Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny XXII · 2024 · s. 187—218
ISSN 1733-9871 · eISSN 2719-7891

The Actors' Boycott During Polish Martial Law: A Case Study in the Politics of Listening as Collective Action

ANDREA F. BOHLMAN
Department of Music—University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Uniwersytet Karoliny Północnej w Chapel Hill – Katedra Muzyki
✉ abohlman@email.unc.edu

DOI: 10.2478/prm-2024-0006

When I first started thinking about boycotts, the quiet refusal causing the most musical fuss in my immediate surroundings was that of the United States national anthem by Colin Kaepernick, then the starting quarterback for the American football team, the San Francisco 49ers.[1] On August 26, 2016, he refused to stand for its pregame rendition, a required ritual that accompanies every game in the National Football League. He framed his position (sitting) and the objects of his protest (the "Star-Spangled Banner" and the U.S. flag) explicitly within the language of Black Lives Matter, a nationwide movement that draws attention to systemic violence against African Americans (Wyche 2016). The move immediately sparked debate, as have other, similar protests by professional athletes that refused the songs of nationalism (Kaskowitz 2013, 141–47). Loud voices articulated solidarity with Kaepernick's expression of vulnerability, while others rejected his action as a violation of sacred symbols. Over the following weeks,

---

[1] This essay is adapted from a forthcoming essay to be published in the *Oxford Handbook of Music and Protest*. It emerged as a side project in conjunction with my 2020 book *Musical Solidarities: Political Action and Music in Late Twentieth-Century Poland*, which provides greater context about the stakes of music and sound for the Opposition.

© 2024 by Andrea F. Bohlman

the quarterback took a more deferential posture on one knee. The Associated Press labeled the protest a boycott. Other athletes, whether or not they themselves were African American, followed suit. On the college campus where I work and university-supported athletics are a major income for the institution, there was discussion of what it would mean if student athletes joined in. The debate took on particular contours close to home, since this university is in the U.S. South—in a state, North Carolina, where the economy was built on enslaved people's labor and which was a stronghold of the Confederacy. Back in San Francisco, one police unit threatened a counter-boycott, demanding that the 49ers organization sanction Kaepernick or face diminished security forces at home games (Associated Press 2016).[2]

As the performance of the boycott remained visible on the field, journalists struggled to shape an analysis of its dramaturgy—the "quiet gesture" at the heart of this protest action (Levin 2016). One strand of the discourse implicated the anthem itself as a weapon of oppression, locating pro-slavery language in its third verse. These writers retrofitted Kaepernick's protest as a direct rebuke of the anthem, whose first verse is customarily the only one performed at sporting events (Schwartz 2016). Music scholars chimed in to emphasize the complex class and racial politics of the song's historical transmission (Clague 2016). Statements of solidarity with and against Kaepernick proliferate, the debate continues.

Whatever its outcome, Kaepernick's activism situates the boycott as a powerful political tactic that can be analyzed as an expressive action. First, its message lies in its purposeful silence, what then-President Barack Obama called the player's "active citizenry" (CNN 2016). Second, it is performative: by matching a physical action with the national anthem, Kaepernick creates a reflective moment that unfolds over time. Finally, it has an open form: its repetition invites others to reflect upon and modify their own hearings of the anthem in the public sphere. The boycott, as a form of active withdrawal, draws attention to the role of quiet, embodied performance and open-ended or collective participation in expressive political protest.

---

[2] They rescinded the threat after one week.

With this essay, I consider the musical stakes of boycotts in these terms, basing my work on the close analysis of a boycott during Polish martial law. Like Kaepernick, the actors at the helm of this political project in the 1980s saw themselves in relation to a broader, grassroots movement—that of the opposition to state socialism. They, too, sought freedom from military and police forces that infringed on their civil rights, even if the racial history that was foundational to the anthem boycott with which I began is absent in the Polish case study. The central work of sound/music in relation to silence, however, shapes the affective labor of both. This essay, then, secondarily models how historiography attuned to the local and particular can speak to a broader theorization of music and politics without falling back on geopolitical frameworks (such as the Cold War) that often reproduce the very worldviews the historical actors were working to reorient. My work unfolds in clearly delineated sections. First, I define and theorize the boycott as a form of collective action. Second, building on the work I have already done with the Black Lives Matter example, I show a genealogy of musical boycotts that informs my analysis. Writing on music, such as music criticism and musicology, are implicated here, too. Only then do I turn to the actors' boycott of state media during Polish martial law. I trace modes of listening and performing across live and recorded articulations of the boycott by artists to show how different modes of collaboration reveal music and sound as the means of activating political intensities.

Attuned to the heightened importance of scrutiny—even paranoia—and restraint that is generated by boycotts and imposed upon the boycotted, I understand this form of protest action as a reconfiguration of everyday social life and, by extension, listening techniques and aural culture. That is, as a political configuration, the boycott is an important and understudied foil to the loud sites of musical politics, like protests, concerts and festivals, and the genres and narratives of music that dominate at such sites. As I shall suggest, the impact of boycotts lies not merely in their political success (or failure). They can and do configure "how collective affects become conditions that shape without necessarily determining capacities to affect and be affected," what Ben Anderson has called "affective atmospheres" (Anderson 2014, 138). Listening to boycotts provides a means of thinking about protest beyond its primary work as interruption and iconic meaning as an event. Socially situated over time and considering its effects and affects, the boycott forms the basis of my argument that we understand forms of protest as variously configuring modes of attention. A protest's affective power can shape its social and even political effects.

What is a Boycott?

As nonviolent protest tactics, boycotts work to isolate a difficult—disobedient, unlawful, or threatening—and powerful force. Like Athenian ostracism, they lobby a majority voice with democratic undertones to stigmatize. As Paul Berman has written in an essay on the twenty-first century Boycott, Divest, and Sanctions Movement against Israel, "the ostensible purpose is to exert an economic pressure. But a boycott's larger purpose has always been to convey a sense of moral opprobrium, which [...] may exert pressures of a deeper sort" (2015). These economic and ethical protests are put into effect by actions of voluntary withdrawal, isolation, and refusal. It is this basic abstention that presents challenges to traditional models of music and protest, which are often attuned to articulated actions (e.g., writing a song) and volume (e.g., singing that song in a large group). The sounds and agents of civil disobedience and occupational strikes, for example, are simpler to identify.

Set into motion on loose terms of agreement with blurry boundaries, boycotts are also notoriously challenging to measure and evaluate as a form of collective action—for organizers and scholars alike (Friedman 1999, 21–32). Boycotts gain momentum through their announcement, which names a target company, nation, individual, etc. The force of the label can be traced back to the term's origins: "boycott" is an eponymous reference to an Irish land agent. Charles Boycott (1832–97) was the target of a campaign of local labor withdrawal and social isolation in 1880. As the incident made headlines, the mythical origin story goes, organizers began using his last name to lend the effort of excommunication coherence and legibility. Naming the protest after its villain—conferring his authority, but also galvanizing popular unrest—sent a clear message, whereas terms like "ostracism" were seen as potentially confusing for his employees and other harvesters across Ireland (Minda 1999, 27–28). In the early twentieth century, many protest contexts shaped by discourses on social and economic justice borrowed the label. The word "boycott," or some transliteration thereof, is still used to frame a refusal to participate or the withdrawal of labor and commercial interactions on ideological grounds—"as a form of protest of punishment"—in many languages (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2016). The label retains the power to stigmatize.

What is a Musical Boycott?

Musicians (and musicologists) have engaged in and been the subjects of consumer, participation, and labor boycotts. In part, these reflect the complexity of music's economic order and its diverse forms of capital, so that a musicological study of boycotts might work toward a systematic understanding of historical cases. When and why music does music become embroiled in this protest mode? Here, I offer a brief survey in order to illustrate the prominent presence of boycotts in the history of music and politics.

Perhaps boycotts always loom on the horizon of professional fears held by any practicing musician. In Paul Hindemith's self-described "guide" to the composer's "working place," for example, he warns young artists of the power that performers have over the circulation of one's creative output and, by extension, one's paycheck (1952, iv). "Do not expect to gain many friends among the performing specialists, once you reach this realm of quality, conviction, and independence. Be prepared for disrespect, boycott, and slander" (194). The composer's Norton Lectures are filled with tips for commercial success, but, for him, music is inextricable from collaborative networks with uneven power structures. His dependence leaves him vulnerable to a labor boycott (by performers) or a consumer boycott (by audiences). Musical performances have even implicated artists' corporate sponsors. In U.S. mainstream popular music, obscene lyrics (Ludacris) and libidinous choreography (Madonna) have spurred organizations like the American Family Association to boycott corporate sponsors like Pepsi.

Boycotts enable musicians (and musicologists) to express solidarity against perceived professional hegemonies. In response to *Acta Musicologica*'s relocation from German to Danish publishers in 1936, Heinrich Besseler directed German musicologists not to send their articles to the flagship journal of the International Musicological Society. In the organizing letter he explained that the move, which the society insisted was economic, was part of their agenda of ideological isolationism (Potter 1991; Fauser 2014). Will Smith and DJ Jazzy Jeff (Jeffrey A. Townes) similarly justified their boycott of the Grammys as a rejoinder to a snub. They explained the organized absence of hip-hop musicians at the 1989 Grammys as an instructive response to the exclusion of rap finalists (including their own winning song) from the televised broadcast. Will Smith advocated in a television interview: "[It was] ignorance on the part of NARAS [the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences]. They don't know anything about rap music. And our boycott was to open their eyes to rap music so that next year some rap group will be able to perform on the Grammys and the award will be televised. Because the music is large enough and important enough to be on that show" (Entertainment Tonight 2016). While their withdrawal from the awards ceremony had little direct economic effect, it was enacted as a stimulus to a broader community: their fans. Within global music industry, labor boycotts have often entailed taking an economic risk that many musicians end up deciding is too great. When, in the 1950s, Egyptian composers were almost completely locked out of a recording industry based—with one exception—in Europe, they decided against a protest on these grounds (Frishkopf 2008, 33–34).

Boycotts target musicians' perceived moral codes and convictions, and they have recently done so along the major fault lines of the twentieth-century: race and political ideology. The stakes of solidarity with anti-segregation and anti-apartheid movements, themselves powered by consumer boycotts, have been particularly high. On occasions when prominent performers do not march righteously in step, they can lose their listeners' support. When, during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, members of a white audience beat Nat "King" Cole on a Birmingham, Alabama, stage, some in the African-American community claimed his politics had been compromised by performing for a segregated audience (Monson 1999, 187–88). Louise Meintjes highlights the challenge of voicing allegiance across the reception of Paul Simon's 1986 album, *Graceland*, which features both white American and Black South African artists, but is silent on apartheid despite the ongoing cultural boycott of South Africa (Meintjes 1990).

Boycotts lay bare the power concert organizers have over programming. Times of war produce anxiety about the effects of performing enemy music on stage, as seen by the letter-writing campaigns to exclude German and Austrian symphonic repertory in France and the United States during World War I, for example (Buch 2004; Gienow-Hecht 2009, 177–209). An aggressive grassroots effort successfully pressured country music radio stations to keep the Dixie Chicks off the air after they spoke against the sitting U.S. president, George W. Bush, during the Iraq War (McFarland 2011). The ideological investment implied by the performance of a particular composer can extend beyond their lifetime, as seen most prominently in the decades-long taboo of Richard Wagner on the stages and, to a lesser extent, the airwaves of Israel/Palestine beginning in 1938—a boycott charged with the task of reshaping cultural memory (Sheffi 2013).

The boycott's popular resonance as a movement "from below" has led to abuses of the term by institutions that are in reality crafting blacklists and seek public support for this censure. Composers Hans Werner Henze and Luigi Nono, for example, bore the brunt of Western European anti-Communist sentiment (Nono 2001). After the 1968 premiere of *Das Floss der Medusa* was suspended amid clamorous political unrest onstage in dissent and support of Henze's recent comments fomenting global revolution, West German musical institutions avoided performances of his works, a move that was labeled a boycott (Ziolkowski 2009, 124–32).

Musicians have performed and produced music in direct relation to boycotts. In a blues song, Brother Will Hairston imagines the racist interaction between bus driver and passenger that spurred the 1955 bus boycott.

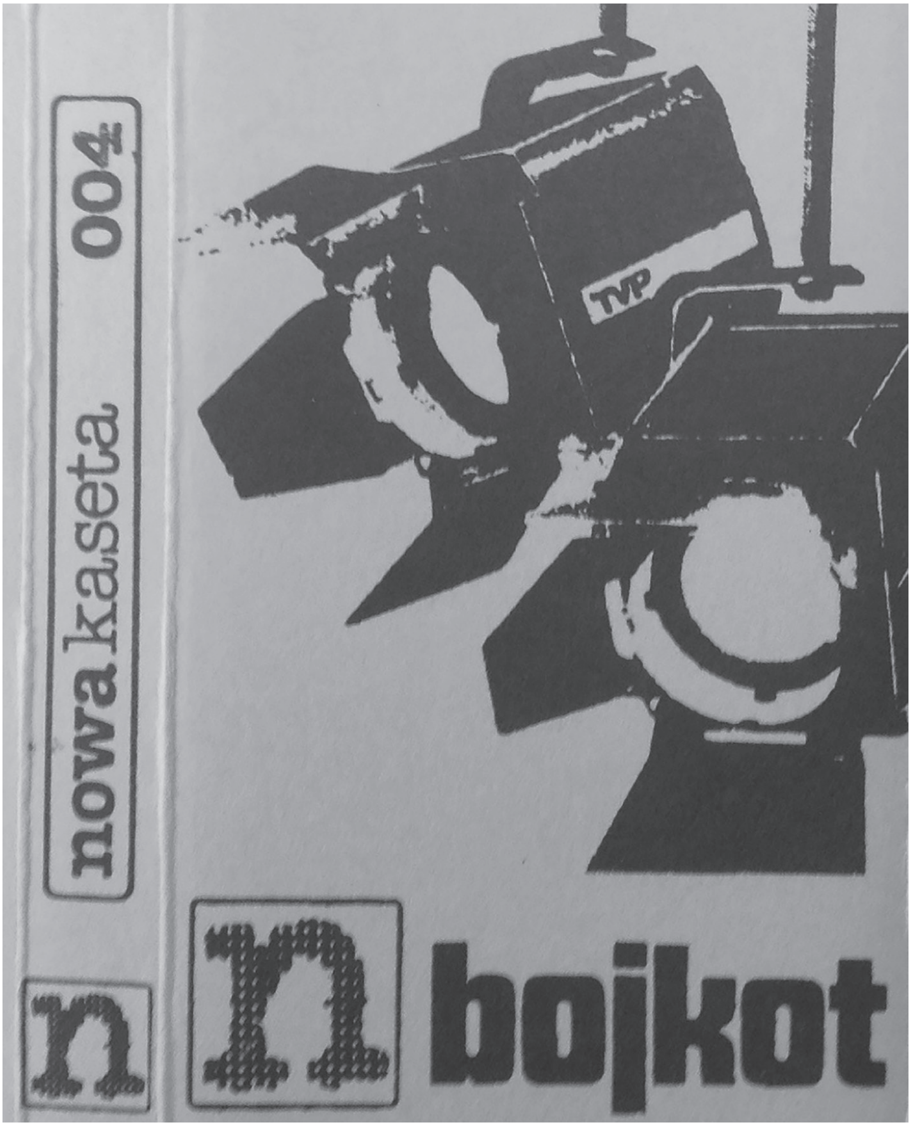
"Alabama Bus" tells the boycott's story in the first person. "I don't wanna ride" punctuates each line, working and reworking the refusal along new cadential formulas without intensifying its delivery. Songs have also organized boycotts. On the calypso competition circuit in Trinidad and Tobago, Mighty Sparrow spearheaded musicians' protest of the pride of place (and disproportionate prize money) given to the beauty contest through the 1950s by organizing an alternative competition—which he won with a song structured through complaints, "Carnival Boycott" (Dudley 2008, 216).

These examples give a sense of the proliferation of small- and large-scale boycotts across global music contexts in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The economic, ideological, and social stakes of making music are implicated across this cursory overview, with musicians initiating, experiencing, and contesting boycotts. At the same time, the mechanisms, demands, and results of such boycotts offer a window into the cultural history of music, portraying music making as a significant practice through which individuals can assert agency and thereby articulate dissent. We can (again) understand music as both a practice that effects change and as an object that spurs and inspires political activity.

But music and sound also operate on an affective register, a register that is crucial to the labor and efficacy of participatory politics. Take Msistlav Rostropovich's plea for a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, which would come to pass. The exiled cellist appealed to compassion when he conjured up an uncomfortable juxtaposition to drive his perspective home: "How can one imagine the opening ceremony of the Olympic games, its flags, its balloons at the same time when [banished dissident Andrei] Sakharov is being beaten?" Rostropovich offers a performance: the Associated Press noted that he speaks "with tears in his eyes" (Associated Press 1980). This poignant affective detail, enabled by the public discourse of sports and nation as well as the cellist's celebrity, lends the comment authenticity and intimacy. It is this intimate space of the personal that serves as my cue to listen into—rather than simply systematically explain and evaluate—the boycott that is my primary focus here: the boycott of state media by the Polish theater community and intelligentsia in 1982.

The Actors' Boycott

Figure 1. Cover art for *Boycott* (1983). From the personal collection of Małgorzata Jedynak-Pietkiewicz


nowa kaseta 004
TVP
n
n
bojkot

How does a boycott sound? In its immediate aftermath, one way to learn about the Polish boycott, and even re-experience it, would have been to listen to *Boycott*, an hour-long audio reportage released on a *drugi obieg* cassette in 1983 (Gall 1983). The mixture of documentary sounds and narrative analysis begins with a musical reference that situates its authors' politics: a sentimental musical track that would have been known to most of its Polish listeners. Andrzej Korzyński's viscous film score leads with a swelling string melody above a warm and dense synthesized mass. This pathetic symphonic entrée also functions as the overture for Andrzej Wajda's *Man of Iron*, the 1981 Palme d'Or-winning film that chronicles the 1980 emergence of the Solidarity independent trade union (NSZZ "Solidarność") in Poland on the silver screen. Solidarity's political accomplishments over its first year marked the peak moment of optimism that grassroots action could dissolve state socialism. By 1981, when the film was released, activists around the globe looked to the collaboration between Polish workers, clergy, and intelligentsia for a model for organizing labor movements (Goddeeris 2010; Shevis 1981). Instead of retelling this story, the boycott reportage splices in a narrator's baritone voice, which steadfastly declares, "We dedicate this cassette to the actors, who—in all of our names—managed to protest the longest against the imposition of martial law in Poland."

The declaration of martial law in the People's Republic of Poland in December 1981 targeted public assembly, primarily as a strategy to halt Solidarity's momentum. In addition to banning collective street protest and strikes, the state halted the work of artists' unions and interned many of the journalists and critics working for State Radio and Television, deflating public life. Public figures were pressured to announce their support for the military tactic, which presumably served to "prevent" a Soviet intervention like the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. In response, many members of the intelligentsia recused themselves from state-sponsored appearances on TV, radio, and even in print. Spearheaded by stage and television actors, the boycott action was a response to martial law, but also a reconsideration of the means of effectively manifesting opposition. One dissident even excitedly branded boycotts the "newest form of protest" (Bratkowski 1983). A film actor framed the withdrawal in terms of vulnerability, calling it "a desperate protest. Dictated by the need to take care of oneself" (Roman 1988, 76). Through the 1980s, the opposition to state socialism also boycotted many events that were seen as legitimizing the state: the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1983), as well as city and nation-wide elections (1984, 1987). The Polish community living abroad often stood with the opposition, such as when they stayed at home for the Chicago performances of the State Song and Dance Company "Mazowsze" in 1982 (*New York Times* 1982). The domestic boycotts articulated dissent with the withdrawal of bodies (audiences) from public spaces (the state-funded theater). Abroad, protesters exerted economic pressure, a concerted effort that paralleled other Western economic sanctions during martial law (Simatupang 1994; 182–83).

The actors' unstaged protest––a strike without manifestations—involved the collective retreat from official, state-funded performances by members of the Polish intelligentsia. The noticeable absence, the organizers hoped, would turn away viewers and empty concert halls, effecting a kind of consumer boycott of Polish Television and Radio to complement their own labor boycott. The elite artists at its helm understood the project in ethical terms. Theater critic Marta Fik described:

> It is precisely the special bond, the sense of collective responsibility that makes the non-participant seem not like a solitary conformist, a coward, or even just a person with a different point of view: instead they are someone who has disgraced the whole profession. And for this same reason the rebuff—which the mass communications media have granted not only actors, but the vast, overwhelming majority of intellectuals, literary figures, composers, sculptors, journalists, and publicists—this rebuff has been called an "absence" by the actors and by the State's press: a boycott ([Fik] 1983, 69).[3]

The Union of Polish Stage Actors coordinated the protest via word of mouth after discussions in its plenary meetings, though it has often been called "spontaneous" to further authenticate its politics. The boycott also hoped to make visible just how little support for the state's overnight crackdown there was among the so-called "intelligentsia": a well-educated, urban-dwelling professional class whose members understood themselves as guardians of the "Polish nation" and arbiters of great culture, to paraphrase historian Andrzej Walicki (1999). This entrenched concept, with its cultural elitism, percolated through underground publications to organize the boycott: those who identified as insiders were implicated in the call to participate. The Polish Composers' Union, which generally enjoyed more independence from state interference than other artists' associations, did not explicitly discuss the topic or participate as a collective, though a handful of its members had been dismissed from their positions working and writing for Polish Radio (Bylander 2012, 505n86). As I will discuss, several musicians and musicologists shifted the nature of their professional activity, whether by performing more religious music, appearing in new spaces, or animating new projects. And, of course, those who had been fired from state media had to find publicly invisible new work.

---

[3] Fik is credited with this article in Napiontkowa and Krakowska-Narożniak 1998, xx.

For at least twelve months—though some individuals' withdrawal lasted for five years—this close-knit artistic community refused to perform under the umbrella of state sponsorship. This boycott's constitutive lack shaped historical audiences' investment in communal experiences. That is, instead of orchestrating the articulation of demands or punctuating events, the boycott effected an active silence in one space that begat an emphasis on the dynamic practice of close listening in another. Like the "active auditory condition of quiet" Marié Abe re-resonates across her study of *chindon-ya* in Japanese anti-nuclear protests, the performances emphasized agency and possibility (2016, 235). The community rerouted theatrical productions, poetry readings, and concerts into private spaces, predominantly churches and apartments, "giving voice" to the "*tempus tacendi*" instituted by martial law, as Andrzej Szczepkowski put it (Roman 1988, 210). To monitor unofficial and/or illegal activity the secret police (*Służba Bezpieczeństwa*) had enlisted many new informants, and event organizers—whether hosting a living room poetry reading for a group of friends or directing a theater production in a space that could and did host hundreds—assumed that their closed community could be infiltrated, surveilled, and reported (Ruzikowski 2013, 61–82).

The impassioned (if occasionally uncritical) audience responses, the government's expression of irritation at the action, and the renewed collaborative force within the theatrical community contributed to a general understanding of the protest as successful by its participants at the time. As one actor related, "We had the sense that people heard us, that every word was 'taken in' [*wyłapywane*]" (Roman 1988, 176). In studying the boycott as an expressive form, I listen to its literal resonances as these were recorded on tape, as recollected—and amplified—in spoken interviews and transcribed oral histories, and as they shaped listening practices and artistic production in the years that followed. Music and sound percolate through its materials.

Musical Listening to *Boycott*

Let us consider the boycott once again through the aperture provided by *Boycott*. Jankowska's and Mądrzejewski's radio reportage was released on unofficial cassette labels since they had been fired from their positions at Polish Radio. The tape sonically reconstitutes this protest. It educates listeners with brief editorial commentary and evokes the high-stakes atmosphere with recordings of surveillance, for example intercepted police communiqués. Music, as with the intertextual film-score reference that opens (and closes) the program, frames the documentary. This mixtape presents canonic scenes from Polish theater sourced from the unofficial performances, most often on portable tape recorders held by audience members. Among these, Jankowska and Mądrzejewski interpolate several poetry readings that speak to political oppression as it impinges on artistic creativity.

The celebrity cast makes a strong impression: the clandestine performances on stage are brought to life with the inclusion of footsteps, audience chuckles and murmurs, and creaking chairs. Other scenes from oppositional contexts are interwoven, too, for example from Catholic masses. These mark time and provide momentum. A responsory prayer for protection concludes side A, with the congregation's periodic "Amen" supporting the program's literal diminuendo. Some recordings derive intimacy from microphones held near enough to catch percussive consonants and frantic breaths. Halina Mikołajska's rendition of Czesław Miłosz's "Waltz" (1942) commits to the spinning triple time of the dance and its emphatic downbeat. She accelerates through the poem's climax, a scream.

One of the most powerful experiences of listening to this tape in 2016 is the sound snippets' contrasting resonances. Voices boom off of stone walls, the tenor intonation of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko floats above the muted organ at a time lag that suggests it is at the opposite end of the sanctuary, and some domestic recordings have a flat and muffled quality, possibly because they were recorded surreptitiously through the fabric of a pocket. But despite the foregrounding of place, space, and intimacy in these materials—the journalists include extracts of informal address from the stage, too—no particular production, company, or city is identified. Instead, Jankowska and Mądrzejewski emphasize a shared repertory and cast for the boycott culture. The liveness of the performances emerges out of their contrast with the flat, mono, and distorted sound clips from other samples. Diatribes against the opposition from official radio broadcasts are truncated; a montage of arrest announcements—after home raids by the secret police—from Solidarity's underground radio station drives home the vision of the government as watch dog that is projected on the cassette's album cover (see Figure 1).

Radio signals, television jingles, and warning beeps—which often are overlaid so as to interrupt spoken texts—draw attention to the musicality of the theatrical performances and position the two musical performances from the theatre stage as particularly expressive. Jerzy Zelnik's rendition of the "Song of the Confederates of the Bar" has a fortitude and deliberation that the frantic, high-pitched spoken commentary does not. Krystyna Janda's petrifying cries at the end of the "Ballad of Janek Wiśniewski" foreshadow the "trapped songs" and "unheard shouts" thematized in the tape's texts.[4] The sound fragments the authors and their engineer colleagues position between tracks also modulate between emotional registers. The tape is, in many ways, condensed, and music helps to facilitate the swift change from crowds in euphoric applause to austere reports on artists in prison. Following many of the tracks, simple chords played on a rudimentary synthesizer wobble when a new authorial voice chimes in. Fragments from the *Man of Iron* score—most often drudging beats on the snare drum or those indulgent strings—heighten and release tension respectively. The music edits must have happened quickly: the needle pops uncleanly along the grooves of the record from which twenty seconds of the fourth movement of Mahler's First Symphony are taken.

---

[4] This track actually predates the boycott: it is the credit music for *Man of Iron*.

Purposeful Silence

The role of music on and for *Boycott* is representative of its presence through the boycott's activities. It is central to the poetic content and connects the individual events and spaces of the unofficial performances. Members of the theater community, for example, rallied around the provocative director Adam Hanuszkiewicz when he was recalled from his position as artist director of the National Theater in Warsaw in 1982. The theater piece that prompted his dismissal was a dramatization of the opera composer Stanisław Moniuszko's *Home Songbook* (*Śpiewnik domowy*, 1842–72). Hanuszkiewicz selected melancholic songs from across the composer's twelve-volume anthology, a collection of piano-vocal settings that had been a crucial format for the dissemination of Polish-language poetry in the nineteenth-century. Moniuszko, celebrated in the People's Republic of Poland for his operas on folk themes, had added music to verse; Hanuszkiewicz took it away, asking the actors to recite the well-known texts instead. There are many accounts of the lengthy production's pathos—with some even suggesting that the event felt like a mass for the dead (Cioffi 1996, 147; Fik 2000, 52). The audience stood for thirty minutes applauding. The production complemented another important unofficial performance that year. On Polish Independence Day, a holiday banned under communism, the artists performing at the National Theater suddenly became aware that, on the other side of their auditorium's wall, a group of young students were staging a production of Moniuszko's "national" opera, *Halka*. Together, the groups left the building in costume and processed to the grave of the Unknown Soldier in the nearby Victory Square, laid down their flowers, and observed a moment of silence (Roman 1988, 92).

The ethical stakes of the boycott shifted spectators' behavior. Critics routinely tracked audiences' silence—as a reflection of their "sincerity"—and their supportive applause (Fik 2000, 108; Roman 1988, 111). Across such accounts, a kind of over-sensitized and paranoid hearing emerges—a mode of close listening that sets into motion my interpretation of the *Boycott* radio montage above. The Canadian-Polish journalist Mark Lukasiewicz, writing for Toronto's *Globe and Mail*, went from apartment to apartment, writing the story of these "seething artists" in April 1983. He paints vivid portraits of the atmosphere and mechanisms of the so-called Home Theater (*Teatr Domowy*), which hosted at least 150 productions across apartments in Poland (Fik 2000, 20; Molęda-Zdziech 1998, 102–7). The intimate settings provided space for scenes with four or five actors, poetry, and songs.[5] Organization was of the utmost concern, according to the journalist, since people perceived themselves to be under close surveillance. Invitations came by word of mouth or through pamphlets delivered by hand. Guests were asked to stagger their arrivals, and apartments with thick walls were ideal. Lukasiewicz experienced immersive theater in one production in which artists meditated on the absence of their friends and family by imagining their lives in internment. He felt chills as they worked: "The actors [with few props] are inventive. One 'internment camp' scene is played in the dark; the only light is from the tip of a lit cigarette passed among the characters, occasionally illuminating a face as one of them inhales. A guitar provides not only music but sound effects, such as galloping horses, military drums, and a dripping faucet." Heightened attention is both produced and facilitated by the paucity of equipment and the surreptitious nature of the events.

---

[5] Though such informal and small-scale performances were most frequent, they are least present in the archival recordings of the opposition. In comparison with the unofficial cassette labels organized by activists—such as NOWa (Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza), which issued *Boycott*—they have rarely survived purges of home recording collections in the decades since (Bohlman 2017). However, I do bring my extensive experience listening to home recordings from this time, especially mixtapes, to bear on my readings of performance descriptions like Lukasiewicz's.

The stage and film actress Ewa Dałkowska offers a slightly different perspective on material shortage in her 1988 recollection of a domestic cabaret evening. For her, the uncanny atmosphere was a product of design, not necessity. It was a means of underscoring precarity despite solidarity:

> We even used wiretaps from police cars, building a cabaret scene out of them. We covered ourselves in canvas and pretended to be a police car. [...] We were this theater in a suitcase, without props, so we didn't give anyone any evidence. [...] That was a difficult audience, that audience that came to homes. Despite their good intentions. We fought to try and break down their sense that things were already good...so that they might ultimately judge us [on an artistic level] (Roman 1988, 58–9).

The small apartments facilitated such conversations and critical debate. We know that audiences stayed and mingled with artists, re-reading poetry and singing nationalist songs.

Both Dałkowska and Lukasiewicz emphasize Home Theater's intimacy and realism. Direct play on contemporary events and real people invited allegorical productions. Martial law's intrusion upon the Christmas season provided specific reference points, especially as Christian devotion and communist belief were understood to be mutually exclusive. In her account of a 1985 Christmas scene in the hands of a 1985 production, theater historian Kathleen M. Cioffi rattles off a set of competing paranoid political interpretations of the action on stage: "Christmas carolers, one of whom carried a knife ready to stab any attacker, had to find their way in the pitch dark (after curfew? during a power cut? because all the light bulbs in the halls had been stolen?) through an apartment building" (1996, 3). Indeed, the songs—psalms and carols—of Christianity provided an aperture for musicians who wanted to participate in the boycott, despite their own professional circle's political distance.

Musicians and Musicologists Perform the Boycott

In the People's Republic of Poland, jazz musicians, new music composers and performers, and even punk bands enjoyed greater tolerance, less artistic censorship, and more consistent support than their colleagues across the arts in Poland and in music across the Eastern bloc, who often took dissident stands out of necessity (Pickhan and Ritter 2010; Tompkins 2013; Marciniak 2015, 1–43). To negotiate the privileged status of their creative work, musicians cultivated a range of strategies as the opposition gained voice. They were strategically guarded and theorized music as apolitical and "reticence as dissidence" (Jakelski 2013; Kemp-Welch 2014).[6]

But the boycott did have its tendrils in Polish musical life. In Wrocław, Edmund Kajdasz, the conductor of the city's Polish Radio Choir, was persona non grata because of his appearances and administrative work for Polish Television. The Wrocław Symphony refused to perform under him; the musicians also refused to have their performances during the international festival Wratislavia Cantans recorded—and by extension, broadcast (Kamiński and Piotrowski 2003, 63). Allusions to silence—whether "active" or imposed—appear on the fringes and in the folds of the music intelligentsia's main periodical, the bi-weekly *Ruch Muzyczny* [Musical Movement]. Within the paragraph that flanked the image on each issue's cover, the editorial board would hint at a political stance. In April 1982, they mourned the "cancellation" of most of the festivities to celebrate the Karol Szymanowski centenary and what "did not come to pass" (1982a). In July, the editorial board commented: "We have one of the most difficult seasons of music behind us, completed in part with an improvised scramble [*łatanina*]" (1982b).

The example of the musical community underscores the amorphous nature of boycotts, the difficulty of defining what counts as participation, and the tensions that can arise out of divergent moral codes. The military control over everyday life directed public attention on the major art music composers, classically trained actors, and feature film directors first. They were expected to make art and take political action against the oppressive state in defense of the nation, a cultural paradigm rooted in the nation's nineteenth-century partition (Janion 2000). When the Communist Party first used the word boycott, many actors felt a protest mode was being imposed upon on them when, in fact, they were being shut out of work on political grounds—something more akin to blacklisting. Some rejected the term. "Did I boycott?" Jerzy Stuhr asked himself in the late 1980s, "I think it was rather I who was boycotted" (Roman 1988, 277). The composer Krzysztof Penderecki always made his distance from the boycott effort clear, though he had aligned himself with the opposition publicly before martial law, for example when he dedicated his 1980 *Lacrimosa* to Lech Wałęsa and offered it for performance at a public commemoration organized by the Solidarity Union in December 1980 (Kubik 1994, 196–206). Speaking with the *Washington Post* in 1988 he insisted: "Boycotts eventually work against society... but no one tells me what to do. If I were not allowed to travel freely or to build my home here I would simply leave, and the authorities realize that" (Diehl 1988). The composer was aware of the care with which he needed to craft his position; he frequently traveled to the USSR and Yugoslavia as a cultural diplomat, a manifestation of the pride of place given new music by the Communist Party in Poland and the transnational spirit valued in its institutions (Wiśniewski 1999; Jakelski 2017).

---

[6] Nomi Dave understands the strategic apolitical music-making in Guinea on similar terms (Dave 2014).

In contrast, many, but not all, participants ended up embracing the term and conditions of the boycott label, lending their silences and recusals coherence. Such was the case for the composer Witold Lutosławski, perhaps the most prominent musician to participate. Though the composer rarely commented on politics—and when he did, he cultivated a nuanced ambiguity—he essentially abstained from official appearances within Poland from 1982–88, even rejecting a state commendation out of principle.[7]

---

[7] A notable exception is his acceptance of an honorary doctorate from the Jagiellonian University in 1984.

Among the intelligentsia, it was well known that he targeted state media with his absence, a point about which he lightly jests in his first official interview in 1988.[8] When the musicologist and critic Grzegorz Michalski, who had been fired from Polish Television in 1981, transgressed the unspoken and asked the composer about his silence, Lutosławski hinted at the boycott: "From December '81 it became difficult for me to express my opinions in public in this country, because of a specific allergy that I have been feeling towards the media" (Michalski 1988, 73).

In contrast, the internationally renowned soprano Stefania Woytowicz cast herself as a solitary and strident participant from within music. She was interviewed for Andrzej Roman's 1988 oral history, the first book to collect non-anonymous accounts of the protest and source for many of the first-person recollections I have discussed here. She scorned the sense of artistic autonomy that defined the music community's response. When asked to represent music's politics, she fired accusations: "We have mutually parted ways since the thirteenth of December. It revealed who we really were. Music, as some have said, is abstract, elusive, cosmopolitan—that's all that they'll talk about. Our responsibility—they claimed—is that of our profession" (225). Woytowicz, the soprano soloist on the premiere recording of Henryk Mikołaj Górecki's Third Symphony, underscores her moral standards in this testimonial:

> December 13 interrupted my professional service. I wanted to remain faithful to my principles. I had to choose, and I chose a position that prevented me from performing in the country no matter what happened. I didn't think about interruptions to my contacts abroad. To this day I feel the consequences of these actions. I hear reports that I decline all opportunities to concertize. This is not true! I haven't had any, and if I had, I would have checked whether my conditions were met or not (226).

The lines Woytowicz draws further the scathing accusations she directs at her colleagues. But while she did explicitly participate in the boycott with a handful of other musicians, matters were not quite so clear-cut.

---

[8] I am grateful to Grzegorz Michalski for explaining the politics of dissent behind this exchange (email to author, 19 July 2016).

Woytowicz did perform in Poland—in the churches that hosted the boycott. This was no secret, even in 1982. In December of that year, Woytowicz was the subject of a regular *Ruch Muzyczny* column that interviewed musicians about ongoing projects. She works hard to portray herself as active, while also providing clues as to the nature of her activity. She lists concerts, drawing attention to the fact that "I have most often sung in churches and generally—though not exclusively—religious music" (Woytowicz 1982). This musical expression of her spirituality is like "feeling around in the dark" (*po omacku*—literally blindfolded), a turn of phrase that easily can be read as an allusion to the boycott as well as the literal darkness of the churches in which she sings. In *Ruch Muzyczny* she also makes claims about the impact of her performances—her solo debut in the Gniezno cathedral was apparently in front of 6,000 people. To conclude, she offers a qualification of the absolute stance she claims to have had in the 1988 account: "I do not accept the performance opportunities that come my way—whether at home or abroad without reservation. It does happen that—for reasons that are important to me—I refuse them."

In the Church on Żytnia Street: Boycott Listening Beyond 1982

The initials signing off on Woytowicz's commentary in *Ruch Muzyczny*—"tk"—belong to Tadeusz Kaczyński, the critic and cultural organizer responsible for the bulk of Woytowicz's church appearances. Kaczyński, who was trained as a musicologist, became friendly with a number of artists active in the opposition and who participated in the boycott during martial law. As he volunteered alongside them in Warsaw, delivering food and clothing to the families of internees, he noted how little music was integrated into unofficial theater. He set out to organize concerts in churches, link musicians with actors, and would ultimately found an ensemble devoted to performing patriotic songs in 1983, just after the official boycott had concluded. Like Woytowicz, Kaczyński was critical of music's muted presence within oppositional networks and he promoted her because of their political and religious affinity (Bracki 1983).

Kaczyński saw the new cultural sites generated by the boycott as opportunities for growth. He set up a young, experimental ensemble, the Independent Electroacoustic Music Studio, with the vocal improviser Andrzej Mitan, who organized a concert in the church on Żytnia Street, a bombed-out church in downtown Warsaw that had become a hub during martial law because of its unrenovated state. The Studio's project and agenda suited the ethos of the boycott. As Kaczyński described:

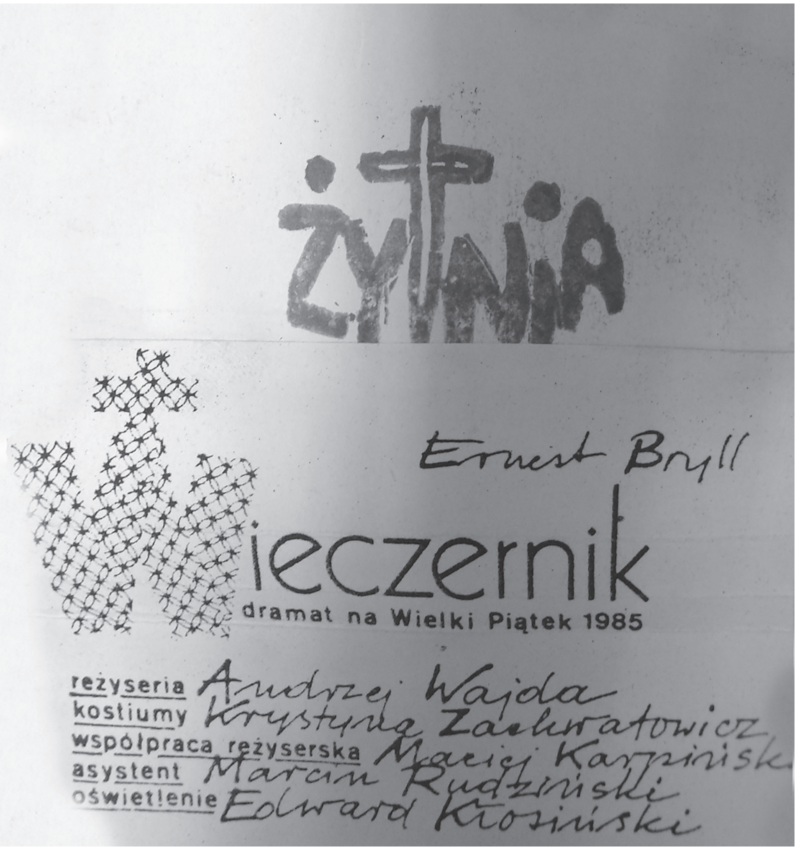
> Among [the members of the group] the most important thing is this: mutual trust, respect for others (even contradictory aesthetic tendencies), and especially solidarity. The latter manifests itself equally in the relationships between certain musicians of the group, as well as toward listeners, who are not treated here as 'recipients' of art, but rather as co-creators (Kaczyński Papers).

The ensemble performed on Żytnia Street in the fifth month of martial law. Unified by an interest in the experimental and an insistence on the ephemeral, this six-performer collective positioned its aesthetic world at the threshold between composition and improvisation and among electronic and environmental sounds. Its poetics bridged a model for democratic society with an appreciation of a world "without" rules. On the recording I have heard of this event—made on a minicassette recorder by Bolesław Błaszczyk—it is nearly impossible to distinguish Mitan's breathing from wind or Tadeusz Sudnik's work at the synthesizer from the ambient noise of cassette playback (Błaszczyk Personal Collection).[9]

---

[9] Many thanks to Bolesław Błaszczyk for his sustained kindness providing me access to his tape and recording collection. In addition, his longtime intellectual generosity has been a pillar for my work with music in 1980s Poland.

Figure 2. Invitation to *Wieczernik* repurposed as cassette liner (1985). From the personal collection of Małgorzata Jedynak-Pietkiewicz



ŻYTNIA

Ernest Bryll

Wieczernik

dramat na Wielki Piątek 1985

reżyseria Andrzej Wajda
kostiumy Krystyna Zachwatowicz
współpraca reżyserska Maciej Karpiński
asystent Marcin Rudziński
oświetlenie Edward Kłosiński

After the boycott had officially ended, directors and actors returned to the Żytnia Church, with its open windows, unusual crevices, and sacred aura, with productions that might attract the government's scrutiny. Another low fidelity recording of a theatrical performance in this space provides access to the echoes of the boycott: the continued practice of its paranoid and close listening (Solidarity Collection). After a rejection from a mainstream theater, Wajda staged Ernest Bryll's *Wieczernik* (variously translated as *The Upper Room* or *The Last Supper*) there during Easter week in April 1985 to great acclaim. The reviews and recollections of the concert highlight the seamless integration of the sanctuary and its frail infrastructure into the dramaturgical concept. Kazimierz Braun described a hollow and partial space:

> Still under construction, the church [...] provided unusual and stimulating scenery, with bare brick walls, scaffolding, concrete pillars, and machinery in place [...]. The lighting, except for a few spots, was provided by candles and coal stoves, identical to those that could be seen on streets (the army and the police put such stoves out to allow the patrols to warm themselves in the cold weather). The production's political metaphor was obvious: The apostles were implicitly compared to the Solidarity members after the imposition of martial law in Poland (1996, 109).

Krystyna Janda remembered the uneasy atmosphere engendered by place, the story of resurrection, and the underground context:

> It was cold, there was a crowd of people, and the doors were open to the city. Anxious faces, tortured, the sounds of ambulances, military vehicles. The audience's entire attention was focused on the door, through which the resurrected Christ might appear at any moment. [...] Over the course of *Wieczernik* everyone waited for something. No one knew, how many people in the auditorium were enemies, secret police (Montgomery 2016, 107–8).

The bootleg recording, circulated at least in some instances with the invitation repurposed as a cassette liner, corroborates these descriptions (see Figure 2). As in *Boycott*, I can hear ambient sounds—a fire, the car, footsteps, and the knocks on the door that are so crucial to the story's dramatic tension. But despite a monologue that argues, "We must sing songs," there is no sung verse, recorded or otherwise (Bryll 1990; 34–35). Instead, the sound production consists of one musical work, which flanks the acts of the play, and a range of amplified electronics.

The staging's crafty sound design was attuned to the vulnerable location and paranoia experienced by attendees—one corner of the room had no protection from the street. On the widely-circulated recording, a poor ambient mic brings the stage to life. Music sneaks into the scene as the play opens. We first hear the specter of Franz Schubert's song "Death and the Maiden," as arranged for the second movement of his late d minor string quartet. The arrangement of Schubert's song, however, is even further removed from the original. Within seconds alarming sounds disrupt the melody. This is actually a treatment of Schubert by the American composer George Crumb in *Black Angels* (1970). The original, quoted string quartet is attacked by "electric insects," charged zaps in the upper registers of amplified strings. Though he is uncredited, the sound designer for this production was none other than Tadeusz Kaczyński, one of Crumb's advocates in Poland (Fik 2000, 130). If the electric violin orients listeners' ears to attack, the rest of the technical design thematizes this agitation. Minutes later he samples sirens, intensifying the audience's vulnerability, to represent the howling crowds of the Bible. At one point a car—whose engine loudly combusts fuel through the scene—pulls up to a window and floods the stage with its brights.

How Does a Boycott Sound?

The paranoia of Żytnia neatly fulfills Cold-War expectations of chilling fear. At a remove, and with the knowledge that martial law was a brief incursion, it might come across as sensational to link this heightened attention to art with real bodily vulnerability. But there was at least one instance of an inverse relationship between everyday reality and dramatic device in an unofficial production, in 1984 when an ensemble from Warsaw was performing Pavel Kohout's *Degradation* in Wrocław. Upon the delivery of the scripted line, "It's not theater, it's the police," an audience member stood up and declared the production over.[10] He started to photograph those present. Slowly initial laughter faded as the reality that this was not a play on their fears set in (Braun 1996, 107). Many on stage and in attendance were seized for interrogation.

---

[10] They referred specifically to the postwar secret police in the Polish version (*ubek*, for Urząd Bezpieczeństwa; Przastek 2005, 206). To date there has been no extensive study of this event as tracked by the Security Service (*Służba Bezpieczeństwa*); all accounts rely on oral histories.

The cloistered performance spaces and elitism of the intelligentsia position the boycott culture away from the public spaces that facilitated public assembly and the "carnival of revolutions," to borrow Padraic Kenny's apt phrase, that raged across East Central Europe in the late 1980s. Instead, this mode of protest seems to share more with the domestic listening practices Tia DeNora and Trever Hagen analyze in Czechoslovakia during the 1970s (2012). When they listened to unofficial radio or banned LPs, Czechoslovak citizens both cared to hear content and were concerned about neighbors overhearing. At home people had to be aware of wall thickness and willing to listen back in on their neighbors: if they were watching television or had a party, eavesdropping seemed less likely. The mode of listening was part paranoid imagination and part material reality, a disposition inextricable from both the historical reality of domestic surveillance in communist Czechoslovakia and the unofficial spaces of the martial law boycott in Poland.

The Polish boycott's mode of concealment was a performative recusal. Its dynamic reconfiguration of listening emerged during its plays, poetry readings, and concerts as affective labor. This centrality of attention, bounded within the protest action, reminds me of the renewed listening across the repetitive performances of Kaepernick's boycott, which I analyzed in this essay's opening. The fundamental strain—attention and even disquiet—across these accounts, along with hints at the unsayable, underscore the importance of the sonic for this unstaged protest. This performance of absence, debate on the moral stakes of making art, and invitation to participate across the arts generated a new importance for sound's dynamics and dynamism. The lesson is one of method, too. In my analysis, I have remained attuned to boycotts' emphasis on absence so as to let these materials teach me how to listen on the terms set out by the protest. What emerges is the power of affect both to confirm and spur on the boycott, but without easily anthologized protest songs—power ballads, national anthems, communal hymns—sung in chorus. The boycott's ultimate value for the opposition was that it allowed its actors to explicitly concede the way in which martial law made their bodies vulnerable over time.

BIBLIOGRAFIA • BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abe, Marié. 2016. "Sounding Against Nuclear Power in Post-3.11 Japan: Resonances of Silence and Chindon-ya." *Ethnomusicology* 60 (2): 233–62.

Anderson, Ben. 2014. *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions.* London: Routledge.

Associated Press. 1980. "Soviet Cellist Supports Boycott," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 20 November 1980, 11A.

Associated Press. 2016. "Police Officers Threaten Boycott over Colin Kaepernick National Anthem Flap," 4 September 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-kaepernick-anthem-20160904-snap-story.html.

Berman, Paul. 2015. "Preface." In *The Case against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, edited by Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm, 4–11. Chicago and New York: MLA Members for Scholars' Rights distributed by Wayne State Univeristy Press.

Błaszczyk, Bolesław. Personal Collection. Otwock, Poland.

Bohlman, Andrea F. 2016. "Making Tapes in Poland: The Compact Cassette at Home." *Twentieth-Century Music* 14 (1): 119–34.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J.E. Richardson. 241–68. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Bracki, Rafał [pseud. of Tadeusz Kaczyński]. 1983. "Filharmonia imienia Traugutta." *Kultura Niezależna* 3: 55–58.

Bratkowski, Stefan. 1983. *Gazeta Dźwiękowa* 1. Cassette tape.

Braun, Kazimierz. 1996. *A History of Polish Theater, 1939–1989: Spheres of Captivity and Freedom*. Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press.

Bryll, Ernest. 1990. *Wieczernik*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Pax.

Buch, Esteban. 2004. "'The Germans and the Bosch': German Music in Paris during the First World War." *Le Mouvement Social* 208: 45–69.

Bylander, Cindy. 2012. "Responses to Adversity: The Polish Composers Union and Musical Life in the 1970s and 1980s." *The Musical Quarterly* 95: 459–509.

Cioffi, Kathleen M. 1993. *Alternative Theatre in Poland, 1954–1989*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Clague, Mark. 2016. "'Star-Spangled Banner' Critics Miss the Point." *CNN.com*, 1 September 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/31/opinions/star-spangled-banner-criticisms-opinion-clague/.

CNN. 2016. "Obama: Colin Kaepernick 'Exercising Constitutional Right'." *CNN.com,* 5 September 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. http://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/05/politics/barack-obama-colin-kaepernick/.

Dave, Nomi. 2014. "The Politics of Silence: Music, Violence and Protest in Guinea." *Ethnomusicology* 58 (1): 1–29.

Denora, Tia and Trever Hagen. 2012. "From Listening to Distribution: Nonofficial Music Practices in Hungary and Czechoslovakia from the 1960s to the 1980s." In *Oxford Handbook to Sound Studies*, edited by Karin Bijsterveld and Trevor Pinch, 441–58. New York: Oxford University Press.

Diehl, Jackson. 1988. "Penderecki, The Lion of Poland: The Balancing Act of a Celebrated Composer," *The Washington Post,* 17 June 1988, D4.

Dudley, Shannon. 2008. *Music from Behind the Bridge: Steelband Aesthetics and Politics in Trinidad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Entertainment Tonight. 2016. "Will Smith Boycotted the 1989 GRAMMYs over Rap Category Diss," 26 January 2016. Accessed 20 September 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zlq7HZFEv_8.

Fauser, Annegret. 2014. "The Scholar Behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876–1957) and the Politics of Music History." *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association* 139 (2): 235–260.

Fik, Marta, ed. 2000. *Teatr drugiego obiegu: Materiały do kroniki teatru stanu wojennego, 13 XII 1981-15 XI 1989*. Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Errata.

[Fik, Marta]. 1983. "W obronie słowa 'nie'." *Nowy Zapis* 2-3: 64–74.

Friedman, Monroe. 1999. *Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change through the Marketplace and the Media*. New York: Routledge.

Frishkopf, Michael. 2008. "Nationalism, Nationalization, and the Egyptian Music Industry: Muhammad Fawzy, Misrphon and Sawt el-Qahira." *Asian Music* 39 (2): 28–58.

Gall, Jan [pseud. of Janina Jankowska and Marek Mądrzejewski]. 1983. *Bojkot*. NOWa kaseta 004, audio cassette. Warsaw: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza.

Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C.E. 2009. *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goddeeris, Idesbald, ed. 2010. *Solidarity with Solidarity: Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980–1988*. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books.

Hindemith, Paul. 1952. *A Composer's World: Horizons and Limitations*. Mainz: Schott.

Jakelski, Lisa. 2013. "Witold Lutosławski and the Ethics of Abstraction." *Twentieth-Century Music* 10 (2): 169–202.

Jakelski, Lisa. 2017. *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Janion, Maria. 2000. *Do Europy tak, ale razem z naszymi umarłymi*. Warsaw: Sic!.

Kaczyński, Tadeusz. Papers. Archives of Polish Composers. University of Warsaw Library. Warsaw, Poland.

Kamiński, Łukasz and Paweł Piotrowski. 2003. "Dolny Śląsk i Śląsk Opolski." In *Stan wojenny w Polsce 1981–1983*, edited by Antoni Dudek, 27-86. Warsaw: Institute of National Memory.

Kaskowitz, Sheryl. 2013. *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kemp-Welch, Klara. 2014. *Antipolitics in Central European Art: Reticence as Dissidence under Post-Totalitarian Rule, 1956-1989*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Kraft, James P. 1996. *Stage to Studio: Musicians and the Sound Revolution, 1890–1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kubik, Jan. *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland*. State College: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Levin, Josh. 2016. "Colin Kaepernick's Protest Is Working." *Slate*, 12 September 2016. Accessed 15 September 2016. http://www.slate.com/articles/sports/sports_nut/2016/09/colin_kaepernick_s_protest_is_working.html.

Lukasiewicz, Mark. 1983. "Repressed Arts Seethe with Life behind Curtains." *The Globe and Mail*. 4 April 1983. IV/209, The Archive of Opposition, KARTA Center, Warsaw, Poland.

Machcewicz, Paweł. 2015. *Poland's War on Radio Free Europe, 1950–1989*, translated by Maya Latynski. Washington and Stanford: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press.

Marciniak, Marta. 2015. *Transnational Punk Communities in Poland: From Nihilism to Nothing Outside Punk*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

McFarland, Andrew S. 2011. *Boycotts and Dixie Chicks: Creative Political Participation at Home and Abroad*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Meintjes, Louise. 1990. "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning." *Ethnomusicology* 34 (1): 37–73.

Michalski, Grzegorz. 1988. "Sztuka i powinność." *Znak* 40 (8): 73–85.

Minda, Gary. 1999. *Boycott in America: How Imagination and Ideology Shape the Legal Mind*. Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Monson, Ingrid. 1999. "Monk Meets SNCC." *Black Music Research Journal* 19 (2): 187–200.

Montgomery, Katarzyna. 2016. *Pani zyskuje przy bliższym poznaniu: Krystyna Janda w rozmowie z Katarzyną Montgomery*. Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka.

Napiontkowa, Maria and Joanna Krakowska-Narożniak, editors, 1998. *Pośród spraw publicznych i teatralnych: Marcie Fik, przyjaciele, koledzy, uczniowie*. Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Errata.

New York Times. 1982. "Polish Folk Dancers Play to Sparse Audiences in Chicago Because of Boycott." 22 March 1982, A10.

Nono, Luigi. 2001. "A colloquio con Luigi Nono (1970)." 90–91. In *Scritti e colloqui*, edited by Angela Ida De Benedictis. Vol. 2. Milan: Ricordi.

OED Online. "boycott, n." Accessed 29 July 2016. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/271106?rskey=gQzuZu&result=1&isAdvanced=false.

Pickhan, Gertrud and Rüdiger Ritter, eds. 2010. *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Potter, Pamela M. 1991. "The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938." *Journal of Musicological Research* 11 (3): 151–76.

Roman, Andrzej, ed. 1989. *Komedianci: Rzecz o bojkocie*. Warsaw: WP Most.

Ruch Muzyczny. 1982a. "Od redakcji." *Ruch Muzyczny* 26:1, 1.

Ruch Muzyczny. 1982b. "Od redakcji." *Ruch Muzyczny* 26:4, 1.

Ruzikowski, Tadeusz. 2013. *Stan wojenny w Warszawie i województwie stołecznym 1981–1983*. Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance.

Schwartz, Jon. 2016. "Colin Kaepernick Is Righter Than You Know: The National Anthem Is a Celebration of Slavery." *The Intercept,* 20 August 201. Accessed 10 September 2016. https://theintercept.com/2016/08/28/colin-kaepernick-is-righter-than-you-know-the-national-anthem-is-a-celebration-of-slavery/.

Sheffi, Na'ama. 2013. *The Ring of Myths: The Israelis, Wagner, and the Nazis.* Translated by Martha Grenzeback and Miriam Talisman. Portland: University of Sussex Press.

Shevis, James M. 1981. "The AFL-CIO and Poland's Solidarity." *World Affairs* 144 (1): 31–35.

Simatupang, Batara. 1994. *The Polish Economic Crisis: Background, Crisis, and Aftermath*. London: Routledge.

Solidarity Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Cambridge, USA.

Der Spiegel. 1987. "'Ein Verlangen nach reinem Dur': Spiegel-Gespräch mit Krzysztof Penderecki," 41: 2, 144–46.

Tompkins, David. 2013. *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.

Walicki, Andrzej. 1999. "Intellectual Elites and the Vicissitudes of 'Imagined Nation' in Poland." In *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, edited by Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy, 259–87. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wiśniewski, Grzegorz. 1999. *Pięć polskich losów w Rosji*. Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa.

Woytowicz, Stefania. 1982. "Co słychać?" *Ruch Muzyczny* 26 (15): 2 (26 December).

Wyche, Steve. 2016. "Colin Kaepernick Explains Why He Sat During National Anthem." *NFL.com,* 27 August 2016. Accessed 10 September 2016. http://www.nfl.com/news/story/0ap3000000691077/article/colin-kaepernick-explains-why-he-sat-during-national-anthem.

Zanussi, Krzysztof. 1997. *Pora umierać: Wspomnienie, refleksje, anegdoty*. Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka.

Ziolkowski, Theodore. 2009. *Scandal on Stage: European Theater as Moral Trial*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BIOGRAM

Andrea F. Bohlman, profesor muzyki na Uniwersytecie Karoliny Północnej w Chapel Hill. Jest autorką książki

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Andrea F. Bohlman is the Associate professor of Music at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is the author

Musical Solidarities: Political Action and Music in Late Twentieth-Century Poland [Muzyczne solidarności: działania polityczne i muzyka w Polsce pod koniec XX w.] (Oxford University Press, 2020). Opublikowała wiele artykułów poświęconych muzyce w Europie Wschodniej, dźwiękowi w kulturach protestu oraz codziennej historii rejestracji dźwięku, m.in. w „Journal of Musicology", „Twentieth-Century Music" i „Slavic Review".

of *Musical Solidarities: Political Action and Music in Late Twentieth-Century Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2020). She has published widely on music in Eastern Europe, sound among cultures of protest, and the everyday history of sound recording in, for example, the *Journal of Musicology*, *Twentieth-Century Music*, and *Slavic Review.*

STRESZCZENIE

The Actors' Boycott During Polish Martial Law: A Case Study in the Politics of Listening as Collective Action
W niniejszym eseju rozważam muzyczną stawkę bojkotów, opierając się na dokładnej analizie bojkotu artystów podczas stanu wojennego w Polsce w latach 80. Dostosowując się do zwiększonego znaczenia kontroli — a nawet paranoi — i ograniczeń, które są generowane przez bojkoty i narzucane bojkotowanym, rozumiem tę formę akcji protestacyjnej jako rekonfigurację codziennego życia społecznego, a co za tym idzie, technik słuchania i kultury słuchowej. Najpierw definiuję i teoretyzuję bojkot jako formę zbiorowego działania, w którym przenikają się idee dotyczące politycznych możliwości dźwięku/muzyki w odniesieniu do ciszy. Następnie pokazuję genealogię bojkotów muzycznych, w które uwikłane zostaje również piśmiennictwo poświęcone muzyce, takie jak krytyka muzyczna oraz muzykologia. To teoretyczne tło toruje mi drogę do analizy bojkotu mediów państwowych przez polskich aktorów. Śledzę sposoby słuchania i wykonawstwa na żywo oraz nagrane wypowiedzi

ABSTRACT

Bojkot aktorski w stanie wojennym: studium przypadku polityki słuchania jako działania kolektywnego
This essay considers the musical stakes of boycotts, basing my work on the close analysis of the actors' boycott during Polish martial law in the 1980s. Attuned to the heightened importance of scrutiny—even paranoia—and restraint that is generated by boycotts and imposed upon the boycotted, I understand this form of protest action as a reconfiguration of everyday social life and, by extension, listening techniques and aural culture. First, I define and theorize the boycott as a form of collective action in which ideas about the political possibilities of sound/music in relation to silence percolate. Second, I show a genealogy of musical boycotts in which writing on music, such as music criticism and musicology, is also implicated. This theoretical backdrop paves the way for my turn to the Polish actors' boycott of state media. I trace modes of listening and performing across live and recorded articulations of the boycott by artists to show how different modes of

artystów dotyczące bojkotu, aby zademonstrować, jak różne tryby współpracy ukazują muzykę i dźwięk jako środki aktywacji politycznej intensywności. Archiwa kaset magnetofonowych, rozpowszechnianych za pośrednictwem nieoficjalnych sieci wydawniczych opozycji, dają nam wgląd w dźwięk i muzykę domowych przedstawień, koncertów w kościołach oraz innych dźwiękowych mediacji odmowy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE muzyka i protest, media nieoficjalne, cenzura, koncerty w domach, bojkot kulturalny

collaboration reveal music and sound as the means of activating political intensities. Archives of cassette tapes circulated through the opposition's unofficial publishing networks provide glimpses into the sound and music of home theater, church concerts, and other sonic mediations of recusal.

KEYWORDS Music and protest, unofficial media, censorship, home concerts, cultural boycott

*The e-publication of the 'Polish Yearbook of Musicology' 2024 (vol. 22)
was co-financed from means of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
of the Polish Republic, from the Culture Promotion Fund - a state earmarked fund.*

Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
Republic of Poland