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THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN’

*Come gather 'round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin'
or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'*

*Come writers and critics
Who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again
And don't speak too soon
For the wheel's still in spin
And there's no tellin' who that it's namin'
For the loser now will be later to win
For the times they are a-changin'*

*Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle outside and it is ragin'
It'll soon shake your windows
and rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'*

When Bob Dylan first recorded his poem,¹ he could not have possibly intended it as “the archetypal protest song” (Gray 2006: 662), although, as Marco Principia notes, the singer-songwriter himself told Cameron Crowe that “[t]his was definitely a song with a purpose. It was influenced of course by the Irish and Scottish ballads [...] ‘Come All Ye Bold Highway Men,’ ‘Come All Ye Tender Hearted Maidens.’ I wanted to write a big song”—Dylan continued—“with short concise verses that piled up on each other in a hypnotic way. The civil rights movement and the folk music movement were pretty close for a while and allied together at that time” (Principia 2018). Apparently, as the author of *Bob Dylan Encyclopedia* observes, the artist’s “aim was to ride upon the unvoiced sentiment of the mass public—to give that inchoate senti-

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1. Bob Dylan, “The Times They Are A-Changin,’” Copyright © 1963, 1964 by Warner Bros. Inc.; renewed 1991, 1992 by Special Rider Music.

*Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road is rapidly agin'
Please get out of the new one
if you can't lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin'*

*The line it is drawn
The curse it is cast
The slow one now
Will later be fast
As the present now
Will later be past
The order is rapidly fadin'
And the first one now
will later be last
For the times they are a-changin'*

Bob Dylan, 1963

Songs of All Time list compiled in December 2004,² and has enjoyed as many as 44+ recorded and world-promoted covers and reinterpretations by notable artists between the time of its first release and today,³ both in and outside of America. Unquestionably, “The Times They Are A-Changing”—perhaps owing to its “imprecisely” and “very generally directed” language—appears to be found topical on all occasions, beginning with anti-war/anti-establishment protests and finishing with the launch of a new Apple computer in 1984⁴ and Billy Bragg’s poignant remake of the song as a critique of Donald Trump’s presidency⁵.

ment an anthem and give its clamour an outlet. He succeeded, but the language of the song is nevertheless imprecisely and very generally directed. It offers four extended metaphors, and makes no more than an easy politician’s use of any of them. The four are: change as a rising tide; change dependent on the wheel of fate; the Establishment as an edifice; and yesterday and tomorrow as roads to be opted for. People enjoy the song to the extent that they approve of its theory. [...]” (Gray 2006: 662; Principia 2018).

One may or may not agree with Gray’s rather stern critical assessment of the piece, which features as number 59 on *The Rolling Stone* 500 Greatest

1968
Transnational
Legacies

RIAS VOL. 12, FALL-WINTER Nº 2/2019

2. See *The Rolling Stone* <<http://www.rocklistmusic.co.uk/rstone.html#500Songs>> (19.12.2019).

3. See, for instance, the “Other cover versions” section in the English *Wikipedia* entry dedicated to the song.

4. See, for instance, Andy Herzfeld, “The Times They Are A-Changing.” *Folklore.org*, January 1984. <https://www.folklore.org/StoryView.py?story=The_Times_They_Are_A-Changin.txt> (08.12.2019).

5. See Ryan Reed, “Hear Billy Bragg Reimagine Bob Dylan Anthem as Trump Protest. Singer-songwriter spins “The Times They Are A-

It is then possible to theorize that its “archetypal” quality may stem from the fact that, rather than reacting to any single event, the poet himself wrote the song in response to the general mood of his era, which Marco Principia emphasizes by quoting Dylan’s statement from an interview with Ray Coleman for the *Melody Maker* magazine:

I was on 42nd street. People were moving. There was a bitterness about at that time. People were getting the wrong idea. It was nothing to do with age or parents. This is what it was [about], maybe—a bitterness towards authority—the type of person who sticks his nose down and doesn’t take you seriously, but expects YOU to take HIM seriously. I wanted to say... that if you have something that you don’t want to lose, and people threaten you, you are not really free. I don’t know if the song is true, but the feeling’s true. It’s nothing to do with a politic party [*sic!*] or religion. (Bob Dylan’s interview with Ray Coleman, quoted in Principia 2018)

The commentator continues thus:

So, for some, it’s more a song about frustration of the youth in all eras. “The type of person who sticks his nose down and doesn’t take you seriously, but expects YOU to take HIM seriously”, from the point of view of the young, incorporates everyone from parents to teachers, from those who programme TV channels to politicians. In some way, it’s also a song about the ineluctability of change: it isn’t protesting about anything, rather saying, “time to wake up, the world has moved on.” You don’t have to rise up and overthrow the evil empire, but rather just admit that the world has changed irrevocably. So be careful—it might just pass you by, and you might just be left wondering where the old world went. (Principia 2018)

No wonder that “[p]eople enjoy the song to the extent that they approve of its theory,” if the theory concerns the inevitability of change in the face of the passage of time, and a promise of a better future—especially in the post-war, segregated, stratified, and consumerist America and in the world split into warring halves, with the Iron Curtain separating the similarly aggressive ambitions of the capitalist West and the totalitarian East: “The slow

Changein” into Critique of ‘1950s’ Worldview under New President,” *The Rolling Stone*, January 25th, 2017, <<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/hear-billy-bragg-reimagine-bob-dylan-anthem-as-trump-protest-110498>> (10.12.2019).

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one now / Will later be fast / As the present now / Will later be past / The order is rapidly fadin' / And the first one now / Will later be last / For the times they are a-changin'." The message is simple, almost biblical: those in the position of authority now will not hold it forever and those oppressed today will rise... if they choose to act rather than wait for the historical tide to carry them where it will. As such, the appeal of the song, if not "universal," is certainly culture-independent: the lyric expresses the sentiment underlying most, if not all, social movements striving for a revolutionary change.

However, much as one might feel inclined to agree that "The Times They Are A-Changing" may be interpreted as a "song about frustration of the youth in all eras," the song obviously came into being in a particular historical context and in a particular socio-cultural space. The above notwithstanding, its cross-cultural popularity seems to attest to the fact that the times "a-changing" manifest themselves throughout the post-war world, and especially in countries experiencing the phenomena of the so-called "long 1968," the period of a socio-cultural ferment beginning in the late 1950s and lasting throughout the 1970s. Furthermore, the resonance of Dylan's song appears to confirm that the phenomena in question were, at the time, not only hemispheric or even transoceanic in character. An excellently conceived collection of essays edited by Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton, *Music and Protest in 1968*, testifies to this claim, providing an interesting, albeit footnote-relegated, point of departure for considerations on what "the spirit of '68" in fact was:

There is a peculiarity about zeitgeist or socio-cultural climate. On the one hand, they incorporate the essence of a historical phenomenon such as the student and protest movements of '1968'; on the other hand, they constitute the breeding ground, i.e. condition that brings the phenomenon into existence. To put it paradoxically: for the movements of '1968,' the 'spirit of the sixties' or the 1968 socio-cultural climate is the effect and origin of the movements simultaneously. (Kutschke 2013: 3)⁶

Such an intuition seems to be shared by numerous scholars and journalists alike. For instance, the Indiana University Press

6. The citation comes from footnote number 6 of the cited monograph (Kutschke 2013: 3).

collections and monographs, such as *The Long 1968. Revisions and New Perspectives*, edited by Daniel J. Sherman, Ruud van Dijk, Jasmine Alinder and A. Aneesh, *The Socialist Sixties. Crossing Borders in the Second World* edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, *At Berkeley in the Sixties. The Making of an Activist* by Jo Freeman or *Soviet Animation and the Thaw of the 1960s* by Laura Pontieri, are, respectively, introduced as follows:

From the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, revolutions in theory, politics, and cultural experimentation swept around the world. These changes had as great a transformative impact on the right as on the left. A touchstone for activists, artists, and theorists of all stripes, the year 1968 has taken on new significance for the present moment, which bears certain uncanny resemblances to that time. *The Long 1968* explores the wide-ranging impact of the year and its aftermath in politics, theory, the arts, and international relations—and its uses today.⁷

The 1960s have reemerged in scholarly and popular culture as a protean moment of cultural revolution and social transformation. In this volume socialist societies in the Second World (the Soviet Union, East European countries, and Cuba) are the springboard for exploring global interconnections and cultural cross-pollination between communist and capitalist countries and within the communist world. Themes explored include flows of people and media; the emergence of a flourishing youth culture; sharing of songs, films, and personal experiences through tourism and international festivals; and the rise of a socialist consumer culture and an esthetics of modernity. Challenging traditional categories of analysis and periodization, this book brings the sixties problematic to Soviet studies while introducing the socialist experience into scholarly conversations traditionally dominated by First World perspectives.⁸

This book is a memoir and a history of Berkeley in the early Sixties. As a young undergraduate, Jo Freeman was a key participant in the growth of social activism at the University of California, Berkeley. The story is told with the “you are there” immediacy of Freeman the undergraduate but is put into historical and political context by Freeman the scholar, 35 years later. It draws heavily on documents created at the time—letters, reports, interviews, memos, newspaper stories, FBI files—but is fleshed out with retrospective analysis. As events unfold,

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7. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806912>.

8. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806822>.

the campus conflicts of the Sixties take on a completely different cast, one that may surprise many readers.⁹

Soviet Animation and the Thaw of the 1960s examines the remarkable animation that emerged during the post-Stalin period of liberalization in the Soviet Union as an avenue of expression for a new spirit of aesthetic freedom. Drawing on extensive archival research, Laura Pontieri reconstructs the dynamics inside Soviet animation studios and the relationships between the animators and the political establishment. Pontieri offers a meticulous study of Soviet animated films of the period, using the world of Soviet animation as a lens for viewing the historical moment of the thaw from a fresh and less conventional point of view.¹⁰

In these—and many other—academic texts, the “long” 1960s emerge as the period of multifaceted “revolutions,” “political thaw,” “liberalization,” or as a “protean moment of cultural revolution and social transformation” that “sweeps around the world,” a moment of the rise of modern “social activism,” a period of true transition from modernity to postmodernity. Or, like in the non-academic publications, such as *The Long '68: Radical Protest and Its Enemies* by Richard Vinen, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* by Mark Kurlansky, or *1968: Those Were the Days* by Brian Williams—a year of contradictions: the first glimpse of the dark side of the moon and horrid assassinations; a youthful rebellion “without a cause” and “too much of a change”; the Tet offensive in Vietnam and anti-war movements; the Prague Spring and the Chicago convention; the feminist activism and the rise of gay rights movements; the “counterculture” going “mainstream”—and all that with the war against the Panthers in the background, Civil Rights Movement in the foreground, the Soviet Warsaw Pact interventions as an echo from across the Iron Curtain¹¹, and a less

1968
Transnational
Legacies

RIAS VOL. 12, FALL-WINTER Nº 2/2019

9. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=21823>.

10. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806755>.

11. A moving voice of compassion and a plea of forgiveness for the Polish participation in the Warsaw Pact intervention in Prague manifests itself in a beautiful, bitter, protest song by a Polish poet and troubadour of the 1980s, Andrzej Garczarek, “Przyjaciół nikt nie będzie mi wybierał” [“Nobody chooses my friends for me”] presented during the 1st Festival of the Song of Truth (I Przegląd Piosenki Prawdziwej) in August 1981 in Gdańsk, Poland. Notably, on December 13th of the same year, mar-

distant thunder of a very possible civil war in France. Furthermore, authors like David R. Williams offer a rethinking of the '60s experience in terms of spirituality: Williams's book, *Searching for God in the Sixties*, is a daring attempt at proposing a spiritual history of the period in the context of the continuity and change of the American (spiritual) culture since the 17th century until today in light of its most important turning points.

Unlike the mainstream American academia and journalism addressing the phenomena of the "long 1968" today, texts published in Central and Eastern Europe are primarily historical in character. Their authors attempt to reconstruct the events of the period with the view to uncovering "the truth," which they understand as an exponent of a material, documentary¹² (rather than interpretive), history of totalitarian atrocities. Such histories are written with a prominent focus on the role of the engineers of the events and the fates of their countless victims, much like it seems to be in the case with the work by African American scholars of the Black Power and Civil Rights movements.¹³ The truth about the events of the 1960s in the Eastern Bloc countries had purposefully been blurred for decades: first, by the communist propaganda, and later by those, who—wielding positions of power after the transformations of 1989—would have too much to lose, should any documentation testifying to their collaboration with the oppressive regime become public.

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tial law was introduced in the country. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ju_Tu2ASuDg>.

12. See, for example, Ewa Winnicka, Cezary Łazarewicz. *1968. Czasy nadchodzą nowe*. Agora SA, 2018. It is worth noting that the title of the book is, in fact, a Polish translation of the title of Dylan's song.

13. See Huey P. Newton, *War Against The Panthers: A Study of Repression in America*. Harlem River Press, 2000. Originally written as a dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Consciousness <<https://historyandcurrentcontext.blogspot.com/2014/08/war-against-panthers-study-of.html>>. See also the extensive historical footnotes to the Polish translation of Amiri Baraka's "Sombdy Blew Up America" in *Er(r)go* nr 24 (1/2012) / 25 (2/2012)—interiors/exterior (guest edited by Zbigniew Biały and Paweł Jędrzejko) <<http://www.journals.us.edu.pl/index.php/ERRGO/article/view/2588/1834>>.

The differences in the Weltanschauungs underlying the present day revisions of the 1960 notwithstanding, the “cultural cross-pollination” seems to be a fact that is less than accidental. The post-war hopes clashing with the post-war realities give rise to popular frustration on both sides of the Atlantic: the bright promises of communism boil down to totalitarian dictatorship of the party aparatchiks; the peace slogans of the American propaganda mockingly emphasize the cruelty of the wars in Korea and Vietnam, the war effort of the British nation—which briefly united the British across the class divisions during the Blitz—yields little in terms of the long-lasting reorganization of the society; the Mexican Miracle dissolves in the authoritarianism of the government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz; the ruthless American expansionism finds a match in the ruthless Soviet expansionism, propelling the economy of the Cold War and the escalation of conflicts world wide. In America, the generation of (white) parents—possibly remembering the squalor of the American Great Depression, and now experiencing the stability of economic boom—is content with the policy of the government and thus fails to understand the baby boomer’s “rebellion” leveled against the administration’s war-mongering and the silent consent of their own fathers and mothers, against the blatant acts of institutional violence towards women and non-whites, against attempts at curtailing basic liberties under the pretense of the struggle with anti-American activity, against the hypocrisy of the public rhetoric, whose promises were never to be met. The American Beat Generation, arguably, grows out of a similar frustration as does the generation of the Angry Young Men in Britain, or the generation of Tel Quel in France¹⁴; the generation of student protesters across the Iron Curtain, albeit fighting against the oppressive Soviet-controlled, totalitarian regime, and thereby differently conditioned, is essentially motivated by the same sentiment: the brighter future has not arrived. The poetry of the Beats, like the poetry

1968
*Transnational
Legacies*

RIAS VOL. 12, FALL-WINTER Nº 2/2019

14. The communist sympathies of the intellectuals of this group, frustrated by the failure of the Stalinist-Leninist model, soon shifting towards Maoism.

of the Polish “Stuntmen,”¹⁵ the prose and cinema of the Angry Young Men, or the poems of the Russian bards, goes hand in hand with the troubadour poetry revival world wide.

Unsurprisingly, with post-war America becoming the economic and military superpower serving as the donor of cultural values world-wide, American songwriting wins greater audiences outside American than non-American-written songs may hope to gain within the US.¹⁶ And therefore, next to such anthems of the 1960s as “Blowin’ in the Wind,” “Only a Pawn in Their Game” or “Like a Rolling Stone,” also “The Times They Are A-Changin’” (as history demonstrates) starts living its own life.¹⁷ Irrespective of the poet’s intentions or the commentaries by critics, the lyric’s simultaneously prophetic and exhortative mood has proven to inspire artists and listeners in and outside of America, covered by established artists and beginning guitarists alike, presented on stage, on air, and shared by the campfire. Yet, in its time, Dylan’s engaged poetry, albeit iconic, is certainly not an isolated phenomenon, and certainly not the only source of inspiration to those sharing similar sentiments world-wide.

For instance, in her unpublished doctoral dissertation of 2016, exploring the issue of the rise and development of the singer-songwriter activism and political rhetoric in Los Angeles between 1968 and 1975 in the context of the evolution of the feminist thought and the so-called United States Folk Revival, Christa Anne Bentley observes that

15. In Polish: *Kaskaderzy literatury*. The term “Stuntmen of literature” refers to a group of individualist, subjectivist poets and writers of the post-war generation, including Andrzej Bursa, Marek Hłasko, Rafał Wojaczek, Edward Stachura, Halina Poświatowska, or Ryszard Milczewski-Bruno, whose work, cherishing freedom and youth, would often be interpreted as a reaction to the hopelessness of the stifling political system of post-war Poland.

16. John Lennon (solo, with Yoko Ono, and with the Beatles) and the Rolling Stones serving as prominent exceptions to the rule.

17. Listen, for instance, to Lynn Neary story, ““The Times They Are A-Changin’” Still Speaks To Our Changing Times,” on NPR *American Anthem: The Complete Series* (aired originally on Sept. 24th, 2018), <<https://www.npr.org/2018/09/24/650548856/american-anthem-the-times-they-are-a-changin?t=1578231254902>> (19.12.2019).

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The 1960s saw a revival of the topical song, a protest song based on current events. *Broadside* magazine, edited by Agnes “Sis” Cunningham, published monthly volumes of protest songs, some by amateur songwriters, and others by the major songwriting figures of the folk scene, including Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, Malvina Reynolds, and Nina Simone.¹⁸ In *Rainbow Quest* (2002), Ronald Cohen’s account of the folk revival from 1940 to 1970, *Broadside* serves as an index for the reception and success of folk songwriters. Cohen uses *Broadside*’s reviews of contemporary songwriters and topical songs as a gauge for a songwriter’s relevance to the folk movement. For example, based on reviews and comments published in *Broadside*, Cohen interprets Bob Dylan’s career “falling flat” in the folk community around 1963, at which point Phil Ochs assumes the position of the most prominent folk songwriter of the times.¹⁹ In this way, *Broadside* becomes an interesting way to index the changing values of the folk movement and trace the history of the singer-songwriter crossing stylistic boundaries from the folk revival to the folk rock scene. (Bentley 2016: 25–26)

Importantly, however, the author further notes that

[w]ith many topical songs centering on struggles for racial equality during the early 1960s, the singer-songwriter holds strong associations with the civil rights movement.²⁰ Tammy Kernodle focuses on Nina Simone’s contributions to protest music during the civil rights movement in “‘I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel To Be Free’: Nina Simone and the Redefining of the Freedom Song of the 1960s,” (2008) arguing that Simone’s songs signaled a shift in the freedom song from a collective expression, usually spirituals and gospel songs, to the words of an individual with songs like [...] “Mississippi Goddamn” (1964), “Four Women” (1969)

18. “The Broadside Collection, 1962–1991 in the Southern Folklife Collection holds every publication of Broadside magazine in addition to materials from the Broadside offices. The Ronald D. Cohen Collection, also at the Southern Folklife Collection, has material from Cohen’s interviews with Cunningham for the joint autobiography with her husband, Gordon Friesen, *Red Dust and BroadSides*, edited by Cohen (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).” (Bentley 2016, footnote 69, p. 25).

19. “Ronald Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 187.” (Bentley 2016, footnote 70, p. 26).

20. “Songs like Bob Dylan’s ‘The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll’ and ‘Only a Pawn in Their Game’ are both based on stories of racial violence. Dylan and Joan Baez performed at the March on Washington in 1963, embedding the image of the singer-songwriter with idea of the civil rights movement.” (Bentley 2016, footnote 71, p. 26).

and “To Be Young, Gifted, and Black” (1970).²¹ Kernodle also notes that this change reflects a shift in civil rights activist groups (SNCC and CORE) from the Martin Luther King’s rhetoric of non-violence to the Black Power movement’s ideas of self-defense. Beyond the specific political shifts of the civil rights movement around the late 1960s, Kernodle’s argument for individualism also reflects the development of a specific singer-songwriter identity around this time. (Bentley 2016: 26)

Despite the fact that the debate on the definition of “political music”—political in itself—has produced arguments opening up the concept, construed by the advocates of using *Broadside* as the source of reference, to revisions,²² it seems beyond doubt that the singer-songwriter’s identity has become somewhat fused with that of a social activist, and that it is specifically the most popular of the *Broadside*-listed American artists that have become well-known in Western Europe and—after the Prague Spring of 1968²³—also across the Iron Curtain.²⁴ Kryštof Kozák, for instance, notes, that

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[s]ongs by Pete Seeger such as “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” were translated and became widely popular in Czechoslovakia. The same was true for Bob Dylan’s “The Times, They Are A-Changing,” which became a hit in 1965, when it was translated and performed by a Czech band with an English name, “Golden Kids.” (Kozák 2016: 112)²⁵

21. “Kernodle, ‘I Wish I Knew How It Felt To Be Free,’ 296.” (Bentley 2016, footnote 72, p. 26)

22. See Bentley’s discussion on the subject in the context of the concepts of direct-action activism and “womyn’s” separatism, as well as the singer-songwriters’ “attempts to establish themselves in opposition to popular or mainstream culture” (Bentley 2016: 27–28).

23. Foreshadowing the Prague Spring were the tragic events of 1956: the full blown, bloodily suppressed, Hungarian Revolution (the death toll of which is estimated at 2500 Hungarians and 700 Soviet troops), the Poznań Protests in Poland (suppressed by the Polish People’s Army and the Internal Security Corps, killing between 57 and over a hundred people—the estimates being uncertain due to missing documentation—see for instance: Paczkowski 2005: 203; Jastrząb 2006), and the East German uprising, violently suppressed by the Soviet occupational forces and the so-called *Kasernierte Volkspolizei* of the GDR.

24. It is worth remembering that Allen Ginsberg himself visited Prague in 1964 and 1965. See, for instance, Kozák 2016: 106–114.

25. See the videoclip clip of the Golden Kids singing the Czech version of “The Times They Are A-Changin” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_7pvZEBz3Y>.

In Poland, likewise, the Seeger hit became famous in Sława Przybylska's version "Gdzie są kwiaty z tamtych lat." In Germany, as "Sag mir, wo die Blumen sind," it became almost a household tune, its numerous renditions including those by Marlene Dietrich and by Joan Baez herself. Popularized in other languages—to date, 32 in total, including Esperanto, Mandarin Chinese and Icelandic—"Where Have All the Flowers Gone" became an anthem unifying people irrespective of their nationality, and against the efforts of political propagandists.²⁶ Similarly, as the editors of *Wikipedia* assert,

the "Dylan Covers Database" lists 436 recordings, including bootlegs, of this song as of October 19, 2009. According to the same database, the song has been recorded in at least 14 other languages (Catalán, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Serbian, Spanish, and Swedish).²⁷

Much as translations of songs providing simple "language" to complex emotions may be seen as filling in a certain "void" in the cultures isolated beyond the Iron Curtain, throughout the long 1968 the world saw an outpour of "national Dylans," who would often pay a high price for their poetic power to unify people against oppressive regimes: Karel Kryl, an icon of the Czechoslovak protest song, whose "Bratříčku, zavírej vrátka" ("Keep the Gate Closed, Little Brother") cost him 20 years of exile; Jacek Kleyff and Jan Krzysztof Kelus, whose involvement in the events of the Polish March '68 would bring upon them constant harrassment (including prolonged imprisonment) on the part of the communist security forces; the now legendary Jacek Kaczmarski, Zbigniew Łapiński, Przemysław Gintrowski, who—brought up on the poetry of Russian protest song masters (Alexander Galich, Vladimir Vysotski, Bulat Okudzhava)—became champions of the intellectual resistance of the Polish 1980s; the self-proclaimed "Polish Dylan"—Walek Dzedzej (Lesław

1968
Transnational
Legacies

RIAS VOL. 12, FALL-WINTER Nº 2/2019

26. The impressively long list of covers and multilingual versions of the song is available here <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Where_Have_All_the_Flowers_Gone%3F#Versions>.

27. See: *Wikipedia* entry for "The Times They Are a-Changin' (song)" <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times_They_Are_a-Changin%27_\(song\)#Other_cover_versions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times_They_Are_a-Changin%27_(song)#Other_cover_versions)> (20.12.2019).

Danicki)—the “bard of the underground passages,” whose activity forced him out of the country in 1978; the French singer-songwriter Antoine, whose 1966 album *Les Élocubrations d'Antoine*, testifying to the simmering sentiment that was to vehemently explode in May 1968, was recorded against the advice of his producers—and there were many, many others, writing and singing in languages of Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the languages of the Americas other than English. And unsurprisingly so, bearing in mind that the “pollen” would fall upon many a stigma made fertile by a variety of local circumstances called into existence as a result of the reconstructions affecting the post-war reality world-wide.

[...] the Western Communists, while always irredeemably anti-United States from an ideological standpoint, also nurtured ambivalence toward the pluralism of US society. This ambivalence was particularly heightened in the immediate post-World War II period and in the 1960s. The centrality of themes of dissent and the intellectual magnetism for the European Left of characters such as Walt Whitman, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Jack Kerouac, Bob Dylan, or even contradictory ones such as Marilyn Monroe or James Dean, informed the cultural and political debate among French and Italian Communists, even as they, and particularly when they, confronted themselves with the emerging dissent of antiestablishment developments in Eastern Europe [...]. (Brogi 2010: 283–284)²⁸

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Arguably, many other countries observe similar processes. Brogi’s reflections coincide with a number of observations proposed by scholars whose work has already been referenced in this article, thereby testifying to the fact that the intuitions concern-

28. Opening the debate to a more thorough study of the nature of the ties between the intellectual transformations of the East and the West in the 1960s, Brogi continues his thought thus: “The Prague events, together with the student movement, intensified both the French and Italian Communist parties’ dilemma about how best to overcome the Cold War policy and politics of the two blocs that constrained their power: to what extent could they reconcile their effort to become accepted by the establishment with their eagerness for renewal on the Left which embraced rebellion both at home and elsewhere directed toward international socialism? Ultimately this dilemma, if not their whole Cold War experience, was determined more by their cultural and political confrontation with the West than by their issues of allegiance with the East.” (Brogi 2010: 284).

ing the “paradoxical” character of the cause-and-effect chain of the events shaping the *Zeitgeist* of the long 1968 that Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton shared with their readers, may, after all, be less paradoxical than first conceived—especially in the context of the three paradigm shifts, upon which the idea of their monograph rests.²⁹ The first of the three is the fact that much of the socio-cultural change attained in the recent history has been effected by means of non-violent actions, based, as Kutschke emphasizes, on symbolic, rather than physical means, including demonstrations, protest marches, poster art, public discourse, and musical activism. These grassroot movements, as the scholars observe, have initiators, but no “directors”: the agents, *conscientious* protesters, emerge as a result of self-organization as “Kantian *autonomous* subjects” (2013: 2). Neglected by numerous cultural historians and musicologist, this shift, initiated in the “long 1968,” affected the development of musical activism of singer-songwriters and, sometimes by extension, the emergence of a number of avant-garde genres, which—reciprocally—would feed back to the global ferment. To account for these multifaceted phenomena, the scholars refer back to musicological reflection on the (un)definability of Baroque music and thereby shift their focus from *cultural-historical* to *mental* criteria for analyses. This shift marks the second of the paradigm changes enabling the rise of their own—and, arguably—many other studies.

Connected with the ‘movement-oriented turn’ in social sciences, history and linguistics in the 1990s and 2000s, there has also been a reevaluation of the student and protest movements. Scholars agree that the movements failed to attain their key objective: the abolition of the capitalist system. At the same time, however, the movements initiated a profound socio-cultural change. It is obvious that the new modes of living and behaviour which members have performatively realised in their personal life—sexual liberation, communal living, informal habits, in brief:

29. “Books are like musical artworks. As Adorno stated in his *Philosophy of New Music*, not all musical works are “possible at all times.” The shape of a composition depends on the “tendency of the [musical] material” which changes over time. Similarly, books—not always, but sometimes—emerge from research environments and *zeitgeist*. *Music and Protest in 1968* is such a book. It has become possible only now. What enabled it into existence are three paradigm shifts that have taken place most recently.” (Kutschke 2013: 1).

a counterculture—have now filtered into the everyday life of many individuals who would not consider themselves typical ‘68ers. These are the external peculiarities. (Kutschke 2013: 2–3)

The visible “peculiarities,” however, do not exhaust the complexity of the matter: the “ineffable” aspects of it seem much harder to address:

There is, however, also an internal, invisible side to it. A key factor that made the student and protest movements such a *fascinosum* is the specific spirit—the so-called ‘spirit of the sixties’—or socio-cultural climate that is closely connected with ‘1968.’ What a spirit or climate encompasses is generally difficult to define. The constituent elements are events, images, discourses and cultural products that contemporaries and later-born individuals assemble ‘about’ a time-period. These elements hint at the diverse attitudes, feelings and beliefs that shape mentalities. As for the 1960s and 1970s, the spirit of ‘1968’ can be characterised as dissent, the rejection of heteronomy as well as intensified concern for and interest in the Other. [...]. Socio-cultural climates, zeitgeist, have the ability to influence *every aspect* of socio-cultural life. This not only applies to modes of behaviour and styles of living, but also music [...]. (Kutschke 2013: 2–3)

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The “spirit,” manifest in recurrent imagery, parallel discursive patterns and the popularity of “troubadour”—engaged—musical production transgressing national borders and capable of penetrating the seemingly impenetrable Iron Curtain, propels the third paradigmatic shift, which (by and large) has also made this text, and other articles in the present volume, possible:

The third paradigm shift [...] has taken place within scholarship on protest movements itself. In addition to self-organization, another peculiarity of the late-twentieth century protest movements such as the feminist movement and Occupy Wall Street is their ‘independence’ from state borders; their agents belong to a multitude of nations and their targets can be located in various global locations. This understanding of protest movements has also affected the view of the movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In the past, studies on ‘1968’ tended to focus rather narrowly on Western Europe and North America because, until recently, ‘1968’ was understood to have emerged only in the highly industrialized, consumer culture countries of the Western world. (Kutschke 2013: 5)³⁰

30. The early exceptions to the rule, as authors note, are “the monographs of Christopher Dunn (2001) and Eric Zolov (1999), that study

Over the past two decades, however, the orientation of comparative studies extended beyond trans-Atlantic studies to encompass hemispheric and transoceanic research, facilitated not only by the reconfiguration of post-1989 political relations in Europe, but also by the radical revolution in technology: increased international travel, the institutionalization of exchange programs and the Internet revolution have made much better informed insights possible. Therefore,

It is clear today that, in focusing on Western Europe and North America, scholars neglected the much wider spread of the events of '1968.' During the past decade, however, historians and sociologists have not only assembled more and more countries and regions that were affected by '1968,' but also investigated their cross-border activities and communication. Today, there is agreement that the student and protest movements of '1968' were a transnational phenomenon. This is evidenced in the striking simultaneity of events in 1968 in Europe, Africa, both Americas and Asia. To mention just a few events: in February 1968, student protests escalated in the Roman university district. Two months later, in April, the attempted murder of the West German student leader Rudi Dutschke led to violent student riots against the right-wing Springer press in West Berlin. In the same month, students rose up in Senegal, which developed into a fully fledged opposition against the Senegalese regime. In June, the student protests in Mexico started and culminated in the Tlatelolco massacre killing numerous students in early October. In the Eastern Bloc, the Prague Spring, which started in January 1968, was finished off by the August invasion of the Warsaw Pact states. Throughout the whole year, Japanese students protested against a variety of grievances, first and foremost US-American imperialism and the Vietnam War. The established convention of using '1968' as a synonym or cipher for the student and protest movements of the 1960s and the 1970s reflects this cluster of events. (Kutschke 2013: 5–6)

Of course, one could multiply examples, adding, notably, the events of May '68 in Paris, the protests of the Polish March and numerous other manifestations of the "spirit of the nineteen-sixties"—a spirit that seems to have encompassed so much of the world, that one seems to be justified in postulating the "Second Coming" of the transnational "geist" of the mid 19th century revolutionary Romanticism. Beyond doubt, like then,

the 1960s and 1970s counterculture in Brazil and Mexico [...]." (Kutschke 2013: 5).

also in 1968 the times were “a-changing” globally. And although many studies are yet to come in order to properly address these phenomena from a variety of methodological perspectives, it is interesting to observe that whenever the times have seemed to go “a-changing” ever since, the global icons of the 1968 would return unchanged, eternally young, with their equally iconic protest songs to support those who would choose to speak out, and to strengthen them in their communal resolve.

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