

POST-1945
POLAND:
MODERNITIES,
TRANSFOR-
MATIONS
AND EVOLVING
IDENTITIES

INTRO

It is with great pleasure that I would like to offer a warm welcome to all participants of the first graduate students' and early career scholars' conference organized by the Programme on Modern Poland in St Antony's College. From very beginning of our activities in 2013, we have aimed to establish POMP as a hub for research scholars who specialise in broadly defined Polish studies and represent diverse disciplines and international academic institutions. To that end, we organise conferences, seminar series, lectures and other events that promote academic discussions and intellectual exchange. This year we have decided to facilitate yet another form of academic cooperation, a forum for young scholars who would use this venue to present path-breaking research, benefit from the expertise and advice of senior academics, and build professional and personal networks. We very much hope that the success of this conference will help to advance and enhance participants' research projects, and we look forward to organising such events in the future.

Dr Mikołaj Kunicki,
Director of Programme on Modern Poland

ABOUT POMP

Program on Modern Poland (POMP) is an interdisciplinary research centre and a part of the European Studies Centre at St Antony's College. Founded in July 2013 by Dr Leszek Czarnecki's Getin Noble Bank and the Oxford Noble Foundation, the centre's main objective is to correct Western European bias in British academia and public sphere. Through academic exchanges, seminar series, lectures by invited key researchers in Polish Studies, conferences and academic publications, POMP nurtures the discussion on modern Poland in the academic circles and beyond. At POMP, we study Poland within the broader context of the region and the continent ambitiously seeking for a comparative, interdisciplinary and transnational perspective that would challenge the Cold War and post-Soviet approaches.

POMP is directed by Dr Mikołaj Kunicki, historian of 20th century Poland and Eastern Europe. Among the Programme's founders are leading Oxford academics

– Professors Timothy Garton Ash, Norman Davies, Jan Zielonka and Margaret MacMillan, who is Warden of St Antony's College.

Two years from the Programme launch, it has attracted a number of quality DPhil and fellowship applications from historians, sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and culture scholars from around the world who seek to study Polish-related themes.

ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

“Post-1945 Poland: Modernities, Transformations and Evolving Identities” is the students' graduate conference organised by the Programme on Modern Poland at the University of Oxford between 11–12 June 2015.

For two days, seventeen doctoral candidates and early career researchers from European and American universities will present their original research in Polish studies. Crafted around the notions of different visions of modernity, and socio-economic, political and cultural changes in post-1945 Poland, six thematic panels will provide the opportunity to cross disciplinary borders of humanities and social sciences.

The panels will examine the processes of reinventing local identities in the aftermath of the Second World War; transformation of political consciousness throughout the turning points of Poland's contemporary history; different systems of economic, social, and cultural exchange

during the Cold War and beyond; reflections on historical watersheds by the country's leading intellectuals. Finally, the last two panels will dissect the legacy of the post-1989 transformation of the Polish society.

Led by distinguished scholars in Polish Studies from major British universities, including Oxford, SSEES at UCL, and King's College London, the panels will provide a unique opportunity for exchanging ideas and experiences between students of different backgrounds and senior academics.

The extended versions of conference presentations will be featured in a series of working papers published in autumn 2015 under the auspices of POMP.

PROGRAMME

THU
11/6

9.30–10.00

Welcome tea and coffee

10.00–11.30

PANEL 1 – PLACES AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

Chair: **Dr Robert Pyrah**
(University of Oxford)

— *Becoming Lower Silesian. The Wrocław historians and identity in transformation (1945–1956).*

Annabelle Chapman
(University of Oxford)

— *Exhibition as Archive. On Warsaw's post-war Imaginary.*

Piotr J. Leśniak
(University of Edinburgh)

— *The triple re-invention of Wrocław in its exhibitions during the 20th century.*

Vasco Kretschmann
(Freie Universität Berlin)

11.45–13.15

PANEL 2 – EXCHANGES OF GOODS AND KNOWLEDGE: EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH

Chair: **Prof. Paul Betts**
(University of Oxford)

— *Nuclear Energy in Poland and the Polish-Russian Relations (1955–2014).*

Falk Flade
(Centre for Interdisciplinary Polish Studies in Frankfurt/Oder)

— *“The truthful image of our present, as we would like to see it”. Polish industrial exhibitions abroad between the 1940s and the 1970s.*

Katarzyna Jeżowska
(University of Oxford)

— *Between non-refundable aid and economic profits. Export of arms from the Polish People's Republic's to the Third World countries.*

Przemysław Gasztold-Seń
(Institute of National Remembrance and University of Warsaw)

13.15–14.15

Lunch

14.15–15.45

PANEL 3 – EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL IDENTITIES IN PEOPLE'S POLAND

Chair: **Prof. Jan Kubik**
(School of Slavonic & East European Studies, University College London)

— *The other political opposition. Kuroń, Modzelewski and the prehistory of 1964.*

Nguyen Vu Thuc Linh
(European University Institute)

— *“Byliśmy, Jesteśmy, Będziemy”. Jewish Life in Poland after 1968.*

Rachel Rothstein
(University of Florida)

— *The Party, Solidarity or both? Transformation of political identities in 1980–81.*

Jakub Szumski
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

15.45–16.15

Coffee break

16.15–17.45

PANEL 4 – PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS AND THINKERS

Chair: **Dr Mikołaj Kunicki**
(University of Oxford)

— *Leszek Kołakowski as a religious thinker.*

Hubert Czyżewski
(University of Oxford)

— *Turning-points of 1956, 1968, 1980, 1989 in the works of Zygmunt Bauman.*

Dr Dariusz Brzeziński
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

19.00

Dinner

FRI
12/6

9.45–10.00

Tea and coffee

10.00–11.30

PANEL 5 – TRANSFORMATION AND THE SOCIAL CHANGES

Chair: **Prof. Ann White**
(University College London)

— *What does the current demographic crisis tell us about post-communist Poland? Transformations of the social, the economic and the intimate.*

Anna Gromada
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

— *Studies on the dynamics of changes in the Polish society through the past 25 years on the example of Polish Panel Survey POLPAN 1988–2013.*

Anna Baczko-Dombi
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

— *Corruption during transformations of Polish society: survey data analysis of perceived changes and their determinants.*

Iłona Wysmulek
(Polish Academy of Sciences)

11.45–13.15

PANEL 6 – PROJECTIONS OF TRANSFORMATION AND THE POST-1989 POLAND

Chair: **Prof. Anna Reading**
(King's College London)

— *Modernisation of Polish identities in contemporary Polish playwriting: Demirski, Maślowska, Sikorska-Miszczuk and Wojcieszek.*

Natasha Oxley
(University of Oxford)

— *Language ideologies and gender in the modern Polish community in the UK.*

Kinga Kozminska
(University of Oxford)

— *“The ideology of gender presents a threat worse than Nazism and Communism combined”. Polish Catholic discourse on gender equality in the face of social and cultural changes in Poland.*

Anna Jagielska
(European University Viadrina)

13.15–14.15

Lunch

14.15–15.00

Closing remarks

SENIOR ACADEMIC BIOGRAPHIES

Professor Paul Betts

Professor Paul Betts joined St Antony's College as Professor of Modern European History in October 2012. Before that he taught at the Sussex University (2000–2012) and the University of North Carolina at Charlotte (1996–1999). He received his BA from Haverford College (US) in 1985, and his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1995. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on 20th Century German history. His most recent book, "Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic", was published by Oxford University Press in 2010, and received the Fraenkel Prize for Contemporary History from the Wiener Library. He is currently researching a book on comparative ideas of civilization in post-fascist Europe. He has also edited four essay collections. He was Joint Editor of "German History", 2003–2009, and is currently the Chair of the German History Society. He also serves on the Editorial Board for "Past & Present".

Professor Jan Kubik

Jan Kubik is Professor of Slavonic and East European Studies and Director of the UCL SSEES. Taught at Rutgers University, NJ, USA (1991–2014) and has lectured at several universities around the world. His earlier publications include: "The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power. The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland" and "Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989–1993" (with Grzegorz Ekiert). His recent work deals with the relationship between political science and cultural anthropology ("Anthropology and Political Science: a convergent approach", with Myron Aronoff, Berghahn Books, 2013); critical analysis of post-communist studies ("Postcommunism from Within. Social Justice, Mobilization, and Hegemony", co-edited with Amy Linch, NYU Press, 2013); and the politics of memory ("Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration", edited with Michael Bernhard, Oxford University Press, 2014). He received MA (sociology and philosophy) from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland and PhD. (anthropology, with distinction) from Columbia University.

Dr Mikolaj Kunicki

Mikołaj Kunicki joined St Antony's College as Senior Research Fellow in Polish Studies and Director of the Programme on Modern Poland in July 2013. Before coming to Oxford, he taught history at the University of Notre Dame (2006–2013) and the University of California at Berkeley (2005). He received his PhD in History from Stanford University in 2004 and holds MA degrees in History from the University of Warsaw, Central European University in Budapest, and the University of London. His book, "Between the Brown and the Red: Nationalism, Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth Century Poland", was published by Ohio University Press in 2012.

He is also the author of articles on 20th century Polish history and cinema, published in "Contemporary European History", "European Review of History", "East European Politics and Societies", and "Transit". He is currently researching a book on national communism in Polish and East European cinema.

Dr Robert Pyrah

Robert Pyrah, University of Oxford, is a Member of the Faculty of History, a Research Fellow of Wolfson College, and Research Associate at the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages on the AHRC-funded project "Subcultures as integrative forces, East-Central Europe 1900–present". His research covers questions of national and cultural identity in post-Habsburg East-Central Europe. Publications include a monograph, "The Burgtheater and Austrian Identity" (2007), and the co-edited volume "Re-Contextualising East Central European History" (2010). He is preparing a book on aspects of the 20th Century cultural history of L'viv (Ukraine). He previously held a Senior Fellowship at the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, Poland.

Professor Anna Reading

Anna Reading is Professor of Cultural and Creative Industries and Head of the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries at Kings College, University of London. She is the author of "The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture and Memory; Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media", with Colin Sparks, and "Polish Women, Solidarity and Feminism", Basingstoke: Macmillan. She co-edited with Joanne Garde Hansen "Save As... Digital Memories" (Palgrave) and with Jane Stokes "The Media in Britain: Current Debates and Developments", Basingstoke: Macmillan. Her new book "Cultural Memories of Non-violent Struggles: Powerful Times" has just been published by Palgrave. She also writes plays: her latest short piece "To My Dearest Daughter" imagines what feminism will be in ten years' time and is produced with Fuel Theatre.

Professor Anne White

Anne White was educated at Oxford University and the London School of Economics and Political Science. She taught English at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (1983–4) and Russian and East European Studies at the University of Bath (1987–2014) before joining University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies as Professor of Polish Studies and Social and Political Science. Her research areas are social change in Central and Eastern Europe (beginning with a PhD about declining state control over leisure time in communist Poland, Hungary and the USSR) and migration, including migration theory. Her current project explores the impact of migration from Poland on Polish society. Her publications include "Polish Families and Migration since EU Accession" (Bristol: Policy Press 2011) and three other research monographs. She organises the Polish Migration Website <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ssees/research/polish-migration>

ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES

Becoming Lower Silesian: The Wrocław historians and identity in transformation (1945–1956)

This paper looks at the emergence of a new Lower Silesian identity in Communist-era Wrocław, (formerly German Breslau) during the first decade after the region was incorporated into Poland in 1945, in the context of the political and cultural changes and border shifts of the time. As a case study, it takes the historians at Wrocław University's history faculty grouped around medievalist couple Ewa (1900–1972) and Karol Maleczyński (1897–1968) who moved to Wrocław from Lwów (today Lviv, Ukraine) in 1945, along with many other Poles from Poland's eastern borderlands that were incorporated into the Soviet Union. It examines how the Maleczyńskis and their colleagues re-established and re-invented Lower Silesian identity in the years coinciding with the rise of Marxist politics and historiography in Poland. The paper argues that, at the same time, the historians – none of whom were originally from the region themselves – were re-establishing and re-inventing their own identities. As the title indicates, the focus is on the process of “becoming” – to a greater or lesser extent – Lower Silesian, rather than reaching any specific end-product.

This paper examines three components of the new Lower Silesian identity promoted by the Maleczyńskis; its Marxist, Polish (national) and regional dimensions. The research, based on my DPhil thesis at Oxford University, looks at both the

historians' work and lives, including the relations between them. It uses a range of primary sources, including diaries, letters and memoirs (some of them unpublished), drawing on discourse analysis and biographical approaches. This innovative, interdisciplinary approach sheds light on the complex – and sometimes contradictory – discourses of Lower Silesian identity that were being produced by these historians in Wrocław after World War II. This, in turn, offers a fresh perspective on identities and notions of modernity in postwar Poland, particularly their regional dimension and the role of historians in producing them.

Annabelle Chapman is a third-year DPhil student in Modern Languages at Oxford University, where she is a Senior Scholar at Hertford College. Her thesis is entitled “*Becoming Lower Silesian: Ewa and Karol Maleczyński and their milieu of Wrocław historians (1945–1956)*”. She has an MSc in Russian and East European Studies and a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, both from Oxford University.
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Exhibition as Archive: on Warsaw's post-war imaginary

Warsaw's history is marked by spectrality and absence, focused either on what was destroyed, “not re-built” (nie-odbudowane), or “never-built” (niezaistniałe). In some accounts the city has been described as (continuously) remade by

“censors-researchers” operating on its past through silencing and exclusion — at once creating breaks (symbolic, physical or chronologic) and filling them in — and thus attempting to unify the image of the city. If “filling the gap” (scholars' typical agenda) is no longer desirable, could architectural imaginary (which thrives on omissions) contribute to presenting Warsaw's history in ways that give voice to its multiple, silent (and silenced) past(s)?

This paper follows on Jacques Derrida's thesis that a certain kind of silence, on scholar's part, is needed to study and write history; a silence that opens the “possibility of spectral response,” on which history and culture are built. This possibility is characteristic of photographic and architectural archives (photographs and drawings of houses are among ghosts' favourite places of residence), and where one may choose to stop speaking (history) and “let [spectres] speak.” This, however, requires an opening to a possibility that the archive itself, while carrying marks of material presence, is entirely spectral and imagined.

Drawing on such possibility, this paper discusses a proposal for an exhibition of Warsaw's (imaginary) archives. Designed for the Polish Architects' Association (SARP) exposition pavilion at Foksal Street (a locus of actual, politically-charged imagining of the city), the exhibition aims to unfold certain aspects of Polish (national) history through several chronologically distant, yet ideologically and spatially overlapping urban imaginaries of the Capital. This paper relates to the planning of the exhibition on two levels.

On one level, it relays one of these imaginaries — that of Warsaw in years 1944–56 — through a historical narrative concerned with several specific sites in the city. With the use of image and text, the World Heritage archive of damage surveys made by the city's Reconstruction Bureau (BOS) is put into a (spectral) conversation with a private archive of sculptor Karol Tchorek, the late author

of a series of memorial plaques marking Warsaw's sites of trauma, and of the bas-relief Mother with a Child in the MDM socialist-realist housing estate. Through situation in the SARP pavilion, the public and the private archive are then invited to ‘speak’ with the ‘city-as-archive’ itself. On another level, the paper is a locus for reflecting on the role of exhibition design in history research; an invitation to considering exhibition as a future-oriented, workable archive: a (necessarily) paradoxical object that operates “always and a priori against itself” — promising to keep things (secret), it generously gives them away.

Piotr Leśniak graduated from the Warsaw University of Technology (BSc Arch 2006) and the University of Edinburgh (MArch 2009, MSc Res 2010). He has worked in architectural practice in Poland and the UK, as a studio critic and theory tutor at the University of Edinburgh, and as designer on several exhibition projects. He co-organised and chaired the symposium *Plenitude and Emptiness on research by-design*, and co-founded the architectural design research journal “*Drawing On*”. He is currently working on his design-lead PhD thesis on architectural imaginaries of Warsaw, for which he holds the Principal's Career Development Scholarship from the University of Edinburgh.
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The triple reinvention of Wrocław in its 20th century exhibitions

Breslau's cultural elites tried to present local history as an expression of a German stronghold in the eastern borderlands. Aware of Breslau's reputation as a backward German city, they radicalized the city's museums' interpretations of local history — especially after 1933 — as

a war-driven success story. The history of Breslau's large Jewish community was an integral part of the museum's exhibitions until 1933. After the city became Polish in 1945, the first museum exhibitions presented a selective picture of a traditional Polish city that had only been temporarily conquered by the Germans. Traces of German local history were marginalized or presented as a negative factor in the city's development.

In the Polish national perspective of the People's Republic, the city's history was a string of struggles against the Germans; its peak was Soviet "liberation" with the victory over Nazi Breslau and the "return" of the Western territories to the Polish motherland — annually commemorated in historical exhibitions. Traces of the strong German-Jewish as well as Polish-Jewish communities were omitted from local history exhibitions. But as early as 1984, Jewish history became the first chapter of the city's pre-war German history shown in exhibitions. Since 1989, a gradual process has begun to portray an entangled Polish-German-Jewish history of cultural pluralism by promoting the image of a modern, European city.

Vasco Kretschmann (born 1985 in Aachen) studied History and Political Science in Berlin and Warsaw (2006–2009) and completed a Master of Arts in Public History at Freie Universität Berlin in 2012. In his PhD project he investigates how the museums of German and Polish Wrocław (Breslau) exhibited local history between 1900 and 2010. His study uses a multi-dimensional method to empirically analyse historical culture. His fields of interest are German-Polish and European historical cultures and exhibition projects. Since April 2013 he has been a graduate member of the selection committee for the Association for Student Exchange in Central and Eastern Europe (GFPS e.V.). — v.kretschmann@fu-berlin.de

Nuclear Energy in Poland and the Polish-Russian Relations (1955–2014)

In November 2009, the Polish Council of Ministers accepted the strategy paper "Polityka Energetyczna Polski do 2030 roku". For the first time an official document fixed a date for the commissioning of a nuclear power plant in Poland. Although the initially planned commissioning for the year 2020 has been frequently postponed, nuclear energy is of importance in political and public debates. Besides ecological and efficiency aspects, the main argument favouring nuclear energy is supply security. Polish policy makers hope for a reduction of the high dependency on energy imports from Russia. This dependency is considered as a potential limitation to Poland's political scope of action.

The relation with Russia takes centre-stage not only in current Polish (nuclear) energy politics. The Soviet Union was a central protagonist since the beginning of the scientific usage of nuclear energy in Poland in 1955, too. However, this relationship was anything but one-sided, as one might expect. Polish experts participated in scientific work at the international nuclear physics research centre in Dubna. Construction workers from Poland took part in the erection of several nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Chernobyl disaster had a direct impact on the construction stop of the Żarnowiec nuclear power plant in 1990. These plain facts show the importance of the "Russian factor" for Polish nuclear policy. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to examine the long-term development of the Polish nuclear energy sector against the backdrop of Polish-Soviet and Polish-Russian relations.

Falk Flade, Master's degree in Slavonic studies, East European history and economics in Greifswald and Lublin

(2002–2009). *Internship at the International Youth Meeting Center in Oświęcim/Auschwitz. Internship in the Polish parliament. Freelancer in the project Online-Archiv "Zwangsarbeit 1939-1945". Since 2012 PhD student at the Center for Interdisciplinary Polish Studies in Frankfurt/Oder.* — falk.flade@googlemail.com

"The truthful image of our present, as we we would like to see it" – Polish industrial exhibitions abroad between the 1940s and the 1970s

"Our exhibition design depicts the truthful image of our present, as we we would like to see it. To a great extent it is an image of our longings, a sample of our possibilities." This quote from an article by Jerzy Hryniewiecki published in an inaugural issue of "Projekt" magazine in 1956 disclose the contradictory objectives of design exhibitions – in aiming to present the country, they drift towards a speculation of what it could be.

My research examines international exhibitions that featured models and prototypes, as well as photographic representations of things, ranging from furniture, glass, porcelain and textiles to domestic appliances and vehicles. However, commodities designed in Poland and exported abroad are not the main concern of my thesis. Instead, it focuses on the evolving relation between objects and spaces that have been used to construct an image of the Polish People's Republic abroad. It prompts the main question: How did that Imagined Poland look like?

The archival material does not provide a simple answer. In contrary, its diversity and wide range makes categorization of the exhibitions even more difficult. In the period of three decades between the mid 1940s and the mid 1970s, Poland took part in a few hundred industrial

presentations abroad. This included periodical exhibitions such as Milan Triennale and few Expos, annual trade fairs, temporary showcases of applied art and thematic presentations shown as a part of bigger celebratory schemes. For the organisational purposes, the events were divided into two categories: commercial and propaganda exhibition. However, the distinction between those two types is now hardly noticeable.

This paper analyses the 1st exhibition of the Polish Light Industry held in Moscow between August and September 1949. Although it was not the first post-war presentations of Polish industry abroad, it seems to be one of the most complex examples, where the contextual information about the country was combined with the commercial display. Worker was at the centre of the exhibition narrative, which was supposed to address contemporary issues of the political discourse, and his life, work and wellbeing were determined by big politics. Through exploring the exhibition narrative and the process of its production in a context of economical, cultural and political histories of Poland and Europe, this paper aims to introduce the multidisciplinary phenomena of industrial exhibitions.

Katarzyna Jeżowska is a DPhil. Candidate in History at the St Antony's College, University of Oxford, where she researches Polish presence at the international trade fairs and exhibitions showcasing design and applied art throughout the 20th century. Holder of the Oxford Noble Foundation grant and 2-year AHRC scholarship starting from October 2015. She also works as an Associate Lecturer at the University of the Arts, London. — katarzyna.jezowska@sant.ox.ac.uk — www.kasiajezowska.com

Between non-refundable aid and economic profits. Export of arms from the Polish People's Republic's to the Third World countries.

During the early 60s, 70s and 80s Communist Poland was actively developing its diplomatic relations with the Third World countries. The officials from the Polish United Workers' Party tried to use of the geopolitical situation by sending doctors, teachers, and many other specialists as contract workers to the Third World countries. Arms export was one of the major ground of the Polish relations with these states.

The Central Engineering Board was a state run company operating from 1956, and was responsible for exporting of the Polish weapons. Poland was a very important supplier for the many Third World states, such as Libya, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, or India. Polish tanks, armoured vehicles, grenades, rifles and other military equipment were worth each year hundreds of millions US dollars. The Polish authorities offered also to train foreign military troops in special hidden bases, like in the early sixties, when soldiers from Togo, Angola and Algeria were trained by the Polish pilots. The profits from the arms export were even more important in the eighties, when the Communist economy was increasingly weakening and desperately needed foreign currencies. Moreover, Poles preferred to sell rockets to Libya in the first place than to GDR. The reason was simple: Qaddafi was paying in US dollars, while Honecker in transfer roubles.

Poland did not only sell arms to the Third World countries, but also use weapons transfers as a part of foreign policy. Some agreements were seen as "Communist assistance" and were paid by the Poles, while others were simply based on general trade agreements and contracts. Polish weapons as "internationalist help" was delivered to Syria after Yom Kippur War,

to Angola in seventies, and to Nicaragua in the eighties.

In my paper, I will describe the Polish arms export to the Third World countries. I will present internal and external circumstances of Polish involvement in the weapons transfers. Based on the declassified documents from the Archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PUWP, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of Defence (Central Engineering Board files), and based on the Communist Intelligence and Counterintelligence files from the Institute of National Remembrance, I will address the question which reasons were the most important in Polish Arms Export to the Third World countries.

Przemysław Gasztold-Señ, PhD student at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at Warsaw University, he works in Public Education Office of the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw. He is currently conducting research on factions within the Polish United Workers' Party, on relations between Communist Poland and the Middle East/Maghreb and African countries and ties between the Soviet Bloc and international terrorism during the Cold War. He has already published "Koncesjonowany nacjonalizm. Zjednoczenie Patriotyczne 'Grunwald' 1980-1990" (2012) (2013 - "Polityka" weekly Historical Award (for debut); 2013 - nomination for Kazimierz Moczarski Prize). He is the co-author (with M. Trentin, J. Adamec) "Syria During the Cold War: The East European Connection", St Andrews Papers on Contemporary Syria, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014.
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The other political opposition: Kuroń, Modzelewski and the prehistory of 1964

1956 marked one of the biggest changes in political discourse in Polish post-1945 history. With Khrushchev's Secret Speech, Gomułka's rise to power and the promise of de-Stalinization, the year 1956 unleashed new hopes and critical political energies among the left-wing youth before Gomułka's rule took a disappointing turn. In this volatile context, popular youth journals such as "Po Prostu" played an important role in creating and spreading the critical discourse that was later identified as revisionist.

Despite the crushing of Polish revisionism in 1957, its discourse exerted a profound impact on Jacek Kuroń (1934-2004) and Karol Modzelewski (1937-) who later became key activists engaged in the political opposition. By activating a sense of social emergency, revisionism and its suppression has shaped their political identity both on an explicit cognitive as well as on an implicit affective level. This is particularly clear with regard to the famous "Open Letter to the Party" written by Kuroń and Modzelewski in 1964. Its sharp critique of the communist party echoes the spirit of 1956, landing both of them in prison for more than three years.

The guiding hypothesis of my presentation is that Polish revisionism was important not only in strictly political terms, but also with regard to fluctuating left-wing identities. The year 1956 marked a change on a macro- as well as on a micro-level, leading to the consolidation of ideas, values and forms of emotional attachment that later became crucial for the emotional habitus characteristic of Kuroń's closest political environment. Here, evolving identities are understood in affective terms (being shaped, e.g., by disappointment and anger) and not simply in terms of ideals or values. The seemingly

irrational political habitus of young activists and the role of emotions have played a crucial role in the crystallization and resilience of radical commitments even in the face of state repression.

In the final part of my presentation, this historical reconstruction will be linked to post-1989 Polish political discourse. While being admired and contested icons of the political opposition and its social sensitivity, Kuroń and Modzelewski's left-wing ideals have become difficult to maintain in contemporary Polish society. In the midst of the post-1989 redistribution of class positions and the changing mosaic of social identities in Poland, the left-wing roots of Solidarność remain relatively unknown and marginalized. In this context, understanding the role of emotions in shaping political identities and friendships that formed the basis for political mobilisation reveals a hitherto under-researched aspect of the origins of Solidarność.

Nguyen Vu Thuc Linh is a PhD candidate in the Department of History and Civilization at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, Italy. Prior to Linh's arrival in Florence, she obtained her master's degree in the Cultural Analysis programme at the University of Amsterdam and her bachelor's degree in Art History at the same university. Linh is a founding member of the Critical Theory Working Group at the EUI.
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"Byliśmy, Jesteśmy, Będziemy": Jewish Life in Poland after 1968

The World Jewish Congress reported in 1968: The remnants of Polish Jewry are being mercilessly purged by the communist rulers of Poland... Their existence as a community is being finally and forcibly brought to an end. While

the 1968 anti-Zionist campaign waged by the Polish government significantly reduced the Jewish population, it did not abolish Jewish life in Poland. Upwards of 20,000 Jews fled the country, but in their wake, a new Polish Jewishness—consisting of cultural, religious, and educational initiatives emerged. Scholars of Jewish history often write that this period was one of almost total darkness, in which only a few aging Jews remained in Poland. There was, according to this narrative, little in the way of organized Jewish life. My paper adds new dimensions of understanding to this period by showing that Jewish life in Poland continued. As one leader proclaimed in 1971: “We existed, we exist, and we will exist (Byliśmy, Jesteśmy, Będziemy).”

The remaining Polish Jewishness – both in terms of those who remained somehow connected to Jewish life in its multiple forms, as well as the remnants of Jewish property and culture – held a powerful symbolic significance that helped ensure the continuation of Jewish life, ironically, even as the government continued its brutal anti-Zionist campaign. While government leaders struggled to determine their policies towards the remaining Jewishness in the wake of the campaign, they were unable to ignore their perception that western Jews yielded enormous amounts of power and influence, and thus their approach to the remaining Polish Jews should be analysed within the context of the Cold War. These perceptions – grounded in antisemitic notions of Jewish power and international conspiracy – exerted enough political power to prevent a total suppression of Polish Jewishness. Thus, the anti-Zionist campaign incited a massive emigration of Jews from Poland, while also stimulating the emergence of a new, post-1968 Polish Jewishness heavily influenced by American Jewishness.

***Rachel Rothstein** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of Florida, where she is writing a dissertation entitled, “A Relationship of Equals? Polish and American Jews and the Creation of a New Polish Jewishness since 1968.” Her work has been supported by a number of institutions, including the Polish-U.S. Fulbright Commission, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Most recently, she won the Polish American Historical Association’s (PAHA) Graduate Student Research Paper Award. — rachroth1229@ufl.edu*

The Party, Solidarity or both? Transformation of political identities in 1980–81.

Polish United Workers’ Party (PUWP) and Solidarity trade union are traditionally seen as opposing forces in the “Polish Crisis” of 1980–1981. On the basic level such perspective is correct: both sides had different interests, sets of values and political goals. In the end Solidarity was destroyed and outlawed and its leaders were imprisoned; PUWP managed to survive until 1990. Although when we dig deeper into various source materials and personal accounts this black and white picture is getting complicated.

At the 9th Party Congress in July 1981 more than 20% of the delegates belonged at the same time to Solidarity. Few months later in September the union’s 1st National Congress took place. Again: about 10% of participants were in the communist party. It’s hard to quantitatively determine this overlap, scholars estimate it as far as million people.

I argue that due to the rise of Solidarity and choices that had to be made regarding its existence, we can witness the transformation of political identities within communist Poland. Its core lied in the premise

of dual (party and Solidarity) membership. For a large amount of politically active people old positions of either (for various reasons) joining the party or opposing it became obsolete. They were accepting state socialism and geopolitical situation but pushed for democratic reforms and seen Solidarity as a permanent element of the system.

I would like to elaborate on it basing on three cases of people who worked both in the party and Solidarity. I called their attitudes: the mediator, the radical and the orthodox. The mediator is Stefan Bratkowski, head of Polish Journalists Association who against all odds tried to negotiate between two conflicted sides. The radical is Zbigniew Iwanów, leader of the horizontalist movement in PUWP. They both failed and were expelled from the party. The position I called the orthodox is represented by Zofia Grzyb who joined Solidarity in 1980, but later abandoned it to become the first female member of the communist Politburo.

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Leszek Kołakowski as a religious thinker

The intellectual heritage of Leszek Kołakowski (1927–2009), one of the foremost thinkers of the twentieth century, is largely neglected by historical scholarship. As a young radical, he believed that Marxism held the answers to many

of the conflicts and violence of his time. Quickly disillusioned, he turned to the history of ideas, working on early modern theological debates that cleared the path to the rise of modern science and secularism.

As a political émigré, he settled down in All Souls College, Oxford and made his name in the international intellectual community with the seminal “Main Currents of Marxism”. His essays on politics and ethics were instrumental in the development of the anti-Communist opposition all over Central Europe and in developing democratic institutions after 1989. His last years were spent working on the philosophy of religion, examining many of the most fundamental questions of the humanities, and contemplating the answers to these questions given by the greatest minds of different times.

This paper will present Leszek Kołakowski as a religious thinker. Even though he was most famous for work on Marxism and modern democracy, religious issues lied at the heart of his philosophy from the very beginning, and always remained the most important point of reference in all his other works. It will outline how Kołakowski’s approach to religion changed from a radical Stalinist atheist of the 1950s to a Christian apologist of the 1990s and 2000s who saw religion as the only way to make sense of life. It will focus on few crucial turning-points, which marked his transition into a religious thinker.

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The Turning-points of 1956, 1968, 1980, 1989 in the works of Zygmunt Bauman

Zygmunt Bauman is one of the most renowned social theorists. His career spans over sixty years. He is the author of seventy books, two hundred articles and numerous essays. He is best known for his analysis of postmodernity and liquid modernity, which he has developed over the last twenty five years. Before 1989, however, his main area of interest was the condition and future of the socialist societies.

His work addressed the transformations that were taking place in post-war Poland as well. In my paper I focus on his interpretation on the events of 1956, 1968, 1980 and 1989. His analyses are of great importance as they reflect a view of an intellectual who – despite a number of obstacles – believed in the necessity of building a socialist utopia. After 1956 Bauman became a very active Polish revisionist and wrote extensively on the revival of Marxism-Leninism. In the following years he was one of the most important critics of the Party, which resulted in his dismissal from the University of Warsaw during the 1968 Polish political crisis. The events that followed were evaluated by him from abroad. In 1980 he analysed the rise of Solidarity thinking that it marked a positive step towards “the maturation of socialism”. Finally, as the events of 1989 took place, he interpreted them as “the most fitting finale for the twentieth century, bound to be recorded in history as the age of revolutions.

In my paper I present Bauman’s view on the turning points of the Polish post-war history as well as offer a critical analysis of these. Some of Bauman’s writings discussed in my paper were published in Polish only. The English-speaking readers may be unfamiliar with them.

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What does the current demographic crisis tell us about post-communist Poland? Transformations of the social, the economic and the intimate

Not only did the year 1989 mark the systemic transformation in Polish history but it also inaugurated unprecedented fertility fall well below replacement levels. The following demographic shift has profoundly influenced the country from the labour market down to the level of nuclear and ever shrinking family. Since the early 2000s, fertility rates around 1.3 child per woman has put Poland at the forefront of lowest-low fertility turning the country into only-child society much faster than even China’s one-child policy.

The rapid fall of fertility has reorganised Poland’s social life at all levels. At the state-level, it has made the future of the welfare state, especially the pay-as-you-go pension system uncertain. At the economic level, it has changed the labour market structure, especially

the dependency ratio, i.e. proportion of working to non-working population. At the family-level, low fertility has reorganized family ties. Touching on ethical issues, such as rights and obligations towards dependent family members, it has begun to question existing gender roles and practices of intergenerational care. At the personal level, falling fertility has been linked to the issues of well-being and self-fulfilment as Poles still declare a desired fertility of more than two (2.26) children and, for a large part of the society, becoming a parent lies at the intersection of personal needs linked to affective gratification, social expectations and socioeconomic constraints. In the long run, the dynamics is likely to generate a growing number of people with few, if any, family ties, with profound consequences for Poland’s public and private life.

Poland’s demographics offers a unique case study of continuity and change with forces pushing towards Western model of modernity with rising consumption, increasingly service-oriented economy, rapidly growing GDP and improving gender equality. At the same time, Poland is still classified as a conservative country with work, tax systems and welfare state arrangements tailored to the Beckerian family model; high religiosity; low levels of pre-school education enrolment linked to the fact that 80% of Poland’s municipalities lack any form of organised childcare for children below the age of three; and Esping-Andersen’s incomplete gender equilibrium, characterised by high incompatibility of public and private sphere institutions. However, as will be demonstrated, Polish conservatism should be problematised as it shows rapid change in time, diversity in space and substantial inconsistency across different spheres of life.

The paper explores the demographic transition of Polish society since 1988. Using data of Polish Panel Survey POLPAN, Central Statistical Office, European Social Survey and European

Value Survey, the paper empirically tests to what extent main theories of fertility have explanatory power in the case of Poland, in order to trace the origin of the demographic transition and its consequences for the development of the country.

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Studies on the dynamics of changes in the Polish society through the past 25 years on the example of Polish Panel Survey POLPAN 1988–2013

In the past 25 years Poland underwent a transformation from “old” to “new” elements in the social structure, including differences in living standards, labour emigration on a massive scale, changes in patterns of professional and family life with clear implications for social inequalities. Among studies intending to describe those changes and their role in different aspects of life, special attention should be paid for panel surveys that base on collecting repeated measures from the same sample at different points in time. This approach allows to gather information about respondents throughout their life course. As a result, it provides details on

the nature of changes and the dynamics of behaviour of respondents over a long time scale (e.g. Lavrakas 2008, Lynn 2009, Menard 2002).

Polish Panel Survey POLPAN 1988–2013 is a unique program of panel surveys that has been carried out since 1988 in 5-year intervals; it focuses on describing social structure and its change during the last 25 years in Poland in various aspects: social structure; changes in class structure; occupation careers, social mobility; differences in the standard of living; the process of adaptation to a market economy; the impact of the location in social structure on political attitudes and behaviour; perception of social conflicts; winners, losers, and the European integration; health issues; emigration. In POLPAN crucial importance for the analysis of social structure are the parameters illustrating the direction of the country's socio-economic evolution. Last edition of the study, due to the decision to rejuvenate the panel and the initiation of a new panel cohort, necessarily involved the need of redefinition and reconstruction of a way of thinking about research tools used in last waves.

Conducting such a specific study over such a long period of time in turbulent reality leads to many methodological challenges. In all waves of the study the POLPAN team faced a number of dilemmas, of which the most difficult was how to combine adjustment tools to previous waves with maximum comparability, with construction tools that would reflect contemporary issues, contemporary social structure or even changes of the language (whether some questions posed during the communist era will be understood and have not changed their meaning until now?). Those difficulties were resolved under the objective of maximal uniformity of tools. In this paper I intend to describe selected challenges and their solutions worked out by the POLPAN team.

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Corruption during transformations of Polish Society. Survey data analysis of perceived changes and their determinants

Is current government effective in fighting corruption? Has it ever been? The shifting subjective evaluation of corruption level and effectiveness of government in decreasing corruption are the indicators of social and political changes in the society. In this presentation I focus on the relationship of public opinion towards the level of corruption and the perceived influence of government in reducing it in Poland.

Although corruption is the problem of all European countries, regardless their economic development (Kaufmann 2005), the high level of perceived political and administrative corruption have been often understood as the distinctive disease of the countries “in transition” (Gong, 2002; Smith et al 2010). Poland,

as the largest Central-Eastern European country which has gone through the number of political, social, and economic changes is a particularly interesting case for analysis.

Previous studies have shown that corruption perception has a tremendous impact on political trust and in some instances to social trust as well (Blind, 2006). It mirrors the fairness and truthfulness of representatives that citizens have (directly or indirectly) democratically chosen, and thus have an impact on voting behaviour (Słomczynski, Shabat, 2011). There is also an opinion that the perception of corruption could have even more devastating effects than corruption itself, while it may generate a “culture of distrust” towards some institutions (Melgar, Rossi and Smith, 2010). However, corruption does not influence every citizen equally. Its perception also varies among respondents.

In my presentation I will concentrate on three issues. First, I plan to present the prospective and retrospective evaluations of corruption level in Poland in the eyes of Polish citizens. Second, I will present the dynamics of change in evaluation of the government in fighting corruption. Third, I will present the analysis of the evaluation of the current government effectiveness in fighting corruption, answering the questions what determines the perception of corruption in Poland now?

My analysis are mainly based on the Polish Panel Survey POLPAN 1988–2013, which offers the unique information on the opinion of Poles since the days of the People's Republic of Poland through the transformation period and up to the present. The panel format of the data, with same respondents asked every five years the same questions, offers the new angle in the analysis of corruption and enriches the understanding of changes that Poland has gone through.

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Modernisation of Polish identities in contemporary Polish playwriting: Demirski, Masłowska, Sikorska-Miszczuk and Wojcieszek

With the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, Polish playwrights were released from the stranglehold of communist censorship. After an initial trend for restaging classics came a wave of British, German and international plays in translation. “In-your-face” writers such as Kane and Ravenhill seemed to speak to Polish society. Following Poland's entry to the EU in 2004, a surge of initiatives sprang up to encourage new Polish playwriting. Many festivals and competitions stipulated that entries had to respond to contemporary Polish realities. A surge of new writing ensued, and several playwrights established themselves. Within the broader theme of engagement with social issues, specific commonalities of concerns became apparent, all of which tied in with Polish national identity.

In post-1989 Poland and particularly in “European”, capitalist Poland post 2004, the reshaping of Polish national identity is of paramount importance. This is manifested in several subthemes. Young playwrights have challenged inherited modes of thinking about World War Two and rejected imposed rituals of commemoration. Many characters are fed up of hearing about the war and say it is time to move on and live. Several playwrights support the individualisation of memorial methods as well as the rejection of a heroic narrative of war. Some writers tackle head on the lies imposed around the massacre in Jedwabne, advocating a collective moving on from the trauma that ensued from revelations in 2000 that exposed Poles as perpetrators, and expressing hope for improved Polish-Jewish relationships. Contemporary Polish playwrights also tackle the myth of homogeneity that was promoted under communism and by the Polish Catholic church.

Playwrights commonly challenge the notion that to be Polish is to be Catholic, as well as criticising prejudice against homosexuals, encouraging acceptance of different sexualities, and ridiculing gender role stereotypes. These writers exploit their freedom to create new narratives in both form and content. Dialogue and conventional action are subordinate to monologue, storytelling, reported speech and direct address. New dramatic techniques serve new identities, in a language full of obscenities and abstractions. Examples are presented from plays by Paweł Demirski, Dorota Maślowska, Małgorzata Sikorska-Miszczuk and Przemysław Wojcieszek which highlight the overwhelming evidence that contemporary Polish plays advocate a recovery from the painful past and a positive outlook for individual Poles in European Poland.

Natasha Oxley is a final year DPhil candidate in Contemporary Polish Playwriting at Wolfson College, Oxford,

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Language ideologies and gender in the modern Polish community in the UK

In the modern world, people migrate at a faster pace than ever before. The ease of mobility and ongoing globalization question the integrity of homogenous nation-states with homogenous cultures and languages. In contrast to most studies focusing on economic and political aspects of transnationalism, the current project approaches the problem from a linguistic perspective looking at a group of exemplary modern migrants – Polish young adults in the UK who thanks to cheap transportation and new channels of communication are able to construct their new identities and lifestyles through symbols from variegated sites unlimited by territorial boundaries. How do they position themselves in relation to Poland, the UK and the world and what is the role of language in this process?

In this paper, language ideologies of a group of 30 Polish young adults are examined in order to understand the process of identity construction among members of the modern Polish diaspora

community. The analysis is based on one-year-long fieldwork in the Polish community in the London area and Oxford, where 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with Poles who moved to the British Isles after the EU enlargement in 2004 to study and later, stayed to work. The project was conducted between July 2013 and August 2014 and provides an important contribution to the examination of varieties of Polish migrants’ ethnic experiences in the UK. An analysis of participants’ “cultural system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255) allows for a depiction of new Polish transnational identities observed among members of the studied group. Two distinct identities with disparate linguistic and cultural practices emerge from the study: those maintaining Polish national identity as well as Polish culture and language, and those rejecting the concept of nationality and not maintaining the culture and language.

In this talk, the two identities and a group in-between are discussed to show how modern migrants draw on linguistic and cultural resources to position themselves in the world. As the two groups and a group in-between are differently represented in the study in terms of gender, observed gender differences are addressed showing a tendency for Polish men to express nationally Polish identities more often than Polish women.

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“The ideology of gender presents a threat worse than nazism and communism combined”. Polish catholic discourse on gender equality in the face of social and cultural changes in Poland

Three years ago, the word “gender” was discussed in Poland exclusively in academic contexts. One year later, it was chosen by scholars from the University of Warsaw and the Polish Language Foundation as the 2013 word of the year. The rapid career of this word is due to the involvement of the Polish church hierarchy who strategically brought this term into relation with abortion, pornography and paedophilia. “Gender” is more than a political slogan. It is a symbol of social anxiety and moral panic in Poland which need to be historically considered. The quote in the title, made by one of Poland’s well-known bishops, Tadeusz Pieronek, denotes some possible explanations.

The aim of my paper is to present selected rhetorical strategies used by the Polish Catholic clergy who strive to have an impact on the current gender discourse in Poland. I will discuss in particular the gender debate, culminated in the pastoral letter of the Bishops’ Conference of Poland (“Threats to the Family Stemming from the Ideology of Gender”, 29.12.2013). The church’s protest against the Council of Europe’s Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence will be analysed and the recent heated debates in Poland on contraception, abortion, in vitro fertilization, and sex education will be mentioned.

To provide explanations on the specificity of Polish gender debates, I will talk about the role of the Catholic Church in the fall of communism in Poland as well as the charismatisation of Polish society by Pope John Paul II. I will demonstrate the social constructions of communism

and feminism, which are manifested in both written and symbolic contracts on gender equality between the Church and the State. At the end of the paper, theories about the changing role of religion in society (e.g. by Peter L. Berger) will be applied.

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