

**Constructed and Manifest Truths in Music for Andrzej Wajda's *Man of...* Film  
Trilogy**

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**Abstract**

This thesis addresses the societal impact of Communism, both during and after Stalinism, via the cultural manipulation of popular music in Polish film. I focus on the creation of the “mass song,” a propagandist musical genre generated in Poland in the early 1950s. These “mass songs” projected an optimistic message primarily focused on growth and progress after the devastation in which Poland was left after World War II. However, these mass songs emphasize the divide between their message of hope and optimism, versus the context of postwar struggle for many Poles. In turn, a layered sense of awareness of their culture existed for decades to follow.

Polish filmmaker Andrzej Wajda fought governmental restrictions on artistic expression in his trilogy: *Man of Marble* (1976) *Man of Iron* (1981), *Wałęsa—Man of Hope* (2013). *Man of Marble* was one of the first films to address Poland’s Stalinist past. Music is used in the films to deconstruct the projected truths often presented to the Polish public to influence their opinion of Communism and the state of their country. These efforts at perceptual manipulation were stifled, thanks in part to films such as Wajda’s, which contributed to the Communist regime’s demise in 1989.

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	III
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1. HISTORY AND CONTEXT.....	3
CHAPTER 2. <i>MAN OF MARBLE</i> .....	15
CHAPTER 3. <i>MAN OF IRON</i> .....	38
CHAPTER 4. <i>WAŁĘSA: MAN OF HOPE</i> .....	46
CONCLUSION.....	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	59
FILMS CITED.....	63

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I dedicate this work to my husband, Greg.

## Introduction

“We don’t talk about the Solidarity Movement.” Those are the words that my Polish relatives told me in August 2012 when I visited our ancestral village of Chrzanów, southeast of Katowice, Poland. A crystal award sat perched on their bookshelf honoring one of our relatives for his work during the Solidarity movement. However, when I asked to know more, my family did not want to continue the conversation.

Growing up in the United States, as a third-generation Polish American, my experience of the Solidarity movement was much different from that of my family who lived through the Solidarity period in Poland. My mother would tell us stories about the packages she would send to her Polish relatives, sewing money in the linings of coats in an attempt to reach the hands of those who needed it most. My mother would send saccharine instead of sugar because it weighed less than the latter, thus allowing for easier transport. Lastly, she sent a pair of bright yellow dress shoes, which we discovered had a long life in our Polish family: once received, the shoes were worn by several generations of young women in the family who needed them, stuffing newspaper in the front so they could fit.

My great grandmother, the woman who immigrated to the United States from Chrzanów, recorded any American coverage of the Solidarity movement on a VHS tape or cassette tape. She cut out and preserved any newspaper articles about her home country and the radical change Lech Wałęsa was bringing in the midst of the Cold War. She, like many Poles, was a faithful Roman Catholic and said countless decades of the rosary on their behalf. *Solidarność*, or the Solidarity Movement, connected our American side of the family to those still enduring in Poland.

While I did not personally experience these stories, they were passed on to me, even at a young age, to remind me of the different lifestyle I did not have to endure because of my American citizenship. But while I saw heroism in their actions, particularly as I saw this crystal award for their involvement in the movement, they responded with contempt. I longed to know why.

This is the basis from which I began my research. I quickly learned that Stalinism held a similar sense of taboo, not just from my family but also from film and popular culture, which I will detail during this thesis. When I mentioned this research to my Polish family, they were less than supportive; while I now sympathize with their perspective, I cannot say that I agree entirely with their stance on Cold War Poland. However, I did not experience the following lifestyle firsthand. My research derives from a primarily post-Cold War, American viewpoint, and the totalitarian cultural manipulation endured by Poles is an experience I have not lived. The following research hopes to shed light on a topic that showed decades of silent courage by millions of Poles, leading to an almost ten-year movement that aided in the end of the Cold War.

## Chapter 1. History and Context

Poland's history had been notoriously unstable during World War II and through the decades of Communism. Hitler invaded and defeated Poland in September 1939. The Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 was a heroic attempt on the behalf of the underground task force, the Polish "Home Army" of over 380,000 soldiers, to end the German occupation by reclaiming the capital city.<sup>1</sup> The failed uprising lasted over two months despite Hitler's orders for his troops to "kill all of the city's inhabitants, not take prisoners, and level Warsaw as an example for the rest of Europe."<sup>2</sup> In *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, historian Norman Davies details the retaliation as merciless:

[The German military's] energies were directed no less against the defenceless population than against the youthful insurgents...when the Soviet army finally advanced into [Warsaw's] ruins on 17 January 1945, a city which six years before had housed 1,289,000 inhabitants, did not contain a single living soul.<sup>3</sup>

The defeat of the Warsaw Uprising created an opportunity for Stalin to cease political control of the weakened country in the emerging Cold War era. After 1945, the Soviet-backed Communist reign in Poland created systematic poverty, food and housing shortages, and daily struggles such as long lines and empty stores. Tension grew and local communities began organizing protests, which led to arrests and no tangible

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<sup>1</sup> Steven Otfinoski, *Poland*, Second Edition (New York: Facts On File Publishing, 2004), 26.

<sup>2</sup> "Warsaw Uprising: A Timeline," accessed March 18, 2018, <http://www.warsawuprising.com/timeline.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 476-477.



resolutions. In December 1970, when the price of food and basic necessities increased by 36 percent overnight, unprecedented numbers of working-class Poles went on strike.<sup>4</sup> The protests, most of which originated in the coastal cities and spread across the country, ended in violence, casualties, fear, and anger.<sup>5</sup> In the Baltic city of Gdynia on December 17, 1970, protests in the city square escalated so much that after the local government officials failed to plead with the workers to return to work, armed police forces (the *milicja*) intervened and opened fire on the crowd.<sup>6</sup> The fatalities were devastating. An unnamed body was carried on a broken-down door through the Gdynia city square. This solemn, funeral-like procession, led by workers carrying a blood-streaked Polish flag, continued to gain followers as it moved through the city.



Image 1: Photo from Gdynia, December 17, 1970<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Malcolm Byrne and Andrzej Paczkowski, eds., *From Solidarity to Martial Law: the Polish Crisis of 1980-1981* (Central European University Press, 2007), xxix.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Postulat 22: Songs From the New Polish Labour [sic] Movement*, Folkways Records and Service Corporation FSS 37251, 1981, 33 1/3 RPM, liner notes.

<sup>7</sup> “Pochód mieszkańców Gdyni z ciałem Janka Wiśniewskiego (tak naprawdę Zbigniewa Godlewskiego) na ul. Czerwonych Kosynierów (obecnie Morska).” Digital image.

Polskie Radio, accessed February 1, 2018,

<https://www.polskieradio.pl/39/578/Galeria/280811/4>.

The unknown body, given the name Janek Wiśniewski, came to symbolize the many who were killed or injured on that day.

Tensions persisted into the 1980s. On August 14, 1980, when Edward Gierek's government again resolved to raise prices and freeze workers' wages, a non-violent strike in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk broke out, led by electrician Lech Wałęsa. The sixteen-day non-violent strike marked the first time that the Communist government conceded to a non-governmental body of people.<sup>8</sup> The strike also led to the formation of the first independent trade union in Poland – or anywhere else in the Soviet Bloc, for that matter.<sup>9</sup> The Solidarność Independent Trade Union continued to grow in popularity among Poles; the following year in December millions of Poles went on strike, effectively bringing the country's infrastructure to a halt. When the Polish government seemingly lost control of its people, Soviet forces threatened to intervene. On December 13, 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared Martial Law, surrendering all Polish governmental control over the country.<sup>10</sup> Phone lines were cut, highway access was limited, and curfews were enforced across Poland.<sup>11</sup> In retrospect, the imposition of Martial Law was the result of growing tension over the decades between Soviet control over the Polish government and the Polish people.

In the cultural realm, Poland slowly rebuilt its artistic output, despite major political restrictions on the arts during the early postwar era, and especially after the

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<sup>8</sup> Byrne and Paczkowski, *From Solidarity to Martial Law*, 3-4.

<sup>9</sup> John Yves Potel, *The Promise of Solidarity* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), 227.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 228-229.

<sup>11</sup> Konstanty Gerbert, "An Independent Society: Poland Under Martial Law," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 355.

imposition of Socialist Realism between 1949-1956.<sup>12</sup> Socialist Realism was the Soviet-led cultural policy whose goal was to control the government's artistic output and message to the working masses.<sup>13</sup> Such cultural control influenced the entire Eastern Bloc in myriad ways following its imposition in the USSR in the 1930s. In October 1932, Stalin coined the term "Socialist Realism" designating art that would be "national in form" and "socialist in content."<sup>14</sup>

Socialist Realism bled through all aspects of Polish society, not only the arts. For example, it was common for students and workers to be called to "volunteer" for Stalinist-celebrated exhibits and other Communist events. The Union of Fine Arts, for example, paid such "volunteer" work handsomely.<sup>15</sup> Many composers admitted to bending to the will of Stalinist creative control in order to survive<sup>16</sup> In this way, basic human needs made a level of Socialist Realism possible across society.

Supporters of Socialist Realism in Poland rallied support for the new regime by advocating for "good music" for the people. The shifting definitions of what "good music" entailed made it virtually impossible for composers to comply. As Anne Applebaum explains in *Iron Curtain: the Crushing of Eastern Europe*, by the late 1940s,

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<sup>12</sup> The PWM Music Publishing Company and the Polish Composers' Union (ZKP) were established in Poland during the early postwar years. Several orchestras, both large- and smaller-scale, offered opportunities for Polish music to resurface and encourage "a new Poland" to rise from the war's ashes. See Adrian Thomas, *Polish Music Since Szymanowski* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 40.

<sup>13</sup> Janina Falkowska, *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 57.

<sup>14</sup> Marina Frolova-Walker, "'National in Form, Socialist in Content': Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republic," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 363.

<sup>15</sup> Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012), 543.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, *Polish Music Since Szymanowski*, 55.

“in practice, cultural bureaucrats used their constantly evolving definition of what was ‘good’ Socialist Realism in order to keep artists and intellectuals under control.”<sup>17</sup> While it initially seemed like the Soviet-backed communist leadership was advocating for Polish culture, they were, in fact, working to regulate Polish society.

In order to maintain control over music, Polish musicians were discouraged from composing in a “formalist” style. Formalism, described by David G. Thompkins within the context of postwar Stalinism, refers to “the formal aspects of a work of art [that command] more importance than the subject matter, or content.”<sup>18</sup> Through time, however, “formalism” evolved into a term which described more experimental techniques, such as twelve-tone music and/or a lack of tonal centrality.<sup>19</sup> The fight against formalism did not begin in Poland post-World War II. In the Weimar Republic, contemporary theatrical works were discouraged beginning in the 1930s.<sup>20</sup> Even then, formalism was difficult to pinpoint. Atonal music (or music which pushed traditional musical boundaries) was an easy target, as forging a gap between higher-level music (i.e. formalism) and other aurally-accessible music.

As for the overreaching goal of making music accessible, the Socialist Realism doctrine demanded simple harmonic language and transparent structure, and in vocal music—especially the mass song—, socially proactive lyrics oriented toward boosting morale and building an “idyllic utopia” that Stalin desired. In *Polish Music Since Szymanowski*, Adrian Thomas defines the mass song as an easily accessible song

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<sup>17</sup> Applebaum, *Iron Curtain*, 541.

<sup>18</sup> David G. Thompkins, *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press), 18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Applebaum, *Iron Curtain*, 338.

“[functioning to encourage the] worker and peasant to achieve greater achievements at time of material and national crisis.”<sup>21</sup>

Musically, mass songs used simple tonal chord progressions, mostly fluctuating between the tonic and the dominant chords. Recordings of mass song were performed by groups of singers, conveying the subliminal message that the songs met with the approval of the masses. The song lyrics focused on building a new society, abundance, and community, and bright national future. However, the historical reality was far different from this optimistic message.

Polish film director Andrzej Wajda (1926-2016) made his life’s work to create films centered around difficult, even taboo, national topics, including the devastating consequences of World War II and Stalinism. For example, Wajda’s film, *Katyń* (2007) addressed the Katyń Massacre by the Soviets of Polish prisoner of war soldiers and officers—a massacre had been not talked about openly until the early 2000s.<sup>22</sup> Wajda’s films based on literary adaptations, for which he is revered, such as *Danton* (1983), still allude to unjustified bloodshed under restricted government control.<sup>23</sup> While not all of his films focus on war and civil injustices, Wajda often blazed a path for other filmmakers to tackle controversial topics.

Wajda’s drama film *Man of Marble* (1976, *Człowiek z Marmuru*) was one of the very first attempts at dealing with the Stalinist past during Communism. Set in the then present-day Poland, *Man of Marble* tells the story of film student Agnieszka working on her master’s thesis project on Mateusz Birkut, a *przewodnik pracy* (model worker)

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas, *Polish Music Since Szymanowski*, 50.

<sup>22</sup> “Katyń,” <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0879843/>, accessed April 25, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> “Danton,” <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0083789/>, accessed April 25, 2018.

known for his record-breaking feat of laying 30,000 bricks in one shift in the 1950s. Agnieszka is advised to find a different topic for her film for, as she is told, “nobody has touched the 1950s.” Both the government and the Polish people avoid discussing the Stalinist era, due to the ideological manipulation and Soviet control of Poland and the often degrading aesthetic demands on serious artists during that time. Nevertheless, in the film, Agnieszka persists. Her research through archival material leads her to discover shelved footage about Birkut.

We, as viewers, follow Birkut’s journey alongside Agnieszka through black-and-white 1950s newsreel footage (Wajda’s film-within-the-film). Communist powers led to Birkut’s rise and fall in society, as he himself began to question the forces that controlled him. As Agnieszka approaches the truth of Birkut’s demise too closely, she is warned to stop her efforts before she uncovers too much. She neglects these warnings and seeks out Birkut himself. On her roundabout journey, she discovers that Birkut has died, but meets his son Maciej Tomczyk and brings him with her to the film academy.

The significance of *Man of Marble* is manifold. It was the first Polish film to tackle the repressed Stalinist past in which the central character was actively seeking answers to questions that no one else had been asking: What had become of the former *przewodnik pracy* after Stalinism ended, and more importantly, why hasn’t the Stalinist period been talked about openly in Polish culture?

*Man of Iron*, the second film in what later became a trilogy, was released in 1981. The film picks up where *Man of Marble* left off except that the political and social context had changed significantly in just a few short years. In *Man of Iron* Birkut himself has passed away, but his son, Maciej Tomczyk, following in his father’s legacy of

activism, becomes involved in local social movements (later known as the Solidarity movement). We follow Tomczyk's involvement during the critical August 1980 strikes, as well as the police raids and arrests that ensued during this fictional character's time. Even though his character was fictional, his actions (and the actions done to him) represented an ever-present reality at the time in Poland. Social activists and open members of the Solidarity movement were susceptible to arrests and detainment at any time. As *Man of Iron* follows the struggles of the Solidarność members through the August 1980 strikes, it urges the viewer to think about the breadth and depth of what is being hidden from the public, and in turn, ask: "why is the truth being manipulated?"

Decades later, Wajda completed his film trilogy by creating *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* in 2013. The film focuses on Lech Wałęsa and his personal journey as a trailblazer for the new, post-Communist Poland. Throughout the film, Wałęsa—played by Robert Więkiewicz—is being interviewed by the renowned Italian journalist and interviewer Oriana Fallaci. Wajda depicts Wałęsa as poised and unfazed by Fallaci's questions, openly telling her when he does not want to answer a question (or answer it in the way she wants him to). We see his journey through the 1960s and 1970s, both personally and politically, as he is arrested multiple times for his involvement in protests and political activity. While some of the film's details are fictionalized, the underlying thesis is that Wałęsa was arrested many times as he sought to create change and uprising for his Polish compatriots. After decades of struggle, his goal was realized for all of Poland: to abolish Communist rule.

All three of Wajda's films grapple with fears about the government infringing upon human rights that existed during the Communist era. Poles lived with a dual-layered

sense of reality where their truthful experience was misrepresented in songs and films of that era. While Poles experienced basic deprivation, song and film touted abundance and growth; such conflicting cultural realities are best dramatized in *Man of Marble* but also present in the other two films. Because of such contradictory realities, multiple generations of Poles who lived during the post-war Communist era developed a “doublethink” mentality—a concept developed by George Orwell in his famous dystopian novel *1984*—where two contradicting ideas could exist simultaneously.

The issue of cultural misrepresentation—or the dichotomy of what I will call “Manifest Truth” (i.e. the everyday experiences of Poles under Communism) versus “Constructed Truth” (i.e. the representation of those experiences by cultural propaganda)—is the central question of my thesis. The postwar struggle of power and influence in Poland (dominated by Soviet forces) created a muddled sense of what was “Polish reality,” due to propaganda imposed by Communism. Soviet influence dominated the informational output for Poles in sources like news, art, music, and film. Therefore, it was difficult to discern the struggles Poles faced, as media were misrepresenting and often bluntly contradicting what Poles were experiencing. It is impossible to prove the tension and the degree to which Manifest and Constructed Truths were experienced by all Poles during the Cold War. My thesis will inevitably provide only a generalizable account of that experience by engaging with Wajda’s films as cultural texts. However, use of historical and contemporary songs in these films provide “hermeneutic windows” that allow us to gain a bird’s-eye view of differing experiences in Cold War Poland.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The expression “hermeneutic window” is Lawrence Kramer’s. See his *Music as a Cultural Practice 1800-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.



The concept of differing personal realities from its socio-cultural representation is not exclusive to Poland. However, the Communist government's calculated misrepresentation of reality in Poland created a great divide at points in their postwar history. In *Polish National Cinema*, Marek Haltof states that "the recurrent themes and stereotypes [that existed] in Polish cinema of the Stalinist period do not reflect the attitudes of Polish society, but rather the perspective of the communist authorities."<sup>25</sup> Such manipulations of Poland's common social realities in film and other media were direct attempts to influence the country's economic and social progress during the Cold War. Stalinism attempted to create and establish alternate paradigms of existence in Polish culture that were contradictory to the reality they were facing. In making *Man of Marble* in 1976, about the Stalinist era of the 1950s, Andrzej Wajda shed light on this very phenomenon—both past and present—, and music was played a direct role in articulating the dichotomy between propaganda—Constructed Truth—and the reality of privation—Manifest Truth.

*Man of Marble* uses a blend of Stalinist-era songs and original music composed and arranged by film composer Andrzej Korzyński (b. 1940). Korzyński's film score relies on 1970s-era Moog synthesizer sounds along with echo-quality vocals (singing "ha" as accompaniment). Korzyński's stylistic choices make his composed music sound dated, which works in his favor: for example, when used after a Stalinist song in the film, this 1970s-era sound is extremely effective at drawing a clear distinction between music composed specifically for the film to signify the present (i.e. the 1970s) and the intentionally chosen Socialist Realist propaganda music to signify Poland of the 1950s.

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<sup>25</sup> Marek Haltof, *Polish National Cinema* (New York: Berghahn Books), 69.

Korzyński's *Man of Iron* uses less music in general, either due to the haste of its creation or due to creative choice is yet to be determined. Two main groups of music also arise from the film: contemporary songs of the 1980s and original score by Korzyński. Haunting strings play a simple, minor keyed-melody at a few choice moments in the film, and Korzyński samples these musical motifs using 1970s synthesizer sounds. Like the stylistic contrast found in the music for *Man of Marble*, the synthesizer use in *Man of Iron* contrasts the simple acoustic guitar songs recorded from (or derivative of) the Solidarity Trade Union strikes of 1980-1981.

The Solidarity movement is still a controversial topic in Poland, for reasons we will explore in this thesis. Given the lack of extensive research in the English language on this topic, my thesis is mostly limited to translated materials and books written in the English language, as I am not fluent in Polish. For this reason, I cannot for example detail the historically documented creative dialogue between Andrzej Wajda and Andrzej Korzyński. However, Korzyński's musical initiatives in the first two films provide a cultural context diverse enough to create a clear-cut difference in musical allusions for the viewer. Even more so, the stylistic differences made these musical allusions as clear as night and day for a Polish viewer during the Cold War: the subtle use of contemporary musical stylings contrasted the perceived abundance (*Man of Marble*) or the even bleaker reality (*Man of Iron*).

*Wałęsa: Man of Hope*, the last film in Wajda's *Man of...* trilogy, solely uses real-life popular music from the 1980s and 1990s to either contradict the visual backdrop Wajda uses or to support the actions being depicted in the scene. Since the film was produced over thirty years after the Solidarity Trade Union's creation and over twenty

years after the collapse of the Iron Curtain, no governmental restrictions were placed on the selections of songs, or how they were to be used. However, we will explore in this thesis why such a large gap of time from the Solidarity movement may have been detrimental to the film's reception in Poland. Nevertheless, music in *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* has the same objective of the other two films in the trilogy: highlight the contradictory voices existing in Poland's history, from postwar Poland to today.

Chapter One will deconstruct some of the musical examples used by Korzyński and Wajda in *Man of Marble* as well as a brief film synopsis. Chapter Two will explore the political context in which *Man of Iron* was created, as well as the musical examples in the film itself. Chapter Three focuses on the shift in perspective between the first two films and *Wałęsa: Man of Hope*. Despite the decades of cultural changes that took place in Poland, the damage done by Communist attempts for cultural influence still exists in different topics pertaining to Stalinism, Communism and the Solidarity movement. Wajda's *Man of...* film trilogy helps to highlight these conflicting viewpoints while also providing a cultural context for non-Polish viewers and younger generations of Poles who may not fully comprehend the profound effect of *Solidarność* on the Eastern Bloc.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> In his interview with Anna Krakus, Andrzej Wajda says that his primary objective in creating *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* was to remind the Polish people, specifically youth, the importance of Lech Wałęsa and *Solidarność*. See "The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship: An Interview with Andrzej Wajda," Anna Krakus, *Cinéaste* 39, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 9.

## Chapter 2. *Man of Marble*

In *Man of Marble* (1976), the main character, Agnieszka, searches for the truth behind the disappearance from the public eye of Mateusz Birkut, a fictional bricklayer whose claim to fame was laying 30,000 bricks during one shift. Agnieszka, a film student, explores shelved newsreel footage, seeking reasons behind Birkut's erasure from history. Andrzej Wajda combines historical newsreel footage with his newly created documentaries for the film (hereafter "pseudo-documentaries") imitating Stalinist propaganda films of the early 1950s. As Marek Haltof explains in *Polish National Cinema*, "[In *Man of Marble*] Wajda employs authentic black-and-white newsreels, a number of flashbacks in color, and skillfully made black-and-white pseudo-documentaries and newsreels that are virtually undistinguishable from the real ones."<sup>27</sup> In addition to actual newsreel footage, Wajda interspersed actual mass songs of the day, as a primary means of representing Constructed Truths mapped onto Polish reality of the time.

*Man of Marble* opens with one such pseudo-documentary film. A young man, who looks thin but healthy, is shown laying bricks. A snare drum accompanies a trumpet fanfare and a jubilant chorus of male and female voices begin to sing a march-like song. The film seems like a quick summary of multiple events, complemented by joyful music. We do not know who this bricklayer is, but the music suggests some positive associations for the viewer: due to the chorus of male and female voices, we, as the listener, feel a sense of unity. The snare drum and march tempo make the unknowing viewer believe

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<sup>27</sup> Marek Haltof, *Polish National Cinema*, 209.

that the song is a positive one, enforcing the smiling faces and parades being flashed across the movie screen. While we will explore the opening scene's accompanying music later, it is important to note how much the music sets the tone: our initial interpretation of these images (which we see later on in the film) is one of positivity, happiness, vibrancy and excitement. Wajda's use of music and images does not go without notice. The montage slowly integrates images from real-life 1950s propaganda films but ends with Birkut's photo being removed from a large stadium building. We, as the viewer, do not know what happened until Agnieszka finds the answer to this question later in the film.

The film cuts abruptly to a young woman briskly walking down a hallway with a well-dressed man in a suit and glasses. The jubilant song, while still playing in the background, is quieter and now has a reverberant, echoing quality. The man is anxiously telling the woman that she should not pursue a film focusing on 1950s Poland. The same song takes an ethereal quality at this moment, quietly haunting the scene, suggesting additional questions: "what lies ahead if she does, in fact, pursue the project? What is being hidden that this man does not want her to discover?" In the opening montage the music shifts roles from supportive to evocative, foreshadowing an alternate Manifest Truth which our main character seeks to uncover.

Agnieszka pushes onward for answers and discovers a documentary (one of Wajda's pseudo-documentaries), *Oni Budują Nasze Szczęście* [*Building our happiness*]. This pseudo-documentary begins with an orchestral swell of music in a romantic, waltz-like style underscoring the image of a well-dressed crowd dancing at an elegant New Year's Eve party. As the clock strikes midnight, the camera closes on Mateusz Birkut, our main character, embracing a beautiful woman in joy for the dawning of 1950. The

film fades from the glittering party to gritty, lower-quality real-life footage of small homes with straw roofs in a humble village. The waltz music is replaced with a spirited march, cheerfully sung by a mixed chorus. An older woman wearing a floral babushka feeds chickens with a young toddler assisting her. This shot strongly contrasts the preceding shots of a sophisticated New Year's Eve party.

We learn that our main character, Birkut, lived in this fictional “poor village” and joined the throngs of other men in the quest to build Nowa Huta, an up-and-coming Polish city, around an incoming steel mill. Birkut joins the countless men clamoring happily into an open train car, playing music on an accordion and waving farewell to their loved ones. The jubilant march continues seamlessly, accompanying the actual, real-life propaganda footage of soon-to-be Nowa Huta: an entire miniature model of the potential city's layout; droves of men walking single-file to begin work; and large construction equipment laying the foundation for buildings. The context is set— history is clearly being made by these men—, and the energy is palpable: we, as viewers, want to be a part of it in some way.

Wajda's pseudo-documentary footage seamlessly fades from the previous real-life (documentary film) footage as it details the journey of the average bricklayer, from his clean housing accommodations to his leisurely downtime playing card games and reading books. The honorable title of “builder of Nowa Huta” is a term that does not come lightly, according to the film's male narrator. Birkut and his classmates study intensively to earn the education needed for a “builder of Nowa Huta.” Birkut's future wife is a fellow “youth volunteer” to the Nowa Huta cause, feeding the working men throughout the day. Birkut's spotlight shines brighter as he becomes the idyllic Nowa Huta worker:

because of his dedication to the cause, he has a solid job, a wife, and now an apartment that he himself worked to build. The film makes the viewer think, “who wouldn’t want to work towards such a life?”

Wajda so excellently crafted the *Building Our Happiness* pseudo-documentary in a way that both closely mirrors the period propaganda films and also conveys subtle subversive messaging to the Polish viewers. While filmmakers could not openly denounce Stalinism at the time, Wajda utilized an asset of his knowing Polish audiences.<sup>28</sup> In a 2013 interview, Wajda admitted that he knew the unique, captive audience he had in the Cold War Polish viewer, which worked to his advantage:

People were going to the cinema for relaxation...people who are unhappy with reality. For [our Polish audience], every critical nuance in the film, the smallest suggestion of nonacceptance, or expression of political dissent, would be grasped. That is what creates a socially engaged cinema in totalitarian countries... We had a viewership that was well-informed. Everything that didn’t rhyme well with the worldview they had learned in school or through the media was clear to them... It was collaboration; we knew that we were communicating to our audience.<sup>29</sup>

*Building our Happiness* paralleled the actual real-life propaganda film *Kierunek Nowa Huta* [*Destination Nowa Huta*]. Released in 1951, *Kierunek Nowa Huta* told the story of the average, impoverished village outside of Krakow. The black-and-white film grew gritty as the narrator described said village and its people who “defected from these villages to earn [a small amount of food].”<sup>30</sup> This gritty, lower-quality footage of small

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<sup>28</sup> Marek Haltof, *Polish National Cinema*, 211.

<sup>29</sup> Wajda, “The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship,” 8.

<sup>30</sup> *Kierunek-Nowa Huta!*, filmstrip.

straw-roofed homes is the exact material found in Wajda’s pseudo-documentary. The image of the older babushka-wearing woman is reproduced to match a similar image in *Kierunek Nowa Huta*.

We, as viewers, contextualize *Man of Marble*’s main character, Mateusz Birkut, as a previous resident of this dilapidated village outside of Krakow. Although Birkut is a fictional character, the village is not, thus grounding Wajda’s efforts to anchor his pseudo-documentary in the bleak reality of the 1950s Poland. In *Man of Marble*, Birkut courageously volunteers to leave this small village and help build the fledgling Nowa Huta, alongside hundreds of other men. Consistent visual sampling of *Kierunek- Nowa Huta* (as well as its incredibly similar plot line) is further supported using Stalinist propaganda songs.

Among examples of Wajda’s use of Stalinist mass songs is the primary musical theme for *Building Our Happiness*—a “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie”, a real-life mass song popular from the height of Socialist Realist period. The song speaks of the industrial efforts towards Nowa Huta, a Polish city intended to represent the Stalinist regime.

The translated text for the refrain is:

**Piosenka o Nowej Hucie (Song of Nowa Huta)**<sup>31</sup>

<b><u>Polish</u></b>	<b><u>English</u></b>
O Nowej to Hucie piosenka, o Nowej to Hucie melodia, Jest taka prosta i piękna i taka najmiłsza z melodii. O Nowej to Hucie piosenka, o Nowej to Hucie są słowa, Jest taka prosta i piękna	The song is about Nowa Huta, The melody of Nowa Huta. It’s so simple and beautiful And this is the nicest melody. The song is about Nowa Huta, The words are about Nowa Huta. It’s so simple and beautiful

<sup>31</sup> Translation by Wojciech Karkoszka.



i nowa jak Huta jest nowa.	And as new as Nowa Huta.
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The melody (and chord progression) is:

The musical score consists of six staves of music in 3/4 time, B-flat major. The lyrics are in Polish and English. The chord progression is indicated above the notes.

Staff 1: I  
O Now - ej to Huc - ie pio - sen -

Staff 2: I/III #II dim7 V V  
ka, o Now ej to Huc - ie mel - o - dia. Jest tak - a

Staff 3: V V7 V7  
pro - sta i pię - kna i tak - a naj - mil - sza z'mel -

Staff 4: I I I  
o - dii. O Now - ej to Huc - ie pio - sen - ka, o

Staff 5: I/III II m V I  
Now - ej to Huc - ie są sło - wa, jest ta - ka pro - sta i pięć -

Staff 6: I aug II m V I  
na, i no - wa ja Hu - ta jest no - wa.

The text embodied “idyllic Socialist Realism”: its descriptive language paints a picture of a beautiful new city, representing newness for the country and its people. Its sweeping, waltz-like melody with encouraging text romanticizes the fledgling industrial city (and the efforts needed for its creation). Its structure is very simple, predominantly using I-V-I as its overarching progression. The simplicity of the song aids to convey the

“Constructed Truth”: Nowa Huta leads the way in progress and growth for “a new Poland”.

Historically, Nowa Huta was one of the most important cultural projects of the Stalinist era: its intent was to create an entire city based within a Soviet paradigm, in contrast to the ancient capital city of Kraków, about fourteen kilometers or 8.5 miles to the East. As a matter of fact, the decision to build a steel mill-centered town in Nowa Huta was architects’ deliberate attempt to “change the character of Kraków.”<sup>32</sup> The reality was bleaker: contrary to the image of a newly-built city lauded in the Socialist Realist song, pollution from the Nowa Huta steel mills damaged and blackened the centuries-old buildings in nearby cities, including Kraków.<sup>33</sup> As a result, Stalinism permanently changed the face of Poland, literally and figuratively.

“Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” boasted an air of self-assurance and focused on the Stalinist “model city.” Openly identifying Nowa Huta by proclaiming, “this is a song about Nowa Huta” only crystallizes its intended, overtly optimistic message. In hindsight, it seems almost as if the intended subtext was: “this is the anthem we hope to associate with Nowa Huta.” There is no questioning the connection between the “beautiful melody” and the flowing text, since the text itself addresses it.

“Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” is sampled numerous times throughout Wajda’s pseudo-documentary *Building Our Happiness*, both with and without the text. Film viewers might wonder why Wajda would use such a song for the basis of his pseudo-documentary (considering its strongly Stalinist undertones), but Wajda must have been

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<sup>32</sup> Applebaum, *Iron Curtain*, 365.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

keenly aware of the song's context and used the song to authenticate his pseudo-documentary and correlate the manipulated film content with prevalent mass songs of the time.

In *Building Our Happiness* Wajda guides us alongside Birkut as he ventures to his next life chapter: a youth worker ready to build Nowa Huta. As he boards a train car with hundreds of other young Polish men, the music becomes jubilant: snare drums and a trumpet fanfare introduce a choir singing a march-style song:

Znów się pieśń na u - stach rwie: S - P, hej, S - P,

Nie - roz - łą - czne sio - stry dwie, S - P, hej, S - P.

Szu - mem wa - bi sin - y mor - za brzeg, wzy - wa pieśń War - sza - wy,

Ryt - mem ło - pat roz - dzro - nim - y wnet pia - sto - skie szła - ki sła - wy.

This melody is “Hymn Służby Polsce” (“Polish Youth Hymn”), a Socialist Realist song composed to boost morale in young Polish citizens. The “Służby Polsce (SP),” or “Polish Youth,” was a pre-military Communist youth organization aimed at encouraging the youth (ages 16-21) to join forces through military education, physical exercises and

instruction of Communist ideology.<sup>34</sup> The pre-military organization, officially created in 1948, encouraged Polish youth to work and rebuild war-torn regions in exchange for food and housing, without pay. Within one year of its creation, the SP had enlisted over 1.2 million Polish youth.<sup>35</sup>

Multiple government-led youth organizations developed in Poland throughout the following decade, including the *Związek Młodzieży Polskiej* (ZMP), or the Association of Polish Youth. The ZMP organization was an ongoing effort to recruit Polish youth.<sup>36</sup> Joining the ZMP meant leaving one's home and family to travel and build a new project; in 1952, it namely meant building the new fledgling city of Nowa Huta and other community projects.

Many of youth workers came from impoverished villages and joined the youth movements that were promising a future of growth and prosperity. Many of them had no other choice or prospect than to join. Like the composers of mass songs, their actions were motivated by the primal need for food and shelter, despite the pushback against such Communist organizations. Cultural acceptance of the SP and ZMP were crucial, and musical examples like "Hymn Służby Polsce" attempted to foster such acceptance in mass Polish culture.

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<sup>34</sup> *Powstanie "Służby Polsce,"* accessed March 14, 2018, <http://dzieje.pl/aktualnosci/powstanie-sluzby-polsce>.

<sup>35</sup> "65 lat temu powstała 'Służba Polsce'—bezpłatna siła robocza komunistycznego państwa," accessed March 14, 2018, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/65-lat-temu-powstala-sluzba-polsce-bezplatna-sila-robocza-komunistycznego-panstwa-6031592384951425a>.

<sup>36</sup> "Związek Młodzieży Polskiej," Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany/38479,ul-Zwiazku-Mlodziezy-Polskiej-ZMP.html#>.

Musically, the song is a jubilant march with a text elaborating on “building the ‘new’ Poland”. The lyrics to “Hymn Służby Polsce” are:

**Hymn Służby Polsce (Polish Youth Hymn)**<sup>37</sup>

<b><u>Polish</u></b>	<b><u>English</u></b>
<p>Znów się pieśń na ustach rwie - SP, hej, SP,            Nerozłączne siostry dwie, młodzież i SP.            Szumem wabi siny morza brzeg,            wzywa pieśń Warszawy,            Rytmem łopat rozdzwonimy wnet piastowskie            szlaki sławy.</p>	<p>The song is again on lips- SP, hey, SP,            Inseparable two sisters, youth and SP.            The seashore entices with its sound,            The song of Warsaw is calling.            By the shovel rhythm, the Piast Routes of            fame will be ringing soon.</p>
<p>Nie lęka się pracy, nie - SP, hej, SP,            Bo swą przyszłość widzi w niej SP, hej SP.            Dalej z nami fundamenty kłaść pod gmach            Polski nowy,            Maszeruje rozśpiewana brać w przyszłości            świat tęczowy.</p>	<p>They're not afraid of work, no- SP, hey, SP,            They see their future in SP, hey SP.            Come with us to lay the foundations for the            new building of Poland,            The singing brethren marches into the future            rainbow world.</p>
<p>Zmiata zgniłych czasów pnie –            SP, hej, SP,            Znika ból i gniew, gdzie idzie SP.</p>	<p>They wipe the rotten times' stumps off-            SP, hey, SP,            Where SP goes, there pain and anger            disappear.</p>
<p>Służba Polsce święty sztandar nasz,            celem dobro ludu            I nad Odrą czujnie trzyma straż,            w pracy dokonać cudów.</p>	<p>Service to Poland is our holy banner,            The welfare of people is our purpose,            And to stand guard on the Oder River,            To work miracles on duty.</p>

“Hymn Służby Polsce” made every appeal to the Polish youth with references to their homeland. The lyric “the song of Warsaw is calling” is the attempt to create the city’s devastation into an opportunity to build something new; however, one struggles to completely disregard the terror inflicted upon the country’s capital just a few short years

<sup>37</sup> Translation by Wojciech Karkoszka.

earlier. The song seeks to establish a “Constructed Truth” of potential for rebuilding and healing from past wounds. For example, promising a brotherhood “[marching] into the future rainbow world” is profoundly encouraging on several levels: first, the concept of the country joining forces to rebuild and create growth is inspiring enough. The allusion to a “rainbow world” could also be considered an allusion to Poland’s popular Roman Catholic faith tradition. In the Bible, the instance of a rainbow meant that God would never bring that much natural damage to the world again. Referring to the potential of “[the] new Poland” as a “rainbow world” is a powerful image to propose.

Additional religious allusions (“Service to Poland is our holy banner”; “...to work miracles on duty”) would also appeal to the Polish practice of Roman Catholicism. These concise lyrics are well-written for their audience, as they promise a golden road to recovery and renewal for a country that was damaged and broken by war. But these promises for healing and transformation still existed on the context of a broken Poland. Even the photos of “SP” youth are juxtaposed with their glowing, smiling faces amongst dilapidated, war-torn backdrops.



Figure 1: Smiling Służby Polsce members in front of a building with broken windows<sup>38</sup>.



Figure 2: Warsaw after the Warsaw Uprising, 1944<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> “Członkowie SP (Służba Polsce) - okolice pałacyku przy ulicy Kazimierza Wielkiego. Z arch. Pani Krystyny Ohlin,” Digital image, Wirtualny Dom Historii Gorzowa, accessed February 25, 2018, <http://gorzowhistoria.pl/galerie/lata-80/lata-50/gorzow-213#joomimg>.

<sup>39</sup> Joe J. Heydecker, “Ulica Marszałkowska,” digital image, *Warsaw Uprising Online*, accessed April 13, 2018, <http://www.warsawuprising.com/media/warsawuprisingphotos11.htm>.

Numerous geographic allusions in the song also pinpoint specific parts of Poland, most of which have important historical meaning. For example, the “Piast Routes of fame” reference ruins of medieval castles.<sup>40</sup> The Piast Routes, located in southwest Poland, are indeed well-known and are still a tourist attraction to this day. Referencing the Piast Routes is an attempt to garner Polish pride, although the Piast Routes were controlled by the Soviet government during this time.<sup>41</sup> The doublethink mentality was present in both references, as they remind the Polish people of their previous points of pride, while also subtly reminding them of the loss of control they had on their country.

The final geographical reference, the Oder River, alludes to the river in southwestern Poland. The Oder river accounts for 116 miles of the border between Germany and Poland.<sup>42</sup> “[Standing] guard at the Oder River” makes sense to Poles in this historical context, as previously it had been run by both the German and Soviet forces.<sup>43</sup> The song’s declaration of the Polish Youth (“SP”) guarding the river (i.e. guarding a major portion of the Polish border) instills nationalistic pride, especially against German forces who had only rescinded control of Poland a few years prior. However, the Soviet forces “surrendered” the control of the Oder River to Poland in 1946, although the country was under Soviet rule by the time “Hymn Służby Polsce” was composed.<sup>44</sup> The dual-layer mentality on a lyric such as this created a false sense of ownership and pride in

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<sup>40</sup> Paulina Wojtyniak, “The Piast Routes,” accessed March 20, 2018, [http://powiat.konin.pl/en/225/341/the\\_piast\\_route](http://powiat.konin.pl/en/225/341/the_piast_route).

<sup>41</sup> “Wielkopolskie,” *The Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, accessed March 20, 2018,

<sup>42</sup> “Oder River,” *The Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, accessed March 20, 2018,

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Józef Dolina, “Poland’s Foreign Trade and Related Economic Treaties and Agreements, 1945-1955,” *The Polish Review* 1, no. 4 (Autumn 1956): 81.



Polish listeners, since Stalinism had gradually increased their influential control over the country.

When compared to “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie,” the “Hymn Służby Polsce” romanticizes the rebuilding of Polish society. However, both songs do not reflect how the Polish reality was experienced. Poles who had lost everything were forced to offer free labor, especially the generation of Poles aged 16-21. The “Hymn Służby Polsce” was one of many attempts to harness and rhapsodize the power of the youth volunteering to rebuild the nation. Therefore, “Hymn Służby Polsce” was an attempt to boost morale and gain support for the working masses.

The melody and harmonic progression for “Hymn Służby Polsce” is:

The musical score for "Hymn Służby Polsce" is presented in four staves of music. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is written in treble clef. Roman numerals above the notes indicate the harmonic progression. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Staff 1: I I I V I  
 Znów się pieśń na u - stach rwie: S - P, hej, S - P,

Staff 2: I I I V I  
 Nie - roz - łą - czne sio - stry dwie, S - P, hej, S - P.

Staff 3: IV V IV V I V  
 Szu - mem wa - bi sin - y mor - za brzeg, wzy - wa pieśń War - sza - wy,

Staff 4: I IV V I V I7 I  
 Ryt - mem ło - pat roz - dzro - nim - y wnet pia - sto - skie szła - ki sła - wy.

Similar to “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie”, the “Hymn’s” harmonic structure alternates between I-IV-V-I as its chord progression. In popular recordings of “Hymn Służby Polsce”, a rousing march accompanies a large chorus of unified voices, both men and

women, singing the melody excitedly. The mixed chorus also creates a sense of relatability in those who listen and sing themselves, create a sense of belonging.

“Hymn Służby Polsce” continues as the soundtrack for our character, Birkut, as he leaves his small town (as described in Figure 3) to join the ranks of the Polish Youth. We see footage of numerous young people clamoring to board a train, including a wide-eyed, bewildered Birkut. However, upon comparing both film samples more closely, we discover that Wajda, again, combines real-life newsreel footage with his own fictional (“pseudo”) documentary film. Figure 3 shows a brief example of men clamoring upon one another to board the train car. However, the “ZMP” logo is slightly different, thus revealing it as real-life newsreel footage. While difficult to see, the logo is on the right-hand side of the train car and is shaped mostly like a square or rectangle with thin, brisk, vertical letters.



Figure 3: Screenshot from *Man of Marble*/Actual footage (ZMP logo circled in red)<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> “Człowiek z Marmuru,” accessed December 28, 2017.

Moments later, Wajda cuts to a close-up of the same spot, except this time the ZMP logo is now on the left-hand side of the car train (see Figure 4). It looks rounder and features the ZMP logo with stylized, slanted letters.



Figure 4: ZMP Logo on Wajda's footage<sup>46</sup>

While these two instances might not seem important, they are: Wajda used the “Hymn Służby Polsce” to seamlessly connect the fictional film with the real 1950s propaganda film footage. Wajda goes one step further by replicating actual film footage of the era and integrating Birkut’s character into the scene. It isn’t until later in the film that Wajda begins to share a story which deviates from the seamless propaganda montage of his pseudo-documentary, thus bringing the viewer ever closer to the reality behind the veil of Soviet Socialist propaganda.

Both “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” and “Hymn Służby Polsce” are used in Wajda’s pseudo-documentary; while the former song sets the tone of *Building Our Happiness*, the latter is used as bookends for the entire *Man of Marble* film. “Hymn Służby Polsce” accompanies the introductory montage (as described earlier) and at the final moments of the scene. For this reason, “Hymn Służby Polsce” is the musical motif of Birkut’s

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<sup>46</sup>“Człowiek z Marmuru,” accessed December 28, 2017.

character as he rises into Polish society. Once he becomes one of the acclaimed “Nowa Huta Workers” (as so described in “Hymn Służby Polsce”), “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” becomes his underlying soundtrack music. Whether Wajda uses the text or simply the instrumental melody, the lilting, romantic-sounding “Piosenka” follows Birkut through a successful Nowa Huta life, including the moment he and his wife move into an apartment he helped to build.

Using the mass songs not only provided a smooth transition between the real-life newsreels and Wajda’s pseudo-documentaries, but also provided an opportunity to choose which visual elements accompanied them. As Janina Falkowska explains in *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda*, “the artistic manipulation of the facts and their brilliant cinematic presentation opens a dialogue with the spectator, who identifies with the images, painfully negotiates them, and finally accepts them, embracing, in this way, the political message of Wajda himself.”<sup>47</sup>

After Wajda’s Socialist Realist pseudo-documentary, *Man of Marble* subsequently undermines the mass song by associating it with Birkut’s anti-Stalinist action. Agnieszka is told of Birkut’s downfall from one of his old bricklaying friends. Birkut’s hands are damaged after someone tampered with his bricks at work and heated the bricks, thus severely burning Birkut’s hands. The bricklaying trade that brought him fame was also the cause of his downfall. Birkut’s success is questioned, his fame turns into a downward spiral. His best friend mysteriously goes missing after visiting the government bureau office, and leaves no trace behind. Wajda’s film shows Birkut at a well-established restaurant, being serenaded by a small band of musicians at his table. He

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<sup>47</sup> Falkowska, *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda*, 56.

is drunk, and is yelling at the restaurant manager that he does not have enough money to pay his bill. He storms out of the restaurant as the band of musicians follow him.

Musically, this is a familiar cultural practice: for example, a small musical “troupe” follows the groom from his home to the bride’s home on their wedding day in Poland.

Nevertheless, Birkut drunkenly wanders down the streets and demands that the band play “Walczyk Murarzki.”

“Walczyk Murarzki” (“The Bricklayer’s Waltz”) romanticized labor to the masses and told the story of the happiness found in hard work and building a new Poland. Its text reads:

**Walczyk Murarzki**<sup>48</sup>

<b><u>Polish</u></b>	<b><u>English</u></b>
Dziś do Was nowa piosenka płynie I tętni życiem nowych lat, Spojrzy wesoło w oczy dziewczynie, Z murarzami za pan brat.	There’s a new song coming to you all today Pulsing with the life of new years, It will look in the girl’s eyes with joy, Friends forever with the bricklayers.
Wdrapie się z nimi na rusztowania, Od fundamentów, aż po dach, I pracowita już od świtania, Wymiesza wapno, cement i piach.	Together with them it will climb the scaffolding, From the foundations all the way to the roof, Hardworking from the dawn of the day, Mixing lime, cement and sand.
Wszędzie wywoła uśmiech na twarzy, Z uśmiechem zawsze pracować lżej, Bo to piosenka naszych murarzy, Murarskie serce bije w niej.	Bringing smiles upon faces everywhere, It’s always easier to work when you smile, For it’s the song of our bricklayers, There’s a bricklayer’s heart beating inside it.

Harmonically it uses a more complex structure than “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” and “Hymn Służby Polsce”: for example, the piece begins on a prolonged V<sup>7</sup> chord and uses

<sup>48</sup> Translation by Wojciech Karkoszka.

differing chromaticism, alternating between major and minor chords of the same root pitch (A major, II; to A minor, II<sub>m</sub> or ii, m. 5). The middle section of the piece moves to an E major key (III, if still rooted in the original tonal center of G major), also using maj<sup>7</sup> chords. These small choices are more “adventurous” than the other cut-and-dry harmonic progressions of “Piosenka o Nowej Hucie” and “Hymn Służby Polsce”, but still primarily focuses on a I-ii-V-I progression:

The image shows a musical score for a song in G major, 4/4 time. The score consists of six staves of music, each with a line of lyrics underneath. Chord symbols are placed above the notes. The lyrics are in Polish and describe the construction of a new housing estate.

Chord symbols: V, V7, I, II<sub>m</sub>, V, I, II, II<sub>m</sub>, I, II, V, I, VII<sub>m</sub>7add4, III, VI<sub>maj</sub>7, VII<sub>m</sub>7, III, VI, VI<sub>m</sub>13, II, V<sub>maj</sub>7, VI<sub>m</sub>13, II, V, V7, I, II<sub>m</sub>, V7, I, II<sub>m</sub>, V, I.

Lyrics:

Dziś do — Was now - a pio - sen - ka pły - nie I tęt - ni ży - ciem now - ych  
 lat, Spor - zy we - so - ło ocz - y dzie - wcy - nie, Z mur - ar - za - mi za pan  
 brat. Wdrap - ie się z'ni - mi ru - szto - wan - ia, Od fun - da - men - tów, aż po  
 dach, I pra - co - wi - ta już od św - i - tan - ia, Wy - miesz - a wap - no, ce - ment i  
 piach. Wszę - dzie wy - wo - ła uś - miech na twar - zy, Z uśmie - chem zaw - sze pra - co - wać  
 lżej, Bo to pio - sen - ka na - szych mur - ar - zy, Mur - ar - skie ser - ce bije w niej.

All three songs are examples of Socialist Realist music in its archetypical form. They are intended to foster mass appeal with simple harmonic form and easily sung melodies, thus thwarting formalism out of the public spotlight as possible.

Birkut and the band continue to travel in a horse-drawn cart until they reach the government bureau office building, still playing “The Bricklayer’s Waltz”. Birkut ceremoniously picks up a brick—the same tool that brought him success and fame—and hurls it into the front door of the office building. The brick shatters the door’s glass and leaves its debris everywhere. Birkut solemnly approaches the guard at the now-shattered government building door, knowing his goal his accomplished and repercussions will follow.

The irony of this scene is two-fold, considering the implied text of the song and Birkut’s present reality. However, Birkut’s reality contradicts the optimistic message of “The Bricklayer’s Waltz.” The second half of “The Bricklayer’s Waltz” claims that the joys of seasons, dreams and memories are ephemeral, but the heart of a bricklayer lays the foundation of a solid dream, pun intended. The bricklayer exemplified the archetypal “peasant and worker” that Socialist Realism sought to attract.

Musically, “The Bricklayer’s Waltz” is not portrayed as pristinely as the other mass songs: while Stalinist-approved recordings were used in *Man of Marble*, “The Bricklayer’s Waltz” is the only mass song performed in the film’s actual setting of the late 1950s. Even more so, its musical performance was poor: the musicians, almost reflecting the drunkenness of Birkut, played “The Bricklayer’s Waltz” drunkenly and dilapidated. They added ornamentations and additional notes of their own creative choosing. The instruments also did not play perfectly in tune, and, therefore, the song did

not have the sterility of the original mass song recordings. Instead, the film's performance of "The Bricklayer's Waltz" alluded to the messy Manifested Truths behind Stalinist propaganda. Establishing "truths" were the basis of effective Socialist Realism, but Wajda showed the decay of these established truths through the fictional characters in *Man of Marble*.

In representing Birkut's vandalism in film, Wajda made a powerful statement about the delicately-cultivated perceptions of the "ideal Socialist worker." By mapping vandalism on Birkut, a fictional character, meant that no specific blame could be placed on an actual person (except Wajda himself).

The songs in *Man of Marble* detail the conflicting Constructed and Manifest Truths as they were experienced by Birkut and Agnieszka who uncovers his story. Birkut's experience as a communist youth and model worker, doomed film star, and forgotten bureaucrat hardly stands for experiences of all Poles but his trajectory in and out of favor allows his character to tap into the different ranks of communist society. Some Poles were closer to the Communist Constructed Truth than others: for example, Poles who pledged allegiance to the Communist cause were oftentimes provided additional financial support. Wajda alludes to the varying levels of experience in *Man of Marble* as Agnieszka visits the director of *Building Our Happiness*, at his home. They talked about her filmmaking aspirations in his modest but clean, single family home. As they were leaving, the man offers her some money to buy new clothing (as she claims in the film that the only clothes she owned were the ones on her back).

Janina Falkowska deconstructs the importance of this scene in *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda*:



It is worth noting that the indicators of luxury so clearly read by the Polish spectator were read differently by the Western spectator, for whom possession of a house with a yard and a car is a fact of everyday life....[In Cold War Poland] the luxury of a single home meant either relations with the security (Służba Bezpieczeństwa), connections with the black market (illegal dealing in dollars), or a very comfortable position within party circles. Wajda here refers to the fourth possibility, the privileged position occupied by famous artists (such as Wajda himself) who were kindly allowed decent living conditions in return for sympathetic depiction of the regime through their art. It was rare for artists well known to the outside world to present their own views in their work, and only then under the constant threat of retribution and persecution.<sup>49</sup>

Falkowska's description of this scene highlights the contrasting lifestyles under the same Constructed Truth: while Agnieszka struggles to make her film under the communist regulations, the older filmmaker is living comfortably because of his assistance to the production of cultural propaganda as the director of *Building Our Happiness* (albeit Wajda's pseudo-documentary in *Man of Marble*). Although Wajda spends an extensive amount of effort to highlight the contrast between Communism's Constructed Truths and the Manifest Truth in Polish existence, different classes of Poles were closer to the Constructed Truth than others. *Man of Marble* shows both sides and further reveals the differing experiences of Polish people under communism.

Wajda's film might be too subtle for a Western audience who did not endure the lifestyle of those living behind the Iron Curtain. While providing the context, it is still

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<sup>49</sup> Falkowska, *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda*, 68-69.

difficult to understand the stifling power veiling the Eastern Bloc. When we consider the context under which these mass songs were composed, the Manifested Truths they were projecting was far from the common Polish reality: a stark contrast existed between what Poles endured and what popular culture claimed was real. With times these Constructed Truths collapsed under the weight of impoverished reality.

### Chapter 3. *Man of Iron*

Poland's cultural landscape shifted dramatically between the early postwar years and the early 1980s. The August 1980 strikes led by Gdańsk electrician Lech Wałęsa blew open the heavily-guarded gates of cultural restriction. In just over a year between the August 1980 strikes and the imposition of Martial Law in December 1981, Wajda hastily created a film that weaved a fictional story around the real-life events taking place at that moment across Poland. While *Man of Marble* took twelve years to make (mostly spent waiting for the censorship's approval), Wajda filmed *Man of Iron* in a mere few months and changed filming locations constantly so they would not be caught.<sup>50</sup> *Man of Iron* was internationally lauded for its courage and truthfulness, winning the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1982; however, the film was banned in Poland after the enforcement of Martial Law began in December 1981. While the government banned *Man of Iron*, the film's political statements sent shockwaves throughout both the Eastern and Western worlds, reaching many audiences who were unaware of the level of oppression in Cold War Poland.

Like *Man of Marble*, the film fuses real-life documentary footage and fictional film in its plotline. For example, Wajda shares a retrospective of Birkut's final moments

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<sup>50</sup> Wajda's personal journals detail that, while he wanted to take his time to produce *Man of Iron*, the political context would not allow it. He sent the film to the Cannes Film Festival before police officials could seize it. Polish laborers wrote petitions in order for the film to be shown to the Polish public prior to Martial Law. See Anna Krakus, [title of book forthcoming], Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, scheduled for publishing June 2018; Wajda, "The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship," 3; and "Man of Iron- Andrzej Wajda," accessed April 5, 2018, <http://culture.pl/en/work/man-of-iron-andrzej-wajda#menu-position-6>.

fused with real-life newsreel footage and pseudo-documentary of the December 1970 strike. Birkut decides to join the infamous 1970 strike in Gdynia where local workers engaged in a non-violent protest throughout the city. However, military tanks greeted them with cascades of tear gas and horrific police brutality. After the urging of local Polish officials, these striking workers boarded trains and returned to their workplaces, mostly at the shipyards where they were greeted by *milicja* who opened fire on the crowds, killing dozens and injuring more.

Wajda superimposes Birkut's character into the scene, making us believe that he, too, was one of the many killed at the train station that day. What makes the scene so haunting is the auditory backdrop Wajda creates. Instead of using music to reflect the chaos and terror, he uses actual audio recordings of the military opening fire on the crowds, recorded at the scene in December 1970. The howling of the train whistle accompanied by the ammunition fire (and the resulting screams from the crowds) is horrifying.<sup>51</sup> This scene depicts the Manifest Truth of 1970s Poland in several ways: the film is still retrospective, but uses honest, documentary footage. The only footage used in black and white depicts the negative aspects of Soviet control: for example, actual documentary footage from the 1970 strike appears in black and white, without sound. If the scene used sound, the primary audio was the wailing train whistle and screaming of the terrorized crowds. Such real-life auditory and visual footage reflects Soviet control negatively, providing a critique of Communist rule on Poland over the course of decades.

Most real-life documentary film footage features nonviolent protesters and social activists in Gdańsk, the heart of the Solidarity movement at the time. This footage

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<sup>51</sup>*Postulat 22: Songs from the New Polish Labour Movement, CD.*

includes interviews of local nonviolent protesters, both in color and using audio to hear their thoughts clearly. Additional footage of the strikers praying outside of their protesting locations are, again, done in color and, often, with sound. The real-life footage is not segregated from the rest of the plot, as in *Man of Marble's* pseudo-documentary *Building Our Happiness*; instead, the real-life footage seamlessly transitions in and out of Wajda's scenes. As a result, Wajda fights to share the Manifest Truth that Western (and other foreign) audiences did not know at the time. Communism worked to keep the Manifest Truth of oppression behind its Iron Curtain while *Man of Iron* marked a tipping point in the dissemination of information about the Polish experience under said Curtain.

Music again is used to contextualize the film footage it accompanies, but contrary to *Man of Marble*, the songs are the site of Manifest Truth in *Man of Iron*. For instance, Wajda uses the song "Piosenka dla Córki," or "Song for my Daughter," to reflect the reality of Poland in late 1980. "Piosenka dla Córki" was written by Krzysztof Kasprzyk and Maciej Petrzyk during the great Gdańsk shipyard strike in August 1980 with heartbreaking lyrics. In "Piosenka dla Córki," a father and striking worker tells his daughter to be patient for things she may not understand now. By the end of the song, any veil masking the truth is lowered, as he admits to both his daughter and himself that his own house is not a home in the current political and socioeconomic situation mired with poverty, lack of personal freedoms, and therefore, "true happiness":

<u>Polish</u>	<u>English</u>
<p>Nie mam teraz czasu dla ciebie, nie widziała cię długo matka. Jeszcze trochę poczekaj, doróżnij, opowiemy ci o tych wypadkach.</p> <p>O tych dniach pełnych nadziei,</p>	<p>I have no time for you, your mother has not seen you for long. Wait a little longer, grow up, we'll tell you about these events.</p> <p>About those hopeful days,</p>

<p>pełnych rozmów i sporów gorących. O tych nocach kiepsko przespanych, naszych sercach mocno bijących.</p> <p>O tych ludziach, którzy poczuli, że są teraz wreszcie u siebie. Solidarnie walczą o dzisiaj i o przyszłość także dla ciebie.</p> <p>Więc się nie smuć i czekaj cierpliwie, aż powrócisz w nasze objęcia, w naszym domu, który nie istniał, bo w nim brak było prawdziwego szczęścia.</p>	<p>full of talk and heated disputes. About those nights with hardly any sleep, about our hearts beating like mad.</p> <p>About those people who've come to feel that, at last, they are home. Together they fight for today and for a tomorrow for you.</p> <p>So don't be sad and wait patiently until you are back in our arms, at our own home which has never existed because true happiness has been missing there.</p>
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Similarly to songs in *Building Our Happiness* (the pseudo-documentary in *Man of Marble*), “Piosenka dla Córki” accompanies real-life footage in *Man of Iron*. Two characters sit in a film studio and watch “hidden footage” of the 21 strikers’ demands being read to the striking crowds. Instead of Lech Wałęsa reading these demands, however, Wajda creates his own fictional footage of Tomczyk reading them. The footage, shown in color (versus the black-and-white footage in “Building Our Happiness”), slowly assimilates into the real-life footage from the height of the August 1980 strikes. No other audio is heard except for “Piosenka dla Córki.” Gritty, real-life footage is shown of strike workers standing, shoulder to shoulder, as they supported their leaders (Lech Wałęsa included), arguing for their 21 demands to be met. The montage of footage also shows workers laying in the grass, looking around and waiting with a tired, weary look in their eyes. Showing such footage was monumental at the time, as Soviet forces worked to prevent the media from accurately reporting the August 1980 strike<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> Alain Touraine, *Solidarity: Poland, 1980-1981* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 39.

“Piosenka dla Córki’s” instrumentation reflected the change in musical production from the Socialist realist mass songs of the 1950s. While mass songs were polished recordings with enthusiastic, classically-trained singers, “Piosenka dla Córki” uses an acoustic guitar and a subdued male vocalist, sung by just the composer himself. The song’s performance, juxtaposed with the painful lyrics, seem even more vulnerable with a solo guitar and voice.

Wajda also reinforces the reality of Poland in the early 1980’s by interspersing real-life leaders of the Solidarity movement into the film. When film characters Maciej Tomczyk and Agnieszka get married, Lech Wałęsa attends their wedding as Tomczyk’s witness. His presence validates the efforts of the couple and give more credibility to the fictional characters’ efforts towards the Solidarity movement. In a way, his presence established a context of social activism in the film. Wajda also interspersed interviews of people nonviolently protesting in August 1980 during the critical Gdańsk shipyard strike. These seamless interviews of real-life Poles amongst Wajda’s characters are continuous. By the end of the film, the constant alternation between real-life footage and film-created footage “merged the worlds” of Manifested Truth and the prevalent Polish reality.

The film continues as Lech Wałęsa addresses his Solidarity volunteers in a large hall, sharing the news that they have, indeed, won their demands against the government. The footage is gritty, but in vibrant color, with a red backdrop clearly behind Wałęsa as he sits to face the crowds. But Wajda continues to use real-life film and his footage, indicating to the viewer that the truth and the reality of their culture was no longer under the government’s discretion. After the announcement, a throng of supporters lift Wałęsa and carry him through the crowd. The crowd sings “Sto Lat”, the Polish version of

“Happy Birthday”, sung in times of celebration. For the first time in decades, Poland’s truth matched its reality: freedom.

As the crowds disperse, Agnieszka and Tomczyk slowly wander to the spot where Birkut was killed in the December 1970 strike. Tomczyk leaves a list of the achieved demands on his father’s grave. As he slowly walks away, a guitar roughly plays a simple G minor chord in quarter notes. After several measures of the G minor quarter notes, Agnieszka sings “Ballada o Janku Wiśniewskim”, or “The Ballad of Janek Wiśniewski.” The song, arranged for the film by Andrzej Korzyński, was based on a poem reflecting on the Gdynia strikes of December 1970. After militia killed over forty people that day, crowds carried one of the many killed (whom they nicknamed “Janek Wiśniewski”) on a door through the town square. The song “Ballada o Janku Wiśniewskim” described the day’s events and the death of the anonymous man whose body was symbolically carried behind the crowds, led with a bloodstained Polish flag.

The lyrics to “Ballada o Janku Wiśniewskim” are:

<u>Polish</u>	<u>English</u>
<p>Chłopcy z Grabówka, chłopcy z Chyloni, Dzisiaj milicja użyła broni. Dzielnieśmy stali, celnie rzucali, Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p> <p>Na drzwiach ponieśli go Świętojańską, Naprzeciw glinom, naprzeciw tankom. Chłopcy stoczniowcy pomścijcie druha! Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p> <p>Lecą petardy, ścielą się gazy, Na robotników sypią się razy. Padają dzieci, starcy, kobiety, Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p>	<p>Boys from Grabowek, boys from Chylonia, Today the militia used weapons. We stood brave, our aim was great, Janek Wisniewski fell.</p> <p>Down the Swietojańska street they carried him on a door, Against the cops, against the tanks. Shipyard boys, avenge your companion! Janek Wisniewski fell.</p> <p>Firecrackers are raining, the gas is spreading, The workers are getting a beat-down. Children and elders and women are falling, Janek Wisniewski fell.</p>



<p>Jeden zraniony, drugi zabity, Krew się polała grudniowym świtem. To władza strzela do robotników, Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p> <p>Stoczniowcy Gdyni, stoczniowcy Gdańska, Idźcie do domu, skończona walka. Świat się dowiedział, nic nie powiedział, Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p> <p>Nie płaczcie matki, to nie na darmo, Nad stoczną sztandar z czerwoną kokardą. Za chleb i wolność i nową Polskę, Janek Wiśniewski padł.</p>	<p>One is wounded, another is dead, Blood was shed on the December morning. It's the government shooting at the workers, Janek Wisniewski fell.</p> <p>Shipyards workers of Gdynia, shipyards workers of Gdansk, Go home, the fight is over. The world has learned, didn't say a word, Janek Wisniewski fell.</p> <p>Don't you cry mothers, it wasn't in vain, There's a banner with red ribbon over the shipyard. For bread and for freedom and for new Poland, Janek Wisniewski fell.</p>
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The text is a stark contrast from the optimistic call to the workforce found in so many Socialist Realist mass songs, especially those that were highlighted in *Man of Marble*. In both films Wajda uses music as a punctuation mark in the final moments leading into the credits. Agnieszka sings the song with such anger that, by the end, she screams the lyrics with a harsh, raspy voice. Again, this contrasts the polished sound in *Man of Marble*'s Soviet-approved mass songs. *Man of Iron*'s version of "Ballada o Janku Wiśniewskim" is still considered as one of the anthems of the Solidarity movement: at the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of Solidarność, actress Krystyna Janda who played the role of Agnieszka sang "Ballada o Janku Wiśniewskim" onstage to commemorate the December 1970 strike.<sup>53</sup>

While *Man of Iron* celebrated the freedom realized in the August 1980 strikes, unfortunately, freedom did not become Poland's reality until after 1989. Shortly after

<sup>53</sup> "Ballad o Janku Wiśniewskim/Krystyna Janda," <https://youtu.be/ke0frPoBUbM>, accessed March 4, 2018.

*Man of Iron* was released, the Soviet Union gained control of Poland by imposing Martial Law on the country. The film was banned, communication was cut across the country, curfews were imposed, and a strong military presence existed almost everywhere. But before Martial Law existed in Poland, irreversible steps were taken to unite and strengthen the resolve of the Polish people, despite their years of poverty and oppression. *Man of Iron* was just one example of these irreversible steps.

#### Chapter 4. *Wałęsa: Man of Hope*

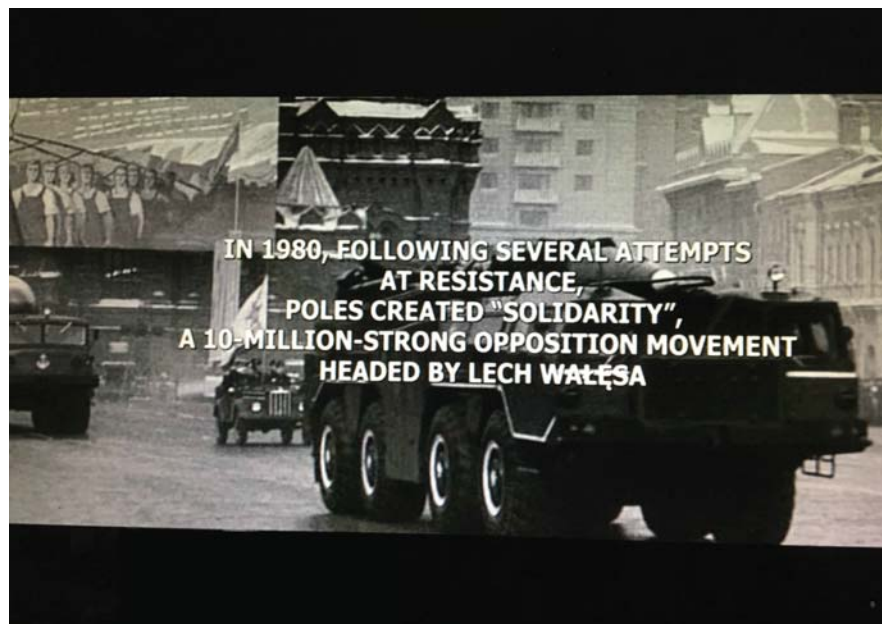
In 2013, Andrzej Wajda concluded his trilogy with *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* (*Wałęsa: Człowiek z Nadziei*). The film focuses primarily on Lech Wałęsa's personal journey from electrician to public figure and political leader in the 1980s. The film, primarily seen through the eyes of an Italian journalist interviewing Wałęsa, recounts the economic and personal struggle that most Poles experienced in the Cold War, culminating at the August 1980 strikes.

At the very beginning of *Man of Hope*, Wajda uses real-life newsreel footage from the Soviet Union's October Revolution celebration in 1970.



*Figure 5: Photos taken from Wałęsa: Man of Hope (Akson Studios, 2013)*

Wajda's choice of retrospective newsreel footage is ironic, as the October Revolution marked the collapse of the previous Russian regime and the rise of the Soviet Union. The remembrance of the Soviet October Revolution is a veiled cover for Poland's own "October Revolution": the Solidarity Movement, which marked the slow collapse of the Soviet Union and the beginning of the end of the Cold War.



*Figures 6 and 7: Scenes from Wałęsa: Man of Hope (Akson Studios, 2013)*

Musically, Wajda depicts this shift of power similarly to the introductory music in *Man of Marble*—with a song. Wajda uses “Kocham Wolność” (“I Love Freedom”), a popular Polish song released shortly after the end of the Cold War, as the film transitions from 1970s Soviet newsreel footage to film footage of Gdańsk, the Baltic sea town where Solidarność began. “Kocham Wolność” is set in a 1980s Western pop style, the song uses

two electric guitars, drums, and vocals. “Kocham Wolność’s” text reflects a much different message than previously referenced songs in Wajda’s *Man of...* films:

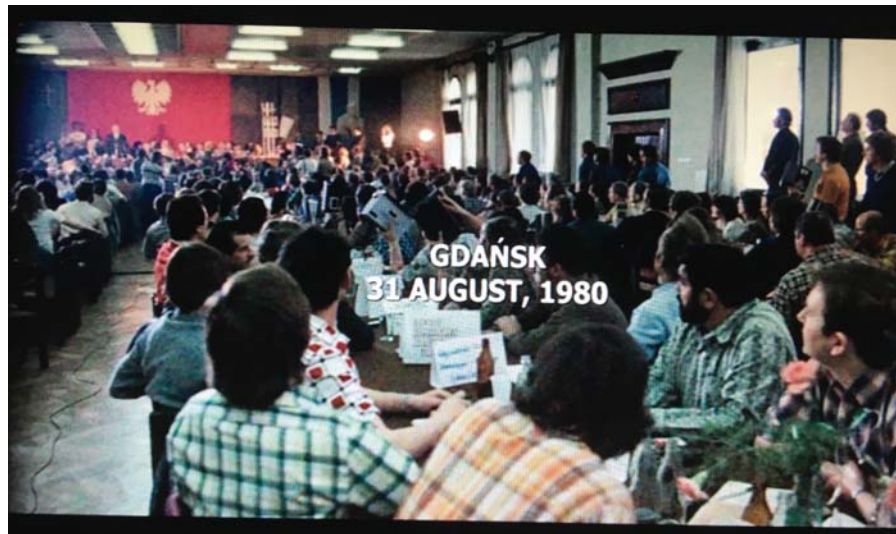
<u>Polish</u>	<u>English</u>
Tak niewiele żądam Tak niewiele pragnę Tak niewiele widziałem Tak niewiele zobaczę	There's so little that I ask for There's so little that I want There's so little that I've seen There's so little that I'll see
Tak niewiele myślę Tak niewiele znaczę Tak niewiele słyszałem Tak niewiele potrafię	There's so little that I think about There's so little that I mean There's so little that I've heard There's so little that I can do
Wolność kocham i rozumiem Wolności oddać nie umiem Wolność kocham i rozumiem Wolności oddać nie umiem	Freedom is what I love and understand Freedom is what I can't give up Freedom is what I love and understand Freedom is what I can't give up
Tak niewiele miałem Tak niewiele mam Mogę stracić wszystko Mogę zostać sam	There's so little that I've had There's so little that I have I can lose everything I can be left alone
Wolność kocham i rozumiem Wolności oddać nie umiem Wolność kocham i rozumiem Wolności oddać nie umiem	Freedom is what I love and understand Freedom is what I can't give up Freedom is what I love and understand Freedom is what I can't give up

The song contrasts the overly optimistic Stalinist songs of the 1950s. Released in 1990 after the fall of the Iron Curtain, “Kocham Wolność” is frank and realistic in its outlook on the Communist era and passionate about freedom.

“Kocham Wolność” is musically accessible but in a manner different from the Socialist Realist mass songs: for example, the 1950s mass song used a uniform-sounding band with a group of men and/or women, thus symbolizing unity and strength. In “Kocham Wolność,” there is a single male voice (e.g. the lead singer of the band) for the

song's verses, while the refrain has very minimal vocal harmonies. The song's lyrics are repetitive and simple from a first-person singular perspective, honing on the song's sole objective: the desire for freedom in Poland, above everything else.

“Kocham Wolność” is the film's theme song. Wajda uses it three times at critical moments in the film: first, when the film transitions out of Soviet newsreel footage to Wajda's film proper; second, when the strikers' demands are officially met in August 1980; and third, at the end of the film when Wałęsa speaks to the crowds at the Gdańsk shipyard.





Figures 8 and 9: Scenes from *Waleśa: Man of Hope*, combined with real-life and film-constructed depictions of August 31, 1980 (Akson Studios, 2013)

The film still relies on real-life documentary footage, which is intercepted with the fictional story, showing the attendees recording the audio on their cassette players. Heard here is the refrain of “Kocham Wolność”, the words of which emphasize freedom as the paramount goal for Poles.

At the end of the film, the same musical refrain returns while Lech Wałęsa addresses the United States Congress one week after the falling of the Berlin Wall. This real-life footage of Wałęsa in Congress reinforces the point that, thanks to social activists like Wałęsa, *Solidarność* brought forth the reality of freedom for Poles for the first time in decades. Before the political upheaval brought forth by *Solidarność*, Wałęsa would not have been allowed to visit the United States, and his speech (detailing the Manifest Truth during Cold War Poland) would never have been allowed.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> In his speech to Congress, Wałęsa details the violent conditions in which Poles lived, highlighting their abstinence of nonviolence throughout the Solidarity movement. “[Against brutality and hate], our power prevailed in the end.” See *Lech Wałęsa*

Both *Man of Iron* and *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* addressed a similar time frame in Polish history, but focused on different perspectives. The earlier film, created in a short time frame after the August 1980 strikes and before the imposition of Martial Law in December 1981, used the self-governing trade union to challenge the government's tactics to downplay or stifle the workers' voices. For example, *Man of Iron* addressed the media blackout and elimination of press towards the August 1980 strikes. While the Polish government struggled to maintain control over its people, the power infrastructures worked to diminish the strike's importance in Gdańsk.

Music aids the collective memory of the Poland's Cold War experience in *Wałęsa: Man of Hope*. However, in over thirty years since the fall of Communism in Poland the Polish memory of Walesa changed over time. Over the course of the past 25-30 years, Lech Wałęsa's trust has deteriorated with the public due to multiple reasons: first, his attitudes and decisions while in political office in the 1990s did not fully align with the Polish public. This conflicts with the Western world's perception of Wałęsa, who saw him as a "[symbol of] the democratic revolution against communism."<sup>55</sup> What brought him authority and attention during the 1980s created mistrust and confusion among his Polish constituents: his brash methods of public speaking offended many, and his lack of communication regarding post-Cold War economic reforms created confusion and mistrust.<sup>56</sup>

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*Addresses U.S. Congress November 15, 1989*, C-SPAN, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4470465/walesa-addresses-us-congress-nov-15-1989>.

<sup>55</sup> Peggy Simpson, "The Troubled Reign of Lech Wałęsa in Poland," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26, No. 2 (Spring, 1996): 317.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.



His history of mistrust was, again, revisited in 2017 as the Institute of Forensic Research unearthed and analyzed documents tracing Lech Wałęsa as a paid government informant from 1970 to 1976.<sup>57</sup> His signature matches a paid informant with a code name of “Bolek” who signed numerous documents in the 1970s for the Communist “Secret Police”. The newest discovered documents find Wałęsa’s signature directly above a “Bolek” signature.<sup>58</sup> Wałęsa continues to deny these allegations, saying that his signature was forged on the discovered documents.<sup>59</sup> The President of the Polish Institute for National Remembrance has said on the record that “we do not intend to remove Lech Wałęsa from Polish history...but the way Lech Wałęsa is seen is changing.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Joanna Berendt, “Lech Wałęsa Denounces Report Labeling Him a Communist Informer,” *The New York Times*, accessed February 1, 2017, <https://nyti.ms/2jSPr2N>.

<sup>58</sup> “Handwriting tests show Wałęsa was communist-era informer,” *Radio Poland*, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.thenews.pl/1/9/Artykul/291302,Handwriting-tests-show-Walesa-was-communistera-informer>.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion

Andrzej Wajda was awarded an honorary Oscar in 2000 for over fifty years of work in Polish cinema. His acceptance speech embodied the essence of so many of his films:

Ladies and gentlemen, I will speak in Polish because I want to say what I think and feel, and I have always thought and felt in Polish. I accept this great honor not as a personal tribute, but as a tribute to all of Polish cinema. The subject of many of our films was the war, the atrocities of Nazism and the tragedies brought by communism. This is why today I thank the American friends of Poland and my compatriots for helping my country rejoin the family of democratic nations, rejoin the Western civilizations, its institutions and security structures. My fervent hope is that the only flames people will encounter will be the great passions of the heart -- love, gratitude and solidarity.<sup>61</sup>

All three films use music to subvert Constructed Truths in a Communistic state. *Man of Marble* uses original audio samples of Stalinist mass songs while manipulating the visual scenes that accompany them. When interviewed about this film, Wajda admitted that his moves were calculated in order to not only be approved for production, but also to subtly resist: “Censorship censors words, it battles against words, but film is a visual art. I knew I couldn’t say certain things, even if they were framed in a special

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<sup>61</sup> Wajda’s acceptance speech was spoken in Polish with English subtitles. Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, accessed April 25, 2018, <http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/link/072-24/>.

context... certain words and phrases, and ideas expressed with words, could not be said.”<sup>62</sup>

While music bookends all three films, the latest film (*Wałęsa: Man of Hope*) is removed far enough in time from the other two films that music has a commemorative function. Instead, Wajda uses music to highlight the main themes of “Solidarność”: freedom and the struggle to achieve it.

*Man of Iron* uses fewer musical samples, either due to Wajda and Korzyński’s haste in the film’s creation, but the contemporary songs used were undoubtedly intentional and direct. A large part of the film’s music matched the real-life songs being sung by the Solidarity workers at that time. “Piosenka dla Córki (A Song for my Daughter)”, for example, was composed and sung in the Gdańsk shipyards to express the grief and difficulty of the time during the strikes of the early 1980s. Other musical snippets, such as crowds singing “Sto Lat” (“100 years”) after the strikers’ demands were met in August 1980, were not constructed for the film. They, like the real-life footage, capture the spirit of Solidarność as much as possible in time where the Polish and Soviet governments sought to control the country’s conversation. Unlike the 1970s and 1980s, a film such as *Man of Hope* could show the dark side of such a crucial historical time. To quote Wajda, “when people complain today that they cannot or are not allowed to make a film...[in the Cold War] I really *couldn’t* make a film!”<sup>63</sup> While all three films address exposing the Manifest Truth within a culturally manipulated society, *Wałęsa: Man of*

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<sup>62</sup> Wajda, “The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship,” 7-8.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

*Hope* had the gift of time passed since Solidarność and a freer society in Poland to support its creation.

Solidarność was successful in their efforts to past their initial twenty-one demands from the strike of August 1980. Their successful efforts were unprecedented: almost a decade later, the Cold War ended and life for the Eastern Bloc radically changed. As time passed since the independent trade union's creation, however, political events in Poland have tarnished the perspective of those efforts for freedom. In her article, "Solidarity, Song and the Sound Document," Andrea Bohlman admits that "the status of Solidarność in the twenty-first century is anything but coherent and triumphant."<sup>64</sup> The shadow of Solidarność has not completely left Poland. As a matter of fact, the debate about historical representation—what I have called "Constructed Truth" of communist government—may not be controlled by the governing power but the collective fears about that chapter of Polish history persist. Andrzej Wajda describes a situation that conjured up what he describes as the "Polish paranoia" 25 years after the fall of the Iron Curtain:

Some of us, filmmakers and a few actors, created a kind of film partnership and, while attending a festival, we all sat down with film director Bohdan Poreba. All of a sudden, he looked at us and said, "I have seen all of your files." This was a way of telling us that he had the power to hurt us. He knew what was in our files while we did not. My whole life I have been afraid of my secret police file. Would

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<sup>64</sup> Andrea F. Bohlman, "Solidarity, Song and the Sound Document," *The Journal of Musicology* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 264.

they use it to hurt my child? What is in it? And now, more than twenty years later, they are using the same files to scare us again! Paranoia!<sup>65</sup>

It seems as if no Pole is immune to such fears, particularly those in high levels of visibility.

Wajda addresses the political controversy surrounding Wałęsa in *Man of Hope* by setting up a conflict in the film between Walesa's political activism and family life. In the film, Wałęsa tried to stop those who were rioting in Gdańsk's streets, throwing himself at the protesters but, instead, being arrested. He was locked into a cell and interrogated, only being promised release if he signs documents "pledging allegiance to the government." When Wałęsa tried to question these documents, the government officials threatened him, saying that signing such documents were the only way to be released and see his wife who had just given birth to their child. Visibly conflicted, Wałęsa signs these documents in the film, primarily so he can be released and see the new member of his family.

Admittedly, while the scene is inspired by real events, there is no historical evidence proving that the specific scene is completely accurate. Like the established "Truths" of Communist society that Wajda fought against, especially in *Man of Marble*, this particular scene in *Man of Hope* is likewise a representation—Wajda's interpretation—of the past, which may contrast the reality behind Wałęsa's political involvement at that time.

The public's perception of Wałęsa is no longer unified as it once was in the early 1980s. *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* focused on a similar time frame as Wajda's *Man of Iron*, but provided thirty years' worth of reflection and retrospection as its lens. "We are a free

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<sup>65</sup> Wajda, "The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship," 9.

country now and yet Wałęsa has become a forgotten man in Poland,” says Wajda. “[Through *Wałęsa: Man of Hope*] I needed to remind Poles of his importance.”<sup>66</sup>

Not all Poles would agree with Wajda’s perspective. *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* premiered amidst numerous criticisms, many saying that Wajda “romanticized” Wałęsa, thus misrepresenting the man and his actions in the process.<sup>67</sup> Given the historical controversy surrounding Wałęsa and the painful national memory of Communism that still lingers, Poles are not as inclined to celebrate the Solidarity leaders as they were in the 1980s.

Unfortunately, *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* cannot be extracted from the historical context in which the public views Wałęsa today. At the premiere, Robert Wieckiewicz, the actor portraying Wałęsa, said that he accepted the role, knowing that there are “38 million experts on Wałęsa” in a country with a population of 38 million people.<sup>68</sup> While Western audiences laud the Polish Solidarity leader, decades of poor government reform and political discourse have stripped Wałęsa of his eminently popular status in Poland. For this reason, it seems as if the Manifest Truth of Wałęsa in present-day Poland does not match Wajda’s Constructed Truth of Wałęsa in *Man of Hope*.

While my perspective is that of a Western viewer, Lech Wałęsa’s efforts to facilitate change in Poland is unquestionable, despite today’s tarnished viewpoint toward him. Lech Wałęsa and Andrzej Wajda’s films confronted and worked to dismantle the Constructed Truths existing in Stalinist and post-Stalinist Cold War Poland. These two

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<sup>66</sup> Wajda, “The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship,” 9.

<sup>67</sup> Alison Smale, “Solidifying Poland’s Legends With Film,” *New York Times* (October 18, 2013), accessed March 30, 2018, <https://nyti.ms/2F4W8u2>.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

figures shed light on the experiential Manifest Truths of lack, poverty, and oppression under which Poland suffered for decades. In a way, many Poles have constructed an alternative perception of Wałęsa since the birth of Solidarność: while we cannot say if the perception of Wałęsa is a Manifest or Constructed Truth, the difference in perceptions explains the mixed reception of *Wałęsa: Man of Hope* in Poland. But while contemporary Polish (and Western) perspectives might differ, this overarching historic fact still holds: after decades of oppression and struggle, life in Poland has emerged from the shadow of the Iron Curtain. Efforts by Andrzej Wajda, Lech Wałęsa and countless Polish strikers poked holes in the Iron Curtain, thus beginning its demise for all of the Eastern Bloc.

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