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(Toruń)

Art in the Service of Stalinist Propaganda

It is common knowledge that authorities, regardless of their character, their historical period, and the area which they govern, generally endeavour to force culture into submission, making it an element of its own propaganda. The leading role in this enterprise is given to art.¹

The USSR was the essential totalitarian state and autocracy from the very beginning of its emergence and it aimed at creating artistic culture for its own purposes. Its primary objective was for art to provide a kind of apologia for the leaders and glorification of the nation and its accomplishments that secured the happiness and welfare of the working people of the Bolshevik state. Art, being a crucial part of culture, became a serious weapon in ideological warfare, and the result was the monopolization of all spheres of life, including the denial of artistic freedom. Owing to the central, all-powerful administrative and supervisory apparatus, art played a vital part in the legitimatization and strengthening of government. Out of the numerous artistic tendencies present at the time, the most controversial and the one that best fitted the establishment of the authorities' programme² was chosen and announced as the only obligatory tendency. As a result, a battleground was created for all other modes of expression, denying their artistic value, accusing them at the same time of reactionarism and enmity towards ideals, nation, class, county, the party, mankind and social progress. It is no coincidence that the first decree on matters pertaining to art by the Council of People's Commissars on 18th April 1918 was entitled "On the Removal of Monuments Erected to Commemorate Tsars and Their Servants and on the Preparation of Projects

¹ A. Turowski, "Polish Ideology", in *Polish Art after 1945: Materials from the Session of Art Historians*; ("Polska ideologia", w: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku, Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*), Warsaw November 1984, Warsaw 1987, p.31-33.

² I. Gołomsztoł, *Totalitarne iskusstwo*, Moscow 1994, p.10

to Build Monuments Honouring the Russian Arts in the Leninist Plan for Monumental Propaganda.”³ Lenin also understood quite well that the propagandistic and social functions would be best accomplished by realism in an art which used visual terminology understandable to the masses. In December 1918, he demanded that Anatol Łunczarski, the People's Commissar for Education, ban futurist publications in the newspaper *Iskustwo Komuny*. The revolutionary leader's injunction was extremely effective – the incriminating articles disappeared immediately from the publication and the newspaper was discontinued after four months.⁴ Łunczarski himself said that “art as a branch of ideology is a vital propagandistic weapon and therefore there is a need for protecting the Revolution from such blows from that weapon.” He later went on to state that “the factual revolutionists have never concealed the fact that after gaining control they will not give their enemies freedom of action.”⁵ The above statement is atypically compatible with a frequently quoted declaration of Maxim Gorky on Russian socialist humanism: “If the enemy does not surrender, it must be destroyed.”

This long-standing control of the artistic field by the political powers of the USSR, was considerably strengthened during the Stalin dictatorship. Stalinist realism was Stalin's own solution to the problem and in his speech given to the Students of the Eastern Communist University of the Working People, he sketched a definition of new art, while the principles of this trend were specified by Andrzej Zdanow and Maxim Gorky in 1934 during The Congress of the Soviet Association of Writers.⁶ The result was that the efficiency of the means of oppression, which was at the same time obedient to the leader, the teacher, and later to the ensign of peace and leading linguists, transformed art to play a promotional, propagandistic and apologetic role. Socialist realism required a certain tendentiousness from the creator - art was to be a reflection of the reality that had been already interpreted and evaluations were defined by the party only on Stalin's conditions. All signs of deviation from the rules were strongly objected to, even with the help of the secret police. This is suitably illustrated in acknowledgements given in 1938 by Alexander Gierasimow, the chairman of the Soviet Artists' Association, to an organ of NKWD: “The enemies of the working classes [are] Trotskyite and Buchariviste fascist runts who,

³ Ibid, p.42

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ A. Łunczarski, "Art and Revolution", in: *Selected Works*, ("Sztuka i Rewolucja", w: *Pisma Wybrane*); Warsaw 1964, vol.1, p.284-288

⁶ B. M. Nikiforow, *Kurier Abriss der Geschichte der Sovietischen Malerei von 1917 bis 1945*, Dresden 1955, p. 24-69; I. Golomsztok, p.86.

while trying their best in their efforts to set back the evolution of Soviet art, have been rendered helpless by the Soviet secret service, under the leadership of the People's Commissar – comrade Jeżow. This has improved the creative atmosphere and made a further flow of creative enthusiasm possible.”⁷ It has to be remembered that Jeżow’s successor Ławretij Beria, considered culture and art as having critical function of instilling communist values into the masses and promoting Russian patriotism and internationalism.⁸

In the omnipresent socialist realism there were two apparent discernible styles applied: portraiture and thematic painting, since the latter term encapsulated all figural scenes. The stock repertoire consisted of portraits of leading prominent leaders and revolutionist activists. Collective scenes were painted with some caution, mainly because of the constant changes of attitude towards its participants. The kolkhoz theme appeared usually during a decline in agriculture, mainly in the thirties and forties. Military subject matter began to be represented more between 1945 and 1950, but was soon supplanted by nationalistic topics that praised the Great Russians. Images of youth were particularly characteristic of work of in the fifties. The presence of certain themes and their significance was conditioned mostly by problems discussed during the party's plenary. It should be noted that neither the subjects nor the formal quality of the social realist paintings were of great relevance to the state patron. It was the so-called "ideologism", the main criterion of social realism, that was considered to measure the level of commitment of work to the class struggle, supporting progressivism.⁹

As for the association between Russian and Polish art, the “Exhibition of Soviet Art of the USSR” opened in March 1933 in the exhibition room of the IPS, which enabled it to reach a wider audience for the first time. Although it was more a political publicity campaign than an artistic event, the interest in the exhibition – over twenty thousand visitors went to see it – cannot be solely treated in terms of exotic curiosity.¹⁰ Polish artists, usually bereft of a steady income, were fascinated by the idea of state patronage which granted them social status. They were not even discouraged by the highly intelligible imposition of subject matter or the

⁷ A. Roman, *Paranoja - Record of an Illness*, (*Paranoja-zapis choroby*), Warsaw-Paris 1990, p. 138.

⁸ I. Gołomszok, p. 92.

⁹ W. Włodarczyk, *Social Realism – Polish Art from 1950 to 1954*, Paris 1986, p. 18.

¹⁰ W. Baraniewski, "On Social Realism", in *Polish Art after 1945*, (*Wobec realizmu socjalistycznego*, w: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku*), p. 175.

stylistic form of expression of social realism. The commissar and organiser of this exhibition – the famous Polish graphic artist Władysław Skoczylas, while presenting the Soviet art, "reduced the substance of social realism to agitprop art, and in this he saw fit to operate with realistic forms." These artists' existential dilemmas also found their place in his standpoint: "Artists in the USSR, are joined together into one enormous trade union: in some centres they live in communes and work on commissions for the state, for factories, co-operatives and clubs. Workshops and materials are allotted in accordance with their demand, the artists are often organised into groups and sent to certain industrial centres, where they work on a given subject. Apart from working in public commissions they may work for themselves but a private clientele does not actually exist." According to Skoczylas these conditions were not satisfactory to an artist from Western Europe, accustomed to freedom of creation, but he also states that "we can take the reverse side of the coin into consideration. The fact is, that the concept of a private clientele is on the verge of extinction; there are no public commissions thus the fate of our artists, who are not supporting themselves by teaching, seems gloomy," while employment from the state prevents the Russian artist from starvation." He concludes by saying that "owing to these reasons, without unnecessary admiration for the Soviet political system, we should follow with care the ways through which art progresses in such different relations so that we can profitably apply the numerous occurrences we find in such a distinct alliance. What I particularly have in mind is the substitution of the increasingly decaying patron with commune councils, unions, associations and other social institutions."¹¹

The outbreak of the Second World War brought to an end the organized activities of Polish artists and the absence of a market reduced their creativity to a minimum. The fears of Russian expansionist endeavours in Poland were even more emphatically confirmed by "a stab in the back" on 17th of September 1939. The dismay was concisely phrased in 1941, in the columns of *Wiadomości Polskich* by Ksawery Pruszyński: "The Sovietization of the Polish nation, rendering it an integral part of Soviet society, assimilating it structurally and psychically to the society

¹¹ W. Skoczylas, "Soviet Art in Warsaw (On the Occasion of the Exhibition in the Art Propaganda Institute)", in: *Fine Art*, (Sztuka sowiecka w Warszawie (z powodu wystawy w Instytucie Propagandy Sztuki), w: *Sztuki Piękne*, Ch.9: 1933, p. 165-172.

living by the Oka, Lena and Don, is the duty that Soviet policy is to execute in relation to Poland.”¹²

The international treaties (Teheran, Yalta) signed before the end of the war, left Poland under Russian domination and univocally announced subordination to the influence of Stalinist doctrine. Becoming aware of the consequences of the approaching Sovietization Polish society greeted the nearing defeat of Nazi Germany with a certain naive hope for the future with different kind of influence. Regardless of the failure of the Warsaw Uprising there followed a firm consolidation of power to rebuild not only economic damage but also ruined culture. The first attempts to reconstruct Polish art were beset by problems mainly relating to the place of art in the new social system and its role in this new culture. While attempts were made to deal with these problems, it is fair to say they were never successfully remedied. To most artists, the new order gave them the hope of creating an organization model that would ensure not only unconstrained progress of art but also material support and due prestige in social life. Incidentally, there were also some justifiable misgivings about the excessive interference of the authorities in the matters of art itself. These included fears over the so-called “care” exercised by higher powers which limited freedom of exploration and expression and resulted in the production of artworks designed to incite and agitate.¹³ The artist's role would then be limited to that of agitator, and as a result he would not be the “source of culture but an object of ideological control which would be comparable to a deterioration in the social role of an artist.”¹⁴

In creating new frameworks, the country was striving to steer and control all aspects of life. The issues of art and culture were under the management of a special department. In accordance with decrees, the department's specified responsibilities were “custody over the creative and imitative arts of literature, theatre, music, choreography, decorative and fine art, photography and circus; propagation of culture and art at home and abroad; the establishment and arrangement of museums and the system of art education system, along with the protection of monuments.” Additionally, the act specified the duties of the Department of Fine Arts: 1. Forms of introductions of art to great masses of recipients (purchase of works of art for public institutions, commemorative plaques, monuments, art exhibitions, fine art propaganda campaigns in the press, lectures, talks

¹² S. Kossowska, Ksawery, *Friends and Acquaintances*, (Ksawery, w: *Przyjaciele i znajomi*), Toruń 1998, p. 75

¹³ J. Bogucki, *The Art of People's Poland*, (*Sztuka Polski Ludowej*), Warsaw 1983, p. 9.

¹⁴ A. Turowski, p. 32.

etc.) 2. Custody over artists mainly over the Association of Polish Artists (enabling them to find premises for workshops, studios and flats; enabling them to equip themselves with materials and tools, assistance in the case of displacement, assistance in seeking employment etc.) 3. Cooperation with centres of provincial administration to ensure the improvement of the aesthetic appearance of cities, villages, and housing estates. 4. Control over aesthetic levels of temporary decorations connected with propaganda (celebrations, festivals, demonstrations), and with advertising (posters, notices, displays in cinemas and in shop windows etc.) 5. Supervision of the aesthetic level of industrial and artisan production. 6. Custody over folk art and co-operation with the conservators of the voivodeships."¹⁵

A feature that was characteristic of Polish art of about 1945-49 was the desire to continue the creative themes interrupted by the war. We can also discern some inclinations to restore the topics that had been shaped during the inter-war period, which responded to certain sentiments within society. It should be borne in mind that the most significant tendencies were traditionalism (hinting at the 19th century realism and the art of the *Młoda Polska* movement), the former advocates of postimpressionist colourism of the Paris Committee, and artists of the avant-garde since the war connected with the democratic left or employing communist elements in their work. In spite of undeniable support given to artists who proved to be involved politically, the first phase still allowed different artistic trends to coexist, although the official standpoint was starting to censure formalism as an element explicitly conservative and alien to a country building a new system.¹⁶ Soviet art was to serve as an example to Polish artists, notwithstanding the fact that, when compared with the proletarian activists, they were slow in their artistic progress and even lacking the prerequisite instinct of class struggle. In order to catch up, the Polish Workers Party (PPR) aspired to take control over art by imposing a specific kind of artistic expression. Only optimistic, agitating works of art were accepted, especially those illustrating and praising the blessings of the new system. Nevertheless, it has to be stated that despite the official suggestions, the works of Polish social realism lack the optimism which characterised the Russian examples. This may have stemmed from the fact that the majority adopted cynical and conformist attitudes, a fact which may be demonstrated by the opinion of an esteemed popular satirical illustrator. Szymon Kobyliński recalls Jerzy Zaruby, who tried to excuse

¹⁵ Decree on the Activity and Organization of the Department of Culture and Art, Official Register of the Ministry of Culture, 1949, no 1, pos. 2.

¹⁶ W. Sokorski, *Art in the Battle for Social Realism*, (*Sztuka w walce z socjalizmem*), Warsaw 1950, p. 144-146.

his work with the following analogy: "A satirist is like a stove seller: one day he may install a stove in the house of a parish-priest, the next day in a whore house."¹⁷ A similar attitude was probably shared by the authors of poster slogans, which were inspired by the authorities, full of fabricated demagogy, arousing disgust and urging protests from normal people: "AK-The Spit-soiled Midget of Reactionism" or "Whilst the magnate is away the nation flourishes." As Tadeusz Chrzanowski noted, "One of authors of such abominations was to remark later, that he did it for the money but he tried his worst."¹⁸

Nonetheless, it has to be said, that artists, similar to intellectuals, writers, and scientists allowed themselves to be lead astray and violated by Stalinism at an early stage. The earliest justification of such an attitude is their ambition to become luminaries (prominent personages) casting away the fear of terror and denunciation which could lead to a tragic end. However, no one ordered them to kowtow submissively to the authorities to such an extent or to stand in line with those consolidating the regime. The artists did so of their own free will. An example of servility that is both telling and repugnant can be found in the words of Jerzy Andrzejewski: "In hindsight I would tell the politicians not be so lenient on those intelligent artists and intellectuals. They are willing to show enough lenience unassisted, so do not support them in their experiments. On the other hand, denounce them if they cannot denounce themselves. Hurry them if they cannot or do not want to quicken their pace. Do not place average demands before them. Impose on them demands which are most difficult to fulfil."¹⁹

The speech given by Bolesław Bierut on 16th of December 1947, on the occasion of the launch of a broadcasting station in Wrocław, is an indication of the political pressure of the time. The aforementioned speech includes a comment on how "the artists chooses his theme freely, according to his likes and feelings, but the nation has the right to make requests, and one of those requests is that the deeper level of the work of art, its aims and its intentions reflect the needs of the whole, and not create

¹⁷ A. Roman, p. 147.

¹⁸ T. Chrzanowski, *Polish Art between the First and Third Republics of Poland: An Historical Outline*, (*Sztuka polska od I do III Rzeczpospolitej, Zarys dziejów*), Warsaw 1998, p. 104.

¹⁹ J. Andrzejewski. Notes. Confessions and reflections of the Writer (Notatki. Wyznania i rozmyślenia pisarza), „The Rebirth” („Odrodzenie”), 1950, no 5, A. Roman, p. 104.

despondency when enthusiasm and belief in the victory is needed, not glorify depression, when the nation wants to live and act."²⁰

The decisive role in the process of the imposition of totalitarianism according to the spirit of Stalinism, was given to the Warsaw Congress of 15th December 1948, unifying the PPR (Polish Workers' Party) and the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). The ideological declaration of PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party) imposed their guiding principles of cultural politics, stating that the people's democracy "has to eliminate all influences from reactionary elements, it has to develop culture, knowledge and art related to aspirations of the whole, reflecting their desires and nurturing the nation in the spirit of humanism, democracy and socialism."²¹ The foundations of the cultural offensive were even more clearly formulated in 1949 by the secretary of the Central Committee, Jakub Berman, at the national conference of active party members, from amongst those working in culture and the arts. He stated that "it is not likely that human consciousness will be transformed without the participation of literature and art in the battle for socialism. We have to be aware that art in all its varieties is an influential instrument which reaches very deep, and without mobilization of forces we cannot be victorious. This is what the entire party should be aware of and what our party members - writers and artists should also realise."²²

The remodelling of Polish art after the Unifying Congress, from the ideological and agitative standpoint, was best summarized by B. Suris in a review of the Polish art exhibition in the Fine Art Academy in Moscow, organized in May 1952. The article was taken from *Iskustwo* and was published fully in *Przegląd Artystyczny* in 1953.

Suris believes that "the progression of the country to the point at which it started to formulate fundamental principles of Socialism, was concurrent with the emergence of the assimilation issue of the methods of social realism by literature and art. The congress of the Association of the Polish Artists in June 1949 and numerous other conventions, conferences and discussions, with the participation of members of the government and the KC PZPR helped those employed in art to denounce the anti-people's elements in the formalistic aesthetic and served as guides in the multitudes of theoretical bases of social realism. The Krakow Knowledge Conference

²⁰ B. Bierut, On the dissemination of culture. The speech given during the opening of a radio station in Wrocław, (O upowszechnieniu kultury. Przemówienie wygłoszone w czasie otwarcia radiostacji we Wrocławiu), A. Roman, p. 103.

²¹ The ideological proclamation of PZPR, (Deklaracja ideowa PZPR), Warsaw 1949, p. 28-29.

²² W. Sokorski, p.142.

which analyzed art and exhibition on 'The Realist Traditions in Polish Painting from the 15th to the 19th Century' (December 1950) was of service in specifying the attitude towards progressive art heritage, without which the development of new art with its socialist context and nationalist form, would be considered unlikely. In compliance with the new requirements, the educational system was accordingly reorganized.²³ The example given by Soviet art and its years of experience are of great relevance to the evolution and progress of art in the Polish People. Most Polish Artists are conscious of the great prospects created for the people's sake by social realism. They openly wish that their works were easy to interpret and always in demand by the general public. A characteristic feature of such artistic endeavours is the extreme popularity of the thematic composition, which was the most appropriate form for ideologist paintings. Gradually, artists suppress the influence of formalist tradition, which can be still found in their works, especially in the case of fine art painting. Although the battle is still to be won, some artists have succeeded in inventing solutions to crucial and relevant contemporary issues such as the Polish-Russian alliance, the struggle for peace, and revolutionary, and historical themes. This gives their work some traits of genuineness in spite of the fact, that the artists themselves still stand in need of mastery, in the realization of an idea itself." The following instruction or premise can be considered the conclusion of his discourse: "Let our Polish comrade artists always remember the wise advise given by Stalin to the active artisans of Soviet art: 'You cannot concoct an event or a create painting while sitting in your study. You have to draw ideas from life - analyze it. An understanding of it should be endeavoured.'" ²⁴

The most spectacular and, more importantly, the most direct interference of Russian art in Poland, is the gigantic monument to the eminent leader and mentor of international proletariat – Joseph Stalin. The Palace of Knowledge and Culture was a present from the nation of the Soviet Union. The location of this colossal architectural complex in the city centre was not only aimed to give prominence to Stalin himself, but also to clearly exhibit Soviet dominance in Poland. The titanic project was

²³ Evidence of this reform can be found in the program of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, which was sent to be ratified by the Ministry of Culture and Art; we read there how "the purpose of studying art is to train an artist, who knows all methods of social realism, to be able to lead his own independent artistic life according to the needs and tasks given to him by the public of the People's Republic of Poland, fighting for peace and socialism" – W. Włodarczyk, p. 76.

²⁴ B. Suris, "The Art of the Polish Nation (On the Polish exhibition in Moscow)", ("Sztuka Polskiego Narodu (na podstawie wystawy polskiej plastyki w Moskwie)", *Artistic Review (Przegląd artystyczny)* 1953, no 1, p. 59-68.

conceived and developed expeditiously over six months, by a group of five hundred people supervised by professor Lew Rudniew. The construction, brought to fruition over three years, was given with due ceremony to "fellow Poland" on 22nd July 1955. By then, some cracks were already visible in the monolithic official cult of Stalin, to whom the Warsaw Palace was dedicated.

What decidedly determined the impoverishment of the originally almost hagiographic surroundings of the edifice was the advancing and gradually intensifying struggle against the personality cult. It has to be stated that "the setting of the palace fractured the spine of the urban layout of the city lifting itself up from the ruins, as if to sever its relationships with Western-European civilization and culture. The subordination of Warsaw building structures to one dominant element established a foreign, Eastern town-plan layout, together with a vision of a totalitarian city which often alluded to French Revolution or to even more antiquated utopias."²⁵

The turning point and the moment of truth in the disposition of those terrorized and stupefied by the propagandistic mass media (radio, press, journalism and fine art), living in nations of people's democracy, was the death of Stalin on 5th March 1953.

Gradually, the supervised mournful sadness full of hysterical pathos and celebrated with due observance and abundant condolences was taken from the grasp of Stalinist abuse by a still timid but steadily growing liberation of minds and artistic talent. The public started to be conscious of the fact, that the apathetic vision of the world was only a pathetic order, obligatory from 1949 and constantly strengthened by propaganda. The vision accepted only one ideology which furthermore had to be confirmed by concrete action. Such an attitude towards reality started to be considered as a symptom of misguided judgement of the world and the impoverishment of imagination and expectations towards art, not only by artists and researchers but also by a wide circle of receivers. The play staged in 1955, during the exhibition in the Warsaw Arsenal, had been created using such thinking transferred into artistic creation. Although the play was not an aesthetic break through, it was a significant event when talking into consideration the artists' desire to individualize attitudes and modes of expression.

Social realism is today studied as an artistic and sociological phenomenon, and as such awakens human curiosity. Numerous studies

²⁵ B. Mansfeld, "A Gift like a Monument: The Joseph Stalin Palace of Knowledge and Culture", ("Dar jak pomnik. Pałac Kultury i Nauki im. Józefa Stalina"), *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Monuments and their Conservation*, 23: 1994.

devoted to his period,²⁶ as well as multitudes visiting the exhibition on social realism in the former residence of the Zamoyskis in Kozłówka near Lubartów, can serve as evidence of the omnipresent interest of the people attempting to understand the phenomenon of totalitarian art as an historical event.

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The Soviet Army Northern Military Group in Poland in the Years 1945-1956: Inevitable in the Role of an Ally

One month after the end of World War II in Europe, on June 10, 1945 the USSR created an occupying military structure in Poland called the Red Army Northern Military Group (or Polnaxons Group Wojska Armii Radzieckiej; PGW AR).²⁷ It was based on the troops of the 1st Belarussian Front which had been operating up to May 1945 in northern Poland, West Pomerania and Mecklenburg.²⁸ The PGW were stationed on Polish territory for 48 years, till 1993. In this time they played a number of important roles, some characteristic of the period in question and others which remained important throughout the length of their stay in Poland.

For many years the history of Soviet troops in Poland after World War II could not be researched as to do so would undermine the image of Polish-Russian relations presented through the propaganda. The end of censorship in Poland enabled the publication of the first works in this area, though till now they have remained few and far between.²⁹ The problem of the Soviet military presence seems to also appear in works mainly concentrated on Polish political and economic history after World War II,

²⁶ The following works can serve as examples: A Kepińska, *New Art: Polish Art between 1945- 78*, (*Nowa Sztuka. Sztuka Polska w latach 1945-78*), Warsaw 1982; *Painting of the Formative Period of People's Rule in Poland 1945-55*, (*Malarstwo okresu kształtowania się władzy ludowej w Polsce 1945-55*) (Catalogue), Kazimierz dolny 1979; *The Polish Social Realist Poster*, (*Polski plakat realizmu socjalistycznego*)(Catalogue), Poznań 1978; *Various Faces of Social Realism, (Oblicza socrealizmu)* (Catalogue), Warsaw 1987; W. Włodarczyk, *Le réalisme socialiste et ses traditions*, Cahiers du Musée, National d'art. Moderne, 1981, nr 7-8 (Centre Georges Pompidou).
²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 1992.