Solidarity, Song, and the Sound Document

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The refrain of guitar poet Jacek Kaczmarski's song, "Walls" (*Mury*), draws listeners into the climax of a political protest.[1] He and his fellow musicians, guitarist Przemysław Gintrowski and pianist Zbigniew Łapiński, tear into fury as they sing a text laced with imperatives. Their rendition of the refrain verges on pitchless shouting, and their aggressive strumming drives the physicality of the performers' snarled rolled r's and percussive hard consonants.[2] This Polish singer-songwriter anthem, composed in 1978, tells the story of a nameless artist trapped with compatriots behind placeless walls (appendix). The musician-protagonist teaches the masses to rebel against their oppressors by leading a musical outcry—the refrain. This song within a song brings walls tumbling down. Its rallying cry demolishes the introspective tone of the song's opening, with its sparse arpeggiations and narrative of artistic solitude.

In many respects, this refrain contains key elements of a protest anthem, the least of which is that both lyrics and music invite participation

[1] Video recordings and the complete Polish lyrics of the popular music discussed in this article are readily available online. This article was completed with the support of an Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Teaching Fellowship from the University of Pennsylvania. I wish to thank the archivists at the National Solidarity Commission in Gdańsk, as well as Joseph Zajac (Houghton Library, Harvard University) and Izabela Zymer (Polish Composers' Union). I am grateful to audiences at the Fourth International Polish Studies Conference in Chicago (2012) and the University of Southampton for feedback on earlier presentations of this material. The careful, generous, and critical engagement with my prose by Philip V. Bohlman, Tul'si Bhambry, Glenda Goodman, Joanna Nižyńska, Timothy Rommen, and the *Journal of Musicology*'s anonymous reviewers helped make this essay stronger.

[2] Although my analysis draws upon the widely circulated 1980 recording, the trio's performance practice was consistent, even amplified, as the song gained popularity. The original audio was rereleased on CD (*Mury*, Wifon audiocassette [1981], remastered Pomaton EMI CD 7243 522839 2 7 [1999]); a DVD-set chronicles Kaczmarski's performances through his career (*Scena to dziwna . . . 1981–2001*, Metal Mind Productions MMP 5DVDBOX001 DVD [2008]).

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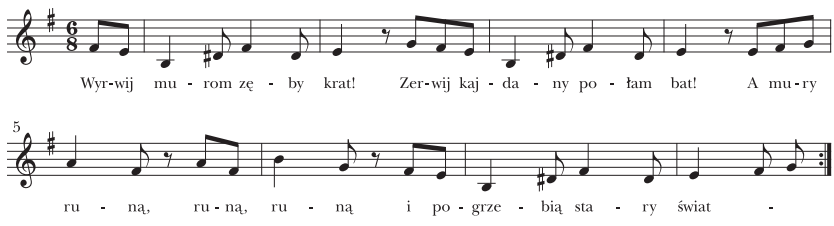
EXAMPLE 1. Jacek Kaczmarski, "Walls" (*Mury*, 1978), refrain



Wyrwij murom zęby krat!	Tear out those fang-like bars from the walls!
Zerwij kajdany, połam bat!	Break your shackles; shatter the whip!
A mury runą, runą, runą,	And the walls will fall, fall, fall,
I pogrzebią stary świat!	Burying the old world!

(ex. 1). Melodies and words repeat, as does the entire chorus, and when the trio sings in unison, one can easily imagine joining in without being singled out. The lyrics articulate confidence that art can make political change, endowing "Walls" with a didactic sensibility that complements the absence of historical specificity. Like "We Shall Overcome," the song taken on its own harbors potential for use at any public manifestation of dissent presumably because it performs an affirmative vision of collectivity.[3] "Walls" is itself an adaptation of a Catalan resistance ballad by Luís Llach, a reinterpretation from one rhetoric of protest into another.[4] When the song's refrain was mobilized as the rallying cry for the Solidarity movement in Poland through the 1980s, the citizens and activists who sang it at concerts, shouted it in the streets, and quoted it on posters and pamphlets responded to the anthem's ambiguity and at the same time transformed it into an icon of tremendous national import that was specific to the Polish opposition to state socialism.

Polish audiences listening to Kaczmarski's first performances of the song at private concerts in 1978 might have heard the falling walls as those of Jericho or might have hoped that the song predicted the fate of Berlin's dividing barrier.[5] But they also heard the song as distinctly

[3] For a survey of the performance possibilities and rituals of "We Shall Overcome" as the song connects social movements, see Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2–4.

[4] He substantially modified Llach's 1968 Catalan song, "L'Estaca" (The Stake), explicitly directed at Francisco Franco. The Polish text shares the symbolic "fall" with the original Catalan lyrics, but "walls" is the Polish singer-songwriter's addition.

[5] The power and mutability of the mural metaphor in the Cold War and Christian contexts accumulated further symbolic meaning when many of Poland's most prominent

Polish, not just because of its language, but also because of its generic context, that of *poezja śpiewana* (sung poetry), a nationally marked singer-songwriter tradition linked with university youth culture. By the early 1980s, the locale also resounded loudly in the refrain's symbolic focus. The song became about August 1980, when, within the walls of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk, occupying strikes and ensuing negotiations successfully fought for the legalization of the first independent trade union in the Eastern Bloc, known as Solidarity. The Solidarity trade union later became the victorious Solidarity Party at the first democratic elections in Poland on 4 June 1989. The collective oppositional action in Poland is thus the crucial sparkplug in what historian Tony Judt critically termed the "conventional narrative of Communism's final collapse."[6] This teleological narrative locates the beginning of successful popular protest at the scene of Solidarity's formation, follows the increasing presence of popular dissent across Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, and posits the culmination of this corrective revolution at the crumbling Berlin Wall of 9 November 1989. The crucial contributions of Poland to the carnivalesque politics of the 1980s—first in Gdańsk in 1980 and then with the anticipatory democratic elections—heralded Solidarity as a paradigm for political engagement from below.[7] In this context, music's triumph in "Walls" accumulated a new resonance. After 1989 the song could narrate the end of the Cold War and thereby rally Polish nationalism.

Into the twenty-first century, "Walls" retains a place as Solidarity's song in public memory and performance in part because of its refrain's consonance with the "conventional narrative" and the song's capacity to celebrate the 1980 protests. As early as 1984, the union mobilized the refrain as an identifying sound bite when it was one of the signals for Radio Solidarity. It is crucial to what Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison term the "mobilization of tradition" in their sociological study of the Civil Rights Movement.[8] In the Polish context "Walls" links younger generations to politics past through cultural—particularly musical—revival in the

activists were interned while martial law was in place (December 1981–July 1983). Kaczmarski's refrain was the title of one songbook of internment songs; see Zygmunt Stępiński, *A mury runą, runą, runą . . . : Pamiętki internowanych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo CDN, 1983). For a detailed analysis of the wall as a motive in Kaczmarski's repertory, see Piotr Wiroński, *Wbrew, pomimo i dlatego: Analiza twórczości Jacka Kaczmarskiego* (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2011), 127–34.

[6] Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 585. See also his profile of the give-and-take between the Polish opposition and the United Workers' Party over the course of the decade, 585–608.

[7] Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), for example, situates Polish actors at the center of a regional success story of raucous political engagement rooted in cultural performance.

[8] For the theoretical backdrop for their study of the US-American context, see Eyerman and Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 26–47.

present. When the international electronic music personality Jean Michel Jarre headlined a concert celebrating the trade union's twenty-fifth anniversary in 2005, for example, Kaczmarski's refrain echoed between each number, and the evening culminated in a multimedia spectacle devoted to the anthem.[9] In performance, the chorus sings a successful and unison legacy for the popular opposition to state socialism in Poland. But it is the refrain's celebration of the politically engaged artist that motivates this essay's critical return to the role of music in Gdańsk through August 1980.

As a performer, Kaczmarski has come to stand in for the heroic singer activist at the heart of his song, as a kind of musical double for the worker-turned-union-leader Lech Wałęsa, who spearheaded Solidarity. In a December 2013 commendation, Polish President Bronisław Komorowski transmuted the song's motto to describe the singer's influence: "Today I think about Jacek Kaczmarski as someone who had his own prominent part to play in building our hope and our determination to fight, so that the walls would fall and Poland would be a free country."[10] Such conflations of political symbol and political change permeate reflections on Solidarity and social movements more broadly.[11] Yet what is it about "Walls" that made it appealing as an anthem? And what is it about Kaczmarski that made him an ideal voice for the Polish workers' movement? Over the course of my 2007–10 fieldwork in Poland, activists and musicians repeatedly drew attention to the guitar ballad as a hymn of Solidarity. It would be difficult to exaggerate the transcendent power and historical agency still ascribed to Kaczmarski's song. It conveys—even celebrates—Polish history, at the same time restaging Solidarity as a moment of historic and historical unity and hope.

The purpose of this essay, however, is not to memorialize "Walls" as Solidarity's iconic anthem. Instead, the song prompts two avenues of inquiry. First, its rise to prominence only *after* Solidarity's legalization invites us to reconsider the role of music in Gdańsk through the month of August 1980 in order to understand the relationship between singing and popular dissent in the People's Republic of Poland.[12] Does the history

[9] The concert's music later became the soundtrack of Völker Schlöndorff's dramatic film *Strajk* (2007), which is loosely based on the events of August 1980,

[10] "I dzisiaj myślę o Jacku Kaczmarskim jako o tym, który miał ten swój wielki udział w budowaniu naszej nadziei i naszej determinacji w walce o to, aby mury runęły i Polska była krajem wolnym"; excerpted in "Jacek Kaczmarski: 25 lat Wolności," supplement to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 31 May 2014, 1.

[11] Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

[12] For a compendium of politically charged songs that register defiance and determination in Poland during the postwar era, see Marek Payerhin, "Singing Out of Pain: Protest Songs and Social Mobilization," *Polish Review* 37 (2012): 5–31.

written in "Walls" match up with historical reality? What music did protesters hear, sing, and perform? How did music fit into the broader sonic environment and artistic atmosphere of the strikes? I demonstrate the importance of the often ambiguous and ambivalent relationship to music and sound held by political activists on the ground. I further show that the month of Solidarity's emergence was suffused with the cultural complexity and irreducibility that Alberto Melucci defines as central to the analysis of collective action.[13]

Second, the song's refrain redirects attention to the function Kaczmarski ascribes to music within his tale of tumbling walls. The Polish guitarist frames sound as a crucial element to making collective action cohesive. The narrative's singer-crusader provides "strength through song," but ultimately "silently listens." Through Kaczmarski's song and through historical accounts of Solidarity's August, sound matters. Across the diverse archives and media to which I listen, numerous documents explicitly refer to and integrate the sonic to establish historiographic authority. Like "Walls," these histories—which I call "sound documents"—turn to sounds to project confidence into this first and pivotal triumphant moment for the Polish opposition.

Over the course of this article I juxtapose the many modes of storytelling about Solidarity through sound and song to present a study of listening, singing, and collective political action. The defining moment for Poland in the late twentieth century—Gdańsk in August 1980—stakes out a space for the cultural history of music in East Central Europe. It may be self-evident that a nation between the United States and the Soviet Union would complicate the still seductive binaries of Cold War cultural historiography: the state vs. the people, censorship vs. freedom—each a version of "us vs. them" that reinscribes iron-clad division.[14] Indeed, the stories from Gdańsk's archive reveal musical stakes that engage the cacophony of crowds, amateur artistic creativity, moments of ritual and repose, the orchestrations of communication media, and thunderous nationalist celebration at the scene of dissent. The interaction of sound, political action, and history within the context of Solidarity provides a model for studying and placing music and collective action in constant dynamic tension—that is, I present culture as a site that resists the reduction of protest to binary opposition.

[13] Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), 10.

[14] On the temptation to let clear-cut divisions shape the historiography of music in the context of Cold War politics, see Peter J. Schmelz, "Introduction: Music in the Cold War," *Journal of Musicology* 26 (2009): 3–16.

A History from Sound Documents

In the first historical accounts of Solidarity, written by the strikes' participants, political actors lent their documentary efforts authenticity and authority through sound, in sound, and with sound. Listening for the movement's music history—its sounds and songs—entails remaining attuned to media that are not self-evidently musical. The documents are multimodal: audiotape, film, typed transcripts, handwritten posters, personal diaries, analyses on the radio, and more. They bear a certain similarity to the breadth of cultural ephemera at other central European scenes of protest, such as May 1968 in Paris or Leipzig's "Monday demonstrations" in fall 1989.[15] Eric Drott registers the many orders of documented protest culture when he observes of Paris: "The slogans, chants, wall inscriptions, and tracts that proliferated during the events bore witness to a belief that creative expression possessed a more profound function, that of nourishing the movement's utopian aspirations."[16] In Poland, the "opera-ready" protests, to borrow a phrase from sociologist Elżbieta Matynia, functioned as an imperative to record on film, tape, and in print.[17] Listening across these immediate documentary efforts, I approach the material published and archived from August 1980 to 1981 as an unsettled accumulation of particular stories. The details of these stories shape a vital role for sound quite distinct from the inspirational and spiritual ones that dominate social-movement literature.[18]

A principal goal of this article is to develop the concept of the "sound document" as a notion that brings together history, sound, and music studies. In the Polish context, sound documents facilitate the reconstruction of Gdańsk's soundscape, are themselves relics of the creative spirit at the scene, and, as narratives, interpret the events of August as history in the making.[19] Although those inscribing history at the scene

[15] Eric Drott, *Music and the Elusive Revolution: Cultural Politics and Politics of Culture in France, 1968–81* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); and Wolfgang Schneider, ed., *Leipziger Demontagebuch: Demo, Montag, Tagebuch, Demontage* (Leipzig and Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1990). Many of these protesters would have kept the model of the 1789 French Revolution in mind. For articles examining its mixed media, see Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, ed., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 141–289.

[16] Drott, *Music and the Elusive Revolution,* 25.

[17] Elżbieta Matynia, *Performative Democracy* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2009), 50.

[18] Focusing on anthems, for example, T.V. Reed writes of the Civil Rights movement in the United States: "Songs, especially as embedded in a rich church culture and later in black pop music, formed the communication network of the movement, and they also expressed the 'soul' of the movement, linking its spirit to centuries of resistance to slavery and opposition." T.V. Reed, *The Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 2.

[19] The part of witness-historian, author of "the history of the present," was played most notably by journalist Timothy Garton Ash, whom I discuss below. See George Kennan, "Witness," *New York Review of Books*, 1 March 1990, 3–6.

did not necessarily treat all music *as music*, they responded to, described, and incorporated diverse musical materials *as sound*. As a result, much of the music-making in Gdańsk has been muted in the histories and public memory of Solidarity because of the looming presence of anthems like "Walls." My turn to "sound," then, both recognizes the delimited historical use of music in the Polish context and attempts to move beyond it. The sound document paves the way for a reconsideration of social movements' cultural history that includes both the iconic songs of protest and the music histories that emerge from the acoustic experiences of those at the scene.

Lexically, sound document packs a punch: the juxtaposition of the two terms lends each layers of meaning. Sound testifies to both the critical participation of the sonic in the articulation of the historical record as well as to the presumptive status of the document at hand as factual and/or authentic. The concept of sound as an adjective that denotes something solid, durable, and reliable builds on the supposed factual basis of, for example, documentary film and the privilege accorded so-called primary documents.[20] The sonic organizes and validates evidence, providing what Michael Chanan calls the "demonstration of proof by inscription" that marks documentary practices in film.[21] At the same time, aligning sound with document calls for a turn away from the strictly literary. Though media historians and musicologists are more than aware of the historiographic potential of sound-recording technologies, few studies concurrently engage sound archives—those of radio stations, oral-history centers, and personal collections—with the written word.[22] Expansive possibilities for the materiality of sound documents exist: they might be written registers, song lyrics, recorded soundscapes, elicited interviews, or film soundtracks. In each instance, sound is inscribed materially through an attempt to fix it temporally and spatially.[23]

[20] A survey of the significance of "actuality" for defining and analyzing documentary film appears in Betsy A. Lane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 2nd ed. (New York: Continuum, 2012), 4–6.

[21] Michael Chanan, *The Politics of Documentary* (London: British Film Institute, 2007), 29.

[22] Important exceptions are, for example, the rigorous challenge issued to Steve Reich's *Different Trains* as documentary by Amy Lynn Wlodarski, and Martin Clayton's study of A. H. Fox Strangways's field recordings, both of which return to sound documents to explicate their subjects' hearing. Amy Lynn Wlodarski, "The Testimonial Aesthetics of *Different Trains*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 (2010): 99–141; and Martin Clayton, "A. H. Fox Strangways and 'The Music of Hindostan': Revisiting Historical Field Recordings," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124 (1999): 86–118. For writing on preserving history and the capture of sound, see for example Gabriele Berlin and Artur Simon, ed., *Music Archiving in the World* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2002); Andy Linehan, *Aural History: Essays on Recorded Sound* (London: British Library, 2001); and Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

[23] For a discussion of the ways in which documentary film is a symptom of the scientific investment of inscription, see Brian Winston, "The Documentary Film as Scientific

Recognizing sound's ephemeral nature, the sound document, like the field recording, represents much more a frustration with the limits of textual representation than an ideal solution in sound.[24] Written, recorded, and filmed accounts of the Polish strikes and negotiations capture patriotic shouting, pattering laughter in response to a satirical cabaret, and the wavering of voices as they burgeon in devotional hymn singing—all of which resounded at Solidarity's nascent moment. Activist filmmakers, pamphleteers, scribes, and radio engineers attended to the ubiquity of songs, giving the brief musical narratives prominent positions in the union's first histories. The saturation of documents with sound presents a cacophonous music history overwhelmed by data points. Amid this aural deluge, Michel Foucault's notion of accumulated documents suggests navigating the bounty of historical sources laterally. He writes: "The document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said, the events of which only the trace remains; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations."[25] The music history that follows is constructed on the basis of sound documents, with the close analysis and comparison of two: an almanac (*The Polish August of 1980*) and a radio reportage (Janina Jankowska's *Polish August*). The sonic documentation that helps both to describe and interpret August's politics strikes a discord when juxtaposed with the collective reverberation memorialized in "Walls."

Gdańsk: August 1980

> He was inspired and young, they countless many.
> Giving them strength through song, he sang of a nearing dawn.
> They lit thousands of candles for him, smoke rose up above their heads,
> He sang that it was time for the wall to fall.
>
> Jacek Kaczmarski, "Walls"

The power of August 1980—and the power of Solidarity—was to amass people: to strike within the Lenin Shipyards and to generate political participation across Poland. The work stoppage successfully provoked the Central Committee of the Communist Party to negotiate with a committee

Inscription," in *Theorizing Documentary*, ed. Michael Renov (New York: Routledge, 1993), 37–57.

[24] The subjectivity of listening certainly destabilizes assertions of an objective soundscape, and any recording is constructed in the very process of capturing sound. See Neil V. Rosenberg, "From the Sound Recordings Review Editor: Documentary Sound Recordings," *The Journal of American Folklore* 105 (1992): 344–58, at 355.

[25] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 6–7.

of workers, the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (Międzyzakładowy Komitet Strajkowy, MKS), on site. From 14 to 31 August civilians, clergy, and workers intermingled across the grounds until the Gdańsk Agreement was signed, paving the way for the union's legalization that November. By December 1981, Solidarity had ten million members. Like May 1968 in Paris, August 1980 has come to index a field of political dissent in Poland in the 1980s.

Physical presence manifests allegiance.[26] At the gates of the Lenin Shipyards in 1980, workers and strike organizers distributed pamphlets and posted demands to recruit for their cause. The protesters filled the open spaces of the shipyards, where they slept on styrofoam mattresses to claim their turf. Sound media united the masses: the loudspeakers of the complex broadcast the strike negotiations across the gathered crowds.[27] Inside a meeting hall, journalists from abroad and across Poland stood for hours among the activists, who took turns addressing the crowd and negotiating with Party officials. The overflow spilled into the surrounding streets, disrupting commerce.[28] The disruptive value of this protest was in its place: the strike was not on the move.[29]

Little formal music-making occurred. One exceptional concert was explicitly framed as a musical event and presented performers from local professional ensembles.[30] Otherwise, amateurs performed on site. Singer-songwriters—of the same generation as Kaczmarski—brought their guitars and sang soldiers' songs, cabaret tunes, and simple laments that played to their audience's enthusiasm for strophic songs with first-person narratives. The mysterious absence of live music did not go unnoticed: a radio broadcast on 20 August prompted a minor debate about music's relevance and *esprit de corps*. One activist noted the conversation:

[26] On the highly emotional tenor of Solidarity's scene, see Colin Barker, "Fear, Laughter, and Collective Power: The Making of Solidarity at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk, Poland, August 1980," in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements,* ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180–85.

[27] Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 43.

[28] The film *Robotnicy '80* (dir. Andrzej Chodakowski and Andrzej Zajaczkowski, 1981) and Erazm Ciołek's photographs provide visual evidence of music-making and crowd convocation; see Erazm Ciołek, *Sierpień Solidarności* (Warsaw: Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej, 2010).

[29] Writing in 1990, David Ost used the language that would form the mantras of the 2011–12 Occupy movement to explain Polish protest tactics. David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 150.

[30] Two singers from the Baltic Opera and a pianist from the Baltic Philhamonic performed songs by Polish composers—Frédéric Chopin and Stanisław Moniuszko—to an audience of 1,000 (mentioned in "Strajkowy Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność," 27 August 1980; see also Adam Orchowski, "Przebieg strajku okupacyjnego w Stoczni Gdańskiej im. Lenina w dniach 14–31 sierpnia 1980 roku," in *Polski Sierpień 1980: Reedycja Almanachu Gdańskich Środowisk Twórczych "Punkt" nr 12/80* [New York: Biblioteka Pomostu, 1981], 27).

> The workers comment on the specific selection of music on the local radio. There they broadcast classical music all the time. With the passage of time its character changes and it becomes, in the opinion of those who listen, funereal: this does not bode well. However, our command is steadfast: persevere.[31]

Protesters were invested in what music they heard and whether it expressed the emotional tenor of the political moment.

Though they mark the crest of Polish dissent, the 1980 strikes were not the first public protests in the People's Republic. Numerous precursors in cities across the country took on historiographical import from its inception: Poznań's June 1956, followed by Warsaw's March 1968, Gdańsk's 1970, and Radom's 1976.[32] But from the litany of mythologized protests, one stands out as a figurative premonition of what was to come: December 1970. When riots across the tri-city region of Gdańsk, Sopot, and Gdynia halted local industrial plants, the police responded with violence, killing hundreds of workers. The government left these murders unacknowledged, and the event remained an open wound through the 1970s. The shared geography of 1970 and 1980 draws attention to continuities among experienced personnel and institutional structures. Referring to December 1970 was a means of fixing a *lieu de mémoire* for the strikes on the Baltic coast in 1980.[33] To anchor a new protest to a landscape's political history, *lieux de mémoire* need not be physical objects. Silence and song can also fix place and time.

The revived memory of 1970 also underscored its pastness. The late 1970s brought dramatic increases in the cost of commercial goods as compensation for the Polish economy's debt. With factories strained, workers cooperated with supporting constituencies—particularly intellectuals and clergy from the Catholic Church—to organize local resistance to the dire conditions.[34] From the 1970s through 1989, these networks

[31] "Robotnicy komentują specyficzny dobór muzyki w lokalnym radiu. Przez cały czas nadają tam muzykę poważną, z upływem czasu charakter jej zmienia się i przechodzi ona, zdaniem słuchających, w żałobną—nie wróży to nic dobrego. Postanowienie jest jednak nieugięte—wytrwamy" (Orchowski, "Przebieg strajku okupacyjnego," 18).

[32] For a discussion of the influence of local protests on regional political mobilization, see Padraic Kenney, "Opposition Networks and Transnational Diffusion," in *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, ed. Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 207–23.

[33] Borrowing from Pierre Nora, Matthias Riess has argued that objects derived from protest marches rearticulate the political and socio-cultural work such protests undertake. See Matthias Reiss, ed., *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 9.

[34] For accounts of the consolidation of the opposition in the late 1970s and its foundational role for Gdańsk in 1980, see A. Kemp-Welch, *Poland under Communism: A Cold War History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 203–68; and Barbara J. Falk, *Dilemmas of Dissidence in East-Central Europe* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2003), 27–43.

shaped the opposition, a broad, umbrella category that encompassed Poles invested in reforming civil society, whether through vocal dissent, cultural practices confirming Polish nationhood, or devout Catholic worship and prayer. As a new series of general strikes swept Poland beginning in June 1980 in Lublin, attention shifted toward the active ports and shipyards on the Baltic coast.

The termination in Gdańsk on 7 August of Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator at the Lenin Shipyards, for participating in an illegal trade union catalyzed organized action. The crowd of workers that approached the second gate of the shipyards on the morning of 14 August was certainly aware of the brutal violence that had occurred in that place almost ten years earlier. Just moments before, the workers' leader, Wałęsa, had heralded action: "We are taking on an occupational strike."[35] The crowd's endorsement was a loud "Hurra!" An anonymous worker, interviewed on 31 August, recalled: "We approached the gate, where we commemorated those who died in 1970 with a moment of silence, and, after, we sang the national anthem."[36] This anecdote recurs in oral histories of the strikes and anchors the workers' actions in those previously taken at the peripheries of Gdańsk's factories. The repetition signals a punctuating role for Wałęsa and the national anthem, one that echoes the transformative power of the leader and the chorus in "Walls." Silent commemoration deflected attention to the emotional from what would become a discourse on labor-union policy. Solidarity grew loud and visible as Poland and its national anthem reached the global stage.

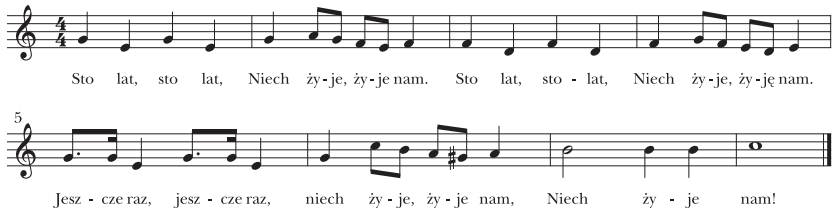
Listening to the Negotiations

> Soon they knew the song by heart and its melody, without words,
> Carried with it the old message, sending shivers through their hearts and souls.
> So they sang, clapped in rhythm, their claps sounding like gunshots,
> And the chain weighed upon them, the dawn tarried.
>
> Jacek Kaczmarski, "Walls"

[35] Though permitted, striking remained a form of resistance, and shouting the word empowered Poles. As Lech Wałęsa recalled, "It was repeated loudly and thousands of times: Strike! Strike! Strike!—a taboo word, a word that they tried to suppress all too unsuccessfully." See Lech Wałęsa, afterword to Józef Tischner, *The Spirit of Solidarity,* trans. Marek B. Zaleski and Benjamin Fiore (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984), 106.

[36] "Podeszliśmy pod bramę, gdzie uczciliśmy minutą ciszy poległych w 1970 r., a potem odśpiewaliśmy hymn narodowy." See "Wywiady, Jak rozpoczął się strajk," in "Strajkowy buiietyn informacyjny Solidarność," reproduced in *Zapis wydarzeń: Gdańsk-Sierpień 1980; dokumenty,* ed. Andrzej Drzycimski and Tadeusz Skutnik (Warsaw: Niezależna Oficyjna Wydawnicza NOWA, 1999), 8.

EXAMPLE 2. "One Hundred Years" (*Sto lat*)



Sto lat, sto lat,	One hundred years, one hundred years,
Niech żyje, żyje nam.	May he live, live with us.
Sto lat, sto lat,	One hundred years, one hundred years,
Niech żyje, żyje nam.	May he live, live with us.
Jeszcze raz, jeszcze raz, niech żyje, żyje nam,	Once more, once more, may he live, live with us,
Niech żyje nam!	May he live with us!

Audio material recorded on handheld mini-cassette recorders perhaps most thoroughly captured sounds in the shipyards over the following weeks.[37] As sound document, this record—collected at the Solidarity trade union's archive—comes closest to "contain[ing] everything to which the ear was exposed in a given sonic setting," to invoke Ana María Ochoa's conception of the soundscape.[38] The constant rearticulation of the protestors' specific goals colored the atmosphere at the shipyards as collaborative and provided forward momentum to the conversation. Accordingly, the activists thirsted for stirring and inspiring music that predicted a positive resolution for what they understood to be the negotiations' realistic demands. The ebullient birthday song "One Hundred Years" (*Sto lat*) served such a role, with its affirmative message and simple musical profile (ex. 2). "May he live with us!" the workers shouted toward the front of the negotiation hall and Wałęsa, expressing communal rapture at crucial moments. The melody's brevity minimized the interruption of the discussions that filled each day. And the song welcomed the focus on progress and the future; the call, "one more time," rebounds

[37] I refer here to the extensive collection of recordings at the Archives of the National Solidarity Commission, Gdańsk, Poland. In her interview with me, Małgorzata Pietkiewicz spoke of the devices she used to record professionally as a journalist, as well as surreptitiously for the opposition (Małgorzata Pietkiewicz, 2 July 2010).

[38] David W. Samuels, Louise Meintjes, Ana María Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello, "Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 329–45, at 330.

with a simplicity that is anything but fatalist. Furthermore, recordings of the song—whether excerpted for documentary purposes or archived as reference material—represent the clearest, most unified, and loudest singing of August captured on tape.[39]

Timothy Garton Ash's account of the scene, collected in 1983 in the international bestseller, *The Polish Revolution*, participates in the positivist spirit of documenting the spoken deliberations in every detail, heightening the drama of negotiation.[40] The historian and journalist privileges the role of sound as communication and *communitas*. He listens carefully and evokes a cacophonous sensorium, projecting himself as earwitness.[41] Standing among the crowds at the shipyards, the reporter writes as one of the captivated participants. The first one-hundred pages of his history of Solidarity focus on the minute-to-minute waves of tension and release as Wałęsa, the voice of the workers at the head of the MKS, and various missionaries from the Polish United Workers' Party engage in heated conversation.[42] At one point Garton Ash even conjures up a musical duel that stands in for the political *tête-à-tête* underway in Gdańsk. As the Party's most important annual plenary in Warsaw was televised:

> Many of the strikers watch the end of the [Central Committee's] Plenum on television. When the Party men on the screen rise to sing "The Internationale," the delegates stand up, as if at an inaudible command, to answer them with the national anthem. "Arise ye prisoners of want," pipes the box; "Poland is not yet lost," thunders the hall.[43]

[39] The beginning of Solidarity's first documentary film, *Robotnicy '80*, features representative performances. Hear also the song's presence on Jan Gall's audio-biography of the leader for further evidence of its close association with Wałęsa: *Wałęsa* (Warsaw: NOWA Oficyjna Wydawnicwa, NOWa audiocassette 013 [1983]) at the Solidarity Collection, Harvard University.

[40] The book gathers writings from the *Spectator*, *The Times*, and *Der Spiegel* (Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, ix).

[41] In his influential treatise on the soundscape, R. Murray Schafer promoted the earwitness's authority as chief conduit for historical soundscapes. R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1977), 8–9.

[42] Recently scholars of protest have drawn attention to the impact of media presence on popular resistance as theater. William Marotti, "Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 97–135. In Gdańsk, journalists represented activist constituencies, the Party, the state-subsidized Polish Radio and Television, and international news sources from the East and West. The semi-fictional film *Człowiek z żelaza* (1981) by Andrzej Wajda portrays the fervent energy of journalists in Gdańsk as it contributed to a sense of witnessing history.

[43] While the "Internationale" had frequently been mobilized by workers in protest over the course of the twentieth century, at the 1980 strikes the song was firmly in the grips of the Party, since its performance was a ritual part of the Central Committee's proceedings. Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 60.

The journalist's chronicle is laced with such musical references, and Garton Ash often interpolates the texts workers sing to pass the time.[44] He latches on to symbols to teach his Western audiences about the history of Polish partition, intertwining nineteenth-century nationalism with the ongoing fight for state sovereignty.

One of the first self-conscious histories of Solidarity by its members suggests both the instrumental nature of sound on the scene and its instrumentality in initial attempts to preserve the strikes' reality. The almanac, *The Polish August of 1980* (*Polski Sierpień 1980*), is itself a celebration of the free speech made possible by Solidarity's legalization, published in the final months of 1980 by Gdańsk-based independent publishers but with the approval of the government (and hence legal).[45] To a certain extent, the volume indicates the primary-source documents Solidarity's members deemed most significant for the negotiations and most representative of August.[46] The materials emphasize Solidarity's legitimacy by foregrounding text and word, but the dynamic range of the documents also draws attention to the moments when written discourse fails. It is a sound document. The highly edited collection contains brief essays and recollections bolstered by posters, pamphlets, poetry, transcriptions, and legal documents. These source materials are framed as artifacts, prefaced with introductory captions and judiciously truncated, explained, or summarized to make them recognizable to those who had lived at the Shipyards in August and those just learning of the strikes.

The almanac's editors also struggled to balance the objective and subjective throughout the volume, explicitly dividing the evidence into three categories to organize recent history: documentation, reconstruction, and interpretation. Each bears the additional qualification of the scrapbooking effort as an attempt (*próba*), an exploratory contextualization of the wealth of documentary evidence that anticipates revisions of this recent event's legacy. Calling their fledgling historical work attempts, in the sense of *Versuche*, the activists rejected absolute empiricism, implying the documents' stability in contrast to the fallibility and instability of historians' work.

Two entries that exhibit the sheen of objectivity also reveal this historiographic anxiety. The almanac begins with a skeletal narrative of

[44] Ibid., 59.

[45] *Polski Sierpień 1980: Reedycja Almanachu Gdańskich Środowisk Twórczych "Punkt" nr 12/80* (New York: Biblioteka Pomostu, 1981).

[46] The activists packaged the documents as broadsides, building on centuries-old traditions of immediate print news circulation. Roy Palmer emphasizes the relationship of print documentation to orality in his *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1.

August: a timeline.[47] Adam Orchowski reconstructed August in detail, presenting an overview of key days indexed by timestamps. Yet Orchowski's interpretive style is discernible in the bare-bones history. He occasionally zooms in with minute-by-minute transcriptions of dialogue from the negotiations, and complements the policy focus with descriptions of events elsewhere at the shipyards; for example, when Catholic mass is held. In a second ostensibly empirical document, Stanisław Rosiek aggregated transcriptions of what he called the "tape player's account" (*zapis magnetofonowy*) from the opposition's repository of recordings.[48] Rosiek necessarily truncates but rarely editorializes, giving his interpretive hand a subtle presence through the document.

The Polish August of 1980 is peppered with sonic traces (table 1). Orchowski has a proclivity for the atmospheric and the cultural. Over the course of his list of events the presence and the significance of communications and sound media emerge: they become means for creating support for the strikes locally, nationally, and internationally. In addition to tracking the steady increase in journalists at the scene, he notes when strike organizers began using radio communication, when workers brought television sets to watch state newscasts, and when speakers required megaphones to communicate with the amassed crowds.[49]

In Rosiek's efforts parenthetical references to applause draw attention to persuasive comments and resounding arguments; even an intermittent "Bravo!" or laugh is documented.[50] Occasionally, his stenographers note voices' sources beyond the political protagonists who utter them, for example, announcements through the factory's loudspeakers or transmissions on walkie-talkies. A word-for-word negotiation transcript provides documentary precision and only rarely does a scribe indicate foregoing transcription because of a comment's lack of clarity. The three notes on performances of song thus momentarily pause the policy-driven account of events. Twice, the crowd's adoration of Wałęsa is transformed from chants of praise into the singing of "One Hundred Years."[51] With a frantic shout that the day is over Wałęsa interrupts an opponent, and only when the governmental representative formally closes the meeting does music—

[47] Orchowski, "Przebieg strajku okupacyjnego," 9–44.

[48] Stanisław Rosiek, ed., "Zapis magnetofonowy przebiegu obrad plenum Międzyzakładowego Komitetu Strajkowego w Stoczni Gdańskiej," in *Polski Sierpień 1980: Reedycja Almanachu Gdańskich Środowisk Twórczych "Punkt" nr 12/80* (New York: Biblioteka Pomostu, 1981), 55–120.

[49] Orchowski, "Przebieg strajku okupacyjnego," 13, 21.

[50] The transcriptions' incorporation of general responses from the room follows the format established by the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party.

[51] Rosiek, ed., "Zapis magnetofonowy," 93, 107.

TABLE 1
Sonic traces in *The Polish August of 1980*

Print Documentation	**Interpretation and Reflection**
• Stenographic transcriptions of the events document applause, spontaneous choruses, and shouts • Collected "verses" include many song texts	• Orchowski's everyday history of August • Bieńkowski's and Skutnik's brief introductions to the poetry of the Gdańsk shipyards

Adam Orchowski's "Preliminary Reconstruction" of Events

- Singing: of the national anthem, usually under the direction of Lech Wałęsa (9 times)
- Singing: of "One Hundred Years," usually in celebration of Wałęsa (3 times)
- Singing: of "God Save Poland" outside liturgical context
- Efforts made to record the proceedings
- Debate among workers over local radio stations' music programming
- Listening to the radio or watching television together
- Gratitude expressed in official remarks, toward intoned liturgy of masses held at the shipyards
- Concert by artists from the Baltic Opera and Philharmonic in the cafeteria
- Interviews by documentary film makers
- Formal registration of concern as to who can listen to the proceedings, within Poland, across the globe
- Broadcast of music across the radio transmitter
- Concern that the microphone is not properly amplified
- Warning to monitor your conversations because all microphones are live
- Transcription of chanting by the assembled crowd (e.g., "Leszek, Leszek," in honor of Wałęsa)

the national anthem—become woven into the events of the negotiation. In Wałęsa's words: "Wait a second! I suggest that, with permission, we sing 'Poland has not yet perished.'"[52]

[52] "Poczekamy! Proponuję na zgodę odśpiewać Jeszcze Polska." In ibid., 120.

Lech Wałęsa's National Anthem

Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła,	Poland has not yet perished,
Kiedy my żyjemy.	So long as we still live.
Co nam obca przemoc wzięła	What the foreign force has taken from us,
Szablą odbierzemy.	We shall retrieve by sword.
Marsz, marsz, Dąbrowski,	March, march Dąbrowski,
Z ziemi włoskiej do Polski.	From Italian soil to Poland.
Za twoim przewodem	Under your command
Złączym się z narodem.	We shall rejoin the nation.

"Dąbrowski March," Józef Wybicki (1797)

At moments of great tension or resolution, Wałęsa rallied the crowds to sing the Polish national anthem.[53] His repeated performance of exclusively this patriotic song—there were other candidates, such as "God Save Poland" or "The Oath"—buoyed the Solidarity movement as well as Wałęsa's heroic image through the 1980s.[54] The scenario almost always unfolded in the same manner. His gravelly tenor intoned the verse's first words in rhythm but without pitch, and the assembled crowd would fall in line to affirm that Poland "has not yet perished" (*jeszcze nie zginęła*). Hovering in the fifth beneath C4, men and women sang at opposite extremes of their registers. As chorus, it dispelled conversations and cleared the air of clatter.[55] In Orchowski's chronicle, Wałęsa's association with the national anthem emerges forcefully: it is integrated into the account of the negotiations at nine points, many times under his direction. Many first-hand accounts are scattered with notes that conflate singing the anthem with confidence: "For the concluding 'Jeszcze Polska' we were strong and tight-knit."[56]

The anthem's refrain, "Poland has not yet perished," had affirmed Polish identity in the nineteenth century, when the nation was under partition. The "Dąbrowski March," or "Dąbrowski's Mazurka," was written in 1797 as military music to accompany the Polish troops serving under Napoleon. The text's author, Józef Wybicki, had accompanied the

[53] Janina Jankowska's award-winning radio montage contains a number of sound clips from the scene. Janina Jankowska, *Polski Sierpień*, NOWa audiocassette 006 (1981), analyzed below.

[54] Maja Trochimczyk, "Sacred/Secular Constructs of National Identity: A Convoluted History of Polish Anthems," in *After Chopin: Studies in Polish Music*, ed. Maja Trochimczyk (Los Angeles: Polish Music Center at the University of Southern California, 2000), 263–94.

[55] For example, the singing interrupts an interview with Anna Walentynowicz in the 1981 documentary *Robotnicy '80*.

[56] "Na zakończenie *Jeszcze Polska* byśmy byli silni i zwarci." In Orchowski, "Przebieg strajku okupacyjnego," 32. Orchowski also notes, for example on p. 43, standing ovations held at the conclusion of the anthem.

Polish Legions to Spain and Italy as a general. Though the march alluded to by its sometimes-title describes the textual narrative rather than the musical topic, the anthem is first and foremost military music. Philip V. Bohlman writes of music's ritual function in European legions through history: "[Military music's] conscious goal is to generate moments of unisonality, when the nation recognizes itself in the collective actions of a military force."[57]

In the late eighteenth century, the song that would become the national anthem—in many ways it is a song in search of a nation—became inextricably linked with the modernity of independent Poland from the signing of the Polish Constitution on 3 May 1791 until the Third Partition in 1794.[58] The patriotic significance of the ratification snowballed through the nineteenth century as Poland remained partitioned.[59] In Adam Mickiewicz's 1834 pastoral epic, *Pan Tadeusz*, a boisterous performance of the national anthem marks the insurrectionist hopes of a reveling crowd: "That march of triumph: *Poland is not dead! / Dąbrowski, march to Poland!* With one accord / They clapped their hands, and 'March Dąbrowski!' roared."[60] By 1980 the mazurka's status as national anthem had long been official through constitutional provision. The state remained invested in the song's continued relevance: the Polish Composers' Union was called upon to update the official orchestral and military band arrangements following the 1977 revision of the Constitution.[61]

The anthem's history as a song accompanying nineteenth-century campaigns for independence and its status as the official national anthem since 1926 make its resonance at the shipyards coherent. Its musical and textual content also confirm that this patriotic song could be a protest song (ex. 3). Simply put, the song roars. The upbeat and celebratory nature of the anthem grows out of its musical material, which satisfies

[57] Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 146. He builds on Benedict Anderson's brief reference to singing national anthems on national holidays as "unisonance," an imagined fabric of choirs across a country sharing the performance of a specific text, in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006 [1983]), 145.

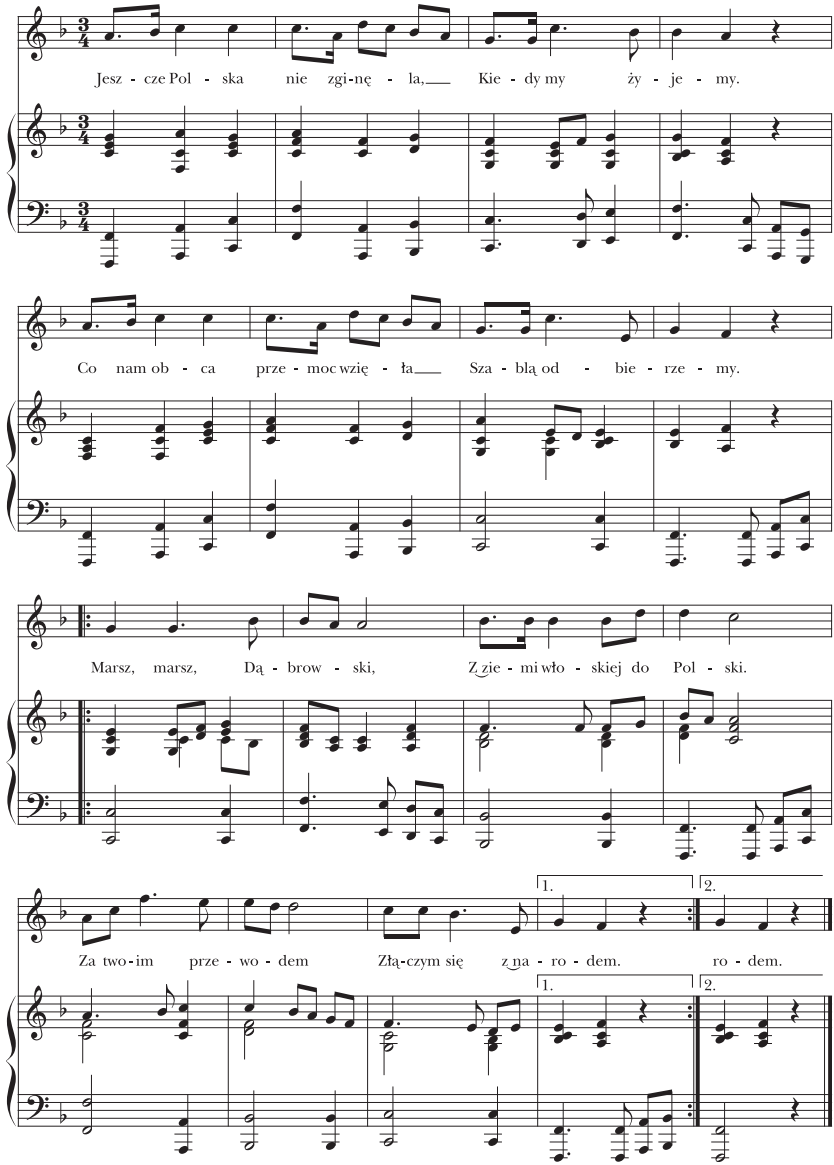
[58] Maja Trochimczyk, "National Anthems of Poland," essay for Polish Music Center, University of Southern California (http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/repertoi/anthems.html) (last accessed 24 January 2016).

[59] Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 102.

[60] "Uderzenie tak sztuczne, tak było potężne, / że struny zadzwoniły jak trąby posiężne / I z trąb znana piosenka ku niebu wionęła, / Marsz tryumfalny: *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła! . . . / Marsz Dąbrowski do Polski!*—I wszyscy klasnęli, / I wszyscy: 'Marsz Dąbrowski!' chórem okrzyknęli!" See Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, trans. Kenneth R. Mackenzie (New York, Hippocrene Books, 1986), 568–69.

[61] Letter from Józef Patkowski to the membership, Archive of the Polish Composers' Union, Folder 33/3 [1977], Polish Music Information Centre, Warsaw, Poland.

EXAMPLE 3. 1978 piano-vocal arrangement of the Polish national anthem. (Music score reprinted with kind permission of Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne S.A., Cracow, Poland)



many of the conventions we have come to expect of the songs modern nations select to represent their peoples.[62] The melody lends itself to contrafacts; its sectional form is based on the alternation of verse and refrain.[63] As a mazurka, the anonymously composed music resists being heard as ambiguous with respect to nation in Poland.[64]

Wałęsa's memoir from the mid-1980s explains his perspective on the anthem's link with the ongoing struggle for liberation.[65] He identifies with the insurrectionists of the nineteenth century, explaining: "I sometimes feel as if I belong to a past age, the age which is . . . evoked in our national anthem, 'Poland has not perished.' The conditions in which this anthem saw the light of day are much the same as those we live under today, and the same can be said of the hopes and values it expresses: courage, defiance, pride." Wałęsa writes as the figurehead of the opposition, rallying from within Solidarity as much as he is reflecting upon Solidarity. His orchestration of spontaneous performances of the national anthem at the scene of negotiation perpetuated this stable meaning.

Garton Ash latches onto the national anthem's presence during negotiations, noting its communal performance on 14, 24, 27, 30, and 31 August. His documentation indulges in a transformative vision of the anthem and politics, one in which music leveled conflict and magnified elation. Garton Ash's sound document adds dimension to the inkling of heroic charisma with which Wałęsa credited himself.[66] In *The Polish Revolution* the workers' representative receives acknowledgment for the aura at the negotiations as much as he does for their measured progress. Garton Ash conjures up a mighty image of the Polish electrician-turned-political leader:

> I notice how skillfully Wałęsa manages this unruly assembly. Whenever the arguments become furious and voices from the floor are raised in anger he summons up the ghosts of General Dąbrowski's Polish legions, whose splendid marching song is now the national anthem.

[62] Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism*, 155.

[63] Contrafacts span the local and national. At the Lenin Shipyards, protestors sang "March, march Wałęsa!" The version used as the pan-Slavic anthem, "Hey Slovane" (1834), was altered to be the Yugoslav national anthem (1943–91), evincing further polysemic potential.

[64] The tune itself emerged from the nationalist project that was the fervent composition of patriotic mazurkas and polonaises. See Barbara Milewski, "Chopin and the Myth of the Folk," *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999): 113–35; and Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 62–77.

[65] Lech Wałęsa, Andrzej Drzyciński, and Adam Kinaszewski, *A Path of Hope* (London: Collins Harvill, 1987), 310–11.

[66] Wałęsa's charisma emanates as a decisive factor in the role he played for Solidarity. It is no coincidence that when the events of 1989 came to pass, it was Wałęsa to whom people dedicated songs. See "Wiersze poświęcone Lechowi Wałęsie," National Solidarity Commission Archive, Gdańsk, Poland.

> "Poland is not yet lost so long as we live . . . " he intones, and all controversy is stilled as everyone rises to their feet, "March, march Dąbrowski, From Italian soil to Poland . . . " and the roof nearly lifts off, all dissension swept away in this never-failing catharsis, "Under thy command, We rejoin the nation . . . " and is it of Wałęsa or Dąbrowski that they sing? It is pure Polish magic. You know that magician has turned it on deliberately, almost cynically. Yet as he sings he is transformed: no longer is he the feisty little electrician in ill-fitting trousers. The sharp talker with many human weaknesses; no longer does his authority derive merely from his patter and repartee; now he stands up straight, head thrown back, arms to his sides, strangely rigid and pink in the face, like a wooden figure by one of the naive sculptors from the Land of Dobrzyn where he was born.[67]

Garton Ash's impressions of the national anthem—that it is "never-failing" in rousing the entire crowd to their feet, or that it diffuses debate and inspires—preface an amalgamation of Wałęsa-as-leader-in-song with Wałęsa-as-leader-of-Solidarity that glows with praise. It is through music that the Western journalist can see and feel Polishness, linked with the timeless practice of rural folk art that stands in for purity. Garton Ash's description decodes Wałęsa's appeal for international readers. More waffling caricature than political profile, the significance of the journalist's evaluation lies not in its substance but in the mode in which Garton Ash tells the story: through performance analysis. Wałęsa's musical charisma becomes bound up with national symbols, planting the seed for an anthem like "Walls" to tell Solidarity's story. For Garton Ash it is song that creates the hero, musical charisma that conscripts phantom Polish paragons, and the act of singing that gives Wałęsa's voice political power.

Hearing Solidarity in Stereo

Across the factory grounds, wires connected televisions and microphones to speakers, and activists and reporters held recording devices and megaphones. It was radio's potential to receive and transmit that established it as the preferred means of communication for Solidarity. This low-tech medium connected constituencies across the grounds and bridged the strikers and the world.[68] In the months following August, Solidarity's

[67] Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 64. Wałęsa's powerful position during the 1980s has made him the target of much scrutiny: see for example the lustration (*lustracja*) of his State Security files in Sławomir Cenckiewicz and Piotr Gontarczyk, *SB a Lech Wałęsa: Przyczynek do biografii* (Warsaw: Institute of National Memory, 2008).

[68] By the time of the 1989 revolutions, news broadcasts on television notably inspired participation in street demonstrations. Andrei Ujica and Harun Farocki's documentary film *Videograms of a Revolution* (1992) thematizes the role of Romanian television in that

radio stations routinely rebroadcast recordings of the events in Gdańsk so that citizens could record the proceedings for themselves. Practically speaking, these broadcasts modeled negotiations for regional unions. On an emotional level, however, they also kept August's impetus for political change vital through sound. In private tape collections, homemade recordings of radio broadcasts, whether the BBC, Voice of America or the hardly coded "Radio 'S,'" abound. Like the rampant publication of documentary material from the scene in print, radio transmission was driven by an impulse to archive the prolific extant evidence.

As she abridged source material in the process of preparing a one-hour special on the birth of Solidarity in early 1981, radio journalist Janina Jankowska navigated a vast sound repository. Her radio program, *Polish August* (*Polski Sierpień*), was devoted to capturing the essence of the strikes through the montage of documentary footage she and other journalists from the state media conglomerate, Polish Radio and Television, had accumulated.[69] Jankowska's project overcame any potential deficiencies of sound media that excluded the visual.[70] In 1980s Poland, the unofficial publishing networks—called the second circulation (*drugi obieg*)—nurtured a thriving cassette culture.[71] Cassette tapes' portability, reproducibility, and low cost were essential to *Polish August*'s continued dissemination through the decade (fig. 1). Jankowska's program became an important documentation of Solidarity at home and abroad: broadcast on Polish Radio and Radio Solidarity, it was awarded the 1981 Prix Italia for radio documentaries and circulated through Polish communities

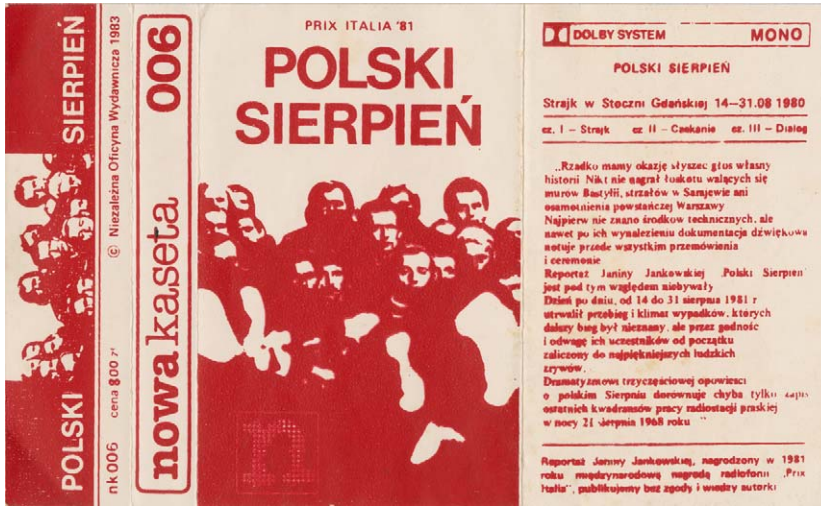
national context. See also David Culbert, "Memories of 1945 and 1963: American Television Coverage of the End of the Berlin Wall, November 9, 1989," in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R. Edgerton and Peter C. Rollins (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 230–43; and Joshua Clover, *1989: Bob Dylan Didn't Have This to Sing About* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 113–40.

[69] In a recent interview, Jankowska elaborates on the compositional process, noting that she returned from Gdańsk with "so much material, so many recordings" (tyle materiału, tyle nagrań) (http://sierpien1980.pl/portal/s80/952/7372/Janina_Jankowska.html; accessed 24 January 2016).

[70] For a discussion of the tension between the audio and visual in documentary practices, see Virginia Madsen, "'Your Ears Are a Portal to Another World': The New Radio Documentary Imagination and the Digital Domain," in *Radio's New Wave: Global Sound in the Digital Era*, ed. Jason Loviglio and Michele Hilmes (New York: Routledge, 2013), 126–44.

[71] One anonymous member of the opposition wrote: "Cassettes played a major role during the time of the August strikes; recordings of the MKS at the shipyards and the negotiations with the state commission were remarkable instruments of information and built solidarity" ("Video," *Kultura Niezależna* 11–12 [1985]: 125–27, at 127). Peter Manuel's observation of the "democratic restructuring of media control and content" in North Indian popular music is also relevant in the Polish context; see Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), xv.

FIGURE 1. The cover of the second circulation edition of Janina Jankowska's *Polish August* (1983). (Collection of the Opposition, Museum of Independence, Warsaw, Poland. Reprinted with the kind permission of Janina Jankowska and the KARTA Center)



around the world on cassette tape.[72] Partly a window into journalists' reporting practices, partly a monumental *laudatio* to Solidarity's singularity, the sound documentary offers a fresh history of Gdańsk nurtured by the radio.

Divided into three parts (Strike, Waiting, Dialogue), Jankowska's reportage is a dramatization of the stepwise negotiation and an evocation of the shipyard atmosphere. *Polish August* is a montage of sonic documents that give the negotiations an immediate local context. Jankowska employs a range of editorial techniques that highlight her heterogeneous material and the multitude of voices that sound. A third-party narrator reads historical summaries that punctuate Jankowska's manipulation of varied source sounds: prayer at the shipyards, strike negotiations, and announcements across the factories' loudspeakers. Sometimes

[72] Janina Jankowska, *Polski Sierpień,* NOWa audiocassette 006 (1983). Witness the tape's presence in Houghton Library's Solidarity Collection at Harvard University, a repository of private collections from the Boston-area Polish-American community. Though I have not been able to establish the initial broadcast date, Jankowska remembers that the program without censorship was broadcast on the state network in 1981 (Bogumił Łoziński, "Bez etosu," 31 December 2015 [http://spotkania.wiara.pl/doc/2297458.Bez-etosu, accessed 24 January 2016]).

TABLE 2
Sonic layers of *Polish August*

December 1970	**December 1980: 10-year Anniversary**
• Historical recordings of shooting and sirens • Recollections by eyewitnesses in interview with Jankowska	• Public address Daniel Olbrychski • Excerpts from a studio recording of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Lacrimosa*, performed live at the ceremony • Moment of silence

Day-by-Day Accounts of August 1980

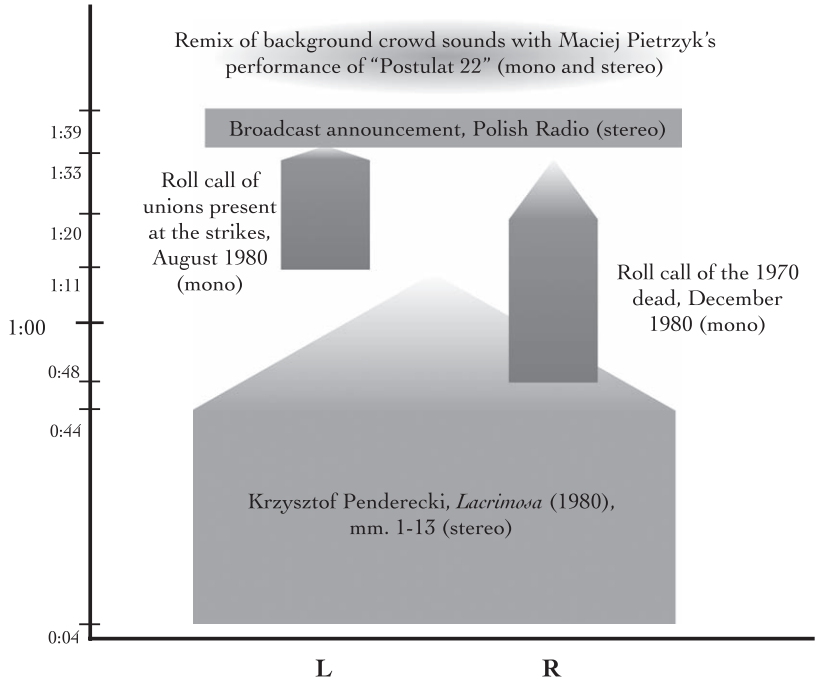
- A narration read by a male actor
- Recollections of key events (e.g., assembly on 14 August, Lech Wałęsa's leap over the fence) by workers present
- Excerpts from negotiations, both addresses and discussions
- Fragments of Polish Television's reports on the events
- Interviews by Jankowska with participants and observers of the general strike as well as other civilians in the tri-city region
- Weather forecasts from Polish Radio
- Recordings of the soundscape of waiting (*czekalnie*), often featuring religious prayer
- Documentary recordings of loudspeaker announcements
- Newspaper articles and press releases read by a male actor (from *Trybuna Ludu* [People's Tribune], *The Washington Post*)
- Reflections by Jerzy Kołodziejski, governor (*vojevode*) of Gdańsk and signatory of the Gdańsk Accord

one hears the messages' mediators: record buttons click as journalists depress them. The very diversity of the sounds' origins, statuses, and curations on the program lends sound an ethos of power in the story of Gdańsk's August. Enticing "sonic layers" discernible in Jankowska's final program are not merely an indulgence in sound's dialogic complexity (table 2). The radio montage effected through combination, distortion, and decay reveals Jankowska's investment in a cacophonous historiography.[73] Furthermore, the complex layers had an additional practical function: to transform mono source material from the minicassette recorders into stereo.[74]

[73] Radio Solidarity recordings bear witness to the influence of Janina Jankowska's editing style and content. *Nowa Huta '82-'84* (Nowohucka Oficyjna Fonograficzna audiocassette 002 [1986]), for example, includes Jankowska's mix of crowd exaltation from Gdańsk while complementing it with new footage from the artificial milltown outside Cracow.

[74] Interview hosted on sierpien80.pl (accessed 24 January 2016). Studies of the recording studio frequently credit engineers with artistic craft; radio engineers similarly

FIGURE 2. Transcription of the first two minutes of *Polish August*, as distributed across left and right channels



Music is never just one kind of sound. Jankowska gives it many formal roles in the framing of this history, highlighting the diverse functions and presences music had at the shipyards. And with it, Jankowska begins (fig. 2). Without verbal cue, listeners first hear double basses and cellos performing the sighing three-note motive that drives the sorrowful lament of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Lacrimosa*, a work dedicated to the victims of the 1970 shootings in Gdańsk and premiered at their memorial in December 1980.[75] Jankowska has always credited her team of collaborators at the

refract and shape the sounds we hear. See René T. A. Lysloff, "Mozart in Mirrorshades: Ethnomusicology, Technology, and the Politics of Representation," *Ethnomusicology* 41 (1997): 206–19, at 216; and Eliot Bates, "Mixing for *Parlak* and Bowing for a *Büyük Ses*: The Aesthetics of Arranged Traditional Music in Turkey," *Ethnomusicology* 54 (2010): 81–105.

[75] Penderecki's composition squarely belongs to the neo-romantic strand of late twentieth-century Polish concert music; the Polish opposition was otherwise invested in the nineteenth-century symphonic sound. Radio Solidarity marks the transition between news items with fragments of the finale from Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, "From the New World," between news items, for example in the broadcast of 27 November 1981, reissued on the CD accompanying Szczepan Rudka, *Radio "Solidarność" Wrocław 1981: Rozgłośnie wrocławskiej opozycji* (Wrocław: Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławia, 2005). Voice of America

radio station with the inspiration to frame the project with a large symphonic work, and music journalists at the radio station still remember agitating to include the prominent composer's new piece.[76] The symphonic excerpt invites mournful reflection: Penderecki sets a swelling sob into motion as instrument upon instrument and voice upon voice intone the three-note motive of a rising diminished sixth and falling minor second. As the unrest becomes clamorous, Jankowska ushers the music to the background, and the naming of those killed in 1970 introduces the roll call from the Lenin Shipyards in 1980.[77]

Through *Polish August* we hear how, across the shipyards, people waited and watched, occasionally passing the time singing.[78] Among the crowds of observers, music helped pass the time and offered a means of manifesting subcultures at the scene, whether church parishioners offering Marian songs to icons or students enjoying the guitar-strumming banter of campfire culture.[79] The tunes crucially give her portrait of August 1980 multiple subjectivities: Jankowska gives voice to the amateur musicians on the scene. The stagnation of time, the interruption of everyday life, and a concern for the end of history infuse the aesthetics and poetics of many amateurs' songs. In Maciej Pietrzyk's "Song for My Daughter" (*Piosenka dla córki*) an activist-narrator pleads with his daughter to understand that he has left her so that she might have a better future.[80]

Nie mam teraz czasu dla Ciebie.	Right now I don't have time for you.
Nie widziała Cię długo matka.	Your mother hasn't seen you for a long time.
Jeszcze trochę poczekaj dorośnij,	Wait a little bit longer to grow up,
Opowiemy Ci o tych wypadkach.	And we'll tell you about these circumstances.
O tych dniach pełnych nadziei,	About these days filled with dreams,
Pełnych rozmów i sporów gorących.	Filled with discussions and heated debate.
O tych nocach kiepsko przespanych,	About these nights poorly slept through,
Naszych sercach mocno bijących.	[And] of our strongly beating hearts.

frequently interpolated Chopin's G minor Ballade (*Pielgrzym trudnych chwil: Odzyskać godność*, Solidarity Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA).

[76] Małgorzata Pietkiewicz, interview with author, 2 July 2010. Their journalistic collaboration across radio departments exemplifies the collaborative production spirit explored in Albin Zak, *The Poetics of Rock: Cutting Tracks, Making Records* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 163–82.

[77] Jan Kubik describes the music during his own attendance at the December 1980 commemoration in *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power*, 200–202.

[78] *Dźwiękowa kronika strajku w Stoczni Gdańskiej im. Lenina*, Part 1 (National Solidarity Commission Archive, CD 352).

[79] Timothy Garton Ash quotes a waiting song's "doggerel verse" (Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 59).

[80] Brief footage is available at http://sierpien1980.pl/portal/s80/973/Filmy.html (accessed 24 January 2016).

This song was composed for the strikes. A far cry from the ambition of communal anthems, the song takes the form of first-person direct address and, like Kaczmarski's "Walls," is an example of sung poetry. (As in singer-songwriter traditions elsewhere, in Poland both amateurs and professionals performed sung poetry in formal concert settings and everyday places.)[81] In Gdańsk, Pietrzyk performed simplistically, employing basic strumming as accompaniment, repeating transitional passages, and humming to encourage only muted participation. Jankowska interpolates multiple excerpts of Pietrzyk's performances to accompany human-interest stories. "Where do you sleep?" she asks a female activist at the conclusion of the program's first half, the cassette's A side.[82] "Well, where I'm sitting!" the protester retorts. She proceeds to redirect Jankowska's inquiries about the practicalities of life in the shipyards and in the process introduces the singer-songwriter's verse:

> That text, that one I heard a recording of yesterday. The one that man wrote while he was waiting. Yes, some kind of ballad. That text begins so uniquely . . . well, because they are simple lyrics: "Right now I don't have time for you."

The protester goes on to recite—at a quick pace hardly reminiscent of Pietrzyk's deliberately sung declamation—the song's entire text from memory, and Pietrzyk's humming fades in.

Collecting and Performing Solidarity's Songs

As we have seen, song and sound emerge throughout Solidarity's immediate histories. With time, the historiographic projects of Solidarity's activists shifted focus from the evocative atmospheres of these sound documents to song collections that fixed the cultural legacy of the autumn's labor unrest. The ontological status of songs changed in the process, even if compositions like Pietrzyk's could circulate both within Jankowska's framework as documents and in new arrangements on record.[83] Rather than evidence of performances of patriotic unisonality, songs became objects to preserve, bound as relics or framed as brief stories that retold the lessons of Solidarity.[84] Print culture anthologized

[81] Sylwia D. Ejmont, "The Troubadour Takes the Tram: Experience in Polish Poetry and Music" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2008), 133–68.

[82] Using the practical break between sides as a formal device for audio documentaries is a common practice. See Neil V. Rosenberg, "Documentary Sound Recordings," 348.

[83] Pietrzyk recorded rock versions of his own music and other songs under the direction of Maciej Zembaty on *Sierpień 80*, Wifon LP 163 (1989).

[84] In compiling the most recent edition of *The Big Red Songbook*, Archie Green mused on the function of anthologizing the "songlore" of a labor movement in print: "What is a Wobbly song? Is it any piece printed in an IWW songbook, or just those that reflect IWW

songs, and cassette culture's albums and mixtapes codified playlists. Taking their cue from street music's traditional form of circulation—pamphlets and broadsides—Solidarity's cultural organizers transformed music into discrete units, an archival impetus that set into motion the iconic singularity of "Walls" and a divorce of text from sound. Paradoxically, in extracting the songs from their originating political scene, the activists integrated music with the politically contested literary practice of poetry. On tape, songs frequently punctuated spoken text and poetry. In print, songs were most often collected among "verses" (*wiersze*) without musical notation. When literary scholar Maria Janion described the coastal activity in August 1980 as a "poetry microclimate," she evoked and lauded the spontaneous creativity of those gathered while muting the performative and, by extension, musicality of the strike culture.[85]

Familiarity unlocked contrafacts' musical status for readers, as did the Brechtian titles that signaled musical form: ballad, song, couplet, and hymn. Very occasionally the incipit of a popular tune flagged a song to which a radically altered text could be sung. Marek Bieńkowski, the poet and Gdańsk native who was responsible for the poetry collected in *The Polish August of 1980*, saw great significance in culture's presence at the scene and advocated for the texts as authentic, almost Herderian, creativity on the part of the workers: "One of the documents that registered the strike's feeling is the poetry that emerged from 14 to 31 August. This type [*typ*] of authentic workers' composition is something new in the cultural landscape of the Polish People's Republic, as had been the spontaneous appearance of the phenomenon of Solidarity, which called them to life."[86] Poetry's energy is interpreted as analogous to that of Solidarity and immediately—confidently—inscribed as communal.

The legacy of Solidarity's music, however, contrasts strikingly with the sound on the ground at the shipyards. I now circle back to the loud anthem with which I began—"Walls"—to account for this historiographic rift. When an assortment of songs, many of them composed in the late 1970s, were programmed at the first Review of Authentic Song (*Przegląd*

[Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobbly] philosophy?" Archie Green, "Preface," in *The Big Red Songbook*, ed. Archie Green, David Roediger, Franklin Rosemont, and Salvatore Solerno (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 2007), 7.

[85] Maria Janion, "Słowo i symbol w miesiącach przełomu," in *Kongres Kultury Polskiej, 11–13 Grudnia 1981*, ed. Władysław Masiulanis (Warsaw: Volumen, 2000), 38.

[86] "Jednym z dokumentów rejestrujących strajkowe nastroje jest powstająca od 14 do 31 sierpnia poezja. Tego typu autentyczna twórczość robotnicza jest czymś nowym w krajobrazie kulturowym Polski Ludowej, tak samo zresztą jak zjawisko spontanicznych wystąpień solidarnościowych, które powołały ją do życia" (Marek Bieńkowski, "Dialog czyli 'Gdański Janko Krytykant': kilka uwag o poezji strajkowej," in *Polski Sierpień 1980: Reedycja Almanachu Gdańskich Środowisk Twórczych "Punkt" nr 12/80* [New York: Biblioteka Pomostu, 1981], 126). He also uses phrases like "street poetry" and "city folklore" that allude to the voice of the folk as the voice of the oppositional, authentic nation.

Piosenki Prawdziwej) on the first anniversary of August 1980, they became canonized as Solidarity's songs. The prominence of these "authentic" songs forestalled the documents from Gdańsk's sensorium from sounding Solidarity's music history.[87] Eighteen-thousand workers, students, and journalists were in attendance for the three-day festival, which was recorded, rebroadcast on Solidarity's radio stations across Poland, and released on cassette in abridged and unabridged forms.[88]

The festival's prominence and close association with the Union—it had Wałęsa's blessing, too—obscured the fact that few songs on its program originated at the scene of Solidarity's inception.[89] The credibility and quantity of the more than fifty performers who took to the stage, as well as their allegiance with the opposition, were crucial to the mission of the Review: the event's description alluded to the strong moral character of its participants.[90] The plan of organizer Maciej Zembaty, himself a cabaret artist, was to stage a festival of "forbidden songs" (*zakazane piosenki*), songs that could have been censored for commenting upon the political opposition, for incorporating nationalist symbols, or for satirizing the Party.[91] A crucial distinction must be made here in order not to sensationalize censorship: the festival itself was not banned or forced underground; its subtitle merely alluded to its oppositional tone. After the event, the underground cassette culture commodified its program, further perpetuating the implicit musical ties between the review, the Solidarity Union, and Gdańsk. A one-tape abridgment of the festival by the "Solidarity" Radio Agency in Gdańsk (*Radiowa Agencja "Solidarność"*) was circulated among union members, for example.[92]

The claim to authenticity for these songs lay in their candid and truthful depictions of society (*prawdziwy* is derived from *prawda*, or truth), which were buoyed by a direct and intimate musical language. We might

[87] The archival materials for this festival, a one-time occurrence, are housed at the archives of the National Solidarity Commission, Gdańsk, Poland.

[88] Data concerning the original cost and attendance of the 1981 festival are available in Przemysław ćwikliński, "Zembaty za kraty," *Nie* 37 (2001): 3.

[89] Wałęsa's name appeared as the "honorary patron" of the event on the Solidarity-issued program and news bulletin for members of the press (held at the Archives of the National Solidarity Commission).

[90] The festival's organizers offered the following on the first page of the daily bulletin: "Everything that constitutes the Festival of Authentic Song is the result of goodwill and social needs of everyone engaged with this project" (Wszystko co składa się na Przegląd Piosenki Prawdziwej jest wynikiem dobrej woli i społecznej potrzeby każdej z zaangażowanych w to przedsięwzięcie osób.) "Zamiast wstępu . . . i fanfar," *Biuletyn Przeglądu Prawdziwej Piosenki* 1, [1981]: 1; Archives of the National Solidarity Commission, Gdańsk, Poland.

[91] *Biuletyn Przeglądu Prawdziwej Piosenki* 1, 1.

[92] A double LP published on the ECHO label in the United States (*Piosenki Solidarności—Songs of Solidarity*, E LP 901-2 [1981]) advertises the festival as *the* repertory of the union. Multiple-tape sets were made for journalists by the festival's organizers (*Biuletyn Przeglądu Prawdziwej Piosenki* 3 [1981]: 3).

FIGURE 3. "Twenty-Five Years Later: A Concert for the Festival of Freedom," Warsaw, June 2014; photograph by the author

think of this as an authenticity predicated on affect rather than on documentary evidence and thus a break from the impulse to capture August 1980 through source materials. Over time, however, many of the Review's songs have developed a resilient, though fictitious, link to the shipyard scene in public consciousness precisely because of the exalted ideal of truth. Of these songs, Kaczmarski's sweeping anthem remains most firmly linked with Gdańsk 1980 in public history, perhaps even especially since his death in 2004. A June 2014 poster in Warsaw advertising a concert in memory of the singer illustrates the ways he enables the conflation of late twentieth-century Polish history (fig. 3). A picture of Kaczmarski in action stands out. Perched beneath the concert's name in Solidarity's font, he flanks the list of performers participating in this musical celebration of the anniversary of the first free elections in Poland. The text—"Twenty-Five

Years Later"—notes as much, but also reestablishes 1980 as the first step toward freedom by quoting the title of Kaczmarski's 1995 concert in honor of Gdańsk. The earlier concert, "Twenty (5) years later," was itself a nesting doll of commemoration, celebrating Solidarity at twenty as well as the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kaczmarski's performing career. The 2014 poster's aggregation of symbols into a clear narrative of Polish victory parallels the fluent portrait Garton Ash drew of Wałęsa singing the national anthem at the strikes. To ultimately explain the substitution of artistic authenticity for sound documentation, and the metonymic shift from Wałęsa to Kaczmarski, I conclude with a closer examination of the place nation and nationalism have had in constructing the soloist of "Walls" as the musical champion of the people.

Solidarity's Bard

> Finally they saw how many they were, they came to feel the strength and the time,
> And with a sound about the nearing dawn they traversed the city-streets,
> They toppled monuments and tore out the cobblestone—He's with us! He's against us!
> He who's alone is our greatest enemy!
> But the singer, too, was alone.
>
> Jacek Kaczmarski, "Walls"

At the Review of Authentic Song, Kaczmarski was no new kid on the block. As the rising star of *poezja śpiewana* in the late 1970s, his performances and new compositions had become legendary in their own right. When the Review's emcee introduced the singer to the crowd, he traded on familiarity, saying: "Once, some years ago, some friends invited me to this small loft apartment in Warsaw's center, where its owner played his poems over the course of a couple hours. He sang with a sensibility, strength, zeal, anger, and rebellion similar to my favorite Russian bards. The owner of this apartment was the (at that time still very young) Jacek Kaczmarski."[93] The prominence of "Walls" has as much to do with its singer as it does with the song, as much to do with symbolism as with Solidarity. Though Kaczmarski sings as a member of a trio, *his* voice, compositions, and subjectivity constitute the protest anthem. For Kaczmarski is Solidarity's

[93] "Pewnego razu, ładnych już parę lat temu, zostałem zaproszony przez przyjaciół do takiego małego mieszkania w centrum Warszawy, na poddaszu, którego gospodarz przez kilka godzin śpiewał swoje wiersze. Śpiewał z podobną wrażliwością, siłą, żarliwością, gniewem i buntem jak moi ulubieni balladyści rosyjscy. Gospodarzem tego mieszkania był, wtedy bardzo jeszcze młody, Jacek Kaczmarski." See "Caryca," *Zakazane piosenki: I Przegląd Piosenki Prawdziwej 20–22 08*, Biuro Organizacyjne PPP and AKWENDRUK, 2001.

bard.[94] I use this literary term quite intentionally; it emphasizes the historical and international reference points for the songwriter, whose victory at the 1978 Festival of Student Song in Cracow at the age of twenty-one catapulted him into the national spotlight. "Walls" is one of more than 200 songs he performed in the late 1970s.

To call Kaczmarski a bard is to position his work within the legacies of two literary traditions: that of the Byronic artist who powered Polish Romanticism, and the practice of unofficial music-making in Soviet Russia referred to as bardic song (*avtorskaia pesnia*).[95] The Polish practice of *poezja śpiewana* shares many performance conventions with the latter, in which artists compose their own music and texts, accompany themselves on the acoustic guitar, and generally seek public accolades as poets rather than musicians. During the Cold War, Soviet bards established their moral credibility through their independence from state support, writing music that, as J. Martin Daughtry has suggested, "encompass[es] dissidence . . . but also exceeds it."[96] In Poland, the great Soviet bards—Alexander Galich, Vladimir Vysotsky, and Bulat Okudzhava—were held in high esteem, and the first Polish translations of their work appeared in the early 1980s as Kaczmarski's fame blossomed.[97]

Kaczmarski attracted praise from critics as a result of his connections to Soviet song. "Here we have our Polish Vysotsky . . . A bard of song, who took his young and demanding audience by storm. He has become the idol of his contemporaries," one critic extolled excitedly.[98] Like Vysotsky, Kaczmarski expresses a vitriolic frustration with the present. In this review, the Polish singer's association with the opposition to state socialism is far less relevant than his bardic authenticity, developed through the gesture to the great Soviet bard. Kaczmarski identified with the Soviet bard, mourning his death by telling his story in the 1980 song "Epitaph for Vladimir Vysotsky."

Being a *Polish* bard placed Kaczmarski in the lineage of nineteenth-century Romantic poet-heroes. In her sketch of the literary scene at the end of the Cold War, Joanna Niżyńska underscores the legacy of the

[94] Karolina Sykulska collates nearly seventy references to Kaczmarski as a bard in "Jacek Kaczmarski: Szkic do portretu," in *Bardowie*, ed. Jadwiga Sawicka and Ewa Paczoska (Łódź: Ibidem, 2001), 123–25.

[95] See Gerald S. Smith, *Songs to Seven Strings: Russian Guitar Poetry and Soviet "Mass Song"* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); and J. Martin Daughtry, "The Intonation of Intimacy: Ethics, Emotion, Metaphor, and Dialogue among Contemporary Russian Bards" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2006).

[96] J. Martin Daughtry, "'Sonic Samizdat': Situating Unofficial Recording in the Post-Stalinist Soviet Union," *Poetics Today* 30 (2009): 27–65, at 39.

[97] An issue of the literary journal *Poezja* devoted to troubadours printed bilingual editions of Vysotsky and Okudzhava (vol. 8, August 1982).

[98] Wiesława Czapińska, "Budujcie Arkę przed potopem—czyli Jacek Kaczmarski," *Ekran* 26 (1981): 10–11, at 10.

nineteenth century: "The Romantic perception of literature as the fusion of word and deed, as a force capable of shaping history and morality, privileged the writer as the spokesperson for the community."[99] Kaczmarski was poised for a reception that confused his own politics with those of the poet in his song. When he transformed "Walls" from its Catalan origins into Polish *poezja śpiewana*, the anthem became specific and nationalist for Poland, despite the song's transnational history and broad ideals. Musically, the song accomplishes a sleight of hand with symbols similar to the sleight of hand that Solidarity realized with its own name. In reappropriating the principle of socialist collective action as its label for the opposition, the union disguised the long fight ahead with a concise brand name, complete with identifying font and color (fig. 3). The excision of the "Walls" refrain from the tale Kaczmarski weaves likewise obscures a complex and cynical meta-commentary within the performance. Fragmentation eliminates a level of commentary: instead of singing about a bard, Kaczmarski sings about himself.

In his recent Kaczmarski biography, Krzysztof Gajda begins the section devoted to the singer's relationship to Solidarity with a simple statement: "Kaczmarski was not there at the time."[100] The need explicitly to draw attention to his absence indicates what might have been expected: that the bard was a participant in history's triumphs. It was through Kaczmarski's performance at the Review of Authentic Song that his voice became able not only to represent, but to validate Solidarity's history. Such small details may best serve the historian who delights in precision. But in the case of this story built on sound documents, they also reveal the fault lines that, under a bit of pressure, have the capacity to open a conversation about the shortcomings of the conventional narrative of state socialism's collapse in Poland.

The status of Solidarity in the twenty-first century is anything but coherent and triumphant.[101] The dissipation of the idealism and accomplishment interpreted in Gdańsk over the course of post-socialist transformation inspired many to call the celebration of the August strikes into question. One former activist commented on the false objectivity promised by documentary techniques: "[In] contrast with the tight control over television news exercised by the Communist regime, the documentaries of

[99] Joanna Niżyńska, "The Impossibility of Shrugging One's Shoulders: O'Harists, O'Hara, and Post-1989 Polish Poetry," *Slavic Review* 66 (2007): 463–83, at 465.

[100] Krzysztof Gajda, *To moja droga* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2009), 125.

[101] The anniversary of the first democratic elections in June 2014, for example, spurred a critique of the Polish state from all sides that focused on shortcomings in the twenty-five years since the end of state socialism. See Igor Stokfiszewski, "Should Poland Celebrate a Quarter Century of Democracy?" (http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/should-poland-celebrate-quarter-201463105444559928.html; accessed 24 January 2016).

Solidarity really represented to us the truth. But all these years later, I can also say that they represent a series of myths, . . . which we experienced at the time as reality."[102] Calling the core integrity of sound documents into question reveals failure as intrinsic to Solidarity's moment. It reminds us that multiplicities are inherent in social movements, which depend on the illusion of unity in order to act collectively.[103] The reductive mantra at the heart of "Walls" can be heard to capture the thrust of Solidarity's legacy, the Polish opposition's hope that the walls fall (*mury runą*). The part does not tell the whole story, however: at its conclusion, Kaczmarski's bardic anthem stops short. By the final refrain, the narrative of revolt has turned sour: the oppressed become oppressors and the artist sings mournfully alone, confronted with the failure of humanity. In this subversion, Kaczmarski hints at the ambiguous, even unstable, relationship between music and politics. What I first interpreted as a literal amplification of solidarity in sound, the loud refrain, has become an ambiguously hesitant statement on musical creativity and community:

> He watched the regular march of the crowds,
> He silently listened to their thunderous steps,
> And the walls grow, grow, grow,
> The chains sway at their legs.

Musical Solidarities

Imagine a group of Poles standing beneath a white flag bearing the word "Solidarity" (*Solidarność*) in red spray paint: this is the iconic image of the Polish opposition to state socialism in the 1980s. The single word hangs stretched across the crowd, asserting that Polish workers came together and reclaimed ideologically loaded language in order to critique the socialist state that regulated their labor and capital. A tidy vision of dissent, the visual icon also opens one tableau of the theater piece, *On Mother and Fatherland* (*Utwór o matce i ojczyźnie,* 2008), by feminist literary activist Bożena Keff.[104] As the scene begins, the piece's chorus stands on guard beneath the banner. Throughout the highly radical and intertextual work, this collective has performed the role of a Greek chorus, interjecting and exhorting as the protagonists, a mother and daughter, revisit storied moments of Polish history in the twentieth century. To

[102] Film scholar Wiesław Godzić, as quoted in Michael Chanan, *The Politics of Documentary* (London: British Film Institute, 2007), 21. Chanan even coins the phrase "Solidarity syndrome" to refer to the historical distance between a documentary film and its audience.

[103] See Melucci, *Challenging Codes*, 20–32.

[104] The epigraph from the scene reads, "Związki zawodowe przeciwko niewoli: CHÓR: z flagą 'Solidarność' zaczyna w kanonie" (Trade unions against slavery: CHORUS with 'Solidarity' flag begins in canon); see Bożena Keff, *Utwór o matce i ojczyźnie* (Cracow: ha!art Corporation, 2008), 31.

flag, motto, and color, Keff adds sound. The chorus members' voices revitalize the sounds of Solidarity's masses into motion on stage, as they begin speaking, according to the stage directions, "in canon."

Through subtle musical instruction Keff draws attention to the theatricality of the moment, interpreting popular protest as a mosaic of individual political actors. In this *ex post facto* sound document I interpret two critical historical interventions that re-sound the music historical claims I have made here. First, the chorus breaks the silence of the frozen image through cacophony. What is presented as a stoic image of unity becomes, through sound, a confusing and noisy din of catchphrases projecting instability.[105] Keff points a finger at conservative politics in the twenty-first century by assigning her chorus a text that—counter to her own politics—attacks the Jewish and Communist dissidents who spearheaded the opposition. They criticize Solidarity's failure to unify Poles politically through the post-socialist transition.

The second significance of "canon" in *On Mother and Fatherland* refers to the canonic nature of historical narratives, in particular the stronghold they exert on public consciousness. Keff's piece for the stage exudes frustration with conventional interpretations of the recent Polish past at every turn.[106] Keff experiences canonical interpretations of history as dangerous, as her blasphemous and aggressive poetic language and subject matter make desperately clear. In her writing, I hear and heed an insistence that the present demands a reexamination, deconstruction, and complication of Polish history. Listening hard to Kaczmarski's anthem—beyond the refrain—we can hear cynicism present in the loudest celebrations of the union's strikes.

I have wrestled with the conflicting and complex ideas about Solidarity as movement and moment that have been developed on the basis of music and sound: Solidarity's sound documents. To a certain extent, the cacophony of Solidarity's sounds contradicts the very foundation of

[105] Rene Lück's 2005 art installation at the contemporary art gallery housed at the Lenin Shipyards today similarly urges a reading of Solidarity as performative. In "Rock gegen Rechts" (Rock Against the Right), he recalls the rock concerts hosted by trade unions in Germany in solidarity with Solidarity in the early 1980s. At the same time, the piece allows for a quirky reimagination of the assembled crowds of 1980 (http://www.wyspa.iq.pl/index.php?picture_id=149&parent_id=44&menu_id=1; accessed 24 January 2016).

[106] Keff's is far from the only voice to criticize a monolithic treatment of identity and Solidarity. Further examples of a critique of homosocial treatments of the Polish opposition include Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); and Padraic Kenney, "The Gender of Resistance in Communist Poland," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 399–425. For the still under-studied anti-Semitism of Polish politics in the 1980s see, for example, David Ost, *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 60–93; and Adam Michnik, ed., *Przeciw antysemityzmowi 1936–2009*, vol. 3 (Cracow: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2010).

solidarity. Solidarity demands unity, asserts one struggle, and organizes one collective. Solidarity, the concept at the root of the organization and the process of socialist politics, cannot be plural; revolution requires a single international union.[107] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines solidarity beyond this ideological slant: "The fact or quality, on the part of communities, etc., of being perfectly united or at one in some respect, esp. in interests, sympathies, or aspirations."[108] If solidarity is predicated upon being "at one," then it follows that diverging "interests, sympathies, or aspirations" do not correspond to multiple solidarities. Solidarity demands the negation of difference within a community, even requiring individual sacrifice for greater goals.

Yet taking definitions too literally undermines a commitment to approaching Solidarity through its actors and their stories, who so often drive home the role played by transformation in the process of negotiation. The Polish philosopher Leszek Kołakowski brings the positive resonance of solidarity into focus when he situates the concept in tension with the darker possibilities of human character. "There is no evidence to refute the common-sense platitude that the potential for . . . solidarity is in us as well as the seeds of hatred, envy, and greed."[109] Reflecting upon the impact of Cold War ideology on the future of Marxist thought, the Polish philosopher insists upon a role for solidarity in rescuing humanity from the war crimes of the twentieth century, rooted in hate and greed. Within musicological writings, the concept has played an analogous role in discussions of musical communities, large-scale organization, and social integration. Solidarity can frame the interaction among diasporic musical communities or the relationship between an individual musician and her ensemble. "Musical solidarity" in these cases might refer to music's exceptional place as a mediator of togetherness or the existence of shared music in the absence of social unity—one thinks, for example, of the West-East Divan Orchestra.[110] The term imbues positive attributes upon the case study to which it is applied or it captures optimism among the musicians and listeners who invoke it. One of the defining aspects of solidarity as it is used in our contemporary culture, then, is the open-ended possibility that it suggests. I hear this

[107] For an overview of theories of solidarity in European political theory, see Steinar Stjernø, *Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 42–59.

[108] "Solidarity, n.," OED Online, December 2015, Oxford University Press (accessed 24 January 2016).

[109] Leszek Kołakowski, "The Death of Utopia Reconsidered," *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values* 4 (1983): 227–47, at 246.

[110] Rachel Beckles Willson, "Whose Utopia? Perspectives on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Music and Politics* 3, no. 2 (2009) (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0003.201?view=text;rgn=main, accessed 24 January 2016).

simplistic social optimism resonate in the designs for and analyses of protest anthems as catalytic sparks for unity against oppression.

The many modes, sounds, and media of "Solidarity" profile a significant musical presence on the political stage of the Polish protests, but they also put pressure on the unisonality that anthems and communal singing imply. The sound cacophony and the vast song repertory suggest plurality: musical solidarities. Hannah Arendt reminds us of our suspicious ease at feeling solidarity in her writings *On Revolution*: "The political trouble which misery of the people holds in store is that manyness can in fact assume the guise of oneness, that suffering indeed breeds moods and emotions and attitudes that resemble solidarity to the point of confusion."[111] The media archaeology of August 1980 departs from a canonic vision of popular dissent intertwined with a single visionary song or of a cultural history in which the relation between music and politics is stable. Yet music's manyness should not haunt the Polish political past as a prefiguration of political strife; its instability does not make its presence at the scene of political action irrelevant or without a sense of purpose. My many returns to the scene of Gdańsk in 1980 reveal that sound and song structured Solidarity's space, reflected activists' desires, were instrumental to Party control, were essential to euphoria, captured visions of history, and consolidated divergent goals for the Polish future. The sound document ultimately positions music as a crucial tool through which to rethink and reconfigure the cultural history of collective action.

Appendix

Translation of "Walls," Jacek Kaczmarski (1978)

He was inspired and young, they countless many.
Giving them strength through song, he sang of a nearing dawn.
They lit thousands of candles for him, smoke rose up above their heads.
He sang that it was time for the wall to fall . . .
They sang together with him:

Tear out those fang-like bars from the walls!
Break your chains; shatter the whip!
And the walls will fall, fall, fall,
Burying the old world!

Soon they knew the song by heart and its melody, without words,
Carried with it the old message, sending shivers through their hearts and souls.
So they sang, clapped in rhythm, their claps sounding like gunshots,
And the chain weighed upon them, the dawn tarried . . .
And he still sang and played:

[111] Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1990 [1963]), 94.

Tear out those fang-like bars from the walls!
Break your chains; shatter the whip!
And the walls will fall, fall, fall,
Burying the old world!

Finally they saw how many they were, they came to feel the strength and the time,
And, with a sound about the nearing dawn, they traversed the city-streets,
They toppled monuments and tore out the cobblestone—He's with us! He's against us!
He who's alone is our greatest enemy!
But the singer, too, was alone:

He watched the regular march of the crowds,
He silently listened to their thunderous steps,
And the walls grow, grow, grow,
The chains sway at their legs . . .

Translated by Andrea F. Bohlman
With the kind permission of Fundacja im. J. Kaczmarskiego

ABSTRACT

This essay offers a media archeology of the cacophonous sounds and songs of the occupational strikes at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk, Poland. Political action over the course of August 1980 led to the formation and legalization of Solidarity, the first independent trade union behind the Iron Curtain. The Polish case study provides a model for the study of music and political activism that brings together history, sound, and music studies, and prompts a broader examination of listening, singing, and collective action. In their immediate wake, the successful protests stimulated celebration, critical analysis, and documentary effort. Across the initial written, recorded, and filmed accounts of the strikes, I observe a pervasive effort to invest sound with the power to authenticate these records as grass-roots history. Such chronicles, which I theorize as "sound documents," draw attention to the important yet multivalent presence of sound and music in the project of collective opposition to state socialism in Poland through the 1980s. Two ambitious sound documents—an eclectic almanac and a radio montage—form the basis of a variegated account of the highly mediatized soundscape of the Polish strikes. They reveal the significance of anthems and simultaneously underscore the lack of sonic coherence in Gdańsk. Through the sound document, music emerges as a crucial tool through which to rethink and reconfigure the cultural history of collective action.

Keywords: Jacek Kaczmarski, Poland, political activism, radio, Solidarity Movement, sound studies