through interministerial cooperation.⁸⁷ In November of 1947, the IFC continued to enlist Chopin's global reputation to make its case, writing that his compositions are the "largest contribution of the Polish nation within human culture, broadly considered." Appealing to the political sentiments of Poland's Communist leaders, the request stated that the 1949 anniversary "also has political value, especially in the present moment, when the Slavic nations are beginning to occupy leading positions in the social structure and cultural life of the entire

członków Inst. Fr. Chopina 24 maja 1945"; AAN-366/1-287, "Wykaz celów na które I.F.C. preliminuje subwencje Min. Kultu. i Sztuki," June 1945.

83. AAN-366/1-287, IFC to MKiS, November 21, 1945.

84. On the prewar conditions, see Idzikowski, "Działalność Instytutu." The new location appears to have been initially discussed in spring 1947 (AAN-366/1-287, IFC to MKiS, March 13, 1947) and reconstruction/remodeling began on November 17, 1949 (AAN-366/12-233, "Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1949"). After much rebuilding of the palace, the IFC moved there in 1953. The palace is the present-day location of the Chopin Museum.

85. Mycielski, "Rocznica"; Mycielski, "Jeszcze o Rok Chopinowski"; "Po raz trzeci i ostatni"; "Sprawa rocznicy." A similar point is made in Iwaszkiewicz, "O puściznę po Fryderyku Chopinie."

86. AAN-366/1-287, "Preliminarz wydatków Instytutu Fryderyka Chopina," November 26, 1945: "uroczystości te muszą być przeprowadzone w skali światowej i będą wielką propagandą polskiej kultury i polskiego narodu."

87. See AAN-366/1-740, Mieczysław Idzikowski to Zofia Lissa, September 12, 1947.

world.”⁸⁸ By January 1948, with just one year to go, the IFC warned the Ministry of Culture that “time is passing with unrelenting speed” and that “each lost day may lead to later defects in the organization of these gigantic and international plans.”⁸⁹

The IFC’s calls were answered on March 20, 1948, when the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution officially designating 1949 the “Chopin Year.”⁹⁰ This designation launched the large-scale, cross-ministry mobilization for the event, and authorized the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to begin international programming.⁹¹ Bierut became the honorary patron of the Chopin Year, leading an honorary committee of Communist officials and notable personages. The main organizing work fell, however, to the executive committee, which was to oversee, coordinate, and approve any event honoring Chopin organized by any institution anywhere in Poland during the Chopin Year.⁹² The IFC continued to play an important role in the Chopin Year, although it was less involved with the large-scale popularizing events and international exchange that now came to the fore.⁹³

By its opening day in February 1949, the Chopin Year had taken on an ideological tone that had been absent from earlier plans. Reflecting the state’s interest in *upowszechnienie*, the “popularization” or “dissemination” of culture, a reported 1,500 concerts in four hundred locations were organized, reaching an audience estimated to be of around 750,000.⁹⁴ To implement these extensive events, each province was to organize its own executive and honorary committees, which were required to seek approval for their plans from the Warsaw-based executive committee.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, Chopin’s

88. ANN-366/1-740, “Oświadczenie Zarządu Instytutu Fryderyka Chopina,” November 13, 1947: “największą pozycją Narodu Polskiego w ogólnoludzkim dorobku kulturalnym . . . ma również znaczenie polityczne, zwłaszcza w obecnym momencie, gdy Narody Słowiańskie zaczynają zajmować miejsce przodujące w strukturze społecznej i w życiu kulturalnym całego świata.”

89. AAN-366/1-740, IFC to MKiS, 9 January 1948: “czas biegnie z nieubłaganą szybkością . . . każdy stracony dzień może się przyczynić do późniejszych defektów w tej gigantycznej organizacji o skali międzynarodowej.”

90. See “Uchwała Rady Ministrów.”

91. See AAN-366/1-747, “Uchwała Rady Ministrów,” 1–2.

92. See AAN-366/1-747, “Uchwała Komitetu Ministrów do Spraw Kultury w sprawie koordynacji działalności związanych z Rokiem Chopinowskim.”

93. For example, Idzikowski sat on the executive committee, which was run out of the temporary headquarters of the IFC; see AAN-366/1-747, “Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Wykonawczego Roku Chopinowskiego w dniu 10.IV. 48,” and AAN-366/1-740, “Sprawozdanie z działalności Instytutu Fr Chopina za okres od 4 VII 1948 r. do 10. XII 1948 r.”

94. See AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski w Polsce.” The accuracy of these audience figures is, of course, impossible to establish, although the events indisputably had a wide reach. On *upowszechnienie*, see Vest, *Awangarda*, ch. 3.

95. See AAN-366/1-747, “Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Wykonawczego Roku Chopinowskiego w dniu 10.IV. 48”; AAN-366/1-747, Dyrektor Departamentu Twórczości

tenuous proto-socialist credentials were burnished.⁹⁶ To underscore his connection to the newly empowered peasant classes, visitors to the Chopin Exhibit at the National Museum in Warsaw first passed through a collection of folk instruments, which the catalog asserted were the true source of his music's national qualities.⁹⁷ Quotations from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* displayed on the walls were meant to highlight the class conflicts that purportedly defined Chopin's posthumous reception, while a final image of a gathering of thousands in contemporary Poland implied that the people had inherited their national art under Communism.⁹⁸

Chopin Abroad

The diplomatic efforts of the Chopin Year, which began in earnest in mid-1948 and continued throughout 1949, built on partition-era and interwar ideas about Chopin's internationalism. In some ways, these efforts were in a direct line from the partition-era discourse about Chopin as an advocate for Poland on the world stage, as organizers believed that the best way to promote Poland abroad was to celebrate the already well-loved composer. But the 1949 events also helped to refine the implied cultural reference points behind earlier ideas of Chopin's widespread appeal. If from the nineteenth century through the 1930s the "universal" had often been coded language for the cultural centrality of the West, western Europe, and especially France, in 1949 its geographic connotations began to widen.

Organizers of the Chopin Year described the geographical scope of the events as extending across thirty-one countries on "four continents," labeled as "Europe, America, Africa, and Asia." There was a clear predominance of European countries, as the organizers themselves noted. They divided these into the Soviet Union and Peoples' Democracies (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia), before enumerating events in England, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Norway, Germany (American, British, and Soviet occupation zones), Sweden, Switzerland, and Italy. North America was represented by the United States and Canada, Central America by Honduras and Mexico, and South America by Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. The continent of Africa meanwhile was represented only by Egypt, whereas the organizers counted Israel, Syria, Turkey, and India as belonging to Asia.⁹⁹ The events organized in Africa and Asia were reported

Artystycznej to Urząd Wojewódzki Wydział Kultury i Sztuki, June 9, 1948, and "Instrukcja Komitetu Wykonawczego dla Wojewódzkich Komitetów 'Roku Chopinowskiego 1949.'"

96. See Wieczorek, "Chopin in Stalinist Poland."

97. *Fryderyk Chopin, 1849–1949*, 3–5.

98. See *ibid.*, 5.

99. I have chosen to maintain the geographic designations used by the organizers; see AAN-366/12-237, "Rok Chopinowski 1949 zagranicą."

as having been minor and limited, and few archival details remain concerning them (with the exception of Israel, to which I will return).¹⁰⁰ It is also noteworthy that with the exception of India, the Asian and African countries were all clustered around the Mediterranean; there were, for instance, no documented efforts to engage sub-Saharan Africa, China, or Southeast Asia.¹⁰¹ The “global” Chopin Year was thus in fact primarily Eurocentric, with a significant secondary emphasis on the American continent.

The organizers used a variety of terms to describe the intended cross-border reach and significance of the events, including “global” or “worldwide” (“światowy,” from “świat,” meaning “world”); and they referred to the broader project as the “Chopin Year Abroad” (“Rok Chopinowski za granicą,” “za granicą” meaning literally “beyond the border”).¹⁰² The designation “abroad” seems to have been somewhat more common in discussing the Chopin Year than the term “global,” suggesting that the predominant geographical imaginary governing the Year was a dichotomy between the domestic program of events, discussed above, and the foreign or global ones. While the terms “światowy” and “za granicą” were broad, catchall concepts describing the international ambitions of the Chopin Year, the organization of the events in fact entailed negotiating multiple cultural and historical geographies that related Poland to the world. Some of these stretched back decades while others were only just forming in the early years of the Cold War.

The focus on North, Central, and South America as the main areas of activity outside of Europe is especially striking, since it echoed longer patterns of Polish immigration to the American continent. The attempts to mobilize Polonia in the United States (the world’s largest Polish diaspora) were evidently found to be disappointing by the organizers.¹⁰³ In South America, the results were more equivocal. Consider the case of Brazil. The first Polish colonies in Brazil were established in 1871, and at the time Polish commentators believed that they would help address domestic Polish concerns (such as the lack of social mobility among peasants), while also preserving and reproducing the Polish nation abroad. Rather than assimilating, peasant colonists who settled in remote regions of Brazil (as well as in Argentina and

100. See *ibid.* The barriers to organizing the events in Egypt are discussed in detail in AAN-366/12-238, “Wyciąg z raportu Poselstwa R.P. w Kairze z dn. 1. V. 1949 r.”

101. Interestingly, Poland would engage China on musical terms not long after the conclusion of the Chopin Year; see Tompkins, “Red China.”

102. Usage was not always consistent; see, for instance, AAN-366/1-747, “Program Koncertów Chopinowskich w roku 1949,” which divides the events into “światowy” and “krajowy.” In any case, the use of the term “global” within the context of the Chopin Year should not be confused with the terms “global music” or “world music,” used to describe the market-driven circulation of popular recorded music, usually from outside the West, in the 1970s and 1980s; see Taylor, *Global Pop*.

103. See AMSZ-Z21-T1174, “Sprawozdanie za III-ci i IV-ty kwartał 1949 z działalności informacyjno-kulturalnej polskich urzędów na terenie Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej.”

Paraguay) were supposed to create enclaves of “Polishness”—understood in both national and racial terms.¹⁰⁴ Although Polish settler colonialist projects cooled somewhat in response to Brazil’s nativist policies in the 1930s, estimates place the number of Polish Brazilians in 1937 at around two hundred thousand, most of whom worked in agriculture.¹⁰⁵

To what degree organizers of the Chopin Year in Brazil had these older settler colonial geographies in mind, or attempted to engage Brazilian Poles through the Year, is difficult to determine from Polish archival sources. The renaming of a street after Chopin in Curitiba, Paraná—the state that had been the center of Polish immigration—suggests that traces of these connections may have remained in the Brazilian celebrations. In any case, the events in Brazil were striking in their scope. There were sixteen radio programs broadcast on eleven Brazilian radio stations, the state of Minas Gerais organized a series of five radio broadcasts as well as a state-wide Chopin piano competition, and about seventy-five articles were published in the first months of the Year alone, according to the Polish diplomatic mission.¹⁰⁶ A brochure about Chopin by the musicologist Karol Stromenger was translated from Polish into Portuguese, and a special Chopin-themed issue of the illustrated monthly *Brasil musical* also appeared. An important role in the Brazilian events was played by Magdalena Tagliaferro, who opened the events in Brazil with a recital and also served as a juror for the 1949 Chopin Competition in Warsaw.¹⁰⁷ Born in Brazil, she had had a successful career in Europe, receiving a *premier prix* from the Paris Conservatoire in 1907, later studying with Alfred Cortot, and teaching at the Conservatoire from 1937 to 1939.¹⁰⁸ Significantly, she had also served as a juror in the 1937 Chopin Competition, underscoring the capacity of the postwar Chopin Year to reactivate earlier interpersonal connections. Her role in mediating Brazilian participation in the 1949 Chopin Year reveals how the networks created through the European conservatory system shaped Chopin-centered internationalism beyond Europe itself.

A more recent migratory subtext within the Chopin Year’s internationalism is evident in the Israeli events. Prior to World War II, tens of thousands of Jews had emigrated from Poland to Palestine, and tens of thousands more departed after the Holocaust, especially after the Kielce pogrom in July 1946, which, together with the removal of restrictions on Jewish emigration

104. See Ureña Valerio, *Colonial Fantasies*, ch. 5, and Puchalski, *Poland in a Colonial World Order*, ch 1.

105. See Dvorak, “Hidden Immigration,” 124–25.

106. See AAN-366/12-237, Poselstwo RP w Rio de Janeiro to Komitet Wykonawczy Roku Chopinowskiego, March 5, 1949.

107. See AAN-366/12-237, “Sprawozdanie z akcji Roku Chopinowskiego zagranicą do dnia 1.V.49r.”

108. See Timbrell, “Tagliaferro, Magda(lena).”

from Poland, prompted around ninety-five thousand to flee.¹⁰⁹ Several of the organizers of the Israeli events who were in contact with the Polish embassy had been born or lived in Poland, including Abraham Levinson, a poet who was born in Łódź, and Menachem Mahler-Kalkstein (also known as Menachem Avidom), general secretary of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, who was born in Stanisław/Stanisławów and spent his early youth in Poland before emigrating to Palestine in 1925. Conversely, several of the key figures on the Polish side were of Jewish background, including the consul general Rafał Łoc and his wife, Fanny Sołomian-Łoc, who was born in Warsaw and had survived the Pińsk ghetto.¹¹⁰

How Israelis, especially those who had emigrated from Poland, approached the Polish national trappings surrounding the 1949 Chopin Year is doubtless a fascinating and complex question, albeit one that lies outside the scope of this article. We may, however, gain a glimpse of attempts by the Polish organizers at the consulate in Tel-Aviv to navigate the Polish background of some Israelis from a speech broadcast on Israeli radio by Rafał Łoc near the opening of the Chopin Year in February 1949. In the Polish-language typescript for the speech, Łoc went to great lengths to underscore the “Polishness” of Chopin. He asserted that his music had grown out of the “motives and melodies of the Polish folk” and that because of this he had become “not only comprehensible to all nations of the world, but also their property. . . . Clear proof of this proposition is perhaps the universal adoration of the master’s works in Israel. Chopin’s compositions—so Polish in their content—are at the same time close to the hearts of the French, Jews, Americans, and all nations of the world.”¹¹¹ At first glance, this statement might seem rather innocuous and inclusive, but its subtext, especially when broadcast to Israelis of Polish extraction, is less straightforward. The claim here is that Jews could appreciate Chopin, but only as any other “foreign,” non-Polish listener might. In counting Jews among non-Polish foreigners, Łoc seems to exclude the possibility that Jews could have seen themselves as both Jewish and Polish. They could not, he implies, identify with Chopin as part of their own culture, or as part of the culture of the state to which they had often recently belonged. Łoc thus posited Polishness and Jewishness as

109. See Tolts, “Population and Migration,” and Aleksion, “Berihah.”

110. See AAN-366/12-237, “Sprawozdania Attachatu Prasowego Kons. Gen. R.P. w Tel-Awivie z 8.2.49 r.” On Levinson, see “Abraham Levinson Dies in Israel; Was Member of Polish Parliament,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin*, July 21, 1955; on Mahler-Kalkstein, see Ben-Zur, “Avidom [Mahler-Kalkstein], Menahem”; on Łoc, see Szaynok, *Poland—Israel*, 55; and on Solomian-Łoc, see Solomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiazdy*.

111. AAN-366/12-237, “Pogadanka Konsula Generalnego R.P. w Tel-Awivie,” February 26, 1949: “z motywów i melodii ludowych polskich”; “nietylko zrozumiała dla wszystkich narodów na świecie, lecz stała się ich własnością. . . . Dobitym dowodem tego twierdzenia stać się może panujące w Izraelu powszechne uwielbienie utworów mistrza. Twórczość Chopina—tak polska w swej treści—bliska jest równocześnie sercu Francuzów, Żydów, Amerykanów i wszystkich narodów świata.”

mutually exclusive national identities.¹¹² It is not entirely clear from the archival copy of the speech if Łoc delivered it in Polish or in Hebrew, which he also spoke.¹¹³ If it was indeed broadcast in Polish, the irony of his statements would have been compounded, since those able to understand the speech were also those most likely to have had an investment in Polish language, culture, and music.

The organizing of events in Israel was also affected by the fraying political relations between the two countries. Although Poland had initially been in favor of the establishment of the state of Israel, official Polish attitudes had changed in mid-1948, reflecting the anti-Zionist stance of the Soviet Union.¹¹⁴ An extensive program of publications, concerts, and radio broadcasts was planned for the Chopin Year in Israel, but the Polish diplomatic mission ran into difficulties in influencing the course of these events. Most notably, they were unable to create an Israeli elimination contest, the winner of which would be awarded an expenses-paid trip to compete in the 1949 International Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw. Indeed, the archival record reveals that the Polish organizers had agreed to fund such a competition in Israel, but encountered headwinds from the Israeli side.¹¹⁵ In the end, a Chopin piano competition was held in Israel in 1949, but it was not linked to the Warsaw-based competition.¹¹⁶ Israel sent neither contestants nor jury members to Warsaw.¹¹⁷ Soon, Łoc too would be caught up in the fallout from the changing Polish policies: in fall 1949, he was recalled to Warsaw on account of his allegedly pro-Zionist views, and he subsequently became the subject of an inquiry at the Polish Ministry of Public Security.¹¹⁸

Navigating the Early Cold War

If the examples of Brazil and Israel suggest how interpersonal networks—and thus the history of migration and displacement—informed the Chopin Year, other aspects of its international organization spoke instead to the

112. An extensive literature explores this idea and alternatives to it. Contributions include Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*; Landau-Czajka, *Syn będzie Lech . . .*; and Blobaum, *Anti-semitism and Its Opponents*.

113. On Polish-language culture in Israel, see Kossewska, *Polish Jews in Israel*. On non-Hebrew broadcasts in Israel, see Wigoder, "Radio in Israel."

114. See Szaynok, *Poland—Israel*, chs. 3–4.

115. AAN-366/12-237, "Sprawozdania Attachatu Prasowego Kons. Gen. R.P. w Tel-Awivie z 8.2.49r.;" AAN-366/12-237, Konsulat Generalny Polski w Tel-Awivie to Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, February 5, 1949.

116. It was won by Walter Hofhauser; see AAN-366/12-237, "Rok Chopinowski 1949 zagranicą."

117. See AAN-366/12-235, "Sprawozdanie z IV Międzynarodowego Konkursu im. Chopina dla pianistów w Warszawie."

118. See Szaynok, *Poland—Israel*, 175, 244.

emergence of a bipolar world order during the early Cold War. International Chopin promotion was compatible with doctrines of Communist internationalism then ascendant in Poland, and, to some degree, with the broader projects of Soviet empire building at the time.¹¹⁹ While the Zhdanovism of the Soviet Union promoted a strong anti-Western stance, it nevertheless preserved, at least in theory, a role for the international: “Internationalism in art arises not as a result of minimizing or impoverishing national art,” Andrei Zhdanov, one of Stalin’s deputies, wrote in an oft-quoted passage; “on the contrary, internationalism arises from the very flowering of national art.”¹²⁰ Zhdanov’s gestures toward international art were largely empty rhetoric, the focus remaining decisively on cultivating national and “realist” music. Yet when his ideas were expounded to Polish composers in mid-1948, they aligned well with the established interpretation of Chopin as both national and international. In a pivotal article titled “Formalism and Realism in Music,” the Vice-Minister of Culture and Arts Włodzimierz Sokorski quoted Zhdanov’s views on nationalism as the prerequisite for internationalism, cited above, before transplanting these ideas to the Polish context: “The most important reason why Fryderyk Chopin became a musical genius of worldwide renown, who crossed the borders of his fatherland and of his era, was because he expressed in a brilliant manner the frame of mind, feeling, and musical problems of his epoch. He grew out of the musical soul of his own people—their suffering, their battles, their sadness and joy.”¹²¹ Polish musicians could not have missed the ideological tenor of such statements. But they would have found it more difficult to disagree with the claim that Chopin’s worldwide success was grounded in Polish national expression. After all, a similar set of ideas about his fame had been in circulation for decades. At the very least, the endorsement of this view by figures no less powerful than the Vice-Minister of Culture and the Polish president gave lower-level

119. Interestingly, this international focus in Poland is at variance with Handel reception in the German Democratic Republic. Although some organizations and events in the GDR were designed to attract international attention, the primary focus remained on portraying the worldly Handel as “German” well into the 1950s and beyond. See Potter, “Politicization of Handel,” 326–33.

120. Zhdanov, *Essays*, 87. This in turn restated a policy in circulation since the 1930s of encouraging the constituent republics of the Soviet Union to develop their own national musical cultures modeled on the Russian classics; see Frolova-Walker, “National in Form.” The political and professional forces at play in Soviet Zhdanovism are explored in Tomoff, *Creative Union*, chs. 4–5. See also Zuk, “Nikolay Myaskovsky,” and Fay, *Shostakovich*, ch. 9.

121. Sokorski, “Formalizm i realizm,” 2: “Fryderyk Chopin stał się geniuszem muzycznym świata, przekraczającym granice swojej ojczyzny i swojego czasu przede wszystkim dlatego, że w genialny sposób wyraził nastrój, uczucie i problematykę muzyczną swojej epoki, wyrastając z duszy muzycznej własnego ludu—jego cierpień, jego walk, jego smutku i radości.” As we have seen, Bierut endorsed a similar view when he portrayed Chopin as a link in a brotherhood of people on opening the 1949 Chopin Year.

officials license to repeat similar ideas when organizing Chopin celebrations abroad, as seen above in the case of the Polish consul general in Tel Aviv.

By 1949, the cultural stakes of the Cold War and of the competition between the two superpowers that would define the conflict were becoming clear to musicians across Europe and the United States.¹²² The events of the Chopin Year played out against this background. As the historian Kiril Tomoff has demonstrated, the Fourth International Chopin Competition, held in the concluding days of the Chopin Year, was a cultural battleground for Soviet-Western confrontation. So important was the victory of the Soviet side that Vice-Minister Sokorski intervened to ensure a joint Soviet-Polish first prize (awarded to the Soviet pianist Bella Davidovich and the Polish Halina Czerny-Stefańska) after the Polish jurors voted down the Soviet candidate in an attempt to ensure a Polish win. Tomoff views the partial concession to the Polish jury members in the form of the joint prize as an example of the way in which “planning and holding performance competitions entailed balancing the imperatives of national cultural promotion and imperial integration.” National self-promotion was tolerated so long as it did not “compromise larger imperial goals” of the Soviet Union, which Tomoff glosses as the “demonstration of the bankruptcy of West European cultural forms or practices.”¹²³

Poles did not deny or critique the role of the 1949 International Chopin Piano Competition in promoting the cultural superiority of the Soviet system.¹²⁴ But they also highlighted the international attention drawn by the competition as a value in and of itself, an interpretation in line with prewar discourse about earlier iterations of the event. Readers of the journal *Radio i Świat* (Radio and the world), for example, were greeted with descriptions of the dozens of different flags in the competition venue, as well as photo montages of the contestants, identified by country.¹²⁵ Sokorski’s speech at the opening ceremony claimed that Chopin was the “property of all the nations of the world,” even if the vice-minister’s behind-the-scenes machinations—as well as the sweep of the finals by Polish and Soviet performers—suggest otherwise.¹²⁶ For the Polish composer and pianist Bolesław Woytowicz, a member of the competition’s jury, the broad international participation was proof of Chopin’s value: “Listening to the performances of the candidates, who are

122. See, for example, DeLapp-Birkett, “Aaron Copland,” and Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*. See also Gould-Davies, “Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy.”

123. Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad*, 57–61, here 61.

124. See, for example, Marek, “Po IV międzynarodowym konkursie Chopinowskim.”

125. See Pejot, “Konkurs Chopinowski.” The contestants in the Fourth Chopin Competition hailed from Poland (11 entries), the USSR (6), Hungary (7), Austria (4), Brazil (3), England (2), Bulgaria (2), Czechoslovakia (1), France (1), Italy (1), Romania (1), Mexico (1), and Germany (1); see AAN-366/12-235, “Sprawozdanie z IV Międzynarodowego Konkursu im. Chopina dla pianistów w Warszawie.”

126. Quoted in Pejot, “Konkurs Chopinowski”: “własnością wszystkich narodów świata.”

representatives of so many different nations, one becomes convinced that Chopin is in the deepest sense a genius for all humanity.”¹²⁷

Furthermore, there is little archival evidence that the international Chopin Year, outside the high-stakes venue of the competition, aimed to promote the Soviet system or to attack Western European culture. What emerges more clearly from the archival documents is the desire of Polish organizers to integrate Chopin celebrations into the activities of countries across the world, a strategy of national legitimization through cultural means that courted, rather than rejected, the Western Bloc. As one internal document summarizing the international events stated, the aim was to ensure that when “speaking about Poland it is impossible to overlook Chopin, and while listening to Chopin one must think of Poland.”¹²⁸

Significantly for a consideration of the Cold War politics of the Chopin Year, only a minority of the countries involved belonged to the Eastern Bloc, indicating a willingness of the Poles to work with and on the terms of non-Communist states. Each country that participated in the Chopin Year was to establish its own committee of dignitaries who would oversee the local events and lend them their clout. A major task of the Polish diplomatic missions was encouraging the organization of such committees by using their knowledge of political conditions on the ground. In their failed attempt to form an Argentinian committee and piano competition, for example, the Polish embassy first approached the Argentinian Minister of Education Oscar Ivanissevich, who, however, dismissed the idea as “Communist propaganda,” which discouraged Argentinians from cooperating with the embassy. Further attempts to secure the support of the president of Argentina, Juan Perón, through contacts with his wife Eva were also unsuccessful, although a large celebratory concert nevertheless took place.¹²⁹ In some cases, diplomatic missions made use of friendship societies, which were socialist-leaning international exchange organizations.¹³⁰ The diplomatic missions also provided funding for events and prize money in the competitions and supplied texts that could be published by local journalists.¹³¹

National committees were established in nearly two-thirds of the countries that participated in the Chopin Year. They were led by powerful figures, including heads of state (the presidents of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Mexico,

127. Quoted in Marek, “Po IV międzynarodowym konkursie Chopinowskim,” 25: “Słuchając gry kandydatów, będących przedstawicielami tylu różnych narodów, zyskuje się przekonanie, iż Chopin jest tym w najgłębszym sensie ogólnoludzkim geniuszem.”

128. AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski 1949 zagranicą”: “Mówiąc o Polsce nie sposób pominąć Chopina, słuchając Chopina trzeba pomyśleć o Polsce.”

129. See AAN-366/12-238, Poselstwo Polskie w Argentynie to Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, March 11, 1949.

130. See, for example, AAN-366/12-237, “Program imprez szopenowskich” (Finland).

131. See AAN-366/12-237, Poselstwo R.P. w Rio de Janeiro to Komitet Wykonawczy Roku Szopenowskiego 1949, February 3, 1949.

Hungary, France, and Italy), prominent government officials (the Minister of Education in Brazil, the Minister of Internal Affairs in Israel), and well-known musicians or public personages (Otto Klemperer led the German committee, the renowned Chopin scholar Arthur Hedley led the English one, and Queen Elisabeth of Belgium the Belgian one).¹³² This is not to say that the global dynamics of the Cold War were irrelevant. The Polish diplomatic missions acknowledged that the “political atmosphere” in each country played an important role in their success or failure; events in the United States, for example, were limited.¹³³ Nonetheless, the Chopin Year elicited support from the highest levels of states that were outside the Soviet sphere of influence. Further underscoring an appearance of autonomy, events often involved extensive local participation. In Brazil, for example, young pianists performed the complete cycle of Chopin’s works, broadcast by the state radio, while in Argentina, where the political situation surrounding the events was tense, the writer Pablo Rojas Paz discussed Chopin’s significance for an audience in the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires.¹³⁴

Meanwhile, in Warsaw, concertgoers and musicians could not have missed the international dimension of the events. The winners of fifteen preliminary piano competitions held across the world traveled to the city for the competition.¹³⁵ There were also the international jury members, many of whom were invited to give a recital or perform as soloists.¹³⁶ A number of concurrent musical events held in Warsaw during the competition further underscored its international draw: for example, a concert of Mexican chamber music featured works by José Pablo Moncayo and Carlos Chávez, and the Turkish musicologist Cevad Memduh Altar gave a lecture (in French) about Chopin and Turkish literature.¹³⁷ For the Polish pianist Jerzy

132. See AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski zagranicą 1949” (summary of events by country).

133. AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski 1949 zagranicą” (summary of diplomatic efforts): “atmosfery politycznej”; see also AMSZ-Z21-W87-T1174, “Sprawozdanie za III-ci i IV-ty kwartał 1949 z działalności informacyjno-kulturalnej polskich urzędów na terenie Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej.”

134. See AAN-366/12-237, Poselstwo R.P. w Rio de Janeiro to Komitet Wykonawczy Roku Szopenowskiego 1949, February 3, 1949, and AAN-366/12-237, V-Dyrektor Departamentu Prasy i Informacji to Polska Agencja Prasowa, September 6, 1949.

135. See AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski zagranicą 1949” (summary of events by country).

136. These included Lev Oborin and Pavel Alexeyevich Serebryakov (USSR), Marguerite Long and Lazare Lévy (France), Magdalena Tagliaferro (Brazil), Lajos Hernádi (Hungary), František Maxián (Czechoslovakia), and Franz Josef Hirt (Switzerland); see AAN-366/12-235, letter to Dyrektor Biura Współpracy z Zagranicą, July 27, 1949, and AAN-366/12-238, Juliusz Starzyński to Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, March 22, 1949.

137. See AAN-366/12-238, E. Rudnicki to Poselstwo Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Meksyku, April 21, 1949, and AAN-366/12-238, Dyrektor Departamentu Prasy i Informacji to Komitet Wykonawczy Roku Chopinowskiego 1949, April 19, 1949. The talk was published in Polish as Altar, “Chopin w Turcji.”

Jasiński, the competition and its attendant international pomp meant that “the eyes of all musicians and lovers of music were turned to Warsaw—Chopin’s native city—as it begins to pull itself from the rubble and becomes a center of musical life—and not only of Polish musical life.”¹³⁸ Such rhetoric updated the claims that the original organizers of the Chopin Competition had been making since the 1920s: thanks to Chopin, Warsaw was an international city of music.

Chopin’s Second Homeland

The conviction that international Chopin commemoration could advance Polish national interests abroad was fully on display in the French events organized for the Chopin Year. That France would become a major target for Polish diplomatic effort is not surprising: without Chopin’s immigration to Paris and success in the city, it is difficult to imagine his music having the wide circulation it ultimately achieved, and without its wide circulation, any claims that he was an international figure would be undermined. Yet the strength of Chopin’s success in France also threatened to overshadow his links to Poland and Polishness. Polish organizers had to navigate a delicate balance between exploiting his deep historical connections to Paris and preventing the “French Chopin” from drowning out the “Polish Chopin.”

Further complicating matters, Chopin’s ties to France also resulted in several factions, both French and Polish, contesting his legacy in the run-up to the events. Many French commentators understandably saw Chopin as one of their own, especially since he had long been seen as a “vital missing link” between the clavecinists of the eighteenth century and *fin-de-siècle* pianist-composers such as Ravel, Fauré, and Debussy.¹³⁹ On the other hand, Polish modernist composers, some of whom remained in Paris after World War II, continued to treat Chopin as a model for national yet “universal” Polish music, as discussed above. Finally, France was of interest to Polish Communists, who would have noted the strength of the French Communist party shortly after World War II and the fascination of swaths of the French intelligentsia with Stalin.¹⁴⁰ Representatives espousing all three of these perspectives

138. AAN-237/XVIII-94, Jerzy Jasiński, “Rozważania po IV międzynarodowym Konkursie im. Fryderyka Chopina dla Pianistów”: “Oczy wszystkich muzyków i miłośników muzyki były zwrócone na Warszawę—miasto rodzinne Chopina—dźwigające się zaleddie z gruzów, a już stające się centrum życia muzycznego nie tylko Polski.”

139. Samson, “Chopin Reception,” 5.

140. See Judt, *Postwar*, 209–17. Even so, official relations between Poland and France had grown more fraught by the beginning of the Chopin Year, despite agreements to promote mutual cultural exchange that had been signed in 1947; see Sękowski, “Działalność przedstawicieli dyplomatycznych i konsularnych.”

attempted to shape the Chopin Year events in France, with varying degrees of success.

For many Polish composers who were active in the early postwar years, Chopin continued to be a symbol of their international ambitions and a guarantee of Polish relevance in Paris, a city that they often treated as a metonym for European musical culture writ large. Poland's most important forum for discussions of new music in these years, the journal *Ruch Muzyczny*, described its founding mission as perpetuating the Western-oriented musical connections that its editors believed Chopin, and more recently Szymanowski, had created. The "ideological core" of the journal, declared its editors in the inaugural issue, was to continue the work of these two composers, who "expressed Polishness in ways that spoke to the entire world, thereby connecting the Polish voice, the individuality of Polish art, to the great chorus of the culture of humankind."¹⁴¹ Similar ideas were endorsed by significant Polish composers of this period, such as Zygmunt Mycielski and Roman Palester, both of whom had spent time in Paris before the war.¹⁴² Many composers still traveled to Paris for performances and studies after 1945, if not with the same frequency as before the war.¹⁴³ Others, such as Antoni Szalowski and Michał Spisak, had spent the war in France and remained active in Paris after liberation. The Association of Young Musicians-Poles in Paris, the home of many Polish composers in that city before the war, continued to function until 1950, although in 1945 it had tussled with the Polish embassy, which had previously been a source of financial support.¹⁴⁴

For Jerzy Zagórski, a poet and cultural attaché at the Polish embassy in Paris who was charged with organizing the 1949 Chopin Year events in France, these strong Franco-Polish musical connections were an advantage that ought to be exploited. "It was the embassy's wish that, from the beginning of our work, the authority of the most famous Polish musicians living in Paris should be relied on," he explained in a memo sent to Warsaw in July 1948.¹⁴⁵ Zagórski had a clear motivation for this position. He likely knew that the events being planned in Poland would attempt to popularize Chopin among the "masses" and emphasize a more folkish, proto-socialist Chopin.

141. Editorial, *Ruch Muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (1945): 3: "Wypowiadali polskość środkami przemawiającymi do całego świata, dołączając w ten sposób głos polski, polską indywidualną sztukę do wielkiego chóru kultury ogólnoludzkiej."

142. Mycielski, "Rocznica"; Palester, "Drogi muzyki polskiej."

143. See Pawłowski, "Życie muzyczne Paryża." The composers Andrzej Panufnik and Witold Lutosławski made trips to Paris during the early postwar period. Panufnik's trip was to purchase orchestral materials. Lutosławski went to Paris in 1946 and 1948, spending three months there on each trip. See Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, 156, and Nikolskaia, *Conversations*, 35.

144. See AAN-1450-354/IV/161, "Protokół Zebrania Muzyków Polskich z dnia 23 lipca 1945 roku w lokalu PKWN," and Kaczyński, "Ostatnia rozmowa z Antonim Szalowskim."

145. AAN-366/12-115, "Sprawozdanie za okres 1 stycznia 1948 do 31 lipca 1948": "Ambasada . . . pragnęła aby od początku prac oparto się na autorytetach najwybitniejszych muzyków polskich przebywających w Paryżu."

He worried that applying this approach in France could backfire. The Celebration of the Springtime of Nations that the embassy had organized earlier that year had failed, he contended, when “the people and even ‘lower classes’ became bored with it as a topic.”¹⁴⁶ He cautioned his superiors in Warsaw not to make a similar mistake with Chopin: “Here [in France] it is necessary to proceed completely differently than in Poland, where the people are still culturally raw and only beginning to be attracted to culture. Here neither popularizing Chopin nor arousing interest in music is necessary, and harping on these issues for too long could bore and invite ridicule.”¹⁴⁷ As condescending as these remarks about the cultural state of Poles may seem, they were made with what Zagórski perceived to be the best interests of the Polish state in mind. “Our task is to win the Chopin Year politically. . . . What is essential is that the events that do occur are cemented with the diplomatic mission of the Polish Republic and independent forces so as to win over skeptics.”¹⁴⁸ Zagórski seems to have believed that presenting a popular, socialist-friendly Chopin was less important than ensuring that the Chopin Year allowed Polish representatives to appear alongside French officials and cultural figures.

The Association of Young Musician-Poles in Paris was, in many ways, an ideal “independent force” for Zagórski’s plans, since its members’ decades-old connections to the French musical scene gave them a measure of distance from the policies of Warsaw. Indeed, the first meeting held in Paris between the embassy and the Paris-based Polish musicians spoke to the clout of the latter. Nadia Boulanger students Antoni Szałowski and Michał Spisak were there, as were Roman Palester, then gaining renown as a composer of Polish film scores, and his wife, Barbara Podolska-Palester, who was working as a representative for Polish Music Publishers. The up-and-coming composer Andrzej Panufnik was also in attendance (although at that time based in Poland), as was the respected literary figure Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. The plans proposed by the association were modest yet crafted to appeal to Parisian audiences: there were to be several publications, commemorations in the Sorbonne with the participation of the French president and the Polish ambassador, and a series of ten concerts.¹⁴⁹ The association’s support in turn

146. Ibid.: “lud nawet i ‘doły społeczne’ zostały zanudzone tematem.”

147. Ibid.: “Tu trzeba zupełnie inaczej rozgrywać te rzeczy niż w Polsce, gdzie lud jest kulturalnie surowy, aż do kultury się garnie. Tu popularyzować Chopina nie trzeba, rozbudzać zainteresowań muzycznych też nie, natomiast przeciągnąwszy strunę można zanudzić i ośmieszyć.”

148. Ibid.: “Naszą rzeczą jest go [Rok Chopina] wygrać politycznie. . . . Istotne jest to, aby te [imprezy], które się odbędą scementowały z przedstawicielstwem R. P. siły niezależne, a do przedjednania.”

149. See AKP, uncataloged documents of the Association of Young Musician-Poles in Paris, Protokoły walnych zebrań: Seweryn Różycki, “Sprawozdanie z opracowania i wstępnego realizowania w 1948 r. przez Stowarzyszenie Młodych Muzyków Polaków w Paryżu programu obchodu stoletniej rocznicy śmierci Chopina.” Although Różycki’s report was

helped facilitate the formation of a joint French-Polish Chopin Year committee, which included such French luminaries as Serge Moreux and André Jolivet, together with several association members and a representative from the Communist-backed Society for French-Polish Friendship.¹⁵⁰

Despite an endorsement from the Ministry of Culture and Art in Warsaw, these plans collapsed violently and unexpectedly shortly after they were hatched.¹⁵¹ In the summer of 1948, the treasurer of the association, Seweryn Różycki, had returned to Warsaw to coordinate work with the Warsaw-based Chopin Year executive committee. On August 18, he was arrested in central Warsaw by two agents for the internal security services, taken to the Ministry of Public Security headquarters, and asked to return to Paris, presumably as an informant.¹⁵² When he refused, he was taken to prison, tortured, and sentenced to six years of imprisonment for allegedly belonging to an illegal nationalist organization.¹⁵³ When news of the arrest spread to Paris, any goodwill felt by the association toward the embassy and the Polish state evaporated. The original French-Polish committee fell apart and was replaced.¹⁵⁴

With the Franco-Polish modernists sidelined, it was now Gustaw Bachner, a Pole working in the Polish Bureau of Information and Propaganda in Paris, who led the day-to-day organization of the events, while members of the association were no longer invited to meetings.¹⁵⁵ Bachner's aims were not so different from those of Zagórski. In a memo that made it all the way to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw, he argued that "none of the European countries has such a strong hand to play in France as Poland does with the centenary of Chopin's death."¹⁵⁶ Yet whereas Zagórski had advocated for a more measured approach to the Chopin Year, which was to lean heavily on French connections, Bachner held

written in 1977, its claims are supported by notes from the 1940s, which are included in the same archival file.

150. See AAN-366/1-747, Ambasada RP w Paryżu to MKiS BWZ, July 19, 1948. The other members of the joint committee were Pierre Capdevielle, Vladimir Fedoroff, Roman Palester, Michał Spisak, Antoni Szałowski, Seweryn Różycki, and a Mr. Huguenot, the representative from the Society for French-Polish Friendship.

151. AAN-366/1-747, MKiS Biuro Współpracy z Zagranicą to MKiS Departament Twórczości Artystycznej, July 27, 1948.

152. See Różycki, "Sprawozdanie z opracowania."

153. Różycki was released in 1954; see AKP, uncataloged documents of the Association of Young Musicians-Poles in Paris, Protokoły walnych zebrań: "Świadeństwo zwolnienia więźnia karnego," August 18, 1954.

154. See AAN-366/1-747, "Protokół z obrad delegacji francuskiego Narodowego Komitetu Chopinowskiego z przedstawicielami polskiego Komitetu Wykonawczego Roku Chopinowskiego, przeprowadzonych w dniach 3, 4, i 5 listopada 1948r. w Biurze Komitetu Wykonawczego w Warszawie."

155. See *ibid.*

156. AAN-237/XVIII-94, Gustaw Bachner, "Stulecie śmierci Fryderyka Chopina: Polskie Biuro Informacji w Paryżu, Sekcja muzyczna": "Żaden z krajów europejskich nie posiada tak świetnej karty do wygrania na terenie Francji, jak Polska w stuleciu zgonu Chopina."

that Chopin's "Polishness" had to be frequently reiterated. For instance, he believed that performances of folk dances by Polish vocal-dance groups would remind the French "'d'où est né le génie de Chopin' [where Chopin's genius was born]—that is, from Polish folk melodies and rhythms," even though this idea was not supported by the French representatives.¹⁵⁷

Bachner was increasingly driven to compete with the French, in an attempt to assert Polish ownership over the events and, by extension, over Chopin himself. By late 1948, he had got wind of a number of French periodicals that were planning to run special Chopin-themed issues, including *Jeunesses musicales*, *Guide du concert*, and *France-illustration*. He saw such publications as useful venues that could underscore "elements of Chopin's Polishness and Polish-French friendship."¹⁵⁸ Yet since he lacked connections to the French musical and critical worlds (largely as a result of the sidelining of the Parisian-Polish composers), these publications remained, as he observed, ones "over which the Polish side lacks the necessary control."¹⁵⁹ Unable to influence the content of these popular musical periodicals, the Polish side launched a major initiative to create a competing publication, a special issue of *Peuples amis*, the publication of the Communist-leaning Society for French-Polish Friendship. Bachner believed that this publication would be successful—by which he meant that it would "give a Polish tone to the French Chopin activities"—only if it appeared before the other publications.¹⁶⁰ The result was a scramble to import 7.5 tons of paper for the printing from Poland because the embassy could not afford to purchase it in France.¹⁶¹ The eventual publication did include essays that discussed Chopin's links to Poland (most notably by Paderewski), but it also featured several contributions that placed his music in dialogue with broader cultural concerns, such as those by Marguerite Long, Vladimir Jankélévitch, and Pablo Rojas Paz.¹⁶²

Other events downplayed the cultural and historical significance of Chopin's French exile, even as they painted him as an international figure. A series of so-called historical concerts, for example, were loose reenactments of Chopin's own concerts: they took place in cities where he had performed, on the dates of his performances, and they included the repertoire he had

157. AAN-366/12-238, p. 15, "Notatka w spr[awie] Stulecia Chopinowskiego we Francji," February 1, 1949: "'d'où est né le génie [*sic*] de Chopin'—a więc z melodii i rytmów ludowych polskich."

158. AAN-366/12-238, "Komisja Propagandowa (w załączeniu sprawozdanie zebrania z dnia 1 XII [1948]): "elementów polskości Chopin'a i przyjaźni polsko-francuskiej."

159. AAN-366/12-238, p. 15, "Notatka w spr[awie] Stulecia Chopinowskiego we Francji," February 1, 1949: "nad którymi strona polska nie ma dostatecznej kontroli."

160. Ibid.: "nadanie tonu polskiego akcji chopinowskiej we Francji."

161. See AAN-366/12-238, Biuro Współpracy z Zagranicą to Departament Planowania, March 11, 1949.

162. "Frédéric Chopin, 1849–1949."

played.¹⁶³ The performances emphasized Poland, the first and the last in the series taking place in Warsaw, even though Chopin had never returned to Poland. As the program for the final Warsaw “farewell concert” explained, the event was a “concert-tribute,” and a reminder that although Chopin’s body left Poland forever, “his heart—and his music—returned to us.”¹⁶⁴ The language used to describe such concerts as following “the well-known route of his travels in Europe” provoked a French response, since it equated his long-term residency in France with his briefer excursions to Germany, Vienna, and England.¹⁶⁵ When a Polish-initiated French-language publication buried Chopin’s eighteen-year-long French stay within a similar list of travels, some French musicians reportedly saw this not only as a “serious mistake” but as an “unfriendly gesture.”¹⁶⁶

The Chopin Year nevertheless garnered significant support from the French government, and the events often involved Polish representatives.¹⁶⁷ Speaking to the cultural weight of the French celebrations, a recreation of Chopin’s funeral in the Église de la Madeleine included performances of Mozart’s Requiem by the French national orchestra and the French radio chorus and of Chopin’s funeral march by the Republican Guard.¹⁶⁸ The special issue of *Peuples amis* included portraits of the French and Polish presidents side by side, a layout suggesting their cooperation over the Chopin Year events (see figure 4). On October 17, 1949, the one hundredth anniversary of Chopin’s death, a memorial celebration was held in the Sorbonne, which was so crowded that the correspondent for *Le Figaro* had to wait an hour in line to get inside, much to his annoyance.¹⁶⁹ The Polish national anthem was played before the “Marseillaise” and representatives of the Polish embassy were in attendance, although the main attraction was the French president Vincent Auriol, who presided over the events.¹⁷⁰ Bachner’s plans

163. See AAN-366/12-238 (untitled description of historical concerts). Performative recreation would similarly characterize later Polish musical commemorations; see Jakelski, “Lutosławski.”

164. APW-Z.131, “Koncert historyczny: Pożegnalny koncert Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie”: “koncert-wspomnienie”; “wróciło do nas jego serce—i muzyka.”

165. AAN-366/12-237, “Rok Chopinowski 1949 zagranicą” (description of events): “Znana trasa przejazdów Chopina w Europie.”

166. AAN-366/12-235, “Dotyczy: broszurki ‘L’Année Chopin 1949 en Pologne,’” May 13, 1949: “błąd poważny . . . gest nieprzyjazny.”

167. According to Polish reports, the French budgeted 10 million francs for the events: AAN-366/12-238, “Sprawozdanie z pobytu delegatów Komitetu Roku Chopinowskiego w Paryżu od dnia 4-17-ego lutego 1949 r. celem nawiązania kontaktu z Komitetem francuskim.”

168. See “Hier soir, à l’église de la Madeleine on a chanté le Requiem de Mozart à la mémoire de Chopin,” *Aurore*, October 28, 1949.

169. See Michel-P. Hamelet, “Pourquoi?,” *Le Figaro*, October 21, 1949.

170. See AAN-366/12-234, “W rocznicę śmierci CHOPINA: Uroczysta Akademia amfiteatrze Sorbony.” (The publication in which this article was printed is not specified in the clipping.) It is telling that these details about Polish official presence are highlighted in this Polish-language article, but not in most of the French ones.

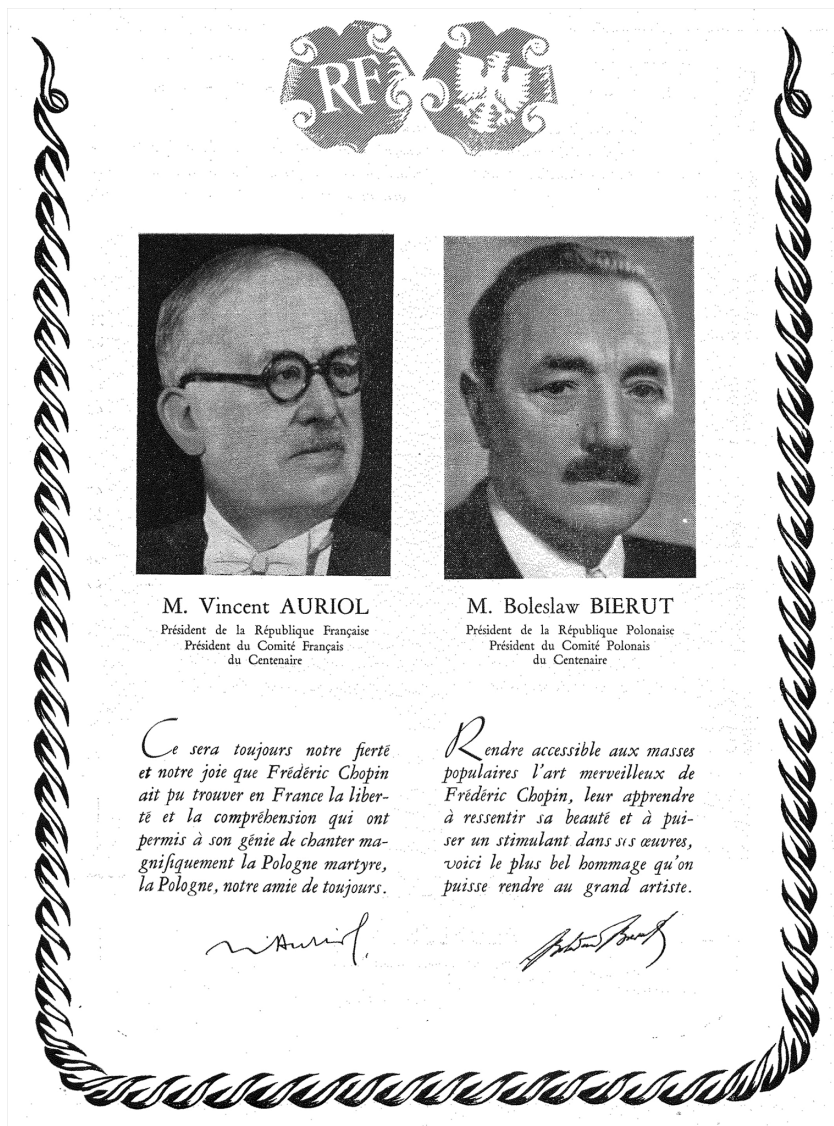


Figure 4 Portraits of the French and Polish presidents side by side in the special issue of *Peuples amis*. Auriol's statement reads, "It will always be our pride and our joy that Frédéric Chopin was able to find in France the liberty and understanding that allowed his genius to sing magnificently of martyred Poland, the Poland that is our lifelong friend." Bierut's reads, "To render the wonderful art of Frédéric Chopin accessible to the popular masses, to teach them to feel its beauty and to derive inspiration from his works—this is the finest homage one can pay to a great artist."

to highlight the Polish folk found their way into celebrations held at Chopin's grave in Père Lachaise: in addition to a speech by the composer Francis Poulenc, students from Polish high schools in France wore folk costumes for the event, while Polish miners from the north of France were brought in to attend.¹⁷¹

Whether these displays of Polish color had much effect on French listeners is doubtful, at least according to the press clippings that the Polish organizers collected from French sources during the Year.¹⁷² While the Communist press repeated some of the claims about Chopin as being national and universal,¹⁷³ other commentators were uninterested in questions of national identity. One reviewer of a concert of three Polish laureates from the Chopin piano competition (organized as part of the commemorations in France) noted drily that "being compatriots of Chopin does not automatically confer on an artist a particular grace," before dismissing the playing of the three as "display[ing] a glacial coldness."¹⁷⁴ Others pointed out the irony of commemorating Chopin, who had famously been reluctant to perform in public concerts, with large-scale, celebratory events. One critic remarked somewhat sarcastically that Chopin, "who intended his works for the intimacy of the salons, would have been very surprised if some fortune-teller had predicted that the centenary of his death would be celebrated with great fanfare at the Sorbonne in the presence of M. Vincent Auriol, president of the republic."¹⁷⁵ But at least in the monitoring of the French press carried out by the Polish organizers, there was little evidence that the events were seen as Polish, much less as Communist propaganda. Most commentators in the French press described them as legitimate, French-led celebrations of one of their country's major musical figures.¹⁷⁶

171. See "Les amis de Chopin ont vénéré sa mémoire au Père-Lachaise," *Combat*, October 31, 1949.

172. These clippings are held in AAN-366/12-234.

173. See, for example, Jean Noaro, "Frédéric Chopin: patriote polonais et musicien optimiste," *Humanité*, October 27, 1949.

174. Clarendon, "A la mode polonaise," *Le Figaro*, November 2, 1949: "D'être compatriotes de Chopin, cela ne confère pas automatiquement à un artiste une grâce particulière"; "témoignent d'une froideur glaciale."

175. "Frédéric Chopin entre à la Sorbonne," *Le Parisien libéré*, October 18, 1949: "Frédéric Chopin, qui destinait ses œuvres à l'intimité des salons, eût été bien surpris si quelques cartomanciens lui avait prédit que le centenaire de sa mort serait célébré en grande pompe à la Sorbonne, en présence de M. Vincent Auriol, président de la République."

176. Scorn was, however, directed toward the Soviets, if not the Poles. In an article titled "Sovietized Chopin," the author ridicules claims made in the TASS news service that only Russian musicians and Soviet pianists are Chopin's true interpreters: "We hazard that, if Poland had not become a 'peoples' democracy"—that is to say, a colony of Moscow—Chopin would remain the most bourgeois of musicians": "Chopin soviétisé," *L'Époque*, October 21, 1949 ("Gageons que, si la Pologne n'était pas devenue 'démocratie populaire,' c'est-à-dire colonie de Moscou—Chopin resterait le plus bourgeois des musiciens").

Western Internationalism and UNESCO's "Hommage à Chopin"

The competition over ownership of Chopin was not limited to France but extended to an organization with some of the biggest stakes in the development of internationalism within the Western-oriented, liberal world order: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). If UNESCO's Chopin commemorations reveal the appeal in 1949 of the idea that Chopin was an international figure, they also bring into focus further limits of Polish attempts to influence Chopin reception abroad.¹⁷⁷ For its Fourth General Conference in Paris, UNESCO commissioned musical compositions that would celebrate Chopin, which were performed in a concert on October 3, 1949.¹⁷⁸ As shown in the program (see the appendix, below), the eleven composers who participated hailed from across Europe and the Americas. Early plans for the concert arose in the French Chopin centenary committee, which intended to solicit compositions from French composers for a "Tombeau de Chopin," modeled on the *tombeaux* that had commemorated French composers over the preceding decades, most notably those for Debussy and Dukas published in 1920 and 1936 respectively.¹⁷⁹ In UNESCO's realization, the *tombeau* took on a more international character and was reframed as a homage concert instead of a publication.

UNESCO was founded during a moment of "renewed faith in worldwide cooperation" after World War II, as the historian Akira Iriye has described.¹⁸⁰ Its lofty mission was to foster peace through global education and cultural exchange in hopes of expunging the racism and nationalism that had contributed to the war. Its founders believed that these activities would help form a "One World" community, a kind of global collective composed of the world's various national cultures. Idealism aside, this was a vision in which racial hierarchy, imperial "trusteeship," and a paternalistic view of the nonwhite world remained ensconced.¹⁸¹ Further, despite its stated commitment to global unity, UNESCO was grounded in the Western Bloc of the Cold War, and its musical activities, especially those of UNESCO's International Music Council (founded in January 1949), were often seen as promoting a US

177. A prominent feature of Cold War-era musical rhetoric was that similar terms and ideals could be defended on both sides of the divide, albeit understood in conflicting ways; see Shreffler, "Ideologies of Serialism."

178. See "Tribute to Frédéric Chopin."

179. See AAN-366/12-238, "Komisja Wydawnictw." The document is undated but likely predates January 30, 1949. For a provocative examination of the musical *tombeau* in twentieth-century France, see Abbate, *In Search of Opera*, ch. 5.

180. Iriye, *Global Community*, 44.

181. See Sluga, "UNESCO and the (One) World," 407. More broadly, for an examination of the imperial roots of the United Nations, see Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace*.

cultural agenda.¹⁸² The Soviet Union declined membership in UNESCO until after Stalin's death, and during the late 1940s Soviet leaders used UNESCO's rhetoric about global community to drum up fear at home about the West's Cold War ambitions.¹⁸³ Unlike the Soviet Union, Poland was a founding member of UNESCO, but its relationship with it was fraught and would grow especially sour in late 1949, not long after the Chopin-themed concert sponsored by the organization.¹⁸⁴

The composers who participated in the "Hommage à Chopin" reflected UNESCO's orientation toward the Western Bloc. Best represented were France, the Americas (United States, Mexico, Brazil), and Western Europe (United Kingdom, Italy, Spain). Notably, there were no composers from the Soviet Union, and the Eastern Bloc was represented only by Andrzej Panufnik's *Suite polonaise*.¹⁸⁵ The other composers who hailed from Eastern Europe—Tansman (Poland, but since 1938 a French citizen) and Martinů (Czechoslovakia)—were émigrés and had few if any official affiliations with the Polish and Czechoslovak states. Indeed, the Polish Chopin Year organizers had worried as early as January 1949 that the international UNESCO commemoration might have "the character of an 'occidental bloc,'" and they hoped to have Soviet, Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian composers invited to participate.¹⁸⁶ Despite their reservations, the Polish side agreed to participate in the UNESCO-organized concert because they welcomed the chance to underscore Chopin's links to Poland: cooperation with UNESCO, they hoped, would allow them to lobby for Polish composers to be overrepresented in relation to those from other countries.¹⁸⁷ (This did not occur.)

The biographies of the "Hommage à Chopin" composers reflected a belief that musical internationalism would grow out of the transnational contacts of individuals across cultures. Many of the composers on the program had led exceptionally transnational lives, even in an era when modernists routinely crossed borders. Heitor Villa-Lobos and Carlos Chávez, for example, had both established major careers thanks in part to their travels to Europe and the United States respectively.¹⁸⁸ Howard Hanson and Lennox Berkeley had undertaken significant studies on the continent—Hanson with Respighi in Rome and Berkeley with Boulanger in Paris. Most strikingly, given Chopin's own exile, three of the composers were themselves émigrés

182. See Fléchet, "Le Conseil international de la musique," 66.

183. See Porter, "Cold War Internationalisms," ch. 1.

184. See *ibid.*, 66.

185. Panufnik retitled the work *Hommage à Chopin* before publishing it and later, in 1966, created a version for flute and piano; see Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, 176–77.

186. See AAN-366/12-238, "Tombeau de Chopin," January 30, 1949: "zbiór ten mógłby mieć charakter 'bloc occidental.'"

187. See AAN-366/12-238, "Dot. 'Tombeau de Chopin,'" April 21, 1949.

188. See Peppercorn, "H. Villa-Lobos in Paris," and Gibson, "Chávez, *Modern Music*."

or exiles. Óscar Esplá had gone into voluntary exile in Belgium as a result of the Spanish Civil War, where he remained for some years after World War II.¹⁸⁹ Martinů had left Czechoslovakia in 1923 to study in Paris and would never reside in his homeland again.¹⁹⁰ Tansman, discussed above, was born in Łódź but was naturalized as a French citizen in 1938.¹⁹¹ In assembling these composers to commemorate Chopin, the concert posited his transnational career as an early precedent for the musical border-crossing that had become common in the twentieth century and that UNESCO's musical leadership further embraced.

The works performed demonstrated the multiple ways in which Chopin's musical legacy could be reconfigured in the present. Many of the compositions are titled after genres on which he had left his mark, although the composers' interpretations of those genres were far from uniform. Berkeley's *Trois mazurkas* most clearly accord with Chopin's conception of the genre, displaying characteristic rhythmic patterns of the mazurka in the form of a short piano composition. Other composers responded to his bending of genre conventions.¹⁹² Martinů's *Mazurka-nocturne*, for example, is a ternary-form composition in which the mazurka outer sections enclose a nocturne middle section, perhaps a nod to Chopin's own proclivity for middle sections drawn from contrasting genres (the étude-like middle sections of his nocturnes being classic examples).

Tansman's *Tombeau de Chopin*, by comparison, eschews Chopin's interest in formal development and carefully crafted transitions to focus instead on musical stasis.¹⁹³ The first movement, "Nocturne," is constructed from a melody of limited range and harmonic motion, whose repetitions are suspended over beds of chords seemingly unattached to the specific content of the line (see example 1).¹⁹⁴ The static bass line, built almost exclusively over a C-G drone, further cements the sense of motionlessness that governs the short movement. There are motivic similarities to Chopin's Nocturne op. 48, no. 1, and the triple meter may also evoke his Nocturnes op. 15, nos. 1 and 3. Yet these similarities belie an immense difference in sound-world, as Tansman rejects the elaborate ornamentation, distinctive pianistic textures, and harmonic complexity of these works while still claiming the same generic designation.

In other works on the program, Chopin's distinctive musical gestures reappear in a more contemporary guise. One of the clearest examples of this phenomenon is the first movement, "Nocturne," of Villa-Lobos's

189. See García Alcázar, "Esplá (y Triay), Óscar."

190. See Smaczny and Crump, "Martinů, Bohuslav (Jan)."

191. See Cegiella, *Dziecko szczęścia*, 1:349.

192. See Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, esp. chs. 1–2.

193. See *ibid.*, ch. 4, and Kallberg, "Problem of Repetition."

194. Example 1 is transcribed from Alexandre Tansman, *Tombeau de Chopin, 1849–1949, for String Quintet or String Orchestra* (New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1951).

Example 1 Alexandre Tansman, *Tombeau de Chopin*, “Nocturne,” mm. 1–8

Lent (♩ = 60)

sord.

p sempre tranquillo

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

p

5

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Va.

Vc.

Cb.

Hommage à Chopin (see example 2a).¹⁹⁵ The opening loosely borrows both the texture of an undulating triplet accompaniment in the right hand and a melody in the left from the middle section of Chopin's Nocturne op. 15, no. 1, although the affect is dreamy rather than stormy (see example 2b).¹⁹⁶ Another potential source for the right-hand figuration is the Étude op. 25, no. 8, which shares with Villa-Lobos's piece an emphasis on the interval of the sixth and its triplet figuration (see example 2c).¹⁹⁷ And the middle section of the "Nocturne" (from m. 10) recalls Chopin's D-flat major prelude, opus 28, no. 15: it has the same tonal focus on D-flat and ostinato A♭ (G#), and like the middle section of opus 28, no. 15, it is arrived at through a common-tone transition (see example 2d).¹⁹⁸ In both these middle sections, moreover, the melody emerges out of the bass. Despite these allusions, however, the work remains firmly in the soundworld of Villa-Lobos, owing to the stepwise descent of melody and bass line, agogically accented appoggiaturas in the melody, and rich, extended harmonies.

The diverse nationalities and aesthetic proclivities of the eleven composers involved in the "Hommage à Chopin" concert suggested that Chopin's music could speak across national borders and provide inspiration for a plurality of contemporary compositional directions. Attendees might have been primed to hear the works in these terms, because the program booklet underscored a vision of his music as universally appealing. Chopin "evokes from peoples everywhere, without distinction of race, of language, of creed, the same enthusiastic admiration and gratitude."¹⁹⁹ Yet UNESCO's presentation of the "universal" Chopin departed from the similar ideas being pursued by the Polish organizers at the same time. Most strikingly, UNESCO's rhetoric does not endorse the view that Chopin's global resonances were strengthened by the national qualities of his music. The sentence quoted above does not explicitly mention nation, while emphasizing categories of difference such as race, religion, and language that rarely appear in Polish discussions of the Chopin Year. In emphasizing the similarity of reactions that his music evokes across these boundaries, UNESCO contradicted the focus on Polish distinctiveness vis-à-vis Chopin that was a through line of the Year's Polish organizing efforts.

195. Example 2a is transcribed from Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Hommage à Chopin* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1955).

196. Example 2b is transcribed from Fryderyk Chopin, *Nokturny*, edited by Jan Ekier and Paweł Kamiński, *Wydanie Narodowe Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina*, ser. A, vol. 5 (Cracow: PWM, 2018).

197. Example 2c is transcribed from Fryderyk Chopin, *Etiudy*, edited by Jan Ekier, *Wydanie Narodowe Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina*, ser. A, vol. 2 (Cracow: PWM, 1990).

198. Example 2d is transcribed from Fryderyk Chopin, *Préludes op. 28, op. 45*, edited by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *The Complete Chopin: A New Critical Edition* (London: Peters, 2003).

199. UNESCO, *Hommage à Frédéric Chopin* (no page numbers).

Example 2a Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Hommage à Chopin*, “Nocturne,” mm. 1–15. © 1955 Eschig Max Soc. Used by kind permission of Éditions Durand—Salabert—Eschig.

Lent (♩ = 60)
gva -----

3

gva -----

5

gva -----

7

(continued)

Example 2a continued

(gva) -----

8

5

5

5

5

f

3

3

9

mf

Lento (♩ = 58)

pp

pp

3

3

mf

12

14

This musical score is for a piano piece, likely in G major or G minor, given the key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is divided into four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).
System 1 (measures 8-9): Measure 8 features a rapid sixteenth-note scale in the right hand, marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a five-finger fingering (5). The left hand has a few notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Measure 9 continues the right-hand scale and has a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand.
System 2 (measures 9-11): Measure 9 continues from the previous system. Measure 10 is marked *mf* and features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand. Measure 11 is marked *Lento* (♩ = 58) and *pp*, showing a change in tempo and dynamics. The right hand has a triplet of eighth notes, and the left hand has a triplet of eighth notes.
System 3 (measures 12-13): Measure 12 is marked *pp* and features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand. Measure 13 is marked *mf* and features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand.
System 4 (measures 14-15): Measure 14 is marked *mf* and features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand. Measure 15 is marked *pp* and features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand.

Example 2b Fryderyk Chopin, Nocturne op. 15, no. 1, mm. 29–32

[con fuoco] ♩ = 84

29

[f] *fz* *cresc.*

31

ff *dim.*

6

Red. *

Example 2c Fryderyk Chopin, Étude op. 25, no. 8, mm. 1–2

Vivace ♩ = 69
molto legato

mezza voce

3

Red. *

The notion that Chopin could transcend difference aligned closely with beliefs about music’s global significance held by UNESCO’s general director, Jaime Torres Bodet, and president of its International Music Council, Alexis Roland-Manuel. Both men considered that music’s purported non-semantic qualities made it an especially powerful tool for bridging cultures and dispelling racist ideologies.²⁰⁰ Seen in this light, UNESCO’s emphasis

200. See Fléchet, “Le Conseil international de la musique,” 55–56.

Example 2d Fryderyk Chopin, *Prélude* op. 28, no. 15, mm. 24–39

24 [Sostenuto] (p) [p]

28 sotto voce

31 cresc. - - - - -

34 cresc. - - - - - Red. *

37 Red. *

on the idea of an international Chopin was perhaps closer to the common clichés about music as a “universal language” than to the claims of the interdependence of the national and the international that had animated Polish-led Chopin projects from the interwar years on. UNESCO’s “Hommage” reminds us that those outside Poland became invested in the Chopin Year in response to their own aims and political considerations, which did not necessarily align with or even support those of the Polish organizers. It also raises the intriguing possibility that Chopin could serve as an instrument of Polish political aspirations on the global stage in part because those outside Poland did not fully grasp the profound—and profoundly nationalist—political significance that Polish commentators had ascribed to his music.

Chopin and Global Poland

As we have seen, the Chopin Year was enmeshed in the context of the early Cold War, but it was also shaped by forces that predated 1949. Most strikingly, the internationalism of the Chopin Year was woven from numerous transnational dyads, which had been established when Poles had crossed borders throughout the previous century. Chopin’s own emigration was among the most significant of these, but later forms of mobility also played a role, including that of the Polish composers and musical intellectuals who had been educated in Paris, the contacts generated by the Chopin Competition in the 1920s and 1930s, and even the long history of emigration by musicians and others out of Poland. Taken together, these transnational connections provided organizers with entry points for creating a “global” event, a series of smaller ties, which, once collated, fleshed out their internationalist vision for the significance of Chopin—and perhaps also of Poland.

The archival record also reveals how older cultural resonances had been etched onto the Chopin Year, as if it were a palimpsest of the ways Polish intellectuals had conceived of themselves and their relationship to the world over the preceding century. If, in the era of the partitions, Chopin was a marker of the perdurance of Polish culture, after the regaining of independence in 1918 he offered a way of articulating Poland’s ambitions to belong to Europe in both cultural and political terms. Far from abandoning these ideas, the Chopin Year reactivated them, casting Chopin as a figure of national and international significance in ways that offered common ground to musicians, officials, and diplomats who held different views of the future of culture in Poland. Ultimately, the Chopin Year brings into focus a type of musical internationalism that was expressed in both past and future tenses, revealing how the circulation of musical culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shaped the possibilities for Cold War-era exchange.

Debates about Chopin as a symbol for Poland in the world did not cease with the 1949 Chopin Year. Over the following decades, the Chopin Piano Competition would launch the global careers of artists including Maurizio Pollini of Italy (who won in 1960), Martha Argerich of Argentina (1965), and Garrick Ohlsson of the United States (1970), and Chopin would form the subject of international scholarly congresses in Poland from the 1960s to the present.²⁰¹ These events joined a wider program of international musical festivals organized in the country.²⁰² They also took place in an increasingly globalized musical world, one in which it had become routine for countries to display their musical cultures through diplomatic exchanges, tours, and festivals.²⁰³

Today, Chopin has if anything become even more tightly tied to Poland's international visibility. With the fall of Communism and the shock capitalism of the 1990s, Chopin the international figure has become Chopin the global brand.²⁰⁴ He is a type of vodka and a brand of chocolate, a national symbol repackaged for consumption and export.²⁰⁵ The tourist infrastructure of Warsaw continues to suggest that Chopin is a major international attraction for visitors, his residence in the city a reason why it should be included on European itineraries. Flights arrive at the Warsaw Chopin Airport. His music plays from benches in the city center, some in front of buildings where he once lived. The Chopin Museum, remodeled in 2010, now features a plethora of interactive exhibits. Tourists can snap a selfie in a geo-tagged app that inserts a picture of Chopin alongside the picture-taker when visiting designated monuments to the composer, marked by metal plaques in the ground.²⁰⁶ The slogan for the Seventeenth International Chopin Piano Competition, held in 2015, was "Chopin without borders."²⁰⁷ During a press conference promoting the competition, Artur Szklener, the director of the National Fryderyk Chopin Institute, claimed that "Chopin exists above borders and he opens the hearts of all."²⁰⁸ Chopin thus continues to promise to connect Poland and the world, offering a symbol of transnational exchange, cosmopolitanism, and border-crossing, even if these new iterations of an old trope unfold in an era of global capitalism.

201. See Lissa, *Book of the First International Musicological Congress*.

202. See Jakelski, *Making New Music*, and Bohlman, "Where I Cannot Roam."

203. See Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, 211–21, and Fosler-Lussier, "Cultural Diplomacy."

204. See Gienow-Hecht, "Nation Branding."

205. See Zubrzycki, "History and the National Sensorium," 51–52.

206. Thanks to Alena Aniskiewicz for bringing the "Selfie with Chopin" app to my attention. Judging from the app's 2.8-star rating on the Android store at time of writing, it leaves much to be desired.

207. See "Konkurs Chopinowski": "Chopin bez granic."

208. Quoted *ibid.*: "Chopin jest ponad granicami i otwiera serca wszystkich."

Appendix Concert program for “Hommage à Frédéric Chopin, 1849–1949,” October 3, 1949, Salle Gaveau, Paris

Opening remarks by Mr. Roland-Manuel, president of the Preparatory Commission for the International Music Council [of UNESCO]

Alexandre Tansman, *Tombeau de Chopin* (for string quintet)

1. Nocturne
2. Mazurka
3. Postlude

Quatuor Calvet and Gaston Logerot (contrabass)

Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Hommage à Chopin* (for piano)

1. Nocturne
2. À la ballade

Óscar Esplá, *Sonate espagnole* (for piano)

1. Andante romantico
2. Mazurka sopra un tema popolare
3. Allegro brioso

Arnaldo Estrella

Jacques Ibert, *Étude-Caprice* (for violoncello)

Maurice Maréchal

Andrzej Panufnik, *Suite polonaise* (for soprano and piano)

1. Praeludium
2. Allegretto
3. Interludium
4. Vivo
5. Postludium

Irène Joachim and André Collard

Howard Hanson, *Pastorale* (for oboe and piano)

Jules Goetgheluck and the composer

Lennox Berkeley, *Trois mazurkas* (for piano)

1. Allegro
2. Allegretto
3. Allegro

G. F. Malipiero, *Hommage à Chopin* (for piano)

Carlos Chávez, *Étude* (for piano)

Hélène Pignari

Bohuslav Martinů, *Mazurka-Nocturne* (for oboe, two violins, and violoncello)

Jules Goetgheluck, Georges Tessier, Georges Hugon, and Roger Albin

Florent Schmitt, *Ode à Frédéric Chopin*, on a poetic text by Friedrich Nietzsche (for four-part mixed choir and piano)
Ensemble vocal Marcel Couraud and André Collard

Works Cited

Archival Collections

Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN, *Archive of Modern Records, Warsaw*)

Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Culture Division (AAN-237/XVIII)

Ignacy Paderewski Papers (AAN-100)

Ministry of Culture and Art, Bureau for International Cooperation (AAN-366/12)

Ministry of Culture and Art, Department of Music and Department of Musical Creation (AAN-366/1)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AAN-332)

National Council of Poles in France (AAN-1450)

Archiwum Kompozytorów Polskich (AKP, *Archive of Polish Composers, University of Warsaw Library*)

Correspondence of the Association of Young Musician-Poles in Paris (AKP-K-LV)
Uncataloged documents of the Association of Young Musician-Poles in Paris

Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych (AMSZ, *Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw*)

Department of Information and Propaganda (AMSZ-Z21)

Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (APW, *State Archive in Warsaw*)

Fourth International F. Chopin Competition for Pianists in Warsaw (APW-Z.131)

Published Sources

Abbate, Carolyn. *In Search of Opera*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Aleksun, Natalia. "Berihah." The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. Accessed July 29, 2022. <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Berihah>.

Altar, Djewad Merdough [*sic*]. "Chopin w Turcji." *Ruch Muzyczny* 5, no. 16 (1949): 9–13.

Ansari, Emily Abrams. "Shaping the Policies of Cold War Musical Diplomacy: An Epistemic Community of American Composers." *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 1 (2012): 41–52.

Appelbaum, Anne. *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944–1956*. New York: Doubleday, 2012.

- Babiracki, Patryk, and Kenyon Zimmer, eds. *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s–1960s*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014.
- Bellman, Jonathan D. *Chopin's Polish Ballade: Op. 38 as Narrative of National Martyrdom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Ben-Zur, Michal. "Avidom [Mahler-Kalkstein], Menahem." Grove Music Online. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01594>.
- Bierut, Bolesław. "Przemówienie otwarcia 'Roku Chopinowskiego 1949.'" *Ruch Muzyczny* 5, nos. 5–6 (1949): 1.
- Blobaum, Robert, ed. *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Boczkowska, Ewelina. "Chopin's Ghosts." *19th-Century Music* 35, no. 3 (Spring 2012): 204–23.
- Bohlman, Andrea F. "‘Where I Cannot Roam, My Song Will Take Wing’: Polish Cultural Promotion in Belarus, 1988." In *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 226–55. New York: Berghahn, 2015.
- Borejsza, Jerzy. "Rewolucja łagodna." *Odrodzenie* 2, nos. 10–12 (1945): 1.
- Bylander, Cindy. "Clichés Revisited: Poland's 1949 Łagów Composers' Conference." *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015): 15–34.
- Camiscioli, Elisa. *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Cegiella, Janusz. *Dziecko szczęścia: Aleksander Tansman i jego czasy*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Łódź: 86 Press, 1996.
- Chechlińska, Zofia. "Chopin Reception in Nineteenth-Century Poland." In *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, edited by Jim Samson, 206–21. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Chybiński, Adolf. "Sprawy szopenowskie." *Odrodzenie* 2, no. 24 (1945): 7.
- Chylińska, Teresa. "Szymanowski and Politics." *Music in Poland* 42, no. 1 (1990): 5–17.
- Collins, Sarah, and Dana Gooley. "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities." *Musical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 139–65.
- Custodis, Michael, and Arnulf Mattes. "Celebrating the Nordic Tone: Fighting for National Legacy—The Grieg Centenary, 1943." In *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938–1945: Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, edited by David Fanning and Erik Levi, 231–50. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Dabrowski, Patrice M. *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Translated by J. Bradford Robinson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- David-Fox, Michael. "The Iron Curtain as Semipermeable Membrane: Origins and Demise of the Stalinist Superiority Complex." In Babiracki and Zimmer, *Cold War Crossings*, 14–39.
- DeLapp-Birkett, Jennifer. "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States." *Journal of Musicological Research* 27, no. 1 (2008): 31–62.

- Dvorak, Anna. "A Hidden Immigration: The Geography of Polish-Brazilian Cultural Identity." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013.
- Dziadek, Magdalena. "On the Collective Forms of the Chopin Cult in Poland during the Nineteenth Century." *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology* 9 (2011): 151–63.
- Editorial. *Ruch Muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (1945): 2–3.
- Fairclough, Pauline. *Classics for the Masses: Shaping Soviet Musical Identity under Lenin and Stalin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- . "Détente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period." In *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, edited by Pauline Fairclough, 37–56. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Fay, Laurel E. *Shostakovich: A Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Fijałkowska, Barbara. *Polityka i twórcy (1948–1959)*. Warsaw: PWN, 1985.
- Fléchet, Anaïs. "Le Conseil international de la musique et la politique musicale de l'Unesco (1945–1975)." *Relations internationales*, no. 156 (Winter 2014): 53–71.
- Fosler-Lussier, Danielle. "Cultural Diplomacy as Cultural Globalization: The University of Michigan Jazz Band in Latin America." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 4, no. 1 (February 2010): 59–93.
- . *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- . *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
- "Frédéric Chopin, 1849–1949." Special issue, *Peuples amis* (1949).
- Frolova-Walker, Marina. "'National in Form, Socialist in Content': Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics." This *Journal* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 331–71.
- Fryderyk Chopin, 1849–1949: Wystawa w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie*. Warsaw: Komitet Wykonawczy Roku Chopinowskiego, 1949.
- García Alcázar, Emiliano. "Esplá (y Triay), Óscar." Grove Music Online. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09000>.
- Gawin, Magdalena. *Race and Modernity: A History of the Polish Eugenics Movement*. Translated by Agnieszka Waśkiewicz. Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2018.
- Gibson, Christina Taylor. "Chávez, *Modern Music*, and the New York Scene." In *Carlos Chávez and His World*, edited by Leonora Saavedra, 2–27. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E. "Nation Branding." In *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, edited by Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan, 3rd ed., 232–44. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Gilburd, Eleonory. *To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Goldberg, Halina. "Nationalizing the Kujawiak and Constructions of Nostalgia in Chopin's Mazurkas." *19th-Century Music* 39, no. 3 (Spring 2016): 223–47.
- . "Remembering That Tale of Grief: The Prophetic Voice in Chopin's Music." In *The Age of Chopin: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*, edited by Halina Goldberg, 54–92. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Gould-Davies, Nigel. "The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy." *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 2 (April 2003): 193–214.
- Gwizdalanka, Danuta, and Krzysztof Meyer. *Witold Lutosławski: Droga do dojrzałości*. Cracow: PWM, 2003.

- Haefeli, Anton. *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): Ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart*. Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch, 1982.
- Helman, Zofia. "The Dilemma of Twentieth-Century Polish Music: National Style or Universal Values." In *After Chopin: Essays in Polish Music*, edited by Maja Trochimczyk, translated by Joanna Niżyńska and Peter Schertz, 205–42. Los Angeles: Polish Music Center at USC, 2000.
- "Hommage à Frédéric Chopin, 1849–1949." Program booklet for the concert of October 3, 1949, Salle Gaveau, Paris.
- Hudson, Nicholas. "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 247–64.
- Idzikowski, Mieczysław. "Działalność Instytutu." *Chopin* 1, no. 1 (1937): 52–53.
- . "Jak powstała i jak się zrealizowała inicjatywa Instytutu Fryderyka Szopena." *Muzyka* 11, nos. 6–7 (1934): 264–65.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Iwaszkiewicz, Jarosław. "O puściznę po Fryderyku Chopinie." *Nowiny Literackie* 1, no. 11 (1947): 5.
- Jakelski, Lisa. "Lutosławski, Revived and Remixed." In *Lutosławski's Worlds*, edited by Lisa Jakelski and Nicholas W. Reyland, 303–32. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2018.
- . *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.
- . "Pushing Boundaries: Mobility at the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music." *East European Politics and Societies* 29, no. 1 (February 2015): 189–211.
- Jakubowska, Longina. *Patrons of History: Nobility, Capital and Political Transitions in Poland*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Jakubowski, Jan Zygmunt. "Norwid i Chopin." In Lissa, *Book of the First International Musicological Congress*, 684–90.
- Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005.
- Kaczyński, Tadeusz. "Ostatnia rozmowa z Antonim Szalowskim." *Ruch Muzyczny*, May 16–31, 1973, 4.
- Kallberg, Jeffrey. *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- . "The Problem of Repetition and Return in Chopin's Mazurkas." In *Chopin Studies*, edited by Jim Samson, 1–23. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Karnes, Kevin C. "Inventing Eastern Europe in the Ear of the Enlightenment." *This Journal* 71, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 75–108.
- Kelly, Elaine. *Composing the Canon in the German Democratic Republic: Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . "Performing Diplomatic Relations: Music and East German Foreign Policy in the Middle East during the Late 1960s." *This Journal* 72, no. 2 (Summer 2019): 493–540.
- "Konkurs Chopinowski na antenach TVP, Polskiego Radia i You Tube [sic]." *Polska Agencja Prasowa*. September 16, 2015. Updated October 5, 2018. <https://www>

- .pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C404666%2Ckonkurs-chopinowski-na-antenach-tvp-polskiego-radia-i-you-tube.html.
- Kossewska, Elżbieta. *Polish Jews in Israel: Polish-Language Press, Culture, and Politics*. Translated by Scotia Gilroy. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Landau-Czajka, Anna. *Syn będzie Lech . . . : Asymilacja Żydów w Polsce międzywojennej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, 2006.
- Lin, Tony Hsiu. "Myth and Appropriation: Fryderyk Chopin in the Context of Russian and Polish Literature and Culture." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2014.
- Lissa, Zofia, ed. *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*. Warsaw: PWN, 1963.
- . [Zofia Lissa]. *Fryderyk Szopen*. Moscow: Nakładem Związku Patryotów Polskich w ZSRR, 1944.
- Macdonald, Simon. "Transnational History: A Review of Past and Present Scholarship." UCL Centre for Transnational History website. Accessed March 5, 2021. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/centre-transnational-history/sites/centre-transnational-history/files/simon_macdonald_tns_review.pdf.
- Maliszewski, Witold. "Historia powstania Instytutu." *Chopin* 1, no. 1 (1937): 50–51.
- Marek, Tadeusz. "Po IV międzynarodowym konkursie Chopinowskim." *Ruch Muzyczny* 5, no. 16 (1949): 24–25.
- Martin, Benjamin G., and Elisabeth Marie Piller, eds. "European Cultural Diplomacy and the Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939." Special issue, *Contemporary European History* 30, no. 2 (May 2021).
- Martin, Terry. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Mazower, Mark. *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Mazurek, Małgorzata. "Polish Economists in Nehru's India: Making Science for the Third World in an Era of De-Stalinization and Decolonization." *Slavic Review* 77, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 588–610.
- Michlic, Joanna Beata. *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Michniewicz, Grażyna. "Geneza i działalność Instytutu Fryderyka Chopina, 1934–1939." *Rocznik Chopinowski* 15 (1983): 117–41.
- Milewski, Barbara. "Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk." *19th-Century Music* 23, no. 2 (Autumn 1999): 113–35.
- . "Hidden in Plain View: The Music of Holocaust Survival in Poland's First Post-war Feature Film." In *Music, Collective Memory, Trauma, and Nostalgia in European Cinema after the Second World War*, edited by Michael Baumgartner and Ewelina Boczkowska, 111–37. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- . "Magical Returns and the Interior Landscape of Chopin's Mazurkas." In *The Sources of Chopin's Style: Inspiration and Contexts*, 71–80. Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2005.
- . [Barbara Ann Milewski]. "The Mazurka and National Imaginings." PhD diss., Princeton University, 2002.
- Mosse, George L. *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

- Mycielski, Zygmunt. "Jeszcze o Rok Chopinowski." *Ruch Muzyczny* 3, no. 12 (1947): 15–17.
- . "Rocznica." *Ruch Muzyczny* 2, nos. 11–12 (1946): 41–44.
- Nagy, Zsolt. "The Race for Revision and Recognition: Interwar Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy in Context." In Martin and Piller, "European Cultural Diplomacy," 231–47.
- Naliwajek-Mazurek, Katarzyna. "The Use of Polish Musical Tradition in the Nazi Propaganda." *Musicology Today* 7 (2010): 243–59.
- The Nazi Kultur in Poland*. London: Polish Ministry of Information, 1945.
- Nikolskaia, Irina. *Conversations with Witold Lutosławski, 1987–92*. Translated by Valeri Yerokbin. Stockholm: Melos, 1994.
- Noskowski, Zygmunt. "Istota utworów Chopina" (1899). In Tomaszewski, *Kompozytorzy polscy o Fryderyku Chopinie*, 73–95.
- Paderewski, Ignacy J. "Piewca polskiego narodu" (1910). In Tomaszewski, *Kompozytorzy polscy o Fryderyku Chopinie*, 96–107.
- Palester, Roman. "Drogi muzyki polskiej." *Odrodzenie* 2, no. 20 (1945): 5.
- Panufnik, Andrzej. *Composing Myself*. London: Methuen London, 1987.
- Park, Hye-Jung. "From World War to Cold War: Music in US-Korea Relations, 1941–1960." PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2019.
- Pawłowski, Walerian. "Życie muzyczne Paryża (rozmowa ze St. Skrowaczewskim)." *Ruch Muzyczny* 5, no. 4 (1949): 12.
- Pejot. "Konkurs Chopinowski." *Radio i Świat* 5, no. 38 (1949): 8.
- Pekacz, Jolanta T. "Deconstructing a 'National Composer': Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris, 1831–49." *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 2 (Autumn 2000): 161–72.
- . "The Nation's Property: Chopin's Biography as a Cultural Discourse." In *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, edited by Jolanta T. Pekacz, 43–68. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Peppercorn, Lisa M. "H. Villa-Lobos in Paris." *Latin American Music Review / Revista de música latinoamericana* 6, no. 2 (Fall–Winter, 1985): 235–48.
- Péteri, György. "Nylon Curtain—Transnational and Transsystemic Tendencies in the Cultural Life of State-Socialist Russia and East-Central Europe." *Slavonica* 10, no. 2 (2004): 113–23.
- Petty, Andrzej. "Chopin w Milanówku." Docplayer. Accessed May 26, 2022. <https://docplayer.pl/5522032-Chopin-w-milanowku-andrzej-petty.html>.
- Poniatowska, Irena. "Le 'credo musical' d'Alexandre Tansman à travers sa correspondance avec Edouard Ganche et Halina Szymulska." In *Hommage au compositeur Alexandre Tansman (1897–1986)*, edited by Pierre Guillot, 41–65. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000.
- Poniatowska, Irena, and Zofia Chechlińska. *Chopin 1810–2010: Ideas, Interpretations, Influence: The Third International Chopin Congress, Warsaw, 25 February to 1 March 2010*. 2 vols. Warsaw: Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2017.
- "Po raz trzeci i ostatni." *Ruch Muzyczny* 4, no. 2 (1948): 21.
- Porter, Brian. *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Porter, Louis H. "Cold War Internationalisms: The USSR in UNESCO, 1945–1967." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2018.
- Porter-Szücs, Brian. *Poland in the Modern World: Beyond Martyrdom*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

- Potter, Pamela M. "Introduction: Music and Global War in the Short Twentieth Century." In *Music in World War II: Coping with Wartime in Europe and the United States*, edited by Pamela M. Potter, Christina Baade, and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, 1–24. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020.
- . "The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic." *Musical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 311–41.
- Przybylski, Ryszard. *A Swallow's Shadow: An Essay on Chopin's Thoughts*. Translated by John Comber. Warsaw: Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2011.
- Przybyszewski, Stanisław. *Szopen a naród*. Cracow: Spółka nakładowa "Książka," 1910.
- Puchalski, Piotr. *Poland in a Colonial World Order: Adjustments and Aspirations, 1918–1939*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Régamey, Konstanty. "Muzyka polska pod okupacją niemiecką" (1946). In *Okupacyjne losy muzyków: Warszawa, 1939–1945*, edited by Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek and Andrzej Spóz, 2:62–65. Warsaw: Towarzystwo imienia Witolda Lutosławskiego, 2015.
- Rehding, Alexander. *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Richards, Annette. "The 1784 Commemoration and the Charitable Handel." *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 15 (2014): 87–105.
- Rieger, Adam. "Życie muzyczne pod okupacją." *Ruch Muzyczny* 1, no. 2 (1945): 11–12.
- Rocznik statystyczny 1949*. Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 1950.
- Samson, Jim. *Chopin*. New York: Schirmer, 1996.
- . "Chopin Reception: Theory, History, Analysis." In *Chopin Studies 2*, edited by John Rink and Jim Samson, 1–17. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Searcy, Anne. *Ballet in the Cold War: A Soviet-American Exchange*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Sekowski, Paweł. "Działalność przedstawicieli dyplomatycznych i konsularnych władz warszawskich Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej we Francji w latach 1944–1947." *Dzieje Najnowsze* 44, no. 3 (2012): 93–107.
- Shore, Marci. *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918–1968*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Shreffler, Anne C. "Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's *Threni* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom." In *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity: Essays*, edited by Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb, 217–45. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- . "The International Society for Contemporary Music and Its Political Context (Prague, 1935)." In *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 58–90. New York: Berghahn, 2015.
- Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- . "UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley." *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (September 2010): 393–418.

- Smaczny, Jan, and Michael Crump. "Martinů, Bohuslav (Jan)." Grove Music Online. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17940>.
- Snyder, Beth. "Once Misjudged and Banned: Promoting the Musical Heritage in the GDR and Discourse Surrounding the 1959 Felix Mendelssohn Festwoche." *Twentieth-Century Music* 16, no. 2 (June 2019): 319–52.
- Snyder, Timothy. *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Sokorski, Włodzimierz. "Formalizm i realizm w muzyce." *Ruch Muzyczny* 4, nos. 23–24 (1948): 2–5.
- Sołomian-Łoc, Fanny. *Getto i gwiazdy*. Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1993.
- "Sprawa rocznicy." *Ruch Muzyczny* 4, no. 3 (1948): 21; no. 4 (1948): 20.
- Stauter-Halsted, Keely. "Bio-politics between Nation and Empire." *East Central Europe* 43, nos. 1–2 (September 2016): 134–60.
- Stola, Dariusz. *Kraj bez wyjścia? Migracje z Polski 1949–1989*. Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010.
- Swartz, Anne. "Chopin as Modernist in Nineteenth-Century Russia." In *Chopin Studies* 2, edited by John Rink and Jim Samson, 35–49. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Szaynok, Bożena. *Poland—Israel: 1944–1968: In the Shadow of the Past and of the Soviet Union*. Translated by Dominika Ferens. Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, 2012.
- Szymanowski, Karol. "Fryderyk Chopin" (1923). In *Szymanowski on Music: Selected Writings of Karol Szymanowski*, edited and translated by Alistair Wightman, 177–95. London: Toccata, 1999.
- . "On Contemporary Musical Opinion in Poland" (1920). In *Szymanowski on Music: Selected Writings of Karol Szymanowski*, edited and translated by Alistair Wightman, 73–94. London: Toccata, 1999.
- Tarnowski, Stanisław. *Chopin i Grottger: Dwa szkice*. Cracow: Nakładem Księgarni Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1892.
- Taruskin, Richard. *Music in the Nineteenth Century*. Vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of Western Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . "Nationalism." Grove Music Online. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.50846>.
- Taylor, Timothy. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Thacker, Toby. *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Thomas, Adrian. "File 750: Composers, Politics and the Festival of Polish Music (1951)." *Polish Music Journal* 5, no. 1 (Summer 2002). <https://polishmusic.usc.edu/research/publications/polish-music-journal/vol5no1/composers-politics-polish-music-festival>.
- . *Polish Music since Szymanowski*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Timbrell, Charles. "Tagliaferro, Magda(lena)." Grove Music Online. 2001. Updated and revised 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41425>.
- Tolts, Mark. "Population and Migration." The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. Accessed July 29, 2022. https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Population_and_Migration/Migration_since_World_War_I.

- Tomaszewski, Mieczysław, ed. *Kompozytorzy polscy o Fryderyku Chopinie*. Cracow: PWM, 1964.
- Tomoff, Kiril. *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- . *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition during the Early Cold War, 1945–1958*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Tompkins, David G. *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2013.
- . “Red China in Central Europe: Creating and Deploying Representations of an Ally in Poland and the GDR.” In *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War: Exploring the Second World*, edited by Patryk Babiracki and Austin Jersild, 273–302. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- “A Tribute to Frédéric Chopin.” *Courier: Publication of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* 2, no. 8 (September 1949): 31.
- Trochimczyk, Maja. “Chopin and the ‘Polish Race’: On National Ideologies and the Chopin Reception.” In *The Age of Chopin: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*, edited by Halina Goldberg, 278–313. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- “Uchwała Rady Ministrów.” *Ruch Muzyczny* 4, no. 8 (1948): 24.
- Ureña Valerio, Lenny A. *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2019.
- Vertovec, Steven. *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Vest, Lisa Cooper. *Awangarda: Tradition and Modernity in Postwar Polish Music*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020.
- Von Eschen, Penny M. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Wende, Jan Karol. “Koncert F-moll.” *Odrodzenie* 1, nos. 2–3 (1944): 3.
- Wieczorek, Sławomir. “Chopin in Stalinist Poland.” In Poniatowska and Chechlińska, *Chopin 1810–2010*, 2:425–34.
- . *Na froncie muzyki: Socrealistyczny dyskurs o muzyce w Polsce w latach 1948–1955*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2014.
- Wielicki, Zbigniew. “Chopin pod okupacją.” *Odrodzenie* 2, nos. 10–12 (1945): 12.
- Wieniawski, Adam. “Z okazji III Międzynarodowego Konkursu im. Fryderyka Chopina.” *Chopin* 1, no. 1 (1937): 44–48.
- Wigoder, Geoffrey. “Radio in Israel.” *International Communication Gazette* 7, no. 1 (February 1961): 129–36.
- Wilkomirski, Kazimierz. *Wspomnienia*. Cracow: PWM, 1971.
- Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Wysocki, Stefan. *Wokół Konkursów Chopinowskich*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Radia i Telewizji, 1986.
- Yang, Hon-Lun. “Power, Politics, and Musical Commemoration: Western Musical Figures in the People’s Republic of China 1949–1964.” *Music and Politics* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2007). <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0001.205>.
- Zalewski, Teodor. “Ze wspomnień bylego prezesa.” *Rocznik Chopinowski* 15 (1983): 159–66.

- Zaremba, Marcin. *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm: Nacjonalistyczna legitymizacja władzy komunistycznej w Polsce*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2001.
- Żeleński, Władysław. "W pięćdziesiąt rocznicę zgonu" (1899). In Tomaszewski, *Kompozytorzy polscy o Fryderyku Chopinie*, 64–69.
- Zhdanov, Andrei. *Essays on Literature, Philosophy, and Music*. New York: International Publishers, 1950.
- Zubrzycki, Geneviève. "History and the National Sensorium: Making Sense of Polish Mythology." *Qualitative Sociology* 34, no. 1 (March 2011): 21–57.
- Zuk, Patrick. "Nikolay Myaskovsky and the Events of 1948." *Music and Letters* 93, no. 1 (February 2012): 61–85.
- Żurawlew, Jerzy. "Jak powstały konkursy Chopinowskie." *Chopin* 1, no. 1 (1937): 42–43.

Abstract

The 1949 Chopin Year was a large-scale cultural mobilization whose purpose was to bring Chopin's music to hundreds of thousands of Poles and to promote it around the world, all funded and overseen by Poland's newly established Communist state. Among the most striking aspects of the Chopin Year was its extensive international programming: not only did Polish diplomatic missions convince around thirty countries to organize Chopin celebrations that paralleled those in Poland, but they targeted countries outside the Soviet-dominated Eastern Bloc, despite the strictures of Stalinist-era anti-Westernism then growing across Eastern Europe. This article draws on unstudied archival sources from Polish ministries, musical institutions, and diplomatic missions to explore the historical and political forces at play in Poland's Chopin-centered internationalism during the early Cold War. I demonstrate that cultural officials, composers, diplomats, and performers—all with varying stakes in state socialism—competed over the meaning of Chopin and his accomplishments when planning the Chopin Year. These various factions often agreed, however, on a decades-old view of the composer as both a national and an international figure, whose legacy was uniquely capable of promoting Polish causes on the global stage. By showing how the Chopin Year drew on and perpetuated a *longue durée* of Polish transnational contacts and discourse about the global Chopin, the article places Cold War internationalism within a longer lineage of border-crossing that had been a central aspect of European musical culture since at least Chopin's lifetime.

Keywords: Fryderyk Chopin, music diplomacy, commemoration, Poland, Communism, Chopin Piano Competition