

University of Rochester
Skalny Center for Polish and Central European Studies

IR 223
Opposition in an Authoritarian State: Poland, 1945-1989

Spring 2020
Tuesdays and Thursdays: 6.15-7.30 pm
Meliora Hall 218

Instructor:
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Office hours:
Thursday, 12.00-2.00 pm
Skalny Center for Polish and Central European Studies
101 Harkness Hall

A. Course description

One of the common features of authoritarian regimes is a limited pluralism and disrupted relationship between the authorities and the opposition. The ruling regime denies political representation to vast segments of society, as it allows the authorities to hold unaccountable power and further its ideology. Even if the people are far from being unanimous, living in the closed, captive society equals lack of opportunities for disseminating ideas that challenge the official line. Yet the power of the powerless, to use Vaclav Havel's phrase, lies in the constant dripping in the hope that one day it will wear away the stone. Thus, the role of opposition to authoritarian regimes, even if its activities might seem hopeless, cannot be underestimated.

In this course, we will take a look at the history of communism in the Polish People's Republic (PPR) - from the establishment of the regime to the Round Table Talks in 1989 – from the perspective of the democratic opposition. During the semester, we will deal with several questions, including what was the nature of the activities of the Polish opposition? What were their ideas and political thought? How was the opposition structured? Which actions undertaken by the ruling communist party (*Polish United Workers' Party*, or PZPR) triggered the society - the masses and the individuals - to join the opposition in their efforts of 'constant dripping on the stone'?

In order to answer these questions, we are going to examine major events in the Polish People's Republic history. We will scrutinize major actors of the opposition, both institutions (the Church, Radio Free Europe, KOR, Solidarity), and leading individuals (Stefan Wyszynski, Jan Nowak Jezioranski, Adam Michnik, Karol Modzelewski, Jacek Kuroń, Antoni Macierewicz, Lech Walesa, Andrzej Gwiazda, Józef Pinior, and others), and discuss their goals and the means they used to achieve them. At the end of the semester we

will also debate the nature of the Polish revolution of 1989 and investigate how it ended and why this happened without a single gunshot.

B. Credit requirements

This course follows the College credit hour policy for a four-credit (standard) course. The course meets twice a week for 75 minutes class. Students are expected to come prepared to discuss the readings assigned for a particular day. It will require reading of academic papers and books chapters. In addition, students will be responsible for preparing a book review, write and discuss paper that would require substantial independent research. Students are encouraged to attend office hours to be held for two hours a week. The total commitment for course shall average twelve hours a week.

➤ Book Review 10%

Review essay, approximately **1500 words**, of a book related to political, economic and social issues of Poland between 1945 and 1989. You will be asked to choose a book you would like to review from an available list and give the instructor a note **by January 31, 2020**. Book review shall highlight the main idea of a given book, discuss strengths and weaknesses of its main arguments, debate its methodology when necessary, and include general opinion of the book. Review essays, in both hard and e-copy, can be submitted until **February 29, 2020** (e-copy until **11:59:59 pm EST**). Editing: double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12.

➤ Discussion Participation 30%

For each class, there is a reading list of book chapters and academic papers that shall help you understand the variety of issues, activities, ideas and political thought of underground opposition regarding politics, society, and economy in the communist Poland. You are required to be familiar with these readings as they will be a basis of our class discussion. Class participation is mandatory to successfully complete the course. Each student is allowed to miss two class sessions for personal reasons, without consequence. Missing more results in a grade penalty, and missing more than four results in an F grade.

➤ Research Paper + Paper Discussion 30% + 10%

Research paper, approximately **5000-6000 words**, addressing an issue of your choice, related to the subjects covered during the course. Paper themes shall be consulted with the instructor, but the topic is to be selected by the student. Papers shall state their goals, formulate at least one research question, and might discuss state of the art in the particular subject area. Students are invited to formulate hypotheses, offer brief notes on data collection and methodology, papers shall also include bibliography. As it will require a substantial research, it will give you opportunity to make original arguments, drawing on the readings of the literature studied on an individual basis. Research papers, in both hard and e-

copy, can be submitted until **April 17, 2020** (e-copy until **April 16, 2020, until 11:59:59 pm EST**). Editing: double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12.
Paper discussions will be held on an individual basis on **Wednesday, April 29, 2020**.

➤ **Final Exam**

20%

Written exam where you will be asked to (1) answer ten multiple choice questions, and (2) to write a mini-essay. Essay will be an open-ended question (not intended to be a right or wrong answer), addressing one issue chosen out of given three.

Final exam will be held on Wednesday, May 6, 2020, at 4.00 pm.

C. Course materials

All readings listed in a Class schedule section are listed on BlackBoard under 'Course Materials'. You will there a **IR 223 - Course readings.zip** file containing all the articles and book chapters. You can download it and explore the folder where reading materials are listed by Authors.

D. Class schedule:

Week 1: Introduction

Thursday, January 16

- introductory remarks
- explaining credit requirements

Week 2: Winning the War, Losing the Peace

Tuesday, January 21

Poland and Great Powers of World War II

- Sergei Kudryashov. 1999. *Diplomatic Prelude: Stalin, the Allies and Poland*, [in:] *Stalinism in Poland, 1944-1956*, ed. Anthony Kemp-Welch, London: MacMillan Press, p. 25-40.

Thursday, January 23

Stalin's Agenda: Katyn and Its Aftermath

- Janusz K. Zawodny. 1962. *Reconstruction: Marked to Live and Marked to Die*, [in:] *Death in the Forest. The Story of the Katyn Forest Massacre*, New York: Hyppocrene Books, p. 127-168.

- Andrzej Paczkowski. 2007. *Two Polands*, [in:] *The Spring Will Be Ours*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 121-145.

Week 2: Installing Stalinism

Tuesday, January 28

The New Regime

- Andrzej Paczkowski. 1999. *Building the One-Party State*, [in:] *Stalinism in Poland, 1944-1956*, ed. Anthony Kemp-Welch, London: MacMillan Press, p. 41-53.
- Jan Drewnowski. 1979. *The Central Planning Office on Trial: An Account of the Beginning of Stalinism in Poland*, "Soviet Studies" vol. 31, No. 1, p. 23-42.

Thursday, January 30

Purges in Early Polish People's Republic (PPL)

- Krystyna Kersten. 1999. *The Terror, 1949-1954*, [in:] *Stalinism in Poland, 1944-1956*, ed. Anthony Kemp-Welch, London: MacMillan Press, p. 78-94.
- Andrzej Paczkowski. 1999. *Constructing the Foundations*, [in:] *The Spring Will Be Ours*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 233-255.
- find time to watch the movie 'Interrogation' ('Przesłuchanie', 1982) directed by Ryszard Bugajski

January 31, 2020

DEADLINE FOR BOOK REVIEW SELECTION

Week 3: How Many Divisions Does the Pope Has? Polish Church in the 1950s

Tuesday, February 4

Roots of Polish Catholicism

- Brian Porter. 2001. *The Catholic Nation: Religion, Identity, and the Narratives of Polish History*, "Slavic and East European Journal" vol. 45, No. 2, 289-299.
- Michał Bukowski. 2001. *Communism and Religion: A War of Two World View Systems*, [in:] ed. Iva Dolezalova et al., *The Academic Study of Religion during the Cold War: East and West*, New York: Peter Lang, s. 39-58.
- Jan Kubik. 1994. *The Discourse of Polish Catholicism*, [in:] *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 103-128.

Tuesday, February 6

Stefan Wyszyński and the Communists

- Frank Dinka. 1966. *Sources of Conflict between Church and State in Poland*, "The Review of Politics" vol. 28, No. 3, p. 332-349.
- Richard F. Staar. 1956. *The Church of Silence in Communist Poland*, "The Catholic Historical Review" vol. 42, No. 3, p. 296-321.
- Ronald C. Monticone. 1966. *The Catholic Church in Poland, 1945-1966*, "The Polish Review" vol. 11, No. 4, p. 75-100.

Week 4: 1956: The Year of Transition

Tuesday, February 11

Poznań 1956 Uprising

- Peter Raina. 1978. *The Transitory 'Thaw'*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 37-57.
- Konrad Syrop. 1957. *The Earthquake*, [in:] *Spring in October: The Story of the Polish Revolution 1956*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, p. 30-41.
- Konrad Syrop. 1957. *Black Thursday at Poznań*, [in:] *Spring in October: The Story of the Polish Revolution 1956*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, p. 42-54.
- T. David Curp. 2006. *The Revolution Betrayed? The Poznań Revolt and the Polish Road to Nationalist Socialism*, "The Polish Review" vol. 51, No. 3/4, p. 307-324.

Thursday, February 13

The Polish October

- Konrad Syrop. 1957. *Spring in October*, [in:] *Spring in October: The Story of the Polish Revolution 1956*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, p. 132-146.
- Andrzej Korboński. 1996. *October 1956: Crisis of Legitimacy or Palace Revolution*, [in:] *Poland's Permanent Revolution: People vs. Elites, 1956-1990*, Washington, D.C.: American University Press, p. 17-53.
- Paweł Machcewicz. 1997. *Intellectuals and Mass Movements. The Study of Political Dissent in Poland in 1956*, "Contemporary European History" vol. 6, No. 3, p. 361-382.

Week 5: Opposition under Gomułka

Tuesday, February 18

The Significance of Radio Free Europe

- Peter Raina. 1978. *The 'Prophets' Disarmed*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 58-73.

- Michał Kasprzak. 2004. *Radio Free Europe and the Catholic Church in Poland During the 1950s and 1960s*, "Canadian Slavonic Papers" vol. 46, No. 3/4, p. 315-341.
- Paweł Machcewicz. 2014. *Władysław Gomułka's Era, 1956-1970*, [in:] *Poland's War on Radio Free Europe*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 82-156.

Thursday, February 20

'Open Letter to the Party'

- Peter Raina. 1978. *Defiance of the Intellectuals: The Warsaw Movement*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 74-103.

Week 6: 1968: The Year of Rebellion

Tuesday, February 25

Polish March

- Mikołaj Kunicki. 2005. *The Red and the Brown: Bolesław Piasecki, the Polish Communists, and the Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968*, "East European Politics and Societies" vol. 19, No. 2, p. 185-225.
- Peter Raina. 1978. *Communist Ideology at the Crossroads*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 104-161.

Thursday, February 27

Student's Movement

- Richard Cornell. 1968. *Students and Politics in the Communist Countries of Eastern Europe*, "Daedalus" vol. 97, No. 1, p. 166-183.
- Tom Junes. 2015. *The Generation of '68*, [in:] *Student Politics in Communist Poland: Generations of Consent and Dissent*, London: Lexington Books, p. 103-122.
- Tom Junes. 2015. *The Post-March Hangover*, [in:] *Student Politics in Communist Poland: Generations of Consent and Dissent*, London: Lexington Books, p. 125-142.

February 29, 2020

DEADLINE FOR SUBMITTING BOOK REVIEW ESSAY

Week 7: Attitudes towards Polish Army

Tuesday, March 3

The Warsaw Pact

- Andrzej Waśkiewicz. 2010. *The Polish Home Army and the Politics of Memory*, "East European Politics and Societies", vol. 24, No. 1, p. 44-58.

- Andrew Michta. 1990. *The Rise of the Army in Communist Poland*, [in:] *Red Eagle: The Army in Polish Politics, 1944-1988*, London: MacMillan Press, p. 38-56.

Thursday, March 5

1970 Protests

- Roman Laba. 1991. *Massacre and Memory: Gdańsk and Gdynia, 1970*, [in:] *The Roots of Solidarity. A Political Sociology of Poland's Working Class Democratization*, Princeton: Princeton European University Press, p. 15-56.
- Luba Fajfer. 1996. *December 1970: A Prelude to Solidarity*, [in:] *Poland's Permanent Revolution: People vs. Elites, 1956-1990*, Washington, D.C.: American University Press, p. 55-108.

March 9 - March 13, 2020
SPRING BREAK - NO CLASSES

Week 8: The Captivity of the Press

Tuesday, March 17

Censorship in Theory and Practice

- Mieczyslaw Kafel. 1957. *Legal Position of the Press in Poland*, "International Communication Gazette" vol. 3, No. 1-2, p. 87-98.
- Alexander Remmer. 1989. *A Note on Post-Publication Censorship in Poland 1980-1987*, "Soviet Studies" vol. 41, No. 3, p. 415-425.
- find time to watch the movie *Escape from the 'Liberty' Cinema'* (*Ucieczka z kina Wolność*, 1990) directed by Wojciech Marczewski

Thursday, March 19

Official Propaganda v. Underground Truth

- J. F. A. W. 1954. *The West as Portrayed by Communist Propaganda*, "The World Today" vol. 10, No. 12, p. 532-541.
- Oskar Stanislaw Czarnik. 2001. *Control of Literary Communication in the 1945-1956 Period of Poland*, "Libraries & Culture" vol. 36, No. 1, p. 104-115.
- Marek Jastrzębski, Ewa Krysiak. 1993. *Avoiding Censorship: The "Second Circulation" of Books in Poland*, "Journal of Reading" vol. 36, No. 6, p. 470-473.
- Anna Krakus. 2014. *The Abuses, and Uses, of Film Censorship: An Interview with Andrzej Wajda*, "Cineaste" vol. 39, No. 3, p. 3-9.

Week 9: The Workers Defense Committee (KOR)

Tuesday, March 24

Amnesty and Repressions

- Peter Raina. 1978. *Confrontation with the New Party Leadership*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 197-228.
- Robert Zuzowski. 1992. *The Formation of KOR*, [in:] *Political Dissent and Opposition in Poland. The Workers' Defense Committee 'KOR'*, Westport: Praeger, p. 59-80.

Thursday, March 26

The Power of the Powerless

- Peter Raina. 1978. *Freedom and Guarantee of Law: A Common Cause of Intellectuals and Workers*, [in:] *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, London: Poets' and Painters' Press, p. 229-286.
- Robert Zuzowski. 1992. *KOR's Activity, September 1976-June 1980*, [in:] *Political Dissent and Opposition in Poland. The Workers' Defense Committee 'KOR'*, Westport: Praeger, p. 81-117.

Week 10: Solidarity - Beginning

Tuesday, March 31

Independent Unions

- Roman Laba. 1991. *The Ideological Origins of Solidarity*, [in:] *The Roots of Solidarity. A Political Sociology of Poland's Working Class Democratization*, Princeton: Princeton European University Press, p. 155-168.
- Michael H. Bernhard. 1993. *Workers II: Oppositional Politics*, [in:] *The Origins of Democratization in Poland*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 151-192.

Thursday, April 2

The Structure of the Solidarity

- Roman Laba. 1991. *Solidarity at the Grass Roots*, [in:] *The Roots of Solidarity. A Political Sociology of Poland's Working Class Democratization*, Princeton: Princeton European University Press, p. 115-125.
- David Ost. 1990. *Politics, Anti-Politics, and the Beginnings of Anti-Solidarity*, [in:] *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, p. 75-111.

Week 11: The Carnival of Solidarity

Tuesday, April 7

Toward the Gdańsk Agreement

- David S. Mason. 1985. *1980: Causes and Results*, [in:] *Public Opinion and Political Change in Poland, 1980-1982*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 83-104.
- Neal Ascherson. 1982. *Solidarity*, [in:] *The Polish August: The Self-Limiting Revolution*, New York: The Viking Press, p. 145-194.

Thursday, April 9

The Self-Limiting Revolution

- Andrzej Paczkowski. 2015. *The Solidarity Revolution: Act One, 1980-1981*, [in:] *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland, 1980-1989*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, p. 11-21.
- Wojciech Modzelewski. 1982. *Non-Violence and the Strike Movements in Poland*, "Journal of Peace Research" vol. 19, No. 2, p. 107-116.

Week 12: Opposition during the Martial Law

Tuesday, April 14

Underground

- Andrzej Paczkowski. 1999. *The Long March - War and Peace*, [in:] *The Spring Will Be Ours*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 446-477.
- Adam Michnik. 1985. *A Letter to General Kiszczak*, [in:] *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 64-70.
- Andrzej Paczkowski. 2015. *Counterattack*, [in:] *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland, 1980-1989*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, p. 139-220.

Thursday, April 16

Reforms

- David Ost. 1990. *The Poverty of the Martial Law*, [in:] *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, p. 149-187.
- Konstanty Gebert. 1990. *An Independent Society: Poland under Martial Law*, "Alternatives: Global, Local, Political", vol. 15, No. 3, p. 355-371.

April 16-April 17, 2020

DEADLINE FOR SUBMITTING RESEARCH PAPER

Week 13: Guarding Angels from Abroad

Tuesday, April 21

The Iron Triangle: the Role of Pope, Zbigniew Brzeziński, and Ryszard Kukliński

- *CLA Alert Memorandum, "Poland"*, December 3, 1980, [in:] *From Solidarity to Marshall Law. The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981*, ed. Andrzej Paczkowski, Malcolm Byrne, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 138.
- *Message from Ryszard Kuklinski on Impending Warsaw Pact Invasion*, December 4, 1980, [in:] *From Solidarity to Marshall Law. The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981*, ed. Andrzej Paczkowski, Malcolm Byrne, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 139-140.
- Scott J. Paltrow. 1986. *Poland and the Pope: The Vatican's Relations with Poland, 1978 to the Present*, "Millennium: Journal of International Studies" vol. 15, No. 1, p. 1-26.
- Andrzej Paczkowski. 2015. *The World Looks On*, [in:] *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland, 1980-1989*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, p. 121-132.
- Hansjakob Stehle. 1982. *Church and Pope in the Polish Crisis*, "The World Today" vol. 38, No. 4, p. 139-148.

Thursday, April 23

The West and Democratic Opposition in Poland

- Artur R. Rachwald. 1990. *United States Support for Solidarity*, [in:] *In Search of Poland. The Superpowers' Response to Solidarity, 1980-1989*, Stanford: Hoover Press, p. 47-62.
- Timothy Garton Ash. 1983. *Under Western Eyes*, [in:] *The Polish Revolution. Solidarity 1980-82*, London: Jonathan Cape, p. 305-341.

Week 14: The Round Table Talks

Tuesday, April 28

The Bloodless Revolution

- Jacqueline Hayden. 2001. *Explaining the Collapse of Communism in Poland: How the Strategic Misperception of Round Table Negotiators Produced an Unanticipated Outcome*, "Polish Sociological Review" vol. 136, p. 397-424.
- Jan Kubik. 1994. *The Role of Symbols in the Construction and Deconstruction of the Polish People's Republic*, [in:] *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 239-269.

Wednesday, April 29, 2020
RESEARCH PAPER DISCUSSION

Wednesday, May 6, 2020
FINAL EXAM

E. Literature

- Timothy Garton Ash. 1984. *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*. New York: Random House.
- Jane Leftwich Curry, Luba Fajfer, eds. 1996. *Poland's Permanent Revolution: People vs. Elites, 1956–1990*, Washington, D.C.: American University Press.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik. 1999. *Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989-1993*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Anthony Kemp-Welch. ed. 1999. *Stalinism in Poland 1944–1956*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Krystyna Kersten. 1991. *The Establishment of Communist Rule in Poland, 1943–1947*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Jan Kubik. 1994. *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland*, Pennsylvania University Park: Pennsylvania University Press.
- Roman Laba. 1991. *The Roots of Solidarity: A Political Sociology of Poland's Working Class Democratization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press,
- David S. Mason. 1985. *Public Opinion and Political Change in Poland, 1980–1982*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adam Michnik. 1985. *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Maya Latynski, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- David Ost. 1990. *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics: Opposition and Reform in Poland since 1968*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Andrzej Paczkowski. 2007. *The Spring Will Be Ours. Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Andrzej Paczkowski, Malcolm Byrne. 2007. *From Solidarity to Martial Law: The Polish Crisis of 1980-1981*, Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Peter Raina, ed. 1978. *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954–1977*. London: Poets and Painters Press.
- Raymond Taras. 1984. *Ideology in a Socialist State: Poland, 1956-1983*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janine Wedel, ed. 1990. *The Unplanned Society: Poland During and After Communism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

F. Policies and Resources

Academic Honesty Policy: All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at www.rochester.edu/college/honesty.

Papers and other written work must be entirely the student's own work. **Plagiarism** is specifically prohibited, and consists of 1) presenting another's work as your own; or 2) using text from any source without proper attribution (quotation marks and a citation); or 3) using an idea from a particular source without proper attribution, even if rephrased in your own words. Think of citations as the links that keep inter-generational conversations alive, and plagiarism as a form of intellectual theft that severs the links.

Academic Support Services: Services are available from the College Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/>) and the Writing, Speaking and Argument Program (<https://writing.rochester.edu/>).

Disability Resources: The instructor is committed to fostering an inclusive learning environment and accommodating the needs of any student with a documented disability. Students seeking an accommodation, or simply wondering whether their circumstances warrant one, are encouraged to contact the Office of Disability Resources (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/>). Trained staff can evaluate your needs and offer resources and solutions that you may not be aware of. For example, students with special needs are routinely provided with appropriate venues and formats for exams, which are proctored by the Office of Disability Resources.

Incomplete Policy: Incompletes will not ordinarily be offered except in case of a medical emergency. See the College policy on incompletes at <https://www.rochester.edu/college/CCAS/handbook/Incompletes.html>.

Satisfactory/Fail Policy: Students have the option of electing that their grade be reported on their transcript as S/F. All of the usual course requirements apply. College policies are found at <https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/satisfactory-fail-option.html>.

Withdrawal Policy: The College policy on dropping/withdrawing from courses is available at <https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/drop-courses.html>.