WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

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DEMOCRACY VS. Authoritarianism

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ORGANIZED BY THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES (STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UW) WARSAW UNIVERSITY

Warsaw East European Conference Warsaw University July 15 – 18, 200	PEAN C	ONFERENCE - 18, 2007
THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD IN THE BUILDING OF THE OLD LIBRARY (STARA BIBLIOTEKA)	G OF THE OLD) LIBRARY (STARA BIBLIOTEKA)
Sunday Inly 15	DA	DAY 1 – Sunday – July 15
	4:00-5:15 PM 6:15-8:00 PM	OPENING CEREMONY Round Table I:
4:00 FIN OF ENTING CENEMONT		"UKRAINE: THE END OF GEOPOLITICS"
RAFAŁ DUTKIEWICZ		74 V 2 – Manana – C VA
SPECIAL GUEST	10:00-12:00 PM	Session I
ALIAKSANDR MILINKEVICH	12:30-2:30 PM	Session II
	4:00-6:00 PM 6.15-8:00 PM	Session III Round Table II.
Sunday, July 15, 6:15 PM		"CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY
Round Table I: "Ukraine: the End of Geopolitics"		IN POST COMMUNIST WORLD"
Round Table II. "Challenges	10:00-12:00 PM	DAI 3 - LUESDAY - JULY 17 PM Session I
to Democracy In Post Communist World"	12:30-2:30 PM	Session II
	4:00-6:00 PM	Session III
Thesday, July 17, 6:15 PM	6:15-8:00 PM	Round Table III: "CTIT TTIPE AND DD OCESSES
Round Table III: "Culture and Processes		OF NATURAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION"
of Natural Identity Construction"		
	DAY	4 – WEDNESDAY – JULY 18
Wendesday, July 18, 6:15 PM	10:00-12:00 PM	Session I
Round Table IV: "Polish Eastern Studies"	12:30-2:30 PM 4·00-6·00 PM	Session II Session III
	6:15-8:00 PM	Round Table IV
Wendesday, July 18		"POLISH EASTERN STUDIES"
8:00 PM CLOSING CEREMONY	8:00 PM	CLOSING CEREMONY

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE WARSAW UNIVERSITY, JULY 15-18, 2007

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DEMOCRACY VS.

AUTHORITARIANISM POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

ORGANIZED BY THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES (STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UW)

WARSAW UNIVERSITY

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FROM WOJCIECH TYGIELSKI

Professor, Warsaw University Vice-Rector for Research and International Relations

Warsaw University is the biggest and, in mine as well as Warsaw University authorities' strong opinion, arguably the best university in Poland. We, the Warsaw University authorities and all the employees, are very proud of this fact, but of course I am aware of the fact that in Poland there are many good universities with a high standard of teaching, good staff, excellent results, and - at last - with strong traditions!

This is the information about Warsaw University and other Polish universities that I would like to emphasize and to convey to foreign guests and participants of the Warsaw East European Conference. As we all know, Warsaw East European Conference has become the constant point of summer Warsaw



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University activities. Such meetings are a unique opportunity for establishing relationships and exchanging thought between the world's most valued scholars dealing with Central and Eastern Europe. Besides, they encourage us to analyze the surrounding reality, undergoing constant changes, both on political, social and economic level.

The subject of this year's conference, "Authoritarianism vs. Democracy", is a very interesting one. It is particularly interesting for us Poles, who have been able to enjoy full freedom and democracy for twenty years only. I do believe that this topic is also very interesting for all guests from the East and the West. For the guests from the East, it can be a great possibility to compare their own experiences concerning freedom with the experience of other countries. For the guests from the West, who fortunately did not have any problems with the lack of freedom, what we were jealous of - this is a purely scholarly issue and a great opportunity to meet with people who have lived in countries without freedom, but now live in countries which have undergone complete transformation.

Almost 300 people who will meet here in Warsaw at the conference, will have the opportunity, let's emphasize it once again, to develop their skills in the scientific field, but also to have hundreds of conversations and meetings with their friends from other countries. I am convinced that the fact of English being the language of the conference will be a very helpful thing and not an obstacle – not only because of the fact that majority of academicians speak English, but any of us will surely take this opportunity and try to speak in any possible languages, which allow us to communicate. This is yet another thing I am glad about - that the conference is a place of meeting and discussion of the Eastern problematics specialists.

That is another reason why I would like to express my great gratitude to the Centre for East European Studies for organizing the WEEC. For many years the Centre has organized sessions, schools and scholarship programs. It must be said, however, that the Warsaw East European Conference is an event of unusual value, because English has been set to be the language of all the events, and so the Conference has become the one able to connect the East with the West In Warsaw.

Dear participants of Warsaw East European Conference!

On behalf of the authorities of Warsaw University I do thank you for coming and wish you good referents, effective discussions, great atmosphere and beautiful impressions from Warsaw, and from Warsaw University.

FROM JAN MALICKI

Director, Warsaw East European Conference, Centre for East European Studies



Now this is the fourth time we meet here in Warsaw on the day of the beginning of the Annual Warsaw East European Conference. This is yet another time when here, in this beautiful renovated building of the former 19th century University Library, the conference gathers over 300 participants – referents and conference listeners, who arrived here from almost all countries:

from the United States, from Western Europe, from Central and East Europe and even the farthest situated countries such as Japan or Australia. I would like to emphasize that the biggest group of people present at the conference are guests from Ukraine and Belarus - mainly because of their geographical position

and as a result of substantial issues. Warsaw European Conference, Fourth Annual Session, was entitled "Authoritarianism vs. Democracy". Main topics of the conference were focused on democratic and authoritarian tendencies starting from 18th c., especially through 19th and 20th centuries and concerns political, social, economic, national and cultural matters.

Like in previous conferences, serious role is played still some by matters concerning Belarus, Ukraine, Caucasus, Central Asia, Russia and European Union, especially when it relates to the East and neighbourhood policy. The new topic at the conference is security, especially energy security, which appears in our panels. All this our participants could have seen in the booklet which includes the programme of the conference. The conference of over 60 panels (intended for the conference participants) offers - just as it was in the previous



years – some public events, open both for the conference participants and guests from Warsaw. These are inaugural ceremonies and the round tables.

To this inaugural lecture I have decided to invite the person who does not work over the Eastern studies. He is a well-known person in Poland and, taking into account that he is the Lord Mayor of Wroclaw, I must emphasize that Wroclaw is a city to which 60 years ago hundreds thousands of Poles from the East arrived. Taking this fact into consideration, the city is strongly tied with the Eastern matters. Moreover, Dr. Dutkiewicz is connected to politics in a special way. When he ran for the president for the second time, he received more votes than he had previously. I would like to emphasize that his experience does not only cover local democracy, but he is a man with deep thoughts about the contemporary world. The topic of the inaugural lecture - "New horizons", which is also the title of Dr. Dutkiewicz's book, shows this way of thinking. I am convinced that Dr. Dutkiewicz's lecture will interest you very much.

The special guest of the inaugural ceremony will be Mr. Aleksander Milinkiewicz, the leader of the Belarusian opposition. He is the person I need not present. We are pleased that he agreed to be our guest at the conference once again and in a few points he will tell us his remarks concerning the topic "Democracy vs. Authoritarianism".

Moreover, we can offer round tables open for all participants, this year concerning: Ukraine, Belarus, democratization of East – Central Europe and Polish Eastern Studies. I would like to draw your attention to this round table, because I would like to present for the first time a plan (offered by East European Studies and accepted by other institutions) of common sets of Polish institutes of Eastern Studies. Some managers of these institutes will be our guests during the conference.

This year's conference also concerns a matter very important to us. For the first time, we have decided to publish a volume of "Conference abstracts". Unfortunately, not everyone of the referents, even despite our numerous requests and entreaties, sent abstracts their papers. We publish the volume, which includes about 80% of abstracts. Despite this fact, we trust that this will be very helpful material for the participants of the conference and that it will be a material of scientific nature.

All the information about this programme you will find in the detailed plan. I would like to thank all the participants for their coming and I hope that you will be satisfied. May all of you be glad and willing like to come back next year!

Let the conference begin...

CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES (Studium Europy Wschodniej UW)

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE JULY 15-18, 2007

CONFERENCE ORGANISING COMMITTEE: Jan Malicki, Conference Director Director of the Centre for East European Studies

• Wojciech Tygielski, professor, Warsaw University Vice-Rector for Research and International Relations

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME BOARD:

- Andrzej Ananicz lecturer at the Centre
- Jerzy Kozakiewicz lecturer at the Centre
- Jan Kubik lecturer professor at the Centre
- Jan Malicki Conference Director
- Leszek Zasztowt lecturer professor at the Centre

STAFF:

- Konrad Zasztowt (Conference coordinator)
- Jerzy Malicki (Conference secretary volunteer)
- Justyna Pabian (Conference secretary)

and

- Radosław Sterna, Ecelino Ionescu, Agata Nieścieruk, Maciej Sokołowski, (conference organizing assistance)
- Elżbieta Sroka-Świrska (book exhibit, cultural events)
- Wiktoria Malicka (desk volunteer)
- Zbigniew Jusis, Robert Sobociński (programme printing)
- Hubert Karasiewicz (programme layout&design)

Warsaw East European Conference was organised under the patronage of Rector Magnificus of Warsaw University.



WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE WARSAW UNIVERSITY, July 15 – 18, 2007

PANEL GRID

		Monday, July 16 – Day 2		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 3.00 PM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM - 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	1. Civil society construction	5. 19th century Russia – struggle of ideologies		12. Anthropology and ethnography of communism and post-communism
Room 107	2. Conflicts in Caucasus. Instability zones	6. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context – I	IME	13. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe – I
R00m 111	3. EU Eastern policy – I	7. Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist bloc	L HONUL	14. Caucasus – difficult way towards democracy?
Room 116	4. Political transition in post-communist countries – I	8. Energy security – I	Mq 00:4	15. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – I
Room 205		9. EU Eastern policy – II	- M4 08	16. Putin's Russia – II
Room 207		10. NGOs activities in post-communist countries – I	5	17. Turkey and the EU – I
Room 211		11. Putin's Russia – I		
Main At	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table II "CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD"	OCR	ACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD"

		TUESDAY, JULY 17 – DAY 3		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 3.00 PM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM - 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	18. Chechnya	25. Belarus – I		32. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe – II
Room 107	19. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – II	26. Central Asia – I	LIME	33. Belarus – II
R00m 111	20. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context – II	27. Energy security – II	ГЛИСН	34. Central Asia – II
Room 116	21. International relations in post-Soviet and post-communist area	28. Historiography of East Central Europe – I	Mq 00:	35. Historiography of East Central Europe – II
Room 205	22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries – II	29. Political transition in post-communist countries – II	Þ− ₩d 0	36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia
Room 207	23. Post-enlargement Europe	30. Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states		37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe
R00m 211	24. Turkey and the EU – II	31. EU, NATO and Russia – I		38. EU, NATO and Russia – II
Main A	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table III "CULTURE AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION. DUTHES OF NATIONAL ELITES"	AL EI	JTES"

		WEDNESDAY, JULY 18 - DAY 4		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 11.30 AM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	39. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe – I	46. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe – II		52. Economic transition – II
Room 107	40. Central Asia – III	47. Cold war	TIME	53. Russian factor in the post-soviet space
R00m 111	41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe	48. Economic transition – I	ПЛИСН	54. Secular and Islamic traditions. Between Europe and Middle East
R00m 116	42. Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide	49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – III	M4 00:1	55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution – II
Room 205	43. Migrations and security issues	50. Russian relations with the Baltic region	0 bW - 4	56. International relations in the Black Sea region
Room 207	44. Russian identity in communist and post-communist period	51. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution – I	5:2	57.NGOs activities in post-communist countries – III
R00m 211	45. EU – Ukraine relations			
Main A	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table IV "POLISH EASTERN STUDIES"	DIES"	

WARSAW UNIVERSITY

JULY 15-18, 2007

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE Democracy vs. Authoritarianism



WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

WARSAW UNIVERSITY, JULY 15-18, 2007

organized by

STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ Palac Potockich, Krakowskie Przed mieście 26/28, 00-927 Warszawa Tel. 022 55 22 555, fax 55 22 222, e-mail: studium@uw.edu.pl; <u>www.studium.uw.edu.pl</u>



WARSAW UNIVERSITY, CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES (STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UW)

Requests the honour of Your presence at the Opening & Closing Ceremonies and Events of WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

> OPENING CEREMONY: Sunday, the Fifteenth of July, 2007 at Four o'clock Warsaw University, Old Library

WELCOME BY: STANISŁAW GŁAB

Professor & Vice-Rector of Warsaw University and

Jan Malicki, Director of the Centre for East European Studies Warsaw East European Conference Director

> INAUGURATIONAL LECTURE: RAFAŁ DUTKIEWICZ, Mayor of Wrocław

New Horizons

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SPECIAL GUEST: ALIAKSANDR MILINKEVICH, Leader of the Belarusian Opposition Democracy vs. Authoritarianism

CLOSING CEREMONY:

Wednesday, Eighteenth of July, 2007 at Eight o'clock Warsaw University, Old Library

WOJCIECH TYGIELSKI Professor & Vice-Rector of Warsaw University and Jan Malicki, Director of the Centre for East European Studies

Jan Malicki, Director of the Centre for East European Studies Warsaw East European Conference Director

ROUND TABLES:

I. Ukraine - the End of Geopolitics (July 15, at 6:15-8:00 p.m.) II. Challenges to Democracy In Post Comunist World (July 16, at 6:15-8:00 p.m.) III. Culture and the Processes of National Identity Construction (July 17, at 6:15-8:00 p.m.) IV. Polish Eastern Studies (July 18, at 6:15-8:00 p.m.)

Uniwersytet Warszawski, Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, Stara Biblioteka

Wykłady podczas uroczystości otwarcia i zakończenia Konferencji oraz dyskusje okrągłych stołów są otwarte i będą tłumaczone na język polski Inf. 022 55 22 444 ; e-mail: studium@uw.edu.pl

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Special letter from Czesław Miłosz (1911 – 2004)

Nobel Prize winner - to participants of Warsaw Convention, 2004

"Dobrze jest urodzić się w małym kraju, gdzie przyroda jest ludzka, na miarę człowieka, gdzie w ciągu stuleci współżyły ze sobą różne języki i różne religie"

Niech mi będzie wolno zacząć moje posłanie do uczestników Warsaw Special Convention of ASN tymi słowy, które ponad dwadzieścia lat temu wygłosiłem

w salach Królewskiej Akademii Szwedzkiej w Sztokholmie, gdy otrzymywałem Nagrodę Nobla.

Wygłosiwszy te słowa i mówiąc dalej jeszcze o Litwie i krajach bałtyckich, chciałem zwrócić uwagę wolnego świata na los narodów uwięzionych przez komunistyczną Moskwę. Dziś cel mam zupełnie inny. Na tej sali, w Audytorium Maximum Warszawskiego Uniwersytetu, zgromadziło się przecież kilkuset młodych i starszych specjalistów z całego świata, którzy naukowo pracują nad dawnymi i współczesnymi losami tego regionu, o którym w 1980 roku mówiłem. Mamy tu wielu takich, którzy zajmują się szczegółowo właśnie sprawami narodowościowymi.

Dlatego chciałbym powiedzieć, że ja właśnie urodziłem się w takim kraju " "It is good to be born in a small country where Nature was on a human scale, where various languages and religions cohabited for centuries."

Let me begin my remarks to the participants of the Warsaw Special Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) with these words, which I first uttered over twenty years ago at the Swedish Royal Academy in Stockholm when I received the Nobel Prize.

Continuing my lecture at that time with reference to Lithuania and the Baltic States, I wished to draw the attention of the free world to the fate of the nations held captive by communist Moscow. Today my aim is different. In this hall, the Audytorium Maximum of Warsaw University, several hundred senior and junior specialists from around the world, whose scholarly work focuses on the history and contemporary affairs of the region to which I referred in 1980, have assembled. There are many here who concentrate precisely on nationality issues.

That is why I would like to repeat that I was born in a country ,, where various languages and religions cohabited for centuries." I am referring to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, part of

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gdzie w ciągu stuleci współżyły ze sobą różne języki i różne religie"

Chodzi mi o dawne Wielkie Ksiestwo Litewskie, część tego organizmu który nazywał się "Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów" albo po prostu "Respublika" i był państwem nie tylko obojga, ale przynajmniej czworga narodów (Polaków, Litwinów, Białorusinów i Ukraińców, a w cześci też Łotyszów) i jako organizm przez parę stuleci republikański był tworem na swe czasy tak dziwnym i nieznośnym, że nawet niezależnie od swych słabości musiał zginąć pod atakiem sąsiednich autorytaryzmów: Moskwy, Prus i Austrii. To były rozbiory Polski w końcu XVIII wieku

Cała moja rodzina przez wieki żyła właśnie na terenach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Byliśmy stamtąd. I choć od XVI wieku posługiwaliśmy się polskim językiem, co też i spowodowało, że zostałem poetą polskiego języka, to jednak dla nas główne miasta to były Wilno i Ryga, a nie Warszawa, Kraków, Lwów czy Poznań. W tych ostatnich często w ogóle nie bywaliśmy, poruszając się tylko po obszarach naszych mniejszych ojczyzn. Nie dość na tym - przez całe dziesiątki lat po rozbiorach trwało jeszcze poczucie przynależności do Wielkiego Księstwa.

Ja, tak jak i moi koledzy, w okresie szkół i studiów w przedwojennym Wilnie także czuliśmy się obywatelami tego nieistniejącego już od ponad the organism that was known as the "Commonwealth of Two Nations" or simply as the "Republic," which was a state uniting not just two nations, but at least four (Poles, Lithuanians, Bvelorussians, Ukrainians, and partially also Latvians). For its time and throughout several centuries the republic was a creation so unusual and unbearable for neighboring authoritarian states that, regardless of its own weaknesses. it had to succumb to the attacks of Moscovy, Prussia, and Austria. This occured during the Partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century.

My entire family lived for centuries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. We were natives, and despite the fact that already from the sixteenth century we spoke Polish, which also resulted in my being a poet of the Polish language, for us the main centers were Wilno and Riga, and not Warsaw, Cracow, Lvov, or Poznan. We never frequented the latter cities, moving about instead only on the territory of our local patrimonies. Moreover, for many tens of years following the Partitions, there remained the feeling that we still belonged to the Grand Duchy.

During my days as a pupil and student in prewar Wilno, my colleagues and I also feltourselves to be citizens of a state that had vanished centuries before. And I, throughout my years in

stulecia państwa. A ja sam, przez wszystkie lata emigracji, aż po dziś dzień, nie porzuciłem poczucia tej dawnej przynależności.

Kierując te słowa do wszystkich Państwa, wszystkich przecie wiele młodszych, czuję się trochę w położeniu starca, który opowiada, o tym jak kiedyś bywało. Korzystając, że mówię do specjalistów, do badaczy tego regionu, a więc ludzi, których celem i cnotą jest gromadzenie wiedzy - chciałbym właśnie wam przypomnieć także tradycje polskich badań wschodnich.

Nauka, później zwana sowietologią, a więc nauka zajmująca się obszarami zajętymi przez Związek Sowiecki i blok komunistyczny- narodziła się właśnie w Polsce przedwojennej, co zresztą nie dziwi zważywszy położenie Polski. Centrum tych badań znalazło sie właśnie w Wilnie w tzw. Instvtucie Wschodnim, który zgromadził wiele znakomitych postaci. Ponieważ ja w tym czasie studiowałem na Uniwersytecie Stefana Batorego w Wilnie i te osoby znałem i do dziś pamiętam, wiec tvm bardziej chce skorzystać z okazji aby wobec tego grona nazwiska chociaż kilku profesorów wspomnieć. Spośród wielu znakomitych specjalistów, chciałbym tu wymienić chociaż: Mariana Zdziechowskiego, zmarłego jeszcze przed wojną – filozofa i slawiste, znawce idei rosviskich, badacza starszej generacji, którego pesymistycz*emigration until today, never lost the old feeling of belonging.*

Addressing these few words to all of you, who are of course much younger than I, makes me feel something like an elder who tells tales about the past. And taking advantage of the fact that you are all specialists of the region, people whose goal and virtue lies in seeking knowledge, I would like to remind us all of the traditions of Polish Eastern Studies.

What later became known as Sovietology, the study of the Soviet Union and the communist bloc, was born in prewar Poland, which is hardly surprising given Poland's location. The center of these studies was in Wilno at the Eastern Institute, which was home to many outstanding figures. Because at that time I was a student at Stefan Batory University in Vilno and knew and remember those persons to this day. Iwould like to take this opportunity to recall the names of at least a few of those professors. Among the many truly excellent specialists were: Marian Zdziechowski, who died before World War II, a philospher and Slavist, expert on the history of Russian ideas and a scholar of an older generation whose pessimistic assessment of the future of Poland's relations with Moscow was rejected by the younger generation; Wiktor Sukiennicki – expert on the Soviet system, a prisoner of the Soviet

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nym ocenom przyszłości stosunków z Moskwą, my młodzi podówczas nie wierzyliśmy, także Wiktora Sukiennickiego - znawcę ustroju sowieckiego, więźnia łagrów, a pod koniec życia profesora w Hoover Institution, czy wreszcie Stanisława Swianiewicza - badacza gospodarki sowieckiej, więźnia Kozielska i świadka Katynia, który przeżył i był profesorem na angielskich uniwersytetach.

Tym wspomnieniem zasług ludzi, których znałem i którzy żywo pozostają aż dotąd w mojej pamięci chciałbym zakończyć, wyrażając na koniec zadowolenie, że kongres poświęcony Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej zebrał się właśnie tutaj i zgromadził tak wielkie grono specjalistów z całego świata, i że tylu ich przyjechało z naszego regionu i z krajów Europy Wschodniej. Tym bardziej, że we współczesnej Polsce, a szczególniej chyba w Warszawie, znowu prowadzone są ożywione badania spraw wschodnich.

> Czesław Miłosz Kraków, 14 lipca 2004

camps and toward the end of his life a professor at the Hoover Institution; and finally Stanisław Swianiewicz – specialist on the Soviet economy, a prisoner at Kozielsk and witness and survivor of Katyn who later taught at British universities.

I would like to end my remarks with these brief recollections of these accomplished people, the memory of whom remains vivid in mv mind. In conclusion, let me express my pleasure at the fact that a congress devoted to the study of East Central Europe has been organized here and has assembled such a large number of specialists from all over the world and that so many of you are from our region and the lands of Eastern Europe, the more so since here in Poland today and particularly in Warsaw, there is increasing emphasis on the study of Eastern Europe.

> Czesław Miłosz Cracow, 14 July, 2004

> > (translated: j.s.m.)

Special message from Lech Wałęsa,

President of Poland - to participants of the Conference, 2005

Solidarność – zwycięża również dzisiaj

25 lat temu, w sierpniu 1980 roku, stoczniowcy walczyli o godność i prawo do wolności. Szeroki ruch spoleczny "Solidarności" wpłynął na rzeczywistość i zakończenie epoki zimnowojennej konfrontacji. Solidarność pozwoliła podnieść głowy, zmobilizować miliony, przełamać strach i poczucie beznadziei. Nie lękajcie się! – wołał do nas Syn tej ziemi Papież Jan Paweł II. Wstaliśmy z kolan i upomnieliśmy się o swoje prawa, a władze ówczesnej Polski uświadomiły sobie, że wystąpiło przeciw nim oddolnie organizujące się społeczeństwo.

To właśnie była Solidarność. Niespotykana od dziesięcioleci aktywność społeczna. Solidarność przez duże "S", która przykuła uwagę Europy i świata. Symbol, ikona rozgrywającej się na naszych oczach historii.

25 lat temu walczyliśmy nie tylko o lepszy byt, ale też o idee, o godniejsze życie, o wolność słowa, o społeczeństwo obywatelskie.

Ducha nadziei i ducha walki nie zdusił stan wojenny i krwawe represje. Wołaliśmy wtedy: nie ma solidarności bez wolności. I wywalczyliśmy ją poprzez strajki, negocjacje – pokojowo. Wy-

Solidarity, it wins also today

25 years ago, in August 1980, shipyard workers were fighting for dignity and the right to freedom. The broad social movement of Solidarity affected the reality and played its part in ending the era of cold-war confrontation. Solidarity let people take heart, mobilise millions, overcome fear and the feeling of hopelessness. "Don't be afraid!" reassured us the great Son of this land, Pope John Paul II. We rose from our knees and asserted our rights, and the authorities then in power in Poland became aware of the fact that the society, following grassroots initiative, had rebelled against them.

That was what Solidarity stood for; social activity unprecedented for decades, Solidarity, with a capital S, which drew the attention of Europe and of the entire world. The symbol, the icon of history developing in front of our eyes.

25 years ago, we were fighting not only for better living conditions but also for ideas, for more decent life, for the freedom of speech and for the civil society.

Neither the martial law nor the bloody repressions managed to suppress the

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walczyliśmy ją dla siebie i dla innych. Bo to właśnie Polski Sierpień odegrał kluczową rolę w obaleniu pojałtańskiego porządku Europy i otworzył bramy wolności w zniewolonych totalitaryzmem krajach.

Solidarność doprowadziła w Polsce do Okrągłego Stołu, pierwszych wolnych wyborów oraz pierwszego niekomunistycznego rządu. Solidarność stała się także przyczynkiem do obalenia muru berlińskiego, tzw. Jesieni Ludów roku 1989 i do rozpadu Związku Radzieckiego. Przemiany nastąpiły w całej zniewolonej komunizmem Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.

Duch Solidarności jest potrzebny i dzisiaj. Są jeszcze miejsca, do których duch Wolności nie dotarł, lub w których został złamany przez postsowiecką dyktaturę. Zawsze jesteśmy blisko z tymi, którzy odzyskują wolność, blisko Gruzji, blisko Ukrainy. 25 lat temu wiedzieliśmy, że mieliśmy rację. Dzisiaj wołam do naszych Braci wciąż walczących o demokrację, swobody obywatelskie, wolne słowo – Wy też macie rację! Niech Solidarność pozwoli Wam podnieść głowy. Jesteśmy z Wami.

To właśnie testament Solidarności: wolność!

Lech Wałęsa

spirit of hope and the spirit of fight. We used to say back then, "no solidarity, no freedom." And we won it by strikes and negotiations in a peaceful way. We won it both for ourselves and for others. It was the Polish August that played the pivotal role in reversing the post-Yalta division of Europe and opened the gates of freedom in countries enslaved by the totalitarian regime. Solidarity in Poland caused the Round Table, the first free election and formation of the first non-communist government. Solidarity also contributed to the fall of the Berlin wall, to the so-called Autumn of Nations in 1989 and to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The changes took place in the entire communism-enslaved Central and Eastern Europe.

The spirit of Solidarity is also needed today. There are still places where the spirit of Freedom has not reached yet or where it has been suppressed by post-Soviet dictatorships. We have always sympathised with those who regain freedom, with Georgia, with Ukraine. 25 years ago, we knew we were right. Today I appeal to our Brothers who are still fighting for democracy, civil freedoms, and the freedom of speech, "You are right, too! Let Solidarity make you take heart. We are with you!"

The testament of Solidarity is freedom!

Lech Wałęsa

WARSAW SPECIAL CONVENTION OF ASN Warsaw, July 2004

In July 2004, the first summer conference organized by the Centre for East European Studies took place at Warsaw University. The topic of the conference was: Nationalities and pluralism from Old to New World. *East-Central Europe and Post-Soviet Countries: Nations, Nationalities, Culture, Religion, History and Politics.* The WEEC Convention 2004 gathered 478 participants from 36 countries. Lech Wałęsa, the former President of Poland, was an honorary guest of the Conference, who delivered a speech during the closing ceremony.

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, Second annual session–Warsaw, July 2005

In July 2005, the second session of Warsaw East European Conference was organized. The anti-communist opposition, dissident movements, the collapse of the communist system and its results were the main topics of the conference. The main reason for undertaking those issues was the anniversary of Polish "Solidarność". The Conference brought together large group of academics from the East and the West. Special guests of the Conference were the eminent members of the former anti-communist opposition.

WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE Third annual session, July 2006

Warsaw East European Conference, third annual session, entitled "Postcommunist World. 25 years of change" took place in July 2006. It included issues from the cold war and communist totalitarianism, through "Solidarność" in Poland and *perestroika* in Soviet Union to completely new situation after the collapse of communism i.e. new demo-crisis in post-communist countries in Central Europe, new dictatorships in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and last but not least – colorful revolutions. The conference gathered almost three hundred participants. Some round tables were organized: dedicated to Belarus, the problems of transition and the police state and to E.U. eastern policy.



		6:15 PM - 8:00 PM			Round Table I: UKRAINE – THE END OF GEOPOLITICS?	GUESTS: Oleh Soskin Volodymyr Polokhalo Jerzy Kozakiewicz
SUNDAY, JULY 15 – DAY 1	Registration: 11.00 AM - 7.00 PM The hall of the Old Library	4:00 PM – 5:15 PM	Opening Ceremony Mr. Stanislaw Gląb, Professor & Vice-Rector of Warsaw University INAUGURATIONAL LECTURE Mr. Rafal Dutkiewicz, Mayor of Wrocław	SPECIAL GUEST Mr. Aliaksandr Milinkevich Leader of Belarusian opposition		
				Main Auditorium of the Old Library		

SUNDAY – DAY 1, 15 JULY

Schedule

11:00 AM – 7:00 PM	Registration <u>Location</u> : <i>The hall of the Old Library (Stara Biblioteka)</i>
4:00 PM – 5:15 PM	OPENING CEREMONY <u>Location</u> : Main Auditorium of the Old Library
	Mr. Stanisław Głąb, Professor & Vice-Rector of Warsaw University INAUGURATIONAL LECTURE Mr. Rafał Dutkiewicz, Mayor of Wrocław
	SPECIAL GUEST Mr. Aliaksandr Milinkevich Leader of Belarusian opposition
6:15 PM – 8:00 PM	Round Table I "UKRAINE - THE END OF GEOPOLITICS"?



Inaugurational lecture RAFAŁ DUTKIEWICZ Mayor of Wrocław

Rafał Dutkiewicz – mathematician and politician supported by *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* and *Platforma Obywatelska* political parties, President of Wrocław since 10th November 2002. Studied on the elite Faculty of Fundamental Problems of Technology on Wrocław University of Technology. (*Wydział Podstawowych*

Problemów Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej). At the age of 26 he became Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy Catholic University of Lublin.

At the turn of 70s and 80s was one of the organizers of Christian Culture Weeks (*Tygodnie Kultury Chrześcijańskiej*) in Wrocław. After introducing the Martial State, he worked with the Regional Strike Committee in Wrocław. In 1982, being wanted by the communist police, avoided arrest and got to Lublin. There, he was granted "asylum" by the Catholic University of Lublin.

In 1989 became the secretary to "Solidarność" Wrocław Citizens' Commitee (*Komitet Obywatelski*) and the head city coordinator for parliamentary elections campaign of June 1989. Then it was him who was the head of "Solidarność" Voivodship Citizens' Committee (*Wojewódzki Komitet Obywatelski*) that won the City Council elections. Was one of the founders of *Radio Eska* in Wrocław. Since 1992 he ran his own private enterprise. He was a personnel advisor – a "headhunter". Managed the Polish division of *Signium* multinational company. On 10th November 2002 was elected the Mayor of Wrocław.

<u>Special Guest</u> ALIAKSANDR MILINKEVICH

Belarusian politician and scientist



After finishing post-graduate study at the Institute of Physics of Academy of Sciences of Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1972, he worked as a junior research assistant. Milinkevich participated in exchange programs with University of Montpelier (France, 1980) and University of California (USA, 1998). He also studied at the European Centre for Security Problems Research in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Germany, 2000).

Milinkevich holds PhD. degree in physico-mathematical sciences. From 1978 until 1980 and from 1984 until 1990 he worked as associate professor at Hrodna State University. Aliaksandr Milinkevich founded and headed "Ratusha", a civil organization. From 1990 until 1996 Milinkevich was Deputy Mayor of Hrodna. In 2001, he was campaign manager for Siamion Domash's presidential campaign. In October 2005.

Aliaksandr Milinkevich was elected at the Congress of Democratic Forces to be the sole candidate at the 2006 presidential elections. He wrote 65 scientific papers and monographs in quantum electronics, laser engineering, history, culture, education, and Belarusian architecture.



Sunday, July 15 6:15 PM – 8:00 PM

ROUND TABLE I UKRAINE – THE END OF GEOPOLITICS?

Volodymyr Polokhalo –Ukrainian political scientist, politician, founder and editor of a Ukrainian political sciences magazine "Political thought" (*Politichna dumka*), director of an independent "Centre for Opinion Polls". In the Administration of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma (1998-99). Member of the National Council as Yulia Timoshenko Block deputy (since 2006). President of Parliamentary Group for Intellectual Property in National Council and co-president of Parliamentary Group for Contacts with Poland. Author of over one hundred scientific papers.

Oleh Soskin – economist and political scientist, politician, director of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv, head of the Ukrainian National Conservative Party. Deputy Director on science of the Institute of the World Economy and Foreign Relations at the National Academy of Sciences (1993-96) of Ukraine. Adviser of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma on economic issues (1998-2000). Author of numerous scientific articles and monographic chapters. The results of these studies have been applied in the practice of the legislative and executive power bodies.

MODERATOR:

Jerzy Kozakiewicz – historian, former Ambassador of Poland to Ukraine (1993 – 1996), lecturer at the Centre for East European Studies, Warsaw University.

His general field of interest is political transformation in the post-Soviet area, political and social history of Ukraine, security doctrines and policies in East Central Europe. His current research project concerns security policy of Ukraine.



		Monday, July 16 – Day 2		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 3.00 PM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	1. Civil society construction	5. 19th century Russia – struggle of ideologies		12. Anthropology and ethnography of communism and post-communism
Room 107	2. Conflicts in Caucasus. Instability zones	6. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context – I	IME	13. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe – I
Room 111	3. EU Eastern policy – I	7. Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist bloc	ΓΩΛCΗ Ι	14. Caucasus – difficult way towards democracy?
Room 116	4. Political transition in post-communist countries – I	8. Energy security – I	M4 00:4	15. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – I
Room 205		9. EU Eastern policy – II	– M4 0£	16. Putin's Russia – II
Room 207		10. NGOs activities in post-communist countries – I	5	17. Turkey and the EU – I
R00m 211		11. Putin's Russia – I		
Main A	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table II "CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD"	OCR	ACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD"

MONDAY – DAY 2, 16 JULY

Schedule

9:00 AM - 3:00 PM	Registration <u>Location</u> : <i>The hall of the Old Library (Stara Biblioteka)</i>
10:00 AM - 12:00 PM	Session I
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	Session II
2:30 PM – 4:30 PM	Lunch Time
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Session III
6:15 PM – 8:00 PM	Round Table II "CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD"

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

PANELS

SESSION I 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

1. CIVIL SOCIETY CONSTRUCTION

Chair:	JAN KUBIK (USA/ Poland)
	Rutgers University/Warsaw University

Participants: BALAZS GERENCSER (Hungary) Nonprofit Information and Training Centre Foundation (NIOK)

> ANIKO PORKOLAB (Hungary) Nonprofit Information and Training Centre Foundation (NIOK) A particular form of direct democracy – effect of "percentage" philanthropy on civil society and philanthropy development in CE Europe

OLEKSANDR LAPIUK (Ukraine) Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv The transformation of democracy and civil society in Ukraine through the prism of the post-Soviet area

IVAN KUKIN (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg How should self-government influence on formation of democracy?

VIOLETTA GASSIY (Russia) Kuban State University Alternative patterns of the democracy and civil society development in Russian local communities

<u>SESSION I</u> 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

BOTA ZHUNUSSOVA (Kazakhstan) Warsaw University Self-government in Poland

2. CONFLICTS IN CAUCASUS. INSTABILITY ZONES

- Chair: JERZY ROHOZIŃSKI (Poland) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw
- Participants:
 MIHAELA TOADER (Romania)

 University of Bucharest
 The area of Caucasia a possible threat for the European security?

ROBERT RAKOVICS (Hungary/Poland) Warsaw University The influence of the Karabagh factor on domestic politics changes in Armenia in 1988-1998

ALEXANDER RUSETSKY (Georgia), presented by Olga Dorokhina (Georgia) South Caucasus Institute for Regional Security, Tbilisi Caucasian conflicts and international aspects of energy security

RASIM SADIXOV (Azerbaijan) Baku State University On the history of Azerbaijani – Armenian conflict

Discussant: DAVID KOLBAIA (Poland) Warsaw University

3. EU EASTERN POLICY - I

Chair: OLEH SOSKIN (Ukraine) Institute of Society Transformation, Kyiv

SESSION I 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

 Participants:
 NINA ANDERSON (Ukraine)

 I.I. Mechnikov National University, Odessa

 Ukraine-EU trans-border cooperation: developing

 euroregions on the border

LARYSA MYRGORODSKA (Ukraine) Crimean Economic Institute, Kyiv Ukraine as a key EU neighbouring region within the European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument

KATARZYNA PISARSKA (Poland) Warsaw School of Economics Poland's role in the development of the European Union's policy towards its new Eastern neighbours

Discussant: STANISLAU SHUSHKEVICH (Belarus) Former President of Parliament of Belarus

4. POLITICAL TRANSITION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES – I

Chair: RADOSŁAW MARKOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw School of Social Psychology

 Participants:
 JAN HOLZER (Czech Republic)

 Masaryk University, Brno
 STANISLAV BALIK (Czech Republic)

 Masaryk University, Brno
 Linz revisited: theory of non-democratic regimes in post-transition era

YULIA IVANOVA (Ukraine) I.I. Mechnikov National University, Odessa The aspects of the political development in the post-communist Russia: modernization without democratization?

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

AXEL KAEHNE (UK) Cardiff University Building Democratic institutions in post-communist societies: The Role of Agency

ANDRIS RUNCIS (Latvia) University of Latvia, Riga Some trends of electoral behaviour in Latvia after 1990

NATALIYA TERES (Ukraine) Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv The role of Ukraine's capital city (Kyiv) in modern democratic transformations within the state

SESSION II 12:30 PM - 2:30 PM

5. 19TH CENTURY RUSSIA – STRUGGLE OF IDEOLOGIES

Chair:	ROMAN BÄCKER (Poland)
	Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń
Participants:	WIESŁAW WACŁAWCZYK (Poland)
	Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń
	Alexander Radishchev's conception of freedom of speech
	ANNA HAMLING (Canada)
	University of New Brunswick
	Anti-authoritarian message in the religious essays of
	Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy
	MAGDALENA ROMANOWSKA (Poland)
	Jagiellonian University, Cracow
	Slavophiles: discovery of a nation

<u>SESSION II</u> 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

6. ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY IN POST-COMMUNIST CONTEXT – I

Chair: JAN KUBIK (USA/Poland) Rutgers University/Warsaw University

 Participants:
 TETYANA KOSHMANOVA (Ukraine)

 Ivan Franko National University, Lviv
 National identity in educational reform

 for democratic citizenship: the case of Ukraine

ZELJKA KRIZE, JULIJA BARUNČIĆ (Croatia) Croatian Memorial and Documentation Centre of The Homeland War Women peace initiative in the eve of the war in Croatia

MATVEY LOMONOSOV (Russia) Perm State University The myths around Kosovo myth. Some aspects of the national ideology in Serbia and Albania

Discussant: ADAM BALCER (Poland) Warsaw University

7. BEYOND THE OFFICIAL "FRIENDSHIP OF THE NATIONS". OPPOSITION, DISSIDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS' INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC

- Chair: MIKOŁAJ IWANOW (Poland) Opole University
- Participants:
 MARIA SENYCH (Ukraine)

 Subcarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk

 Problem of East Central Europe democratization in the political mind of Juliusz Mieroszewski

34 SESSION II 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

MYKOLA GENYK (Ukraine) Subcarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Eastern policy conception of Polish opposition movement (1976-1989)

KRZYSZTOF OKOŃSKI (Poland) Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz "One sees (...), that revolution is the destiny of those people". Relations of Heinrich Böll with the independent literary scene in communist Poland and in exile

IMRE JOZSEF BALAZS (Romania) Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca Inventory of intellectual roles: Hungarian writers from Romania 1945-1989

8. ENERGY SECURITY - I

Chair:	OLEH SOSKIN (Ukraine)
	Institute of Society Transformation, Kyiv
Participants:	KRISTINA DRIENIKOVA (Slovakia)
	University of Economics, Bratislava
	Position of the Slovak Republic in the relations between
	the European Union and the Russian Federation
	in the energy sector
	GEORGE GAMKRELIDZE (Georgia)
	University of Gdańsk
	Ways of energy security achievement
	in the Euro-Atlantic area

MARIUS VACARELU (Romania) National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest **Public property in former communist countries: few aspect about pipelines and national interest**

SESSION II 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

XAVIER BRANDAO (France) Paris VIII University Lithuanian energy security and European cooperation

OLENA PODVORNA (Ukraine) Rivne Regional Committee of Youth Organizations Foreign and security policies of Russian Federation. Energy dimension

9. EU EASTERN POLICY - II

Chair:	JURIS ROZENVALDS (Latvia)
	University of Latvia, Riga
Participants:	PETRA KUCHYNKOVA (Czech Republic)
	Masaryk University, Brno
	The role of Eastern dimension in the European
	Neighbourhood Policy and in the Czech foreign policy
	KRZYSZTOF SZPAKOWSKI (Poland)
	University of Lódź
	EU's Eastern policy – the role of Central-Eastern
	Europe states
	IRYNA ODREKHIVSKA (Ukraine)
	Ivan Franko National University, Lviv
	Visegrad Group (V4) and Ukraine:
	intensification of transborder partnership
Discussant:	JANUSZ SAWCZUK (Poland)
	Opole University

SESSION II 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

10. NGOs ACTIVITIES IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES – I

- Chair: ANTONI KAMIŃSKI (Poland) European and Atlantic Studies Centre, Warsaw
- Participants: WANDA DRESSLER (France) CNRS, Paris The role of NGO in EU Eastern policy

GALINA OLTU (Moldova) *Moldova State University, Chisinau* **The civil society construction in Moldova**

SVITLANA AZAROVA (Ukraine) Kherson State University European integration on the local level: the case of Kherson Euroclub

IRYNA RYZHYKOVA (Ukraine) Subcarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Youth's social activity and development of organizational skills. Mutual relations in the context of social transition and democratization

11. PUTIN'S RUSSIA – I

- Chair: MARTIN KRYGIER (Australia) University of New South Wales, Sydney
- Participants:OGNIAN HISHOW (Bulgaria)Free University, BerlinAn expansionist new Russia?The curse of natural resources

<u>SESSION II</u> 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

PAULINA CICHOMSKA, KRZYSZTOF SZPAKOWSKI (Poland) University of Lódź Human rights in the CSR and in Putin's Russia

ELENA KOFANOVA (Russia) All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center, Moscow Russian public view on ideal state

SESSION III 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM

12. ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNISM AND POST-COMMUNISM

- Chair: JAN KUBIK (USA/Poland) Rutgers University/Warsaw University
- Participants: PATRYK WASIAK (Poland) Warsaw University Independent cultural life in the communist countries

ULRICH BEST (Germany) Technical University, Chemnitz Postcolonialism, imperialism and the nation: comparing east-German and Polish debates.

VALENTYNA KHARKHUN (Ukraine) National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv Concepts of totalitarian ontology: a case of Korniychuk's plays

SESSION III 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

ANNA KARNAPHIL (Russia) Immanuel Kant State University, Kaliningrad Cross-cultural and linguistic communication in a modern world. Cross-cultural and linguistic study in professional field in the Baltic Sea Region

TAMTA KHALVASHI (Georgia), paper presented by Kate Abushelishvili (Georgia) *Georgian University, Tbilisi* **Anthropology of socialist and vernacular architecture of Georgia**

13. ANTICOMMUNIST OPPOSITION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE – I

- Chair: KRZYSZTOF PERSAK (Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
- Participants:MARTINA MIKLOVA (Czech Republic)
Academy of Sciences of the Czech RepublicOpposition and dissent in Czechoslovakia
in the era of "normalization"

KAROLINA ZIOŁO (Great Britain) University of Sheffield Who were the dissidents? The problem of definition

GIZELLA CSISTAY (Hungary) University of Budapest – ELTE Cooperation of Polish and Hungarian opposition

TOM JUNES (Belgium) Katholieke University, Leuven Resisting communism in Poland: traditions of student self-government

SESSION III 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

14. CAUCASUS – DIFFICULT WAY TOWARDS DEMOCRACY?

Chair: JERZY ROHOZIŃSKI Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

 Participants:
 KATARZYNA CZERNIECKA (Poland)

 paper presented by Marcin Kaczmarski (Poland)
 Ministry Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

 Towards prosperity and democracy – development
 assistance in the South Caucasus region

NARINE HARUTYUNYAN (Armenia) Yerevan State University Transcaucasia difficult way towards democracy?

ALEKSANDRA DUDA (Great Britain) University of Birmingham Prelude to Revolutions: The rise of youth opposition movements in Georgia and Ukraine

Discussant: DAVID KOLBAIA (Poland) Warsaw University

15. EMPIRES AND NATIONS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE - FROM THE 18th TO THE 20th CENTURY - I

- Chair: LESZEK ZASZTOWT (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 IRYNA VASYLYK (Ukraine)

 Gdańsk University
 Parliamentary institutions as the centre of Ukrainian

 political elite formation in Eastern Galicia in the
 beginning of 20th century

40 SESSION III 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM

DAY 2 – MONDAY – 16 JULY

VIT HLOUSEK (Czech Republic) Masaryk University, Brno The "Habsburg tradition", democratization of Central Europe, and its critical events

KRASIMIRA MAROLEVA (Hungary/Bulgaria) Central European University, Budapest Transatlantic political exchange: the power of the image in American-Czecho-Slovak "encounters" during the First World War

ZUZANA LOUBET DEL BAYLE (Czech Republic/France) Pantheon-Sorbonne, Paris Economic difficulties of the Empire-Nation transition: federalism as a solution for Central Europe (1918 – 1938)?

16. PUTIN'S RUSSIA - II

Chair:	ROMAN BÄCKER (Poland) Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń
Participants:	GREG SIMONS (Sweden) Crismart and Uppsala University Perception and public accountability in the mass media: learning the lessons of submarine accidents in Russia
	SERGEI NAUMOFF (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg The impact of political corruption on Russian democracy: Putin's reforms efficiency and effectiveness

EKATERINA MARTINOVA (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg The possibility of change-over from authoritarianism to totalitarianism in Russia in 2008

SESSION III 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

DAY 2 - MONDAY - 16 JULY

Discussants: WŁODZIMIERZ MARCINIAK (Poland) Warsaw University

> VOLODYMYR POLOKHALO (Ukraine) Centre for Opinion Polls, Kyiv

17. TURKEY AND THE EU - I

- Chair: ANDRZEJ ANANICZ (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 KAMIL GŁOWACKI (Poland)

 Łódź University
 EU Turkey relations. The future of Muslim democracy:

 inside or outside of the EU?

DILEK BARLAS (Turkey) Koç University, Istanbul The idea of European Union and Turkey in the interwar years: 1923-1939

KAROL BIENIEK (Poland) Pedagogical University, Cracow The process of Turkey's European integration and American strategic interests in the Balkans and Middle East

Discussant: ADAM BALCER (Poland) Warsaw University

SESSION III 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM

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Monday, July 16 6:15 PM – 8:00 PM

ROUND TABLE II CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST WORLD.

Klaus Bachmann – journalist, publicist, historian, political scientist, author of numerous books on European, Polish-German and Polish-Ukrainian subjects. In 1988 settled in Poland and started writing regularly to several well-known newspapers in Austria and Germany (*Die Presse, Der Falter, Die Tageszeitung*). Since 1989 r. he has been officially accredited as foreign correspondent in Poland, since 1992 in KyIv, Minsk and Vilnius as well.

Radosław Markowski – a political scientist of international renown, one of the most influential analysts and commentators on Polish and Central European politics. Head of the Political Science Department at SWPS (Warsaw School of Social Psychology) and researcher at Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. Member of International Political Science Association; member of European Consortium for Political Research; member of editing staff in following magazines: *European Journal of Political Research, Perspectives on European Politics and Society, Central European Political Science Review.*

David Ost – an internationally known scholar in the field of European studies. Hehas spent more than twenty-five years studying Eastern European politics, culture, and history. Fellowships, appointments as visiting professor, and numerous study trips have

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brought him into close association with scholars and policy makers in Poland and the surrounding area making him one of the leading experts on the domestic politics and international relations of the area.

MODERATOR:

Jan Kubik – Associate Professor of Political Science, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey and Recurring Visiting Professor of Sociology, Centre for Social Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.

2006-07 Distinguished Fulbright Chair at Warsaw UniverSity. He received his M.A. from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and his Ph.D. from Columbia University. His work focuses mostly on postcommunist transformations in Eastern Europe and revolves around the relationship between culture and politics and contentious politics.

		TUESDAY, JULY 17 – DAY 3		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 3.00 PM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM - 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	18. Chechnya	25. Belarus – I		32. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe – II
Room 107	19. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – II	26. Central Asia – I	LIME	33. Belarus – II
Room 111	20. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context – II	27. Energy security – II	ГЛИСН	34. Central Asia – II
Room 116	21. International relations in post-Soviet and post-communist area	28. Historiography of East Central Europe – I	Mq 00:	35. Historiography of East Central Europe – II
Room 205	22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries – II	29. Political transition in post-communist countries – II	⊅ – Mq 0	36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia
Room 207	23. Post-enlargement Europe	30. Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states		37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe
R00m 211	24. Turkey and the EU – II	31. EU, NATO and Russia – I		38. EU, NATO and Russia – II
Main A	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table III "CULTURE AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION. DUTIES OF NATIONAL ELITES"	AL EI	SS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY LITES"

TUESDAY – DAY 3, 17 JULY

Schedule

9:00 AM – 3:00 PM	Registration <u>Location</u> : <i>The hall of the Old Library (Stara Biblioteka)</i>
10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Session IV
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	Session V
2:30 PM – 4:30 PM	Lunch Time
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Session VI
6:15 PM – 8:00 PM	Round Table III "CULTURE AND THE PROCESSES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION. DUTIES OF NATIONAL ELITES"

PANELS

SESSION IV 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

18. CHECHNYA

Chair:	PIOTR GROCHMALSKI (Poland) Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
Participants:	MACIEJ FALKOWSKI (Poland) <i>Centre for Eastern Studies, Ministry of Economy, Warsaw</i> Chechnya: emergence of the authoritarian regime of Akhmad and Ramzan Kadyrov
	JOANNA DOBROWOLSKA-POLAK (Poland) Western Institute, Poznań Chechnya. The humanitarian catastrophe and the international response
	ANNA BRODSKY (USA) Washington and Lee University, Lexington Ideologies in exile: Chechen refugees in Europe
Discussants:	KRYSTYNA KURCZAB-REDLICH (Poland) Columnist
	ADAM BOROWSKI (Poland) Publisher

48 SESSION IV 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

19. EMPIRES AND NATIONS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE – FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY – II

Chair: LESZEK ZASZTOWT (Poland) Warsaw University

Participants: TATYANA PETROVA (Russia) Moscow State University

> VALENTINA LOMOVITSKAYA (Russia) State University of Culture and Arts Power and science: dictate or freedom?

ANDRZEJ BUCZYŃSKI (Poland) Warsaw University Russian propagation of Byzantine identity through Orthodox architecture in the Kingdom of Poland

ŁUKASZ SOMMER (Poland) Warsaw University Language and early nationalism in Finland: paradoxes and inconveniences of Herderianism

JUSSI JALONEN (Finland) University of Tampere On behalf of the Emperor – Finnish Guard's campaign to Poland, 1831

20. ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY IN POST-COMMUNIST CONTEXT – II

Chair: JURIS ROZENVALDS (Latvia) University of Latvia, Riga

SESSION IV 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

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 Participants:
 EWA MATUSZEK (Poland)

 Jagiellonian University, Cracow
 National processes in Russian Federation at the moment

 of a global transformation

MARIA BARTAKHANOVA (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg The functioning of the Buryat national culture within the Russian Federation: co-operation or conflict?

VITALIY CHUGUYENKO (Ukraine) Odessa National Academy of Food Technologies National self-identification and interethnic integration in post-Soviet area

Discussant: MIKOŁAJ IWANOW (Poland) Opole University

21. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN POST-SOVIET AND POST-COMMUNIST AREA

- Chair: WIKTOR ROSS (Poland) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw
- Participants:
 ANIKO SZALAI (Hungary)

 University of Szeged
 The effect of change of regime on the international treaties of the East-European states

WOJCIECH JANKOWSKI (Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw Relations between Romania and Ukraine after 1991

SESSION IV 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

VALERIY GUSYEV (Ukraine) Mariupol State University Ukraine in regulating and solving the international conflicts on the CIS territory

ELENA BOBRYSHEVA (Russia) Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow **Putin's foreign policy**

22. NGOS ACTIVITIES IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES – II

- Chair: WANDA DRESSLER (France) CNRS, Paris
- Participants:
 DOVILE BUDRYTE (Lithuania/USA)

 Brenau University, Gainesville

 International actors and women's rights: NGO activism in

 Lithuania

ALEXANDER SHERSTOBITOV (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg Role of the NGOs in policy making in the field of information technology in Russia

NADIYA MATVIYCHUK SOSKINA (Ukraine) Institute of Society Transformation, Kyiv Usage of modern marketing instruments in promotion of NGOs in the post-Soviet countries: by the example of Ukraine

JOANNA SZALACHA (Poland) Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń Non-state actors – their impact on postcommunist states in transition. Chance or a threat for the reinforcing democratic processes?

23. POST-ENLARGEMENT EUROPE

 Chair: KRZYSZTOF JASIEWICZ (Poland/USA) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw/Washington and Lee University, Lexington
 Participants: PAUL BLOKKER (Germany) University of Liverpool Multiple Democracies: Political Culture and Democratic Variety in Post-Enlargement Europe
 YOJI KOYAMA (Japan) Niigata University EU Accession of Bulgaria and Romania: Efforts for Overcoming Negative Legacies and New Challenges

> MIKALAY VERAMEYEU (Belarus) Academy Of Business Administration The state sovereignty question in post-Cold War Europe

KATARZYNA WILK (USA) Yale University Attitudes towards the EU in Old and New Member States. Effects of Class, Generation and Gender

IRYNA YAKOVLEVA (Ukraine) I.I. Mechnikov State University, Odessa EU's Eastern policy: enlargement of 2004 and further development

24. TURKEY AND THE EU - II

Chair: ERHAN BÜYÜKAKINCI (Turkey) Galatasaray University

52 SESSION IV 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Participants:	KLAUDIA KLECHA (Poland) <i>The Pedagogical University of Cracow</i> The respect for human rights as the pre-condition for the Turkish membership in the EU
	SZILVIA VARADI (Hungary)
	University of Szeged
	How far is the East for the European Union?
	ÜMIT KURT (Turkey)
	Sabanci University
	A glance to the relationship between Turkey and EU from security perspective: incorporation of Turkey into the
	EU necessary for European security would strength the prospects of Turkey's integration into the EU
	ŞERMIN TEKIN (Turkey)
	Yeditepe University, Istanbul
	The Cyprus issue with regard to Turkey – European
	Union relations

Discussant: ADAM BALCER (Poland) Warsaw University

SESSION V 12:30 AM - 2:30 PM

25. BELARUS – I

Chair:	ANTONI MIRONOWICZ (Poland)
	University of Białystok

 Participants:
 YURY HRYBOUSKI (Belarus)

 Belarusian State University, Minsk

 Polish – Belarusian relations 1939 - 1945

SESSION V 12:30 PM - 2:30 PM

KLARA MILEWSKA (Poland) Warsaw University How inhabitants of Eastern Poland's region Podlasie perceive Belarusian statehood?

MICHAŁ ERENZ (Lithuania) Grodno University Lithuanians in Belarus - on the border of democracy

IHAR SHUMSKY (Belarus) Belarusian State University, Minsk Economic, social and cultural bases of the Belarusian authoritarianism

Discussant: YAZEP YANUSHKEVICH (Belarus) Literature Institute of Yanka Kupala, Minsk

26. CENTRAL ASIA - I

- Chair: JADWIGA PSTRUSIŃSKA (Poland) Jagiellonian University, Cracow
- Participants:
 MICHAŁ CHABROS (Poland)

 Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

 Perspectives for ruling system in Kyrgyzstan. Democracy,

 mobocracy or street games?

MARTIN SPECHLER (USA) Indiana University, Bloomington Authoritarian politics and economic reform in Uzbekistan: past, present, and prospects

ERTAN EFEGIL (Turkey) Beykent University, Istanbul Transition from democratic rhetoric to authoritarian regimes in the Central Asia

54 SESSION V 12:30 PM – 2:30 PM

MATHIAS VERMEULEN (Belgium) European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation Trading human rights for energy security? The EU's foreign policy towards Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan

MARIUSZ BOGUSZEWSKI (Poland) *Warsaw University* **Policy towards nationalities in independent Kazakhstan**

Discussant: MARIUSZ MARSZEWSKI (Poland) Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

27. ENERGY SECURITY – II

- Chair: JERZY KOZAKIEWICZ (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants: OLEH SOSKIN (Ukraine) Institute of Society Transformation, Kyiv Energy security of Ukraine

ALEXANDER TETERIN (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg Russian foreign energy policy. Security and effectiveness

KATERYNA TYMINSKA (Ukraine) Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv EU-Russian cooperation: energy security issues

TEONA BRAGVADZE (Georgia) paper presented by Lika Memarnishvili (Georgia) *Iv. Javakhishvili State University, Tbilisi* **Oil diplomacy**

SESSION V 12:30 PM – 2:30 PM

28. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE - I

Chair: ANDRZEJ SULIMA KAMIŃSKI (USA) Georgetown University, Washington

 Participants:
 PAVLO POLISHCHUK (Ukraine)

 Warsaw Uniwersity
 Rise and development of the conception of Polish underground state in historiography

MARIA PANKIV (Ukraine) Kharkiv National University The Polish perspective (aspects) of Russian Empire. The review of modern Polish historiography (1989 – 2006)

MICHAL KOPEČEK (Czech Republic) Institute of Contemporary History, Prague In search of 'national memory': the politics of history, nostalgia and the historiography of communism in East Central Europe

TOMASZ ZARYCKI (Poland) Warsaw University

Are peripheries obsessed with culture? Polish discourse on culture, history and identity in the eyes of the Western scholars

IGOR GAFAROV (Belarus) Jagiellonian University, Cracow

The potential of the modernisation theory in East European studies (on the example of the political theory of Aaron Alexander Olizarowski)

29. POLITICAL TRANSITION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES – II

- Chair: JAN HOLZER (Czech Republic) Masaryk University, Brno
- Participants:DIANE PAULA CORINA VANCEA (Romania)
Ovidius University, ConstantaThe Romanian political status after January 1 2007 a
brief analysis of the political crisis

DETELINA DINEVA (Bulgaria) Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia The Round Table Talks in Poland and Bulgaria: Consequences and Assessment

TSVETA PETROVA (Bulgaria/USA) Moscow State University

A post-communist transition in two acts: the 1996-97 anti-government struggle in Bulgaria as a bridge between the 1987-90 and 2000-05 democratization waves in Eastern Europe

CYNTHIA HORNE (USA) Western Washington University, Bellingham Does Late Lustration Undermine or Promote Trustworthy Public Institutions: A Comparison of Romania and Poland

SERHIY TROYAN (Ukraine) State Technical University, Rivne The state and society evolution of the democratic process in modern Ukraine

<u>SESSION V 12:30 PM – 2:30 PM</u>

30. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES IN SOVIET UNION AND POST-SOVIET STATES

Chair: JAKUB SADOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw University

 Participants:
 DENYS KIRYUKHIN, SVITLANA SHCHERBAK (Ukraine)

 Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv
 Ideas of justice in Russia and Ukraine:

 state, society and idea of democracy

ANASTASIA MOVCHAN (Ukraine) Donetsk National University The Soviet childhood phenomenon. On children's organizations materials in 1920 – 1930's

OLEKSIY ZARETSKYI (Ukraine) Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv Post-Soviet discourse in Ukraine (1994 – 2004)

MARIA MATSEPA (Ukraine) Warsaw College of Europe Consumerism and post-communist society: in quest of identity

ANATOLIY KHUDOLIY (Ukraine) National University, Ostroh Stereotypes as components of political thinking

31. EU, NATO AND RUSSIA - I

Chair: DINA SPECHLER (USA) Indiana University, Bloomington

58 SESSION V 12:30 PM – 2:30 PM

Participants: ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI (USA) Univeristy of California, Los Angeles Eastward expansion of NATO: Poland's security and the role of Germany

AGNIESZKA LEGUCKA (Poland) National Defense University, Warsaw Democratic values the European Union Eastern Policy

VLADIMIR SCHEPANKOVSKY (Ukraine) Taras Shevchenko National Univeristy, Kyiv EU - Russia relations: EU neighbourhood policy

ALEXEY NIKITENKO (Russia) Orel Regional Academy of State Service Russia and the European Union in the new stage of cooperation: towards a "strategic partnership"

Discussant: STANISŁAW KOZIEJ (Poland) National Defense University, Warsaw

SESSION VI 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

32. ANTICOMMUNIST OPPOSITION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE – II

- Chair: JAN MALICKI (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 VOLHA KOVAL (Belarus)

 Belarusian State Technological University

 Belarusian emigrants are Soviet dissidents and

 political opposition in the post-war time

SESSION VI 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

ZYGMUNT WOŹNICZKA (Poland) University of Silesia, Katowice Democratic Poland after the fall of communist policy in opinion of Polish emigrants in west and conspiracy organizations in Poland, from 1945

PATRYK BABIRACKI (USA) John Hopkins University, Baltimore Polish students in the Soviet Union: non-conformity and conflict, 1948-1957

Discussant: JAN MALICKI (Poland) Remarks on anticommunist opposition in Lithuania and on Polish underground "Eastern works"

33. BELARUS - II

Chair:	MARIUSZ MASZKIEWICZ (Poland)
	Former Polish Ambassador to Belarus
Participants:	SIARHEI SULIMAU (Belarus)
	Academy of Business, Minsk
	Basic stages of forming ideological basis and orientations
	of Belarusian post-Soviet state
	ULADZIMIR VIALICHKIN (Belarus)
	Association "Viasna"
	Expansion into Belarus and democracy
	VALERIYA STUKINA (Belarus)
	Belarusian State University, Minsk

Belarusian State University, Minsk Second Chamber of Belarusian Parliament in the System of the Separation of Powers (10 years of working)

<u>SESSION VI 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM</u>

ALEKSANDER PRUSZYŃSKI (Belarus) What may cause the end of Alexander Lukashenko?

34. CENTRAL ASIA - II

Chair: MARIUSZ MARSZEWSKI (Polska) Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Participants: FARRUKH IRNAZAROV (Ireland) National College of Ireland, Dublin Russia and EU in Central Asia – imperial interests or strategic cooperation?

GIRAY SAYNUR BOZKURT (Turkey) Sakarya University, Bishkek Democratic and authoritarian tendencies in Uzbekistan

SAIDBEK GOZIEV (Tajikistan) Tajik State National University Islam in social life of Central Asia. A case study of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan

JADWIGA PSTRUSIŃSKA (Poland) Jagiellonian University, Cracow The methamorphosis of Kabul 2006 (photos & commentary)

35. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE - II

- Chair: ZOFIA ZIELIŃSKA (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 ANDRE FILLER (France)

 Université Paris VIII (Vincennes-Saint-Denis)

 The Baltic states in French historiography (1900-1945)

<u>SESSION VI 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM</u>

WŁADYSŁAW STRUTYŃSKI (Ukraine) Y. Fedkovich University, Chernivtsi Bukovina phenomenon as a miniature of Europe. Historiography of the problem

ALINA FELEA (Moldova) Academy of Science of Moldova, Chisinau The testamentary's speech of Moldova (18th century – the beginning of 19th century)

Discussant: LESZEK ZASZTOWT (Poland) Warsaw University

36. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN POST-SOVIET AREA AND EURASIA

- Chair: MAREK MENKISZAK (Poland) Centre for Eastern Studies, Ministry of Economy, Warsaw
- Participants:
 OLGA NECHAYEVA MALENKA (Ukraine)

 Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv
 Black Sea Security Scheme: Ukraine and Turkey in focus

ERHAN BÜYÜKAKINCI (Turkey) Galatasaray University, Istanbul New steps from the Russian foreign policy: prospects for the Collective Security Treaty Organization and reserves for NATO

ZHENIS KEMBAYEV (Kazakhstan) Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Almaty Eurasian Economic Community: problems and perspectives of the regional integration in the post-Soviet area

SESSION VI 4:00 PM – 6:00 PM

YURIY TKACHUK (Ukraine) Precarpathian National University, Ivano – Frankivsk Democracy as one of the factors of integrating processes in Baltic-Black sea-Caspian region on the example of GUAM and Union of Democratic Choice (UDC)

37. STATE, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIETY IN EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Chair: ANDRZEJ SULIMA KAMIŃSKI (USA) Georgetown University, Washington

Participants: CSABA PAKOZDY (Hungary) University of Miskolc

> The power of state versus freedom of expression and association in the light of the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights – Lessons of September – October 2006 Budapest

JANIS OZOLINS (Australia) Australian Catholic University, Fitzroy Citizenship and state: the tensions between private values and public goods

YEKATERINA KOZHEVINA (Russia) Omsk State University Social notions about justice

YAN CHAYKOVSKY (Ukraine) *Ivan Franko University, Lviv* The alienation of an individual in East European states. The case of Ukraine

ELAYNE FRACARO-BIENIECKA (USA/Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw Views of ideal society. Social imagination of Polish professionals

SESSION VI 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

38. EU, NATO AND RUSSIA - II

Chair:	ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI (USA)
	University of California, Los Angeles
Participants:	DINA SPECHLER (USA)
	Indiana University, Bloomington
	The enlargement of the EU and NATO:
	Russia's expectations and experience
	VLADIMIR RUKAVISHNIKOV (Russia)
	State University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow
	Russia's national power and global competitiveness
	in a comparative perspective
	AGNIESZKA GRODZIŃSKA (Poland/UK)
	London School of Economics
	In what ways has Putin made a difference to Russia's relations with the rest of the world, and in which areas has there been little change? Was Russia's response to the events 11 September 2001 a turning point, or a further development of existing policies?
D	
Discussant:	STANISŁAW KOZIEJ (Poland) National Defense University, Warsaw

SESSION VI 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES WARSAW UNIVERSITY

announces its 7th annual competition for

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S C H O L A R S H I P S for candidates from Central Europe, Balkans, Eastern Europe, Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia

The scholarships are for the two-year supplementary master's programme in EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES of Warsaw University, which will last from 1 October 2007 to 30 June 2009. Our Centre has already been host to over 120 students, who were awarded their scholarships as part of the Programme between 2001 and 2006. The new scholarship holders, winners of this 7th Competition, will study alongside them and Polish students. For scholarship conditions and scope and requirements for candidates

please see this booklet or visit www.studium.uw.edu.pl

THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES was established under the resolution of the Warsaw University Senate in 1990 as a part of the Institute of Oriental Studies. In 1991, EAST EUROPEAN SUMMER SCHOOL, a programme for young researchers from the former Soviet Union was initiated (323 graduates by 2004). The SPECIALISED EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES PROGRAMME was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of the Prime Minister of Poland in 1998. The Programme's ambition is to be a continuator of the pre-war traditions of Polish East European studies, which were especially intensively conducted in Wilno. This is a full-time, two-year master's course, with 3 majors. POST-GRADUATE EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES are available since 2000. The Centre also has its SCHOOL OF EASTERN LANGUAGES, which provides courses in 22 languages spoken in the area of the former USSR and the former communist bloc. In the academic year 2001/2002, the special EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME backed by government funds and intended for candidates from Central and Eastern Europe and from the former USSR was launched. One of the programme's goals has been to give a chance of educating young elites coming from the entire region. Over 120 scholarships have been granted so far to students from 15 countries (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Mongolia, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine and Uzbekistan). The Centre has also coimplemented other programmes, such as the LANE KIRKLAND SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME (economics) and the POLISH GOVERNMENT'S SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME (humanities). Since March 2004, our Centre has also organised, in cooperation with the College of Eastern Europe in Wrocław, the EAST EUROPEAN WINTER SCHOOL, which is intended for students doing their last year of humanity studies, who come from Eastern Europe. In 2006, our Centre was also entrusted with the task of imple menting the POLISH GOVERNMENT KONSTANTY KALINOWSKI SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME intended for students from Belarus. The aim of East European Studies is to educate a skilful group of specialists in East European affairs.

STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UNIWERSYTET WARSZAWSKI Pałac Potockich, Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 Warszawa Tel. 022 55 22 555; fax 022 55 22 222; e-mail: studium@uw.edu.pl; <u>www.studium.uw.edu.pl</u>

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THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES WARSAW UNIVERSITY

ORGANIZER OF THE WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE 2007, ENTITLED "AUTHORITARIANISM VS. DEMOCRACY"

ANNOUNCES THAT

THE CONCELEBRATED HOLY MASS

Shall be conducted on behalf of the victims of the communist system and on behalf of the creators of the polish 20th. sovietology.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JULY 2007, 9:00 AM, At St. Joseph the Betrothed Church ("Wizytki" – visitation sisters church)

34, Krakowskie Przedmieście street







STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UNIWERSYTETU WARSZAWSKIEGO

organizator międzynarodowego kongresu naukowego "Warsaw East European Conference – WEEC 2007" pt. "Authoritarianism vs. Democracy"

PRAGNIE POWIADOMIĆ O **MSZY ŚWIĘTEJ KONCELEBROWANEJ** KTÓRA BĘDZIE SPRAWOWANA DLA UCZCZENIA OFIAR SYSTEMU KOMUNISTYCZNEGO ORAZ KU PAMIĘCI TWÓRCÓW PRZEDWOJENNEJ SOWIETOLOGII POLSKIEJ

we środę, 18 lipca 2007, o godz. 9:00 rano w Kościele P.P. Wizytek

ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 34



Tuesday, July 17 6:15 PM – 8:00 PM

ROUND TABLE III CULTURE AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION. DUTIES OF NATIONAL ELITES.

Ales Pushkin – Belarusian painter, precursor of happening in Belarus. Famous for his murals Orthodox church in the village Bobr, where he portrayed Alexand Lukashenko as a sinner going to hell. His loudest performance was shoveling out the contents of wheelbarrow of manure in front of the presidential administration building. The result of his political performance was suspended sentence – two years of imprisonment for "malicious hooliganism" and "disgracing state symbols".

Stanislau Shushkevich – Belarusian politician, former head of the Parliament of Belarus (1991 – 94) In December 1991 together with Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk signed a declaration in Viskuli residence in Belovezha Forest, which dissolved the Soviet Union. Now he is the leader of the oppositional Belarusian Social-Democratic Party "Hramada".

Yazep Yanushkievich – Belarusian writer, translator and literature expert, the editor of Belarusian version of "Pan Tadeusz(1998). Graduated from the Faculty of Philology of Belarusian University in Minsk, and received a PhD for his paper on the works of Wincenty Dunin - Marcinkiewicz. Member of the board of

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oppositional Union of the Belarus' Writers. Currently he is living in Poland and preparing his graduation paper "Equals in slavery. Belarusian - Polish literary connections in the 19th century".

MODERATOR:

Elżbieta Smułkowa – linguist, Belarusian philologist. Former Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Belarus(1991 – 1995). Main scholarly interests of professor Smułkowa are: phonetics, phonology, the Polish-Belarusian-Lithuanian language frontier, Slavic dialectology (mainly Polish and Belarusian) and ethnic issues.



		WEDNESDAY, JULY 18 – DAY 4		
		Registration: 9.00 AM - 11.30 AM The hall of the Old Library		
	10:00 AM – 12:00 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM		4:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Room 105	39. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe – I	46. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe – II		52. Economic transition – II
Room 107	40. Central Asia – III	47. Cold war	LIME	53. Russian factor in the post-soviet space
R00m 111	41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe	48. Economic transition – I	ПЛИСН	54. Secular and Islamic traditions. Between Europe and Middle East
Room 116	42. Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide	49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century – III	M4 00:1	55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution – II
Room 205	43. Migrations and security issues	50. Russian relations with the Baltic region	⊳ – Wd 0	56. International relations in the Black Sea region
Room 207	44. Russian identity in communist and post-communist period	51. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution – I	5:2	57.NGOs activities in post-communist countries – III
R00m 211	45. EU – Ukraine relations			
Main A	Main Auditorium of the Old Library	Round Table IV "POLISH EASTERN STUDIES"	DIES"	

WEDNESDAY – DAY 4, 18 JULY

Schedule

9:00 AM - 11:30 AM	Registration <u>Location</u> : <i>The hall of the Old Library (Stara Biblioteka)</i>
10:00 AM - 12:00 PM	Session VII
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	Session VIII
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM	Lunch Time
4:00 PM – 6:00 PM	Session IX
6:15 PM – 8:00 PM	Round Table IV "POLISH EASTERN STUDIES"

PANELS

SESSION VII 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

39. AUTHORITARIANISM AND TOTALITARIANISM IN 20TH CENTURY EUROPE – I

Chair: ZBIGNIEW ANTHONY KRUSZEWSKI (USA) University of Texas, El Paso

 Participants:
 CHRISTOPHER RICHARD GILLEY (UK/Germany)

 Hamburg University
 The 'change of signposts' in the Ukrainian emigration:

 a contribution to the history of Sovietophilism in the 1920s

OKSANA SHEREMETA (Ukraine) National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv Religious and political views of A. Sheptytskyi and his attempts to resist communism

ZURAB AKHALAIA (Georgia/Poland) Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań Georgians in Poland – Georgian officers in pre-war Poland

40. CENTRAL ASIA - III

- Chair: ANDRZEJ ANANICZ (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 ELENA KUZMINA (Russia)

 Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
 Features of the state building processes in the Central Asia

ENEYATOLLAH YAZDANI (Iran) Isfahan University EU policy towards Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union

RUSLAN SHAMGUNOV (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg Democratic chances for the future of Turkmenistan

BARTOSZ KOWALSKI (Poland) University of Łódź Xinjiang - "pivot of Asia" in the beginning of the 21st century

RZEPKA MARCIN (Poland) Jagiellonian University, Cracow History and its different faces. On contemporary Afghan understanding of nation, national heroes and patriotism.

41. CHURCHES AND CONFESSIONS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

- Chair: ANTONI MIRONOWICZ (Poland) University of Białystok
- Participants:
 ALLA KYRYDON (Ukraine)

 Poltava State Pedagogical University

 State-Church relations under the conditions of stabilization

 of totalitarian regime in the Soviet Ukraine (1917-1930's)

PAVEL SHASHKIN (Russia) Moscow Patriarchate Collision of liberal and traditional values in modern Russian society in politics and economics. The role of the Russian Orthodox Church in modernization processes

DAMIAN THEODOR (USA/Romania) Metropolitan College, New York **The Romanian Orthodox Church between "dejà vu and pas encore"**

ALEXANDER TSIMBAL (Belarus) Belarusian State Pedagogical University, Minsk **The Orthodox Church in Poland (1921 – 1939)**

DZMITRY PUZYROU (Belarus) Academy of Public Administration, Minsk Influence of religion on the development of international relations system

42. DEPORTATION, ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE

Chair: GRZEGORZ HRYCIUK (Poland) Wrocław University

 Participants:
 EMILIA ANDRYIV (Ukraine)

 Subcarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk

 Deportations in the policy of totalitarian regimes of East

 Central Europe

MARYANA LEVYTSKA (Ukraine) Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kyiv Consequences of the political and geographical transformations 1940's for elimination of the Ukrainian cultural monuments on the Polish-Ukrainian border

JOSEPH MICHALSKI (Canada) University of Western Ontario, London, Canada Genocide in Eastern Europe and beyond: toward a sociological understanding of mass killings

BEATA KOZACZYŃSKA (Poland) University of Podlasie, Siedlce Deportations of population from Zamojszczyzna region to Warsaw District in 1942 and 1943 as a realization of the General Eastern Plan (Generalplan Ost)

OLESYA SHVETS (Russia) Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow Myth of Siberia in the journal "Sybirak" in the interwar period

43. MIGRATIONS AND SECURITY ISSUES

- Chair: MARIUSZ KOWALSKI (Polska) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 MARTA JAROSZEWICZ (Poland)

 Centre for Eastern Studies, Ministry of Economy, Warsaw

 Migration and citizenship in Eastern Europe: pragmatism

 and nationalism

JAROSŁAW GRYZ (Poland) National Defense University, Warsaw **The phenomenon of the modern international terrorism**

SEBNEM YARDIMCI (Turkey/The Netherlands) University of Maastricht The externalization of European asylum and migration policy

MARIA KUHARENKO (Kyrgyzstan) Bishkek Humanitarian University Students from Central Asia and Caucasus in Poznan. Problems of ethnic consciousness and cultural adaptation

44. RUSSIAN IDENTITY IN COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST PERIOD

- Chair: JAKUB SADOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:KAROLINA KORCZ (Poland)
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
The return of Voland or the new Diaboliada by Vitaliy
Ruhinskiy in view of selected problems of Russian
literature

VALERIE ZAWILSKI (Canada) University of Western Ontario, London, Canada Saving Russia: the development of nationalist thought among the Russian intelligentsia 1967 – 2007

KSENIYA OKSAMYTNA (Ukraine) Institute of International Relations, Kyiv Imperial grand strategy: Russia and the nostalgia for a superstate

Discussant: JAN HOLZER (Czech Republic) Masaryk University, Brno

45. EU – UKRAINE RELATIONS

- Chair: JERZY MAREK NOWAKOWSKI (Poland) Polish Open University, Warsaw
- Participants:
 NATALIA YAKOVENKO (Ukraine)

 Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv
 Ukraine in the process of European Integration

HALYNA ZELENKO (Ukraine) National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv Ukraine – Vishegrad Groups: Euro-Adaptation Test

TOMASZ KAPUŚNIAK (Poland) Institute of East Central Europe in Lublin The "Eastern dimension" of the European Union

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46. AUTHORITARIANISM AND TOTALITARIANISM IN 20TH CENTURY EUROPE – II

- Chair: WŁODZIMIERZ BORODZIEJ (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 MAGDA STROIŃSKA (Canada/Poland)

 McMaster University, Hamilton
 An assaulted society: How the authoritarian abuse

 prevents the return to democracy

VALTERS SCERBINSKIS (Latvia) Stradins University, Riga Creation of the authoritarian regime: repressions during aftermath of the coup d' etat in Latvia in 1934

MICHAEL FLEMING (Great Britain) Polish University Abroad, London The Marxism and nationalism of the Polish Workers' Party 1942-1948: necessary compromises?

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Chair: ANDRZEJ KORBOŃSKI (USA) University of California, Los Angeles

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 Participants:
 MICHAŁ KASPRZAK (Poland/Canada)

 University of Toronto
 Liberation or containment: American foreign policy

 towards East Central Europe in late Truman and early
 Eisenhower administrations

FEDIR SEMENIUK (Ukraine) Subcarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Transformation processes of East Central Europe in the political mind of Zbigniew Brzezinski

KATARZYNA ŻUKROWSKA (Poland) Warsaw School of Economics Democracy after authoritarian rules: processes in the West and the East

Discussant: WITOLD RODKIEWICZ (Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

48. ECONOMIC TRANSITION - I

- Chair: ANDRZEJ LUBBE (Poland) Leon Kozminski Academy, Warsaw
- Participants: ZELJKO POZEGA (Croatia) Faculty of Economics, Osijek

BORIS CRNKOVIC (Croatia) Faculty of Economics, Osijek Human capital and its influence on GNP - with a special view on Eastern European countries

MILENA KRUMOVA (Bulgaria) Technical University, Sofia Differentiation of priority spheres for application of benchmarking at national level in Bulgaria after accession to EU

SIARHEI YERMAKOVICH (Belarus) Brest State University Dominant position as a category of anti-monopolistic legislation

Discussant: JOLANTA SOLNYSKINIENE (Lithuania) Kaunas University of Technology

49. EMPIRES AND NATIONS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE – FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY – III

- Chair: TOMASZ KIZWALTER (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 ADAM BALCER (Poland)

 Warsaw University
 The Armenian genocide (1915-1916) in the contemporary

 Polish historiography

SANDRA UZULE (Latvia) University of Adam Mickiewicz, Poznań The process of national building of Latvians

ALEXANDER REENT (Ukraine) National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv

NATALIA TERENTIEVA (Ukraine) National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv The formation of political and economical elite in Ukraine (19th century)

IVAN MONOLATIY (Ukraine) Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Interethnical consensuses in Austro-Hungary: history retrospective view and ethno-political value. Examples of Moravia, Bukovina and Galicia

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MARCIN SIADKOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw University The role of the masses in the political discourse and ritual. The first universal franchise elections in Austria-Hungary (1907) and the jubilee of the 60th anniversary Franz Joseph's of reign (1908).

50. RUSSIAN RELATIONS WITH THE BALTIC REGION

- Chair: JURIS ROZENVALDS (Latvia) University of Latvia, Riga
- Participants:
 MARCIN GOŃDA (Poland)

 University of Łódź
 The problem of Russian-speaking minority in relations

 between the Baltic States and the Russian Federation

VINCENT DAUTANCOURT (France) University Paris VIII, Saint Denis The national question in Estonia: the relations with the Russian minority

VLADIMIR KUZMIN (Russia) Immanuel Kant State University, Kaliningrad The European integration and transboundary cooperation between Russia and EU in a format of Euroregions in the Baltic Sea Region

Discussant: RYSZARD PARADOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw University

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Chair: JERZY KOZAKIEWICZ (Poland) Warsaw University

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ILYA SMIRNOV (Russia) Herzen State University, St. Petersburg Ukraine 2004-2007. The struggle of two "different democracies"

OLEH IVCHENKO (Ukraine) Ukrainian Academy of Cooperation Place and role of institutes of civil society in development of democracy on Ukraine

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Chair:	ALDONA KAMELA-SOWIŃSKA (Poland)
	Higher School of Trade and Accountancy, Poznań
Participants:	JOLANTA SOLNYSKINIENE (Lithuania)
	Kaunas University of Technology
	Vectors of socio-economical politics in Lithuania
	and changes of personal welfare
	IVAN ILIEV (Bulgaria)
	Technical University, Sofia
	Comparative characteristic of competitiveness of
	Bulgarian economy and European Union member states
	ROSITSA NAKOVA (Bulgaria)
	Technical University, Sofia
	Comparative analysis between comparative
	and sustainable competitive advantage

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- Chair: RYSZARD PARADOWSKI (Poland) Warsaw University
- Participants:
 ZAUR GASIMOV (Germany)

 Catholic University, Eichstatt-Ingolstadt
 Russian-Azerbaijani relations in 2003-2007

OLGA NADSKAKUŁA (Poland) University of Łódź An alien among own people. Anti-Russian attitudes in Ukraine and Belarus from the Kremlin perspective

DONNACHA O'BECHEAIN (Kazachstan) *KIMEP, Almaty* **Russian soft power outside its borders: the struggle for the Kremlins' regaining control of the Russian diaspora**

ABEL POLESE (Germany) Marie Curie Research Fellow, HAIT, Dresden Cold War in the Caucasus: Georgian-Russian relations

Discussant: MAREK MENKISZAK (Poland) Centre for Eastern Studies, Ministry of Economy, Warsaw

54. SECULAR AND ISLAMIC TRADITIONS. BETWEEN EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST

Chair: ANDRZEJ ANANICZ (Poland) Warsaw University

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Participants:BACIK GOKHAN (Turkey)
Fatih University, IstanbulThe government versus the state:
the Turkish elite authoritarian system

YUKSEL ALPER ECEVIT (Turkey) Sabanci University The role of the military in democratic transitions: a comparison of the Spanish and Turkish cases

ANDRZEJ ADAMCZYK (Poland) School of Economics and Administration, Kielce Contradictions of Kemalism

HAYSSAM OBEIDAT (Poland) Jagiellonian University, Cracow The democratic experience of Eastern European countries and the failure of its application in the Middle East – a comparative study

CAGIN SAHIN NAZLI (Turkey) Sabanci University Stuck between political authoritarianism and democracy: the 2007 presidency elections in Turkey under the impact of the complexity of the state – government relations

Discussant: ADAM BALCER (Poland) Warsaw University

55. UKRAINE AFTER THE ORANGE REVOLUTION - II

Chair: JERZY MAREK NOWAKOWSKI (Poland) Polish Open University, Warsaw

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 Participants:
 YURIY MATSIEVSKY (Ukraine)

 National University "Ostroh Academy"

 Between authoritarianism and democracy:

 Ukraine's political regime after the "Orange Revolution"

OLENA KOSHMANOVA (Ukraine) Ivan Franko National University, Lviv Students' narratives on democracy after the Orange Revolution

MARIUSZ KOWALSKI, JAN MALICKI (Poland) Warsaw University Ukrainian Survey: A report (December 2004 – September 2006 – April 2007)

56. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

Chair:	WITOLD RODKIEWICZ (Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
Participants:	ANA JGHARKAVA (Georgia) Georgian University of Social Sciences, Tbilisi Impact of Russia on energy security of EU and Georgia
	JOLANTA KUBICKA (Poland) University of Economics, Katowice The Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) in face of the 15th anniversary of activity and Turkey's Presidency
	ELENA BORISOVA (Russia/Germany) University of Erfurt, Germany The EU Neighbourhood Policy. EU – Georgia Relations
Discussant:	WIKTOR ROSS (Poland) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

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Chair: JOANNA KURCZEWSKA (Poland) Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

 Participants:
 ANNA BOBER (Poland)

 University of Wroclaw
 The role of local communities within the political system and transition process in Poland – moving towards civil society, sustainable development and modern participation conceptions

ZBIGNIEW PISARSKI (Poland) Casimir Pulaski Foundation

The cooperation between American government and US non-governmental organizations in promoting US foreign policy goals in Eastern Europe

SZYMON SKALSKI (Poland) Warsaw University Afghanistan – NGOs and the reconstruction process. Practitioner remarks

ANJELIKA MAMYTOVA (Kyrgyzstan) Kyrgyz State National University, Bishkek Reflections on NGOs' practical experience: challenges to democratic transition (basing on case studies of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan)

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ROUND TABLE IV POLISH EASTERN STUDIES

Marek Mądzik – head of the Centre for History of Eastern European Countries, Maria Cure Skłodowska University, Lublin, professor, specialist in social, cultural and political activity of Poles in Georgia.

Antoni Mironowicz – head of the Chair of History of East-Central Europe, University of Białystok. Professor, expert on history of Belarus, Russia, East-Central European countries and orthodox church.

Krzysztof Pietkiewicz – head of the Eastern Institute, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań. Professor, expert on East European history.

Anna Raźny – head of the Institute of Russia and Eastern Europe, Jagiellonian University. Professor, specialist in Orthodox spirituality, Russian Christianity and ideas in Russia.

Edward Wiśniewski – head of the Eastern Europe Seminar, University of Lódź. Professor, specialist in modern history and the history of Russia.

MODERATOR:

Jan Malicki – head of the Centre for East European Studies (Studium Europy Wschodniej), Warsaw University.





CLOSING CEREMONY WARSAW EAST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE Democracy vs. Authoritarianism Political and Historical Context

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18, 8:00 PM

MAIN AUDITORIUM OF THE OLD LIBRARY



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JERZY GIEDROYC (1906–2000)

Publicist, politician, founder and editor of Paris Kultura. Born on 27 July 1906 in Minsk, Litovsk, son of Ignacy and Franciszka Starzycka.

Studied law (1924–1929) and History (1930–1931) at the Warsaw University. In the co-

urse of his studies, president of "Patria Corporation" and "Intercorporational Club" in Warsaw, activist of academic organization "Superpower Thought", and employee of the International Affairs Department at the Main Academic Committee of the Polish Union of Academic Youth.

Press and parliamentary clerk at the Ministry of Agriculture (1929–1935), Editor of Academic Daily and Youth Revolt biweekly, later (1936) transformed into Polityka (1930–1939). After WWII started, he escaped to Romania. Personal secretary to Roger Raczyński, Polish Ambassador to Romania (1939–1940); Director of Polish Department at the Chilean Embassy in Bucharest (1940); Co-worker on Polish Issues of the British Embassy in Romania. (1941).

Evacuated to Istanbul by the British Embassy (March 1941), he joined the army and went to Palestine. Soldier of the Solitary Brigade of Carpathian Rangers, participated in the campaign in Lybia and Tobruk; director (in the rank of Second Lieutenant) of the Press and Publishing Department of 2 nd Polish Corpse Propaganda Office (1941–1944); employee of Armored Weapons Training Centre in Gallipoli (Italy) (1944–1945); Director of Department of Europe at the Ministry of Information of the Polish Government in London (1945).

Founder of the Literary Institute in Rome (1946), publisher and editor-in-chief of Kultura (since 1947). In October 1947 he moved the publishing company to Maisons Laffitte near Paris and started broad publishing activity, cooperating with eminent Polish publicists and emigrant writers, like Józef Czapski, Jerzy

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Stempowski, Konstanty A. Jeleński, Juliusz Mieroszewski, Czesław Miłosz, Witold Gombrowicz, and Gustaw Herling-Grudziński. He initiated (1953) the publication of Kultura Library series (novels, as well as political books and memories) and (1962) semiannual (quarterly since 1972) Zeszyty Historyczne (on the modern history of Poland and Central European countries).

For 50 years, he consistently pursued establishing good neighbourly relations between Poland and its eastern neighbours (Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine) from the perspective of their future independence. Initiator and member of Independent Polish Literature and Science Support Fund, established in 1982. Author of numerous articles and a book Four-Handed Autobiograhy (edited by Krzysztof Pomian, 1994).

He received honorary doctorates of Jagiellonian University (1991), University of Fryburg (Switzerland), Wrocław University (1998), University of Białystok (1998), University of Warsaw (1998), University of Szczecin (2000), and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (2000). Honorary member of Polish Historical Society. Laureate of Polish PEN Club Award (1989), St. Albert Award (1993), Polityka Award, and the "Golden Scepter" of the Polish Culture Foundation (1999).

Awards: Legion of Honour (1938), the Officer's Cross of Romanian Crown (1930), Knight's Cross of Belgian Crown (1938), Estonian White Star Decoration (1932). Critical of Poland's internal affairs after 1989, he refused to accept the highest Polish decoration – Medal of the White Eagle. Awarded the Officer's Cross of Legion of Honour in France (1996). In 1997 he received honorary citizenship of Lithuania, and in 1998 Grand Cross of Duke Gediminas. He lived in France until his death on 14 September 2000.

source: http://kultura.onet.pl





Society for the Custody of the Literary Institute Archive in Paris 02-103 Warszawa, Hankiewicza 1 p. 0103 tel./fax (0-22) 824 35 88, 824 38 00 e-mail: <u>instytutliteracki@pro.onet.pl</u>

JERZY GIEDROYC AND KULTURA

On 20th July 2005 the exhibition "Jerzy Giedroyc and Kultura" will be opened in the late building of Warsaw University Library. It was organized by Society for the Custody of the Literary Institute Archive in Paris, together with the Centre for East European Studies Warsaw University, within the frames of Warsaw East European Conference.

The motto of the exhibition are the words of Jerzy Giedroyc: In *Kultura*, we considered our highest responsibility to speak truth to the people.

In 1947, a few Polish immigrants moved to a ruined house in Maisons-Laffitte. For Poles, the name of this French town, where the Literary Institute continues to operate, remains a synonym of free culture and thought.

When the foundations of united Europe were created, Poland was enslaved by the communist Russia. The office of Kultura became somewhat of a Polish embassy, caring that the Polish issues do not disappear from the European public thought, but also, that Poles remember that they belong to Europe.

The exhibition contains a few dozen boards with the history of the Literary Institute (since its establishment in Rome in 1946 until today), biography of Jerzy Giedroyc, selected articles from Kultura by Józef Czapski, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Juliusz Mieroszewski, Czesław Miłosz, and others.

Another part of the exhibition is devoted to the person of Jerzy Giedroyc. Especially interesting are his thoughts on Kultura, its co-workers, and selected pieces of Four-Handed Authobiography, where Giedroyc writes about the work of the Literary Institute.

Further, comments on Jerzy Giedroyc are presented by Natalia Gorbaniewska, Czesław Miłosz, Stanisław Lem, Adam Michnik and Krzysztof Pomian.

The exhibition was prepared based on photographs from the Literary Institute Archive in Paris, as well as photographs by Piotr Wójcik (Gazeta Agency), taken in October 1998 in Maisons Laffitte. The exhibition's graphic design was prepared by Hanna Milanowicz and the conceptual design by Agnieszka Mitkowska.

In recent years similar exhibitions on the Literary Institute were presented in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, Russia, France, et al.



BOOK EXHIBIT

THE WARSAW UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Warsaw University Press publishes scientific and educational literature which encompasses university disciplines and a wide range of interdisciplinary issues.



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JOURNALS AND SERIES PUBLISHED – BY THE CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, WARSAW UNIVERSITY (STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ UW)

Przegląd Wschodni (Eastern Review) is devoted to the history of former territories of the old *Rzeczpospolita*, Russia and East Europe from the Middle Ages to the present, treating it as one cultural and political region. Leading historians, art and cultural historians, as well as linguists, geographers, demographers, anthropologists, and specialists from other fields deal with a broad range of issues related to the region's common cultural heritage and interethnic relations. The editorial secretary), Leszek Zasztowt, Andrzej Chodkiewicz, Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, Inga Kotańska, and Dariusz Maciak. Przegląd has an international advisory board. In addition, the journal presents annual awards for the best academic books in the field. To date, 38 issues have been published.

Obóz (Camp): *Problems of the Nations of the Former Communist Bloc.* Founded in 1981 by Jerzy Targalski, Andrzej Ananicz, Kazimierz Stembrowicz, Wojciech Maziarski, Marek Pernal, Jan Malicki, and Robert Bogdański. Until



1989, it remained an underground publication (19 issues). Since 1990, it has been published by the Centre for East European Studies. From the beginning, it focused on the problems of the countries under communist regime. *Obóz* features articles by leading specialists on Soviet and post-Soviet issues, and often by CEES lecturers and other invited guests. It focuses primarily on Central and Eastern Europe in the twentieth century.

At present, the editorial board are: Jakub Sadowski (Editor-in-chief), David Kolbaia, Jan Malicki, and Włodzimierz Marciniak. So far, 46 issues have been published.

Bibliografia Europy Wschodniej (Bibliography of Eastern Europe) is an academic publication issued by *Przegląd Wschodni* (Eastern Review) and the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw. Subsequent editions, in separate volumes for each country, present academic work on Eastern Europe published in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia, after 1991. *Bibliography of Eastern Europe* embraces publications from various fields of knowledge, like history, art, culture, politics and international relations between East European nations from the 14th century until present.

The aim of the *Bibliography of Eastern Europe* is to popularize the knowledge about research and publications concerning history and contemporary problems of Eastern Europe. The volumes of bibliography are elaborated by the international gdoup of academicians from Warsaw, Vilnius, Minsk, Lviv and Moscow.

Bibliography of Eastern Europe includes special volumes, dealing with issues outside the general topic, but related to the problems of Eastern Europe. Such exceptions are made due to the relevance of newly appearing historical data, and because of the importance of the topic on which the Bibliography focuses on. One of such exceptions, published recently, was "*Ucrainica* in Polish periodicals and printed matters of the Second Polish Republic.

Some of the volumes published so far include: *Eastern Bibliography 1993* (vol. 2); *Polish Bibliography 1994* (vol. 4), *1995* (vol. 5); *Lithuanian Bibliography 1991–1994* (vol.3), *1995–1997* (vol. 8), *1998–1999* (vol.12); *Russian Bibliography 1992–1995* (vol. 5); *Ukrainian Bibliography 1991–1993* (vol. 6), *1994–1995* (vol. 16–17); *Bibliography of Polish Ethnic and Religious Research* (vol. 9); *Belarus Bibliography 1992–1994* (vol. 13).

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The international team working on the Bibliography includes: Olena Arkusza (Lviv), Tamara Bairašauskaite (Vilnius), Leonid Gorizontov (Moscow), Piotr Pyzel (Warsaw), HenadŸ Sahanowicz (Minsk). The editor – in – chief is Jan Malicki.

Informator Wschodni (Eastern Handbook) is a biennial publication which includes information about Polish institutions and individuals active in the East European field, understood as the Soviet successor states. *Informator* is available via the Internet as well, where it is updated regularly, and is prepared jointly with the Centre for Eastern Studies. *Informator* is edited by Dariusz Maciak. **"Pro Georgia"** (Journal of Kartvelological and Caucasian Studies) One of the very few scholarly magazines in Europe devoted to broadly understood Georgian and Caucasian subject matter. It covers the scope of history, literature, art history, archaeology, culture and the study of religions. The journal is edited by David Kolbaia.

"Biblioteka OBOZU" [**"OBOZ Library"**] is a series of books published since 1981. For the first time, this series featured such important titles as *Utopia u władzy* [*Utopia in Power*] by M. Heller and A. Niekricz, *Short History of Twentieth Century Ukraine* [*Zarys historii Ukrainy XX wieku*] by T. Olszański, and famous memoirs of Menachem Begin, *Biae noce* [*White Night*].

The most recent to appear was *Przemiany narodowościowe na Ukrainie wXX w.* (t. 19) [*Nationality Transformation in Ukraine during the Twentieth Century*, vol. 19], by Piotr Eberhardt, and *Zbrodnia – kłamstwo – amnezja. Rewolucja Czerwonych Khmerów w Kambodży* [*Killing – Lying – Forgetting: The Red Khmer Revolution in Cambodia*]. This will be the final volume in this series, which at the same time opens a new series that will continue in the same field.

Bibliotheca Europae Orientalis. The volume that opened a new series was an important book *Ziemiaństwo polskie Kresów Północno-Wschodnich 1864–1904* [*Polish Gentry in North Eastern Borderland, 1864–1904*] – vol. XXI – Monographs, by Roman Jurkowski.

The next volumes will be published in three sections (series): I. Monographs, II. Sources, III. Materials. The newest volume, from the textbooks subseries is *Dziennik 1930–1936*, i.e. the memoirs by Father Bronisaw Żongołłowicz, a prewar Deputy Minister for Religion and Public Education, which have recently been found in one of Vilnius archives. The newest publication is "Comparative analysis of political systems" written by Marek Śliwiński.



APPENDIX





WARSAW UNIVERSITY



The University of Warsaw was established in 1816, when the partitions of Poland separated the central region of Poland from the older academic center in Cracow. The School of Law and the Medical School were first established in the Duchy of Warsaw. In 1816 Alexander I the Russian Czar (at the same time the King of Poland) gave his permission to create the university, made up of five faculties: Law and Administration, Medicine, Philosophy, Theology, Art and Humanities.

After 1918, in the Independent Poland, the university for the first time in its history was able to freely develop its courses and class instruction without restrictions.

After the death of Marshal Pilsudski in 1935, the Senate of the University of Warsaw passed a motion to confer his name to the university.

After the war, communist authorities were at first hesitant to rebuild the university, which was almost completely destroyed. Yet the determination of many prewar professors led to change in their decision. In December of 1945 classes resumed for over 4,000 students

The official ideology did not play a big role. International contacts were recovered. Increasing criticism of the political structure of Poland led to student demonstrations in 1968, which were suppresed by the police. The repression reached many members of academic staff. The university (now at 20,000 students), nevertheless, was a center of independent thought, from which emerged many outstanding intellectuals, many leaders of the anti-communist opposition, as well as reformers in the governing camp.

Nowadays the Warsaw University, with its about 60,000 students (both Polish and foreign) and over 2,500 scholars, is the biggest university in Poland.

The University authorities:

Rector:	Prof Katarzyna Chałasińska-Macukow
Vice-Rectors:	Prof. Małgorzata Gersdorf Prof. Stanisław Głąb Prof. Wojciech Tygielski Prof. Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk



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Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe I
17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28.
Historiography of East Central Europe I
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32.
Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe II

AUTHORITARIANISM

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 5. 19th century Russia – struggle of ideologies 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 11. Putin's Russia I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 16. Putin's Russia II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18. Chechnya 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25. Belarus I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. Central Asia I 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe I 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 46. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe II 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. Secular and Islamic traditions. Between Europe and Middle East

BALKANS

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 6.
Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context I
16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 17.
Turkey and the EU I
17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29.
Political transition in post-communist countries II
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48.
Economic transition I
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 52.
Economic transition II

BELARUS

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25.
Belarus I
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32.
Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe II
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 33.
Belarus II
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53.
Russian factor in the post-soviet space

BORDERLAND - NEIGHBOURHOOD

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3.
EU Eastern policy I
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9.
EU Eastern policy II
17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31.
EU, NATO and Russia I
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42.
Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50.
Russian relations with the Baltic region
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56.
International relations in the Black Sea region



CAUCASUS

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 2.
Conflicts in Caucasus. Instability zones
16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14.
Caucasus – difficult way towards democracy?
17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18.
Chechnya
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43.
Migrations and security issues
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49.
Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53.
Russian factor in the post-soviet space
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56.
International relations in the Black Sea region

CENTRAL ASIA

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26.
Central Asia I
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34.
Central Asia II
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 40.
Central Asia III
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43.
Migrations and security issues
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57.
NGOs activities in post-communist countries III

CENTRAL EUROPE

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7.
Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist block
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8.

Energy security I

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16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9. EU Eastern policy II 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 13. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. International relations in post-soviet and post-communist area 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 23. Post-enlargement Europe 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. Historiography of East Central Europe I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Political transition in post-communist countries I 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Historiography of East Central Europe II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 45. EU – Ukraine relations 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 47. Cold war 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III

CULTURE

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7.

Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist block

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 12.

Anthropology and ethnography of communism and post-communism **17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28.**

Historiography of East Central Europe I

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17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30.
Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34.
Central Asia II
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 44.
Russian identity in communist and post-communist period
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54.
Secular and Islamic traditions. Between Europe and Middle East

EASTERN EUROPE

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3.

EU Eastern policy I

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4.

Political transition in post-communist countries I

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7.

Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist block

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9.

EU Eastern policy I

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15.

Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century I

17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19.

Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century II

17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21.

International relations in post-soviet and post-communist area

17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 23.

Post-enlargement Europe

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28.

Historiography of East Central Europe I

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29.

Political transition in post-communist countries II

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30.

Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states

17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32.

Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe II

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17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Historiography of East Central Europe II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42. Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 45. EU - Ukraine relations 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution I 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution II 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. International relations in the Black Sea region

ECONOMY

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15.
Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century I
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48.
Economic transition I
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 52.
Economic transition II

EUROPEAN UNION

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3. EU Eastern policy I **16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8.** Energy security I

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9. EU Eastern policy II 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. NGOs activities in post-communist countries I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 17. Turkey and the EU I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 23. Post-enlargement Europe 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24. Turkey and the EU II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. Central Asia I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. Energy security II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. EU, NATO and Russia I 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34. Central Asia II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. EU, NATO and Russia II 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 40. Central Asia III 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 45. EU – Ukraine relations 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. Russian relations with the Baltic region 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. International relations in the Black Sea region

HUMAN RIGHTS

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 11.
Putin's Russia I
17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18.
Chechnya
17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24.
Turkey and the EU II
17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26.

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Central Asia I **18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42.** Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide

LITHUANIA AND BALITIC STATES

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4. Political transition in post-communist countries I 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. Energy security I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 12. Anthropology and ethnography of communism and post-communism 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25. Belarus I 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Historiography of East Central Europe II 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 46. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe II 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century II 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. Russian relations with the Baltic region 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 52. Economic transition II

NATIONALITIES

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 6.
Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context I
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7.
Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist block
17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 20.
Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context II

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30.

Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states **18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42.** Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide **18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43.** Migrations and security issues **18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49.** Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III **18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50.** Russian relations with the Baltic region

NATO

17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. EU, NATO and Russia I **17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38.** EU, NATO and Russia II

NGOs

16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10.
NGOs activities in post-communist countries I
17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22.
NGOs activities in post-communist countries II
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57.
NGOs activities in post-communist countries III

POLAND

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1.
Civil society construction
16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3.
EU Eastern policy I
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7.
Beyond the official "friendship of the nations". Opposition, dissidents and intellectuals' international relations in the communist block
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9.
EU Eastern policy II

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 13.

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Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25. Belarus I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. Historiography of East Central Europe I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Political transition in post-communist countries II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe I 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42. Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 46. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe II 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution II 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57. NGOs activities in post-communist countries III

POST-COMMUNISM

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1.
Civil society construction
16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4.
Political transition in post-communist countries I
16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 12.
Anthropology and ethnography of communism and post-communism



16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 13. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 20. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. International relations in post-soviet and post-communist area 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Political transition in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30. Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32. Anticommunist opposition in East Central Europe II 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 44. Russian identity in communist and post-communist period 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. Russian factor in the post-soviet space

RELIGIONS AND CHURCHES

17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34.
Central Asia I
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39.
Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe I
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41.
Churches and confessions in East Central Europe

RUSSIA

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4.
Political transition in post-communist countries I
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 5.
19th century Russia – struggle of ideologies
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8.
Energy security I
16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 11.
Putin's Russia I
16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 16.

Putin's Russia II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 20. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. International relations in post-soviet and post-communist area 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. Energy security II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. Historiography of East Central Europe I 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30. Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. EU, NATO and Russia I 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34. Central Asia II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. EU, NATO and Russia II 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 44. Russian identity in communist and post-communist period 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 47. East - West relations 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. Russian relations with the Baltic region 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. Russian factor in the post-soviet space 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. International relations in the Black Sea region

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SECURITY. ENERGY SECURITY

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 2. Conflicts in Caucasus. Instability zones 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. Energy security I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24. Turkey and the EU II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. Energy security II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. EU, NATO and Russia I 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. EU, NATO and Russia II 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43. Migrations and security issues 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. International relations in the Black Sea region

SOCIETY

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1.
Civil society construction
17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30.
Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states
17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37.
State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe
18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41.
Churches and confessions in East Central Europe
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51.
Ukraine after the Orange Revolution I
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57.
NGOs activities in post-communist countries III

TRANSFORMATION AND DEMOCRATISATION

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1.

Civil society construction 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4. Political transition in post-communist countries I 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. NGOs activities in post-communist countries I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14. Caucasus – difficult way towards democracy? 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. Empires and nations in East Central Europe - from the 18th to the 20th century I 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century II 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Political transition in post-communist countries II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 33. Belarus II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 40. Central Asia III 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 47. Cold war 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution I 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution II

TURKEY

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 17. Turkey and the EU I **17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24.** Turkey and the EU I



17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36.
International organizations in post-soviet area and Eurasia
18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49.
Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54.
Secular and Islamic traditions. Between Europe and Middle East
18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56.
International relations in the Black Sea region

UKRAINE

16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4. Political transition in post-communist countries I 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 6. Ethnicity and nationality in post-communist context I 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9. EU Eastern policy II 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. NGOs activities in post-communist countries I 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14. Caucasus - difficult way towards democracy? 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. Empires and nations in East Central Europe – from the 18th to the 20th century III 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. International relations in post-soviet and post-communist area 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. NGOs activities in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. Energy security II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Political transition in post-communist countries II 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 30. Social and cultural issues in Soviet Union and post-Soviet states 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Historiography of East Central Europe II 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37.

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State, citizenship and society in East Central and Eastern Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism in 20th century Europe I 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. Churches and confessions in East Central Europe 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42. Deportation, ethnic cleansing and genocide 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 45. EU - Ukraine relations 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. Empires and nations in East Central Europe - from the 18th to the 20th century III 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution I 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. Russian factor in the post-soviet space 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 55. Ukraine after the Orange Revolution II 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. International relations in the Black Sea region

A

Adamczyk, Andrzej (School of Economics and Administration, Kielce) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. Akhalaia, Zurab (AMU in Poznan) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Anderson, Nina (Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9. Andriyiv, Emilia (Subcarpathian National University) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42. Azarova, Svitlana (Kherson State University (KSU)) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. B **Babiracki**, Patryk (Johns Hopkins University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32. Bacik, Gokhan (Fatih University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. **Balazs**, Imre-Jozsef (Babes-Bolvai University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7. **Balcer**, Adam (Warsaw University) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19. Balik, Stanislav (Masarvk University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. Barlas, Dilek (Koç University) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24. Bartakhanova, Maria (Saint-Petersburg State University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 6. Baruncic, Julija (Croatian Memorial and Documentation Centre of The Homeland War Zagreb) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 20. Best, Ulrich (TU Chemnitz) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 12. **Bieniek**, Karol (*Pedagogical University of Cracow*) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24. Blokker, Paul (University of Liverpool) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 23. **Bober,** Anna (University of Wroclaw) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57.

Bobrysheva, Elena (Diplomatic Academy of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Russian Federation) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. Boguszewski, Mariusz (Warsaw University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34. **Borisova,** Elena (University of Erfurt, Germany) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. **Bozkurt,** Giray Saynur *(Sakarya University)* 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. Bragvadze, Teona (Iv. Javakhishvili State University of Tbilisi) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. **Brandao**, Xavier (*Paris VIII University*) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. **Brodsky**, Anna (*Washington and Lee University*) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18. Buczynski, Andrzej (Warsaw Centre for East European Studies) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. **Budryte,** Dovile (Brenau University) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. **Buyukakinci**, Erhan (Galatasaray University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. C **Chabros**, Michal (Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 34. Chaykovskyy, Yan (Lviv National University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. **Chuguyenko**, Vitaliy (Odessa National Academy of Food Technologies) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 6. **Cichomska**, Paulina (University of Lodz) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 16. **Crnkovic,** Boris (Faculty of Economics in Osijek) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48. **Csisztay,** Gizella (*Elte -University of Budapest*) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 13. Czerniecka, Katarzyna (Development Co-Operation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Poland) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14.

D

Dautancourt, Vincent (Université Paris 8 Vincennes Saint-Denis) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. **Dineva**, Detelina (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Sofia) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4. **Dobrowolska-Polak**, Joanna (Western Institute, Poznań) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18. **Dorokhina**, Olga (*The South Caucasus Institute for Regional Security*) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 2. Dressler, Wanda (CNRS) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. Drienikova, Kristina (University of Economics In Bratislava) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. **Duda**, Aleksandra (University of Birmingham) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14. E Ecevit, Yuksel Alper (Sabanci University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. Efegil, Ertan (Beykent University, Turkey) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. Erenz, Michal (Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25. Falkowski, Maciej (Centre for Eastern Studies Warsaw) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 18. Fedorovska, Kateryna (Donetsk National University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 11. Felea, Alina (Institute of History, State and Law) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Filler, Andre (Université Paris Viii-Vincennes-Saint-Denis) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Fleming, Michael (Polish University Abroad) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Fracaro-Bieniecka, Elayne (Graduate School of Social Research At The Polish Academy of Science in Warsaw Poland) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37.

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Gafarov, Igor (Jagiellonian University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. Gamkrelidze, George (University of Gdansk) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. Gasimov, Zaur (Catholic University of Eichstatt-Ingolstadt) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. Gassiy, Violetta (Kuban Sate University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1. **Genvk**, Mykola (Subcarpathian National University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7. Gerencser, Balazs (Nonprofit Information and Training Centre Foundation (NIOK)) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1. Gilley, Christopher Richard (Hamburg University) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 39. Glowacki, Kamil (University of Lodz) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 24. **Gonda,** Marcin (University of Lodz) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. Goziev, Saidbek (Tajik State National University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. Grodzinska, Agnieszka (London School of Economics and Political Science) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. Gryz, Jaroslaw (National Defence Uniwersity Republic of Poland) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43. **Gusvev,** Valeriy (Mariupol State University of Humanities) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. Hamling, Anna (University of New Brunswick) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 5. Harutyunyan, Narine (Yerevan State University) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 14. **Hishow,** Ognian (*Free University Berlin*)

16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 16.

Hlousek, Vit (Masaryk University) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49.

Holzer, Jan (Masaryk University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29.
Horne, Cynthia (Western Washington University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4.
Hrybouski, Yury (Belarusian State University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 25.
Iliev, Ivan (Technical University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 52.

I

Irnazarov, Farrukh (National College of Ireland) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26.
Ivanova, Julia (Odessa National University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29.
Ivchenko, Oleg (Ukrainian Academy of Cooperation) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51.

J

Jalonen, Jussi (University of Tampere) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. Jankowski, Wojciech (The Polish Academy of Sciences) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. Jaroszewicz, Marta (Centre for Eastern Studies Warsaw) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43. Jgharkava, Ana (Georgian University of Social Sciences) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. Junes, Tom (Katholieke University Leuven) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 13.

Κ

Kaehne, Axel (Cardiff University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29.
Kapusniak, Tomasz (University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9.
Karnaphil, Anna (Immanuel Kant State University of Russia) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 12.
Kasprzak, Michal (University of Toronto) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 47.

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Krize, Zeljka (Croatian Memorial and Documentation Centre of The Homeland War Zagreb) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 20. Krumova, Milena (Technical University) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48. Kubicka, Jolanta (University of Economics in Katowice) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36. Kuchynkova, Petra (Masaryk University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3. Kuharenko, Maria (The Bishkek Humanitarian University It. K.Karasaeva) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43. **Kukin**, Ivan (Herzen State University of St. Petersburg) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1. Kurt, Umit (Sabanci University) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 17. Kuzmin, Vladimir (Immanuel Kant State University of Russia) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 50. Kuzmina, Elena (Department of International Economic&Politicalstudies) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 40. **Kyrydon**, Alla Mykolaivna (*The Poltava State Pedagogical University* named after V.G.Korolenko) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. L Lapiuk, Oleksandr (Institute of International Relations of Kiev Taras Shevchenko National University International Information) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1. Legucka, Agnieszka (Academy of National Defence) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. Levytska, Maryana (Ethnology Institute, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 42.

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Lomovitskaya, Valentina (State University of Culture and Arts) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15.

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Nazli, Cagin Sahin (Sabanci University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. Nechaveva, Olga (Kviv Taras Shevchenko University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 56. Nikitenko, Alexey (Orel Regional Academy of State Service) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 31. **O'Becheain**, Donnacha (Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics And Strategic Research) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. Obeidat, Hayssam (Jagiellonian University) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 54. Odrechiwska, Irena (Lviv National Ivan Franko University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3. **Okonski,** Krzysztof (Kazimierz Wielki University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 7. **Oksamytna**, Kseniya (Institute of International Relations) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 44. **Oltu,** Galina (Moldova State University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. **Onuch,** Olga (Oxford University) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 51. **Ozolins,** Janis (Australian Catholic University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. Р **Pakozdy**, Csaba (University of Miskolc, Hungary (Miskolci Egyetem)) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 37. Pankiv, Maria (Kharkow National Uniwersity of W.N. Karazin) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. **Petrova**, Tsveta (Cornell University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 4. **Petrova**, Tatyana (Saint-Petersburg State University) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. **Pisarska**, Katarzyna (Warsaw School of Economics) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 9.

Pisarski, Zbigniew (Casimir Pulaski Foundation) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 57. **Podvorna**, Olena (*Rivne Regional Committee of Youth Organizations*) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 8. **Polese**, Abel (Marie Curie Research Fellow, HAIT, Dresden) 18 July, 16:00, Panel No. 53. **Polishchuk,** Pavlo (*Warsaw Uniwersity*) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 28. Porkolab, Aniko (Nonprofit Information and Training Centre Foundation (NIOK)) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 1. **Pozega**, Zelijko (Faculty of Economics in Osijek) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48. Pruszvnski, Aleksander () 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 33. **Pstrusinska**, Jadwiga (Jagiellonian University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. **Puzyrou**, Dzmitry (Academy of Public Administration) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. R Rakovics, Robert (Warsaw University) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 2. Reent, Olexander (National Academy of Sciences) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 19. **Romanowska**, Magdalena (Jagiellonian University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 5. **Rukavishnikov**, Vladimir (State University –Higher School of Economics) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. **Runcis,** Andris (University of Latvia) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. **Rusetsky**, Alexander (*The South Caucasus Institute for Regional Security*) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 2. **Ryzhykova,** Iryna (Subcarpathian National University) 16 July, 12:30, Panel No. 10. Rzepka, Marcin (Jagiellonian University) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 40.

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Sommer, Lukasz (Warsaw University) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 15. **Soskin,** Oleh (Institute of Society Transformation Kyiv) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. **Spechler**, Dina (Indiana University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 38. Spechler, Martin (Indiana University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 26. **Stroinska**, Magda (*McMaster University*) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 46. **Strutynski**, Wladyslaw (Y. Fedkovich University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 35. Stukina, Valeryia (Belarusian State University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 33. Sulimau, Siarhei (Academy of Business) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 33. Szalacha, Joanna (Nicolaus Copernicus University) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 22. Szalai, Aniko (University of Szeged, Hungary) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 21. Szpakowski, Krzysztof (University of Lodz) 16 July, 10:00, Panel No. 3. Т **Tekin**, Sermin (*Yeditepe University*) 16 July, 16:00, Panel No. 17. **Terentieva,** Natalia (Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences The Centre On Ukrainian-Greek Studies) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 49. **Teres**, Nataliya (*Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University*) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 29. **Teterin**, Alexander (Saint-Petersburg State University) 17 July, 12:30, Panel No. 27. **Theodore**, Damian (Metropolitan College of New York) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 41. **Tkachuk**, Yuriy (Subcarpathian National University) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 36.

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Wozniczka, Zygmunt (University of Silesia) 17 July, 16:00, Panel No. 32.

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Yakovleva, Iryna (I.I. Mechnikov Odessa National University) 17 July, 10:00, Panel No. 23.

Yardimci, Sebnem (University of Maastricht) 18 July, 10:00, Panel No. 43.

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Yermakovich, Siarhei (Brest State University) 18 July, 12:30, Panel No. 48.

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Zawilski, Valerie (*King's University College at The University of Western Ontario*)

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Zelenko, Halyna (Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine)

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Zhunussova, Bota (Warsaw University)

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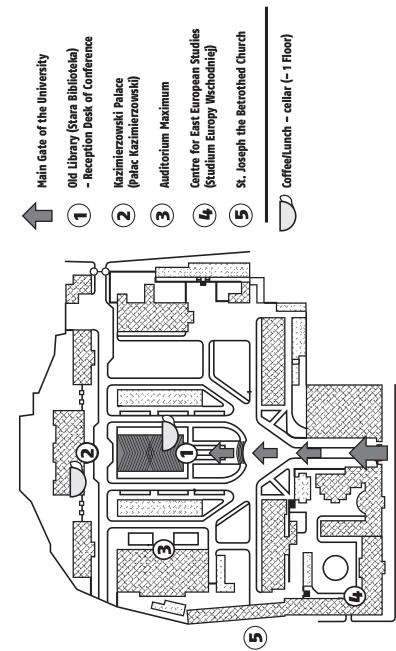
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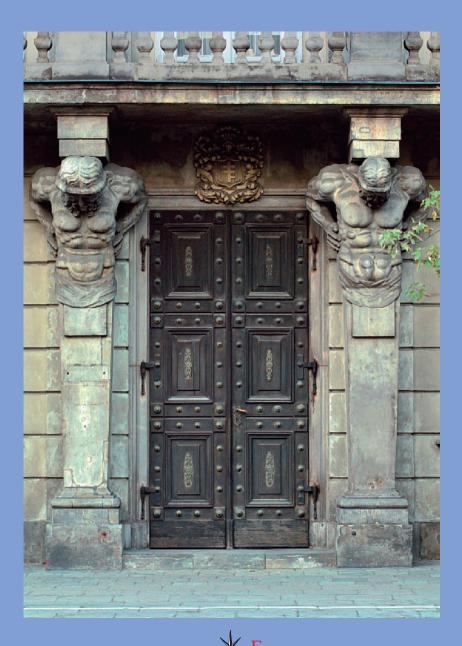
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