

Introduction

This book contains an overview of many publications by employees of the Institute of Political Studies (ISP) of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw in the field of Eastern studies. We have selected texts on the recent history of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and communist rule, as well as contemporary Russia and Polish-Russian relations. By making these available to English-speaking readers, on the one hand, we want to present a small part, due to limited space, of the Eastern studies conducted by the Institute and, on the other, pay tribute to their distinguished representative, Richard Pipes. In 2019, according to the last will of this historian, scholar and sovietologist, who died on 18 May 2018, the Institute received his book collection of over three and a half thousand items, mainly concerning Russia and the Soviet Union. These are works of high scientific rank that the scholar collected for over half a century. Acquiring the book collection was the first step towards establishing the Professor Richard Pipes Laboratory. This was possible thanks to funding obtained by the Institute at the end of 2019 from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education as part of the Dialogue programme.

The aim of this book is to recapitulate – obviously, necessarily selectively – research by the employees of the Institute, which has been dealing with Eastern issues since it was founded in 1990.¹ One

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of its key goals is to continue the in-depth interdisciplinary research on the history and present condition of Eastern Europe, which was successfully conducted by the patron of our laboratory.

For the thirty years it has been operating, the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences has occupied a special place on the map of institutions dealing with social sciences and humanities in Poland. It is characterised by its interdisciplinarity, that is, a combination of political science and sociological and historical research, as well as dealing with the history of the 1939–1989 period and the process of post-communist transformation in Poland and all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from a comparative perspective. This profile of the Institute was influenced by the circumstances in which it was established, as well as the scientific achievements and personalities of its founders. Let us recall that almost until the end of the Polish People's Republic, there was no separate institute of political science at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Eastern studies, in the sense of research on the area of the former Eastern bloc, were conducted primarily by the Institute of Socialist Countries (IKS) of the Polish Academy of Sciences, whose research profile was related to the political ideology in force at that time and was primarily intended to strengthen ties between socialist states. However, at the end of that period, the Institute of Sociology and Philosophy of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences enjoyed an established position in science. Political sciences, unlike sociology and history, had yet to achieve an equal position in the structure of science in Poland. They had nearly reached this goal by 1939.

In Polish territories, political science was institutionally separated from social sciences in 1902 in Lviv, where the School of Political Sciences was established. In the interwar period, Cracow was the largest centre of Polish political science. In the 1930s, the School of Political Sciences was also run by the Eastern European Scientific-Research Institute in Vilnius, an important centre of Soviet studies in Poland. On the other hand, one of the first sovietological centres, not only in Poland but in the world, was the Eastern Institute

Laboratory' (application registration no.: 0032/2019), the aim of which is to internationalise the Eastern research conducted by employees of the Institute of Political Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

in Warsaw, established in 1926, which also dealt primarily with political science.

After World War II and the establishment of a socialist system in Poland, political science was no longer classified as an academic science. It was restored to universities as a result of the detotalisation processes initiated in 1956. In 1957, the Polish Political Science Association was established, and in 1967, the Institute of Political Science was established at the University of Warsaw. The main obstacle to the free development of political science in Poland was its connection with the official socialist ideology. It was disseminated at universities as the authorities intended to indoctrinate students by entrusting political scientists with teaching the Marxist-Leninist world view. Despite these structural inconveniences, in the late 1970s, representatives of Polish political science gained recognition in world science. Examples are Professor Artur Bodnar, who founded the Political Education Committee of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), and Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr, who was elected vice president of this association.

The political breakthrough in Poland between 1988 and 1990 was reflected, *inter alia*, in the organisation of political science. As science was liberated from the corset of ideology, the need to update research on recent history and politics appeared. To this end, it was necessary to analyse the theoretical and methodological achievements of world political science. The first step towards this goal was the establishment of the Institute of Political Sciences (INP) at the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1988. This was the result of many years of effort by Professor Bodnar, then the head of the Central Methodological Centre for Political Science Studies at the University of Warsaw (COM SNP). It was a centre of leftist thought, with the goal of modernising the Polish United Workers' Party. Based on COM SNP, Professor Bodnar wanted to build an institute at the Academy that would play the role of a reformist think-tank.

However, due to changes in the breakthrough period between 1989 and 1990, the INP did not become a centre for political science and Eastern science research at the Polish Academy of Sciences. This was caused by the sudden death of Professor Bodnar in July 1989 and the accelerated reform process, which also led to the

self-dissolution of the Polish United Workers' Party. In the spring of 1990, the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences dissolved both INP and IKS. The university authorities also liquidated the COM SNP. The Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences was established in the autumn of 1990 with the general participation of representatives of other intellectual circles, although the IKS and INP infrastructures were used to create it. Some of their employees also joined the Institute of Political Studies. The relevant resolution of the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences stated that: 'The need for the country's development and the situation in social sciences require that a strong centre for political science be established in Poland.'

The Presidium of the Academy entrusted the management of the new Institute to sociologist Professor Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński. It was the vision of the first director of the Institute of Political Studies (1990–1996) that most influenced the aforementioned features of our facility: interdisciplinarity and a comparative approach to recent history and the process of transformation in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe. It is impossible to list here all those who, together with him, influenced its character in the first decade of its activity. In any case, the Institute of Political Studies – which was called an institute of studies, not an institute of political science, according to Professor Wnuk-Lipiński's idea – would not have developed a strong position in Polish and international science in the first decade of its existence if not for the quality of research conducted by its employees.

From the very beginning, research into the recent and contemporary history of post-communist countries has been an important part of the Institute of Political Studies' activity. The USSR, Russia and other eastern and southern neighbours of Poland were primarily of interest to its three departments run by: Professor Jadwiga Staniszkis, which deals with the structures of power before the fall of communism and afterwards from the perspective of political sociology; Professor Wojciech Roszkowski, which conducts research on the modern history of the region and analysis of the transformation processes in its member states; and Professor Tomasz Strzembosz, which fills the gaps in knowledge about the Soviet occupation of Poland from 1939 to 1941 and anti-

-Soviet resistance movements in Central Europe during and after World War II. In turn, a fundamental role for the development of the historiography of the history of Poland under communist rule has been played by the department headed by Professor Andrzej Paczkowski, which deals with, *inter alia*, research on the mechanisms of its dependence on the USSR.

Currently, research on post-communist countries at the Institute is conducted in three departments. The first is the Department of Central and Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet Research headed by Professor Roszkowski. Its main goal is to highlight the processes of the changes taking place in the European part of the former USSR, including in its former republics, primarily Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and its satellites, mainly Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. At the same time, the department's employees remain interested in the fate of the Euro-Atlantic community, including the prospect of including countries such as Ukraine and Georgia in its security structures. The second is the Department of Analysis of Eastern Issues, headed by Professor Krzysztof Jasiewicz. Its employees deal with, among others, research on 'power policy' as a phenomenon in the countries of the Eurasian area. An important aspect of the department's work is also research on the history of the Jews living in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. The third is the Department of History of Eastern Territories headed by Professor Tomasz Stryjek. Its members study: mass crimes committed by states and partisan formations between 1939 and 1953 in Central Europe; the activities of national underground organisations during and after World War II; contemporary historical cultures and the politics of memory in Central and Eastern Europe (particularly in Poland, Russia and the former Yugoslav states), with particular emphasis on Ukraine and the Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and North Caucasus republics). In comparative studies in the area of the former Russian Empire and the USSR, the department employees refer, *inter alia*, to postcolonial theory.

This book is entitled *Poland, Soviet Union, Russia. From Past Through Memory to Politics* as these two themes are dominant in the collected articles. The articles are translations of Polish-language texts that have appeared in journals and collective works published by the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences

over the last five years. The first five articles in this issue have been arranged chronologically due to their historical character. The last three, on the other hand, are political science articles.

The book begins with an article entitled 'The Solution to the So-called Peasant Problem in Post-Revolutionary Russia' by Wojciech Materski. Its author is one of the most famous sovietologists working in Polish research institutions. Wojciech Materski specialises in the history of the Soviet Union and Polish-Soviet relations, as well as in the history of Georgia. He was the director of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences from 2004 to 2012. He was also a member of such bodies as the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Cases, the Polish-Belarusian Group of Historians, and the Polish-Georgian History Committee. For his distinguished research on Polish-Georgian relations and the rapprochement between the two nations, he was awarded the Order of Honour of Georgia. In his article, Wojciech Materski discusses the solution of the so-called peasant problem in post-revolutionary Russia using the example of the Bolshevik programme. He demythologises Vladimir Lenin's attitude towards Russian rural areas, revealing in a detailed analysis the patterns, motives and conditions of the actions taken. This article is inspired by Richard Pipes' many years of research on the Soviet Union, in which rural issues played an important role.

The article entitled 'Social Engineering in Central and South-East Europe in the First Half of the 20th Century' has been written by Piotr Madajczyk, a historian specialising in Polish-German relations, national and ethnic minorities in Central Europe, and social engineering issues. In 2011, he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, *inter alia*, for his outstanding achievements in the field of education and science. At the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Piotr Madajczyk manages the Department of German Studies. In his article, he focuses on social engineering in Central Europe. In this context, the author tries to answer the questions: What were the main directions of development of social engineering projects in this part of the world?; In what political, social, cultural (for example, through the prism of science and religion) and economic contexts were they shaped?; What tools were used in them and what determined their choice?

The third article is by Grzegorz Motyka, the current director of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The historian specialises in the Polish resistance movement during World War II, as well as Polish-Ukrainian relations, primarily during and immediately after World War II. Between 2011 and 2016, he was a member of the Council of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). Since 2015, he has been a member of the Polish-Ukrainian Forum of Historians, and he was also a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters. In his article entitled ‘The 59th Rifle Division of the NKVD Army and Its Activity in Poland’, he reconstructs the structure and activity of this unit in southern Poland in 1945. The history of this unit is quite typical in comparison with other NKVD Internal Forces troops used at the end of World War II to suppress the resistance movement and to conduct political persecution in the Central European region. However, this scientific work is important as it is based on the few preserved sources.

Krzysztof Persak is the author of the article entitled ‘Operation Vistula: An Attempt at Legal Qualification’. This historian specialises in the recent history of Poland, Polish-Soviet and Polish-Jewish relations, as well as the issues of transitional justice and reckoning for the crimes of the past. For many years, he was associated with the Institute of National Remembrance, where he was the director of the President’s office from 2011 to 2016, and then with the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews. In his article, Krzysztof Persak makes the legal qualification of Operation Vistula from the point of view of international criminal law. The normative model for this assessment is the concept of a crime against humanity, which, however, has undergone a significant evolution over the last hundred years. The article also takes into account the assessment of the forcible resettlement of the Ukrainian population in light of the current state of national law, primarily the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, which defines the concept of communist crimes. In the last part of his article, the author considers the legitimacy of applying the extra-legal term ‘ethnic cleansing’ to Operation Vistula.

Andrzej Paczkowski is the author of the article entitled ‘Soviet Advisers in the Polish Security Services in 1949’. The historian deals with the recent history of Poland. He completed his studies in 1960.

He began his academic career at the Polish Academy of Sciences, from where he was removed in 1974 for political reasons and worked at the National Library. He has worked at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences since 1990, and was its deputy director between 1994 and 2000. In 1991, he obtained the title of professor. He was awarded several times, including with the Award of the Foundation for Polish Science and twice with the Klio Award. He is the author of several dozen books, including two published in the United States. He has been awarded, among others, the Knight's Cross and the Officer's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta. In addition to studying, Andrzej Paczkowski's passion is mountains. He was also a sports activist and the president of the Polish Mountaineering Association for many years. His article is devoted to the so-called Sovietniks, that is, Soviet advisers, who were used to make Poland dependent on the Soviet Union. Their activity in the secret services is discussed based on, *inter alia*, two documents from 1949. The activity of Soviet advisers is presented in the context of fights with opponents of the Soviet system and internal conflicts. The article contains references to the functioning of Soviet advisers in other countries of the emerging communist camp.

Tomasz Stryjek is the author of the article entitled 'Why Does Russia Not Have an Institute of National Remembrance and Does It Lose Because of This? Russian Politics of Memory Regarding World War II in the Second Decade of the 21st Century?'. He deals primarily with the research of historical cultures, collective memory and the politics of memory in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (mainly Ukraine, Poland and the former Yugoslav states), as well as the theories of the nation and nationalism and the methodologies of their study. In the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Tomasz Stryjek heads the Department of History of Eastern Territories. His article is devoted to the Russian politics of memory towards World War II. He attempts to answer the question of why the authorities of the Russian Federation have failed to establish a central institution dealing with historical memory in accordance with the model that emerged in Poland with the establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance. To this end, he reconstructs the current institutional model of Russia's

politics of memory, which he calls dispersed. He focuses on such elements of this politics as: patriotic and national education, shaping the identity and justifying Russia's mission in the world, as well as the authorities' response to the politics of memory implemented in the so-called 'near abroad'.

Konrad Świder is the author of the article entitled 'Geopolitics as a Prism of the Russian Perception of the International System'. He researches issues in the field of geopolitics, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and modernisation theory – primarily in the context of the history of Russia and its foreign policy. The subject of Konrad Świder's research is also the ideological, political, social and economic changes in the post-Soviet territories. The aim of his article is to present the features and motives of thinking about international relations that are characteristic of the Russian power elite. The author clearly indicates the status of ideology that geopolitics enjoys in Russia. In his opinion, this country defines its national interests and foreign policy strategies through this prism. Konrad Świder also explains the popularity of geopolitics in Russia in the context of trauma and post-imperial nostalgia, which are strong among the Russian political class. The author points out that geopolitics has become a generally accepted worldview in Russia that replaced the Marxist views and interpretations of the international system, which were dominant in the Soviet Union.

Also, among the authors is Przemysław Adamczewski, a specialist in Caucasian issues who studies ethno-political processes, memory and Polish-Caucasian contacts. In his article entitled 'The Image of Russia as a "Historical Enemy" and Poland's Motivation in Pursuing Transcaucasia Policy through the Prism of Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Relations', he analyses the motives behind Poland's policy towards the Transcaucasian countries, such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. For this purpose, he uses Alexander Wendt's social theory of international relations. In his considerations, the author refers to the image of Russia as a 'historical enemy', which appeared in Poland's foreign policy when Poland regained independence after World War I. For this reason, he briefly describes the Promethean concept, as well as its contemporary emanation, which Adamczewski also sees in Poland's support for Georgia's aspirations to membership of the

North Atlantic Alliance during Lech Kaczyński's presidency and the support of Polish public opinion for the independence aspirations of the Chechens in the 1990s.

We hope that this selection of articles by the Institute's employees proves that this institution occupies an important place on the map of Central and East European Studies. It confirms the legitimacy of Professor Richard Pipes' sympathy for the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and fulfils the hopes he had when bequeathing his excellent collection to the Institute.