February 2022

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**EMPLOYMENT**:

 2020-2021 Member of Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, Princeton, New Jersey.

 Joseph DiGangi Professor of Political Science, 2010-2015.

 Professor of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, beginning 1999. (Asst. Prof.: 1986-93; Assoc. Prof: 1993-1999).

 Professor of Sociology, Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities (*Szkola Wyzsza Psychologii Spolecznej*), Wroclaw, Poland, 2010-2012 (short intensive courses during the year).

 Chairman, Department of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1996-1997, 1999-2002.

 Occasional Visiting Professor at Central European University, Warsaw and Budapest, 1994–2004.

**ACADEMIC BACKGROUND**:

 University of Wisconsin - Madison; Department of Political Science; Ph.D. Aug.1986; M.A. Dec.1978.

 State University of New York, Stony Brook - B.A. in History, and Russian, June 1976.

**PUBLICATIONS – BOOKS**:

“Class After Communism,” special issue of *East European Politics and Societies*, with fifteen articles I solicited and edited, and two I wrote; Vol. 29, nr. 3, August 2015.

 *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe* (Cornell University Press, 2005; paperback: 2006; Polish edition, *Kleska Solidarnosci*, Muza Press, Warsaw, 2007, now in fourth printing).

 *European Politics in Transition* (Lexington, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2008); volume edited by Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, I am sole author of the section (five chapters) “East-Central Europe in Transition.” Published in six editions from 1992 to 2008; still available in specially ordered print and online volumes.

 *Workers After Workers’ States: Labor and Politics in Postcommunist Eastern Europe*, co-edited with Stephen Crowley (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); author of introduction, conclusion, and chapter.

*The Church and the Left*, by Adam Michnik. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by myself. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

 *Solidarity and The Politics of Anti-Politics: Reform and Opposition in Poland Since 1968*  (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990. Paperback edition - Fall 1991. Polish-language edition, with new forward, published by European Solidarity Centre, Gdansk, 2014.)

**PUBLICATIONS – ARTICLES:**

“REN PILL Politics in Poland,” in *Current History*, forthcoming March 2022.

“Why (Which) Workers Often Oppose (Which) Democracy?” in Angela B. Cornell and Mark Barenberg, eds., *The Cambridge Handbook of Labor and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

“Rejecting Lenin for the Left,” in Alla Ivanchikova and Robert Maclean, eds., *Leninism’s Revolutionary Afterlives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2022).

**“The Trap at the Poland-Belarus Border,” in *The Nation*, November 18, 2021;** <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/poland-belarus-immigration/>**.**

“Historicizing the Polish Left: A Critique of Michal Sierminski’s ‘Transformative Decade: Poland’s Left Opposition from 1968-80’,” in *Studia Litteraria et Historica*, Warsaw, simultaneous English and Polish versions, 2020, at <https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/slh/article/view/slh.1781?fbclid=IwAR0KjQBOvSHFFKlVrzKL9Yyjw60fkXfw0itSPYKXZ5enaf0M4yen2k3XMWI>.

“The Ouvrierist Ivan Szelényi and the Missing Sociology of Labor,” in Tamas Demeter, ed., *Intellectuals, Inequalities and Transitions: Prospects for a Critical Sociology* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

“Down With 1989! The Peculiar Right-Wing Backlash Against 1968 in Poland,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 33:4, November 2019, doi.org/10.1177/088832541985714; published in Italian as “‘Abbasso il 1989!’ Strane reazioni di destra al Sessantotto polacco”, in Donatella della Porta, *Sessantotto: Passato e presente dell'anno ribelle* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2018).

“The Endless Innovations of the Semi-Periphery and the Peculiar Power of Eastern Europe,” in Dijana Jelača, Danijela Lugarić, & John F. Bailyn, eds., *The Future of (Post) Socialism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2019).

 “The Attack on Democracy in Poland and the Response of the Left,” in *The Nation*, July 19, 2018; <https://www.thenation.com/article/attack-democracy-poland-response-left/>

“The Sham, and the Damage, of ‘Living in Truth’: A Critique of Vaclav Havel,” in *East European Politics and Societies*, special issue on Vaclav Havel, 32:2, May 2018, 301-309.

“Anti-Semitism Was Not Just a Smokescreen: The Jewish Part of Poland’s 1968,” in *Public Seminar*, May 2018; <http://www.publicseminar.org/2018/05/anti-semitism-was-not-just-a-smokescreen/>; also in Polish in *Kultura Liberalna*, <https://kulturaliberalna.pl/2018/05/22/david-ost-zydzi-marzec-68-pis/>.

“Workers and the Radical Right in Poland,” in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 93, Spring 2018, 113-124.

“Authoritarian Drive in Poland,” in Jo Harper, ed., *Poland’s Memory Wars: Essays on Illiberalism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018); earlier version in *European Politics and Society*, newsletter, Winter 2017.

“The Surprising Right-Wing Relevance of the Russian Revolution: Bolshevism and Today’s Populist Right,” in *Constellations*, 24, December 2017, pp. 516-527, DOI: 10.1111/1467-8675.12328; in Polish translation in *Krytyka Polityczna*, November 2017, at <http://krytykapolityczna.pl/swiat/kto-dzis-ma-odwage-lenina-i-dlaczego-wlasnie-prawica/>.

 “A Discussion of Peter Krasztev and Jon Van Til’s *The Hungarian Patient: Social Opposition to an Illiberal Democracy*,” in *Perspectives on Politics* 15:2, June 2017.

“Thoughts on the Hungarian and Polish New Right in Power,” in *Public Seminar* (online journal), Sept. 21, 2016; available at: <http://www.publicseminar.org/2016/09/thoughts-on-the-hungarian-and-polish-new-right-in-power/#.V_PHPvkrKM8>.

“Grappling with the Hungarian and Polish New Right in Power,” *NewsNet*, journal of Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, August 2016.

“Regime Change in Poland, Carried Out from Within,” in *The Nation*, January 8, 2016; <http://www.thenation.com/article/regime-change-in-poland-carried-out-from-within/>.

“Class After Communism,” and “Stuck in the Past and the Future: Class Analysis in Postcommunist Poland,” my two articles in special volume of *East European Politics and Societies* which I collected and edited, 29:3, 2015.

“The Promises and Limits of Anti-Politics: Solidarity’s Democracy and Its Successors,” in *Filo-Sofija* (Poznan), Vol.15, No.29, 2015; available at <http://www.filo-sofija.pl/index.php/czasopismo/article/view/826/803>.

 “The Peculiarities of Communism and the Emergence of Weak Unions in Poland,” in T. Caraway, M. Cook, and S. Crowley, *Working Through the Past: Labor and Authoritarian Legacies in Comparative Perspective* (Cornell University Press, 2015).

“Class and Social Order: Political Consequences of the Move from Class to Culture,” in V. Goddard and S. Narotzky, eds., *Industry and Work in Contemporary Capitalism: Global Models, Local Lives* (Routledge, 2015).

“Does Neoliberalism Marginalize Labor or Reincorporate It – and Is There a Difference?”, in *Comparative Politics*, April 2014.

“Journalism and Revolution: Review Essay on Ryszard Kapuscinski,” in *Dissent*, Winter 2013.

Entries on “1989,” “Central Europe,” and “Solidarity” for *Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics*, and *Oxford Companion to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

“Klasa i lad spoleczny: nastepstwa polityczne przejscia od klasy do kultury” (“Class and Social Order: Political Consequences of the Move from Class to Culture”), in Mariola Flis et.al., eds., *Co dzieje sie ze spoleczenstwem?* (Krakow: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 2011).

 “Preface” to Ellu Saar, ed., *Towards a Normal Stratification Order: Actual and Perceived Social Stratification in Post-Socialist Estonia* (Tallinn University Press, 2011).

“‘Illusory Corporatism’ Ten Years Later: Has an East European Anomaly Become the Norm?”, in *Warsaw Forum of Economic Sociology*, no.2, 2011, <https://econjournals.sgh.waw.pl/wfes/article/view/444/386>.

 “Class, Nation, and the Katyn Massacre,” review essay of Victor Zaslavsky’s *Class Cleansing: The Massacre at Katyn*,” in *Telos* no. 156, Fall 2011.

“The Decline of Civil Society After Postcommunism,” in Ulrike Liebert & Hans-Jörg Trenz, eds., *The New Politics of European Civil Society* (Routledge, 2011).

“The Polish Catastrophe,” in *The Nation* on-line, April 11, 2010.

“Reflections on 1989: When Poland’s future opened up, Solidarity’s sense of agency disappeared,” in *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology* , Volume 2010, nr 58, Winter 2010.

“Obrachunek z kategoria ‘klasy’ w dyskursie politycznym postkomunistycznej Polski,” in Marek Czyzewski, Sergiusz Kowalski, and Tomasz Tabako, eds., *Retoryka i Polityka: Dwudziestolecie polskiej transformacji* (Warsaw: WAIS, 2010).

“1989, 1968, and the Structuring of Political Choices,” published as “Dlaczego polskie elity nie są zainteresowane resztą społeczeństwa,” in *Europa* in *Newsweek Polska*, January 2010.

“The Invisibility and Centrality of Class After Communism,” in *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 22:4, 2009.

“Anti-Semitism in the Peculiar Context of Eastern Europe,” in *Human Architecture*, VII: 2, Spring 2009.

“Trade Unions in Poland Since 1945,” co-authored with Michal Wenzel, in Craig Phelan, ed., *Trade Unionism Since 1945: Towards a Global History* (London: Peter Lang, 2009).

« L’apres-Communisme et le Declin du Syndicalisme A L’est: Lecons de Pologne et D’ailleurs », in *Sociologie du Travail* (2009: 4; Paris, in French).

“The End of Postcommunism: Trade Unions in Eastern Europe’s Future,” in *East European Politics and Societies* 23:1, Winter 2009, 13-33.

Symposium on my book, *The Defeat of Solidarity* – five scholars comment, with my response, in *East-Central Europe* (Budapest, 2009)*.*

“Using America Against Europe: Poland’s National Reactions to Transnational Pressure,” in Mitchell Orenstein, Stephen Bloom, and Nicole Lindstrom, eds., *Transnational and National Politics in Postcommunist Europe* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

“Euroskepticism as Path for Inclusion: Multi-Level Governance in the European Union as Seen From the East,” in Joan Debardeleben and Achim Hurrelmann, eds., *Multilevel Governance and Democracy* (Palgrave, , 2008).

“Introduction” to Elizabeth Dunn’s book, *Privatizing Poland*, in Polish translation (Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna, 2008).

 “Why Labor Turns Right Yet Doesn’t Have To: Social Forces and the Postcommunist Transition,” in David Lane, ed., *The Transformation of State Socialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

“The Personal and Political in Interwar Poland,” a review essay of Timothy Snyder’s *Sketches From a Secret War* and Marci Shore’s *Caviar and Ashes*, in *East European Politics and Societies* 21:3, 2007, pp. 520-533.

“Czy lewicowa inteligencja przetrwa ?” (Will a Left Intelligentsia Survive?”, in *Europa*, Warsaw, December 15, 2007 ([http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/artykuly/65894,czy-lewicowa-inteligencja-przetrwa.html](http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/artykuly/65894%2Cczy-lewicowa-inteligencja-przetrwa.html)).

“Anachronizmy rzadow Kaczynskich” (The Anachronism of the Kaczynski governments), in *Europa*, Warsaw, August 11-12, 2007 ([http://www.newsweek.pl/anachronizmy-rzadow-kaczynskich,44532,1,1.html](http://www.newsweek.pl/anachronizmy-rzadow-kaczynskich%2C44532%2C1%2C1.html)).

“Trade Union Revitalisation in Poland,” in Craig Phelan, ed., *Trade Union Revitalisation: Trends and Prospects in 34 Countries* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007).

“Symposium on *The Defeat of Solidarity* – four scholars comment on my book, with my response, in *Labor History* 48:1, February 2007, 81-118.

“Polityka i gniew” (Politics and Anger), in *Krytyka Polityczna*, no.11-12, Warsaw, 2007.

“After Postcommunism: Legacies and the Future of Unions in Eastern Europe,” in Craig Phelan, ed., *The Future of Organised Labour* (London: Peter Lang, 2006). Revised version published in Polish translation in *Krytyka Polityczna*, no.14, 2008.

“Solidarni czy liberalni?” (Solidaristic or Liberal?), in *Europa*, Warsaw, November 2, 2005; at http://www.e-fakt.pl/artykuly/artykul.aspx/Artykul/80240. English version: “Solidarity 25 Years Later,” in Skalny Center Newsletter, University of Rochester, 2006; at http://www.rochester.edu/college/psc/CPCES/Newsletter06.pdf

“The Transformation of Labor in Postcommunist Eastern Europe,” published in Chinese (only) in *21C*, Hong Kong, China, Fall 2005.

“Plumbers and Citizens: East European Labor Relations in the EU Context,” in on-line version of *Perspectives on Work*, Fall 2005; available at http://www.lera.uiuc.edu/Pubs/Perspectives/onlinecompanion/Fall05-ost.htm

“Solidarity, 25 Years Later,” article in *The Nation*, September 12, 2005.

“Letter from Poland: Even America’s Closest Friend Now Turning Away,” in *The Nation*, October 4, 2004.

“Warrior Reagan: Lots of Tough Talk But Not Much Action,” Op-Ed in the *Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, June 20, 2004.

“Politics As the Mobilization of Anger: Emotions in Movements and in Power,” in *European Journal of Social Theory* 7:2, May 2004, 229-244.

“Poles, Jews, and Postcommunist Insecurities,” in *Tikkun* May-June, 2003.

“Letter From Poland: The Creeping Evolution of a Democratic Left,” in *The Nation* (November 25, 2002). Reprinted in *Annual Editions: Comparative Politics 02/03* and *03/04*, a compendium of articles for student use published by Mc-Graw Hill/Dushkin.

“The Weakness of Strong Social Movements: Models of Unionism in the East European Context,” in *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 8:1, March 2002, 33-51. (Published in Polish translation in Wieslawa Kozek, ed. *Instytucjonalizacja stosunkow pracy w Polsce,* Warsaw, 2003.)

 “Imagining and Creating the Enemy: Trade Unions in the New Polish Democracy,” in Edmund Mokrzycki et.al., eds., *Lost Dynamics [Utracona Dynamika]: On the Immaturities of Polish Democracy* (Warsaw: Academy of Sciences, 2002).

“The Weakness of Symbolic Strength: Labor and Union Identity in Poland, 1989-2000,” in David Ost and Stephen Crowley, eds., *Workers After Workers’ States: Labor and Politics in Postcommunist Eastern Europe* (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

“For-Itself but not In-Itself: Class and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe,” in Guy van Gyes et.al., *Can Class Still Unite? The Differentiated Workforce, Class Solidarity and Trade Unions* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001).

“Labor Weakness is No Condition for Success,” in *Polish Sociological Review* No.1 (133), 2001.

“Parties, Movements, Groups, and Ambiguities in Poland,” in Clive Thomas, ed., *Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic Governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

“The Salience of Class, Not of Class Voting,” in *Polish Sociological Review* No.2 (130), 2000.

“Illusory Corporatism in Eastern Europe: Neoliberal Tripartism and Postcommunist Class Identities,” in *Politics and Society* 28:4, Dec. 2000, 503-30; reprinted in *Warsaw Forum of Economic Sociology*, no. 2, 2010.

 Editor (and introducer) of two special issues of *Emergo: Journal of Transforming Economies and Societies* on “Labor Quiescence in Post-Communist Transformations” 6:2, Spring 1999, and 6:3, Summer 1999.

 “Rationality of the Irrational: The Radical Right in Poland,” in Sabrina Ramet, ed., *The Radical Right in Eastern Europe* (Penn State Press, 1999).

 “Unionists Against Unions: Towards Hierarchical Management in Post-Communist Poland,” co-authored with Marc Weinstein, in *East European Politics and Societies* 13:1, Winter 1999, 1-33..

 “Illusory Corporatism in Eastern Europe: Tripartism in the Service of Neoliberalism,” in *Sisyphus Social Studies* (Warsaw) XI, 1999, 168-77.

 “The Dissipating Myth of Poland,” in *2B: To Be*, No.11-12, 1997.

 “Can Unions Survive Communism?” (comparison of Poland and Czech Republic), in *Dissent*, Winter 1997.

 “Polish Labor Before and After Solidarity,” in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 50, Fall 1996.

 “Eastern Europe After the Social Democratic Collapse: A Symposium,” edited and expanded transcript of symposium I organized at 1996 European Studies convention, in *Telos* No. 107, Spring 1996.

 “Race and Bad Social Science,” in *Telos* No. 106, Winter 1996.

 “Labor, Class, and Democracy: Shaping Political Antagonisms in Post-Communist Society,” in Beverley Crawford, ed., *Markets, States, and Democracy: The Political Economy of Post-Communist Transformation* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).

 “Social Consequences of Liberalization,” in Jerzy Hausner et. al., *Evolution of Interest Representation and Development of the Labour Market in Post-Socialist Countries* (Cracow: Cracow Academy of Economics, 1995).

 “Kryzys politycznie bezdomnych” (Crisis of the Politically Homeless), in *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw daily newspaper), December 28, 1995.

 “Class and the Organization of Anger in Post-Communist Poland,” in *Emergo: Journal of Transforming Economies and Societies* (Krakow and Copenhagen), 1:2, Autumn 1994.

 “Search for Balance: On the New Communitarianism,” in *Telos* #101, Fall 1994.

 “The Politics of Interest in Post-Communist East Europe,” in *Theory and Society* 22, August 1993. (Earlier version, issued as *Working Paper No.8* of the Program on East-Central Europe at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1991; translated and published in Hungarian [*Valosag*, May 1991) and Polish [*Konfrontacje*, November 1991.])

 “Solidarity,” entry for *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

 “Is Latin America the Future of Eastern Europe?” (a roundtable discussion; my section titled “Labor and Societal Transition”), in *Problems of Communism* 41:3, May-June 1992. (Polish translation: *Przeglad Spoleczny*, Warsaw, No. 5, Sept. 1992.)

 “Shock Therapy and its Discontents,” in *Telos* No. 92, Summer 1992.

 “Transition Theory and Eastern Europe,” in *Estudios Latinamericanos* 14:2, 1991 (Warsaw).

 “Give Soviet Workers a Stake in Capitalism,” Op-Ed page *New York Times*, November 30, 1991; and *International Herald Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1991.

 “The Crisis of Liberalism in Poland,” in *Telos* No. 89, Fall 1991.

 “Interests and Politics in Post-Communist Society,” in *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1991.

 “The Transformation of Solidarity and the Future of Central Europe”, in *Telos* No. 79, Spring 1989.

 “Towards a Corporatist Solution in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland,” *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 3:1, Winter 1989.

 “Indispensable Ambiguity: Solidarity’s Internal Authority Structure,” in *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 21:2, Summer 1988.

 “Poles, Jews (and Palestinians),” in *Jewish Currents*, April 1988.

 “Poland Revisited: Normalization and Opposition,” in *Poland Watch*, No. 7, 1985.

 “Popieluszko’s Legacy,” article for *The Nation*, March 2, 1985.

 “O Niektorych Osobliwosciach Dialogu Wschod-Zachod” (On East-West Dialogue), published in Polish in *Vacat* No. 21, 1984, Warsaw, Poland.

 “November 1982: Opposition At a Turning Point,” in *Poland Watch*, No. 2, Winter 1982/83 (Washington, D.C.).

 “Socialist World Market as Strategy of Ascent?”, in Edward Friedman, ed., *Ascent and Decline in the World System* (Los Angeles: Sage, 1982).

“The ‘New Right’ in Poland,” in *Worldview*, November 1981.

 Numerous translations from Polish.

 Over fifteen articles for Chicago-based national newspaper, *In These Times*, 1981-1988 (including regular reports sent from Poland during the first Solidarity period and martial law in 1981-82).

**PUBLIC ACTIVITIES AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES**:

“Gessen, My Critique, and the Polish Trap,” published simultaneously in English and Polish, April 7, 2021. English: <https://lefteast.org/gessen-critique-polish-trap/>; Polish: <https://kulturaliberalna.pl/2021/04/08/sprawa-mashy-gessen-david-ost/>.

Podcast for Columbia University’s “European Institute” series on “The Rise and Resilience of Populism in Eastern Europe,” interviewed by Dr. Tsveta Petrova, March 2021: <https://europe.columbia.edu/content/rise-and-resilience-populism-eastern-europe>.

“The Right Normalizes Fascism. The Best Response: Normalize It Back,” opinion essay in online journal of *Foreign Policy in Focus*, January 2021, <https://fpif.org/the-right-normalizes-fascism-the-best-response-normalize-it-back/>.

Podcast on Rise and Fall of Poland’s Solidarity Movement, available from Jacobin Radio, January 9, 2021: <https://blubrry.com/jacobin/72462159/long-reads-david-ost-on-the-rise-and-fall-of-polands-solidarity-movement/>

Podcast on current right-wing politics in Poland, on podcast “I tak dalej” (“And so on”), organized by Prof. Elizabeth Dunn and Indiana University, November 2020, at <https://gaana.com/podcast/i-tak-dalej-the-polish-studies-center-podcast-season-1>

“The Next Trump Could Be Even Worse” (“Kolejny Trump może być jeszcze gorszy”), interview with me by journalist Jakub Dymek in *Przegląd* (Warsaw), November 2, 2020; <https://www.tygodnikprzeglad.pl/kolejny-trump-moze-byc-jeszcze-gorszy/>.

“Thatcher i Reagan, a ‘Kleska Solidarnosci’” (Thatcher, Reagan, and ‘The Defeat of Solidarity”), interview with me, conducted by Agnieszka Lichnerowicz, on 40th anniversary of Solidarity, on Polish radio TOK-FM, August 29, 2020; [https://audycje.tokfm.pl/podcast/94828,David-Ost-Thatcher-i-Reagan-a-kleska-Solidarnosci?fbclid=IwAR2QMnzsr53hC1GtPto5j-BFJwCFNli2sm3IGOlBvavOymnkj397Xg3pdow](https://audycje.tokfm.pl/podcast/94828%2CDavid-Ost-Thatcher-i-Reagan-a-kleska-Solidarnosci?fbclid=IwAR2QMnzsr53hC1GtPto5j-BFJwCFNli2sm3IGOlBvavOymnkj397Xg3pdow)

“The Triumph and Tragedy of Poland’s Solidarity Movement,” in Jacobin Magazine, August 24, 2020; <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/08/poland-solidarity-communism-solidarnosc>

Interview with me in Czech online magazine A2larm, “Nebavme se o roce 1989, ale o tom, co nasledovalo” (Let’s not talk about 1989 but about what followed), November 2019; <https://a2larm.cz/2019/11/david-ost-nebavme-se-o-roce-1989-ale-o-tom-co-nasledovalo/>

“‘I Didn’t Sit in Jail Eight and a Half Years to Build Capitalism’: An Obituary/ Appreciation of the Polish Socialist Karol Modzelewski,” in *Jacobin Magazine*, May 19, 2019; [https://jacobinmag.com/2019/05/karol-modzelewski-poland-solidarity-democratic-socialism](https://jacobinmag.com/2019/05/karol-modzelewski-poland-solidarity-democratic-socialism?fbclid=IwAR0UivzhQ8clNNIg4OAVZUP-ZrmbP0beqAs6GUvBcDWkFkLKYKUka0HSie8)

 “It’s Not Workers’ Interests But Anti-Democracy that is the Essence of PiS: A Response to Rafał Woś” (PiS to nie socjal, tylko antydemokratyczność), *Krytyka Polityczna*, September 26, 2018; <http://krytykapolityczna.pl/kraj/lewica-pis-wos-ost/>).

“Anti-Semitism Was Not Just a Smokescreen: The Jewish Part of Poland’s 1968,” published simultaneously in *Public Seminar* (<http://www.publicseminar.org/2018/05/anti-semitism-was-not-just-a-smokescreen/>) and (in Polish) in *Kultura Liberalna* (<https://kulturaliberalna.pl/2018/05/22/david-ost-zydzi-marzec-68-pis/>), May 22, 2018.

Radio interview/ podcast on WORT-FM, Madison, Wisconsin, “Thousands Protest Right-Wing Populism in Poland,” on *A Public Affair*, with Allen Ruff, August 3, 2017, available at <https://www.wortfm.org/thousands-protest-right-wing-populism-in-poland/>.

Radio interview/ podcast on WORT-FM, Madison, Wisconsin, “The Rise of the Right in Eastern Europe,” on *A Public Affair*, with Allen Ruff, December 22, 2016, available at <https://www.wortfm.org/thousands-protest-right-wing-populism-in-poland/>.

Interview with me about Warsaw: “Warszawo: Po co ci te wieżowce i samochody?” (Warsaw: Why all the skyscrapers and cars?), in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, January 17, 2016; [[http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/1,34862,19479020,david-ost-warszawo-po-co-ci-te-wiezowce-i-samochody-rozmowa.html](http://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/1%2C34862%2C19479020%2Cdavid-ost-warszawo-po-co-ci-te-wiezowce-i-samochody-rozmowa.html).]

Interview with me about east European politics: “Prawica w Polsce i na Węgrzech spogląda w kierunku Rosji” (The Polish and Hungarian Right look towards Russia), in *Newsweek Polska*, December 10, 2015; [[http://polska.newsweek.pl/rzad-pis-opinie-w-zachodnich-mediach-prof-david-ost-pis-,artykuly,375458,1.html](http://polska.newsweek.pl/rzad-pis-opinie-w-zachodnich-mediach-prof-david-ost-pis-%2Cartykuly%2C375458%2C1.html)].

“Uchodźcy: Niewinni Polacy i syryjskie hordy” (Refugees: Innocent Poles and Syrian Hordes), in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 3, 2015; at [http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,148433,18951879,uchodzcy-niewinni-polacy-i-syryjskie-hordy.html](http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1%2C148433%2C18951879%2Cuchodzcy-niewinni-polacy-i-syryjskie-hordy.html).

Panelist and discussant at Polish Film Festival, Rochester New York, Nov. 2014.

“No Real Solutions Regarding Ukraine,” interview on Ukrainian crisis, October 2014, with journalist Gary Toms, on website “The G-Man Interviews”; available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cgy6qwOL8ns](https://webmail.hws.edu/owa/redir.aspx?C=K89wL1q9d0mbINtnhLW1auYXPu_lwdEIdyaUu_uzrAffrN1orFkq_D381KsPJNegk3sSCVJHbmI.&URL=https%3a%2f%2fwww.youtube.com%2fwatch%3fv%3dCgy6qwOL8ns).

Several radio and television interviews with Polish press, connected to first Polish translation of my 1990 book (*Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*) and to the 25th anniversary of fall of communist regime. Includes TV appearances on national TV shows *Bez zartow* and *INFOrozmowa*.

Radio interview on Polish union protests, for KPFA, Berkeley, Sept. 14, 2013

Podcast interview with me, on intellectual history of my research, from podcast series “East-Central Europe Past and Present,” organized by Prof. Holly Case, July 2013, available at: <http://ecepastandpresent.blogspot.com/2013/07/interview-with-david-ost-july-24-and-25.html>

“Co się stało z naszą Polską?” (What has happened to our Poland?) – an interview with me in *Dziennik Trybuna*, conducted by Magdalena Ostrowska; Warsaw, June 4, 2013

“Rzeczywistosc fermentuje, takze w Polsce” (on “Occupy” and “anti-ACTA” social movements), in *Kultura Liberalna*, June 26, 2012.

Book review of *Blunting Neoliberalism*, in *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 49:3, August 2011.

Seminars on “Class Politics After Communism” and “Polish Foreign Policy and Challenges for the European Union,” given as part of University Guest appointment, Tallinn University, Estonia, September 2010.

“1989, 1968, and the Structuring of Political Choices,” published in Polish in *Newsweek Polska*, January 6, 2010.

“Introduction” for Polish-language version of Leszek Kochanowicz’s book *Politics of Time* (Wroclaw, 2009).

“How Liberals Lost Labor,” chapter four of my *The Defeat of Solidarity* book, translated into Hungarian in leading monthly *Ketezer 2000*, January 2009; available at http://www.eurozine.com/journals/2000/issue/2009-01-30.html.

Frequent articles, commentaries, and interviews with me in Polish press, including *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Newsweek*, *Dziennik*, *Europa, Newsweek Polska, Krytyka Polityczna*, *Obywatel*, and *Rzeczpospolita*, 2004-present.

Numerous appearances on Polish television and radio, and many interviews in Polish media, in connection with publication of my book *The Defeat of Solidarity* in Polish translation, Summer 2007. Also, about a dozen presentations and panel discussions in cities throughout Poland.

Two articles on Polish elections in on-line journal “Direland,” published October 15, and October 23, 2005 http://direland.typepad.com/direland/2005/10/is\_polands\_new\_.html http://direland.typepad.com/direland/2005/10/poland\_turns\_ha.html

 “Kaczynscy wroca do Europy (“The Kaczynskis Will Return to Europe”), in *Dziennik*, August 30, 2006.

“Liderzy Marca ’68 odwrocili sie od robotnikow,” in *Europa*, Warsaw, August 26, 2006, at http://dziennik.pl/magazyny/europa/wydania/artykul,209.html

“25 Years After the Gdansk Uprising,” interview with me in *Against the Current*, no. 121, March/April 2006.

Interview with me, on *Defeat of Solidarity* and contemporary Polish politics, on “Beneath The Surface,” KPFK radio, Los Angeles, November 28, 2005.

“Kazdego dnia probowali budowac lepszy swiat” (“Every Day They Tried to Build a Better World”), interview with me published in journal *Obywatel* (Poznan, Poland), No.5 (25), 2005.

“Europe and America: A New Divide?”, talk given to League of Women Voters, Geneva NY, November 4, 2004.

“On Dissidents, Solidarity, and Other Disappointed Dreams of the Western Left” – an interview with me published in *Fakt – Europa*, Warsaw, August 18, 2004. Available at http://efakt.pl/artykuly/artykul.aspx/Artykul/32337

“Vietnotes: Reflections on Vietnam Thirty Years After,” in *The Bookpress* (Ithaca, NY), March 2002.

“The View From New York,” essay on New York City after the World Trade Center attacks, in *The Bookpress*, October 2001.

“Globalism or Globaloney: New Promises, New Dangers,” keynote speaker in Series on “Global Awareness,,” Finger Lakes Community College, November 2001.

 Radio commentator on American politics for BBC Radio, Polish Section, occasional, 1995-2000

 “Lenin Nyet: The Revolution that Failed,” in *The New Leader*, December 2-16, 1991.

 Appearances on “One Norway Street,” televised news program of the Christian Science Monitor, November 26, 1990, and April 1991.

“Mr. Wujec Goes to Warsaw” – interview with Solidarity activist suddenly joining government, translated by me and published in *Harpers Magazine*, December 1989.

 Public lectures on “The Eastern European Revolutions and their aftermath,” at Finger Lakes Community Colleges, Rotary Club, elsewhere, 1989-today.

 Appearance on *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, discussing Poland, December 13, 1982.

 Over fifteen articles for *In These Times*, 1981-1988 (including regular reports sent from Poland in 1981-82).

 Numerous appearances as guest speaker and political commentator for radio, including WNYC and WBAI (New York City), WORT and WHA (Madison, Wisconsin), KPFK (Los Angeles), KPFA (San Francisco), and WXXI (Rochester), 1979 - present.

 Produced hour-long radio show, “The Prague Spring: Ten Years Later,” aired on WBAI (New York) and WORT (Madison), 1978.

**SCHOLARLY AWARDS, GRANTS, AND DISTINCTIONS**:

Member of Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, Princeton, 2020-2021.

Selected member of Fulbright Specialist Program, Political Science, since 2015.

Appointed as Joseph DiGangi Chair of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 2010-2015

Appointed University Guest, Tallinn University, Estonia, September 2010, and Spring 2011.

Keynote Speaker at Opening Plenary of the national congress of the Polish Sociological Association, Krakow, September 2010.

Honored Guest of City of Bydgoszcz, Poland, speaking/ meeting with public and press, at commemmoration of Bydgoszcz Events of 1981, March 2009.

Senior Fellow at Cornell Institute for European Studies, 2005 – present.

2006 Ed Hewett Book Prize, from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, for best book on the political economy of postsocialism, awarded for *The Defeat of Solidarity*.

Awarded the “25th Anniversary of Solidarity Medal,” a state medal from the Polish government, presented by former Polish president Lech Walesa at Polish Consulate in New York, September 2005.

Visiting Research Professor at New School for Social Research, Jan-Aug, 2005.

Faculty Prize for Excellence in Scholarship, Hobart & Wm. Smith Colleges, May 2004.

Grant evaluator for Social Science Research Council, for Junior Scholars’ Training Seminar, 2000-present.

Awarded Senior Fulbright Professorship to Central European University and Warsaw University, 1998-99.

 Major grant from the National Council of Eurasian and East European Research (together with Stephen Crowley), for organizing conference and editing volume on Labor After Communism, 1998-2000.

 Major grant from the National Council of Soviet and East European Research (together with Marc Weinstein), for research on “The Emergence of New Enterprise Institutions in Post-Communist Poland,” June 1993 to September 1995.

 Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, for study of “Institutional and Political Transformation in Poland,” focusing on economic and political change in small industrial towns, 1993-94 academic year.

 Juror on Fulbright Discipline Advisory Committee, reviewing applications for Fulbright awards in Political Science, 1994-1996.

 Harvard University Post-Doctoral Fellow, Program on East-Central European Studies, Center for European Studies, September 1990-August 1991.

 1991 Herfurth Award -- given annually by the University of Wisconsin for best publication based on a Wisconsin Ph.D., awarded for my book *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*.

 IREX Fellowship -- for research in Eastern Europe, Spring 1990.

 Harvard University, Fellow, Russian Research Center -- Fall 1988.

 Hewlett-Mellon Fellowship -- for travel to Soviet Union and Poland, August-September 1987.

 Visiting Scholar, Columbia University, Institute on East Central Europe, January-September 1984.

 Fulbright Fellowship -- for 12 months dissertation research in Poland, 1981- 82.

 National Defense Education Act Foreign Language/Area Studies Fellowships -- 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1982-83, 1983-84.

**PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**:

Research Fellow of Central European Labor Studies Institute (CELSI), Bratislava, Slovakia, since 2014.

Editorial Board, *Politics and Society*, since Spring 2006; President of “Politics and Society, Inc,” from December 2013.

 Editorial Board, *Civitas: Studia z filozofii polityki* (Warsaw), since 2013.

Editorial Board, *East European Politics and Societies*, since Fall 2008.

 Editorial Board, *Polish Sociological Review* (Warsaw), since Fall 2007.

 Editorial Board, *Studie Socjologiczne* (Warsaw), since 2005.

Editorial Board, *Studies of Transition States and Societies* (Estonia), founding member, since 2009.

Editorial Board, *Warsaw Forum of Economic Sociology*, founding member, since 2009.

International Advisory Board, *Idea: Studia nad strukturą i rozwojem pojęć filozoficznych* (“Ideas: Studies in the structure and development of philosophical concepts,” Bialystok, Poland), since July 2013.

International Advisory Board, *Zeszyte Naukowe* (“Working-Paper Series”) of the Economic University of Krakow, Poland, since January 2013.

International Advisory Board, journal *History of Communism in Europe* (annual publication based in Romania), since 2013.

Member, Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee of the American Political Science Association, for best paper presented at APSA National Conference, 2008-2009

Taught week-long social science seminar to social science faculty at Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, May 2005.

Judge and professor in Junior Scholars Training Seminar competition, sponsored by American Council of Learned Societies, 2003. (Judge only 2000-2002.)

Evaluator for tenure and promotion cases from University of Michigan, Claremont College, and elsewhere.

Juror for International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships, sponsored by Social Science Research Council, 2001-present.

 Referee for National Science Foundation grant proposal, 2005.

 Organized international conference in Warsaw: “David or Goliath: Trade Unions and the Workers’ Movement in East-Central Europe After Communism,” May 1999.

 Member of Fulbright Discipline Advisory Committee, reviewing applications for Fulbright awards in Political Science, 1994-1996.

 Organized two panels for National Conference of Council of European Studies, March 1996: “Left-Wing Liberalism in Eastern Europe,” and “The Future of Eastern Europe: After the Social Democratic Collapse.”

 Convener/organizer of section (three panels) on “Socio-Cultural Consequences of Democratization,” for XVI World Congress of International Political Science Association, Berlin August 1994.

 Editorial Board of journal *Telos*, 1989 to 2001.

 Referee for National Science Foundation grant proposal, November 1991

 Participant, Europeanists’ Colloquium, Cornell University, since Fall 1991.

 Co-organizer of International Conference, “Dilemmas of Transition from State Socialism in East Central Europe,” Center for European Studies, Harvard University, March 15-17, 1991.

 Evaluated and administered grant awards for undergraduate and graduate research on Eastern Europe, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Spring 1991.

Reviewer of tenure and promotion files for Johns Hopkins University, Lafayette University, Tufts University, Boston University, and elsewhere.

Book Reviews in *American Political Science Review, Slavic Review, American Historical Review, International Labor Review, Telos*, and elsewhere.

 Referee of manuscripts for *American Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, Comparative Politics, Social Problems, Theory and Society, American Sociological Review, British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, *Sociological Quarterly*, *Comparative Political Studies*, Oxford University Press, University of Chicago Press, University of Washington Press, Indiana University Press, Westview, Routledge, and others.

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES**:

 Polish - fluency of educated native speaker

 Russian - fluent reading, rusty spoken

 Slovak, Czech, French - reading ability

**COURSES TAUGHT (sample)**:

 Politics of the New Europe

 Regulating Capitalism

 Work and Politics

 Varieties of Capitalism

 Europe and America

 Postcommunist Transformations

 Russia/China Resurgent (formerly: Russia/China Unraveled)

 Globalization

 Protests, Movements, and Unions

 Civic Participation and Democratic Society

 Europe East and West: Democracy and Political Economy

 Comparative Democratizations

 Radical Thought, Left and Right

 Vietnam and Iraq

 Eastern Europe and Social Science

 Introduction to Comparative World Politics

 Racisms and Other Hatreds

 Labor and Democratization

 Western Marxism/Western Social Science

 The Politics of Culture

 Capitalism, Socialism, Modernity

 Political Economy of Western Europe

 Russian and Soviet Foreign Policy

 Bosnia and Us

 Palestine and Palestinians (cross-disciplinary forum)

**PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS**:

“Liberalism = Communism: The East European Right on the Left in Comparative Perspective,” presented at Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), December 3, 2021 (online).

“Society and Power: Strategies of Opposition,” webinar symposium organized by Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Science, June 22, 2021.

Participant in panel “The Power of Protest in Eastern Europe,” for Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies at Claremont McKenna College, California, February 26, 2021.

Forty Years Since the Birth of Solidarity: Legacy and Lessons for Struggling Democracies,” panel organized by Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Younger Generation Leaders Network, Moscow, December 4, 2020.

Invited Participant on “Presidential Roundtable: Polish Solidarity: A Glorious Revolution and its Unexpectedly Tortuous Aftermath,” national convention of ASEEES, November 2020 (online).

Invited participant at “Roundtable on Representative Democracy,” organized by REDEM project on “Voter-centred vs Politician-centred Perspectives on Democracy,” online conference organized in Bucharest, Romania.

“Labor Turns to the Right,” keynote address to international conference on “Social Boundaries of Work”, organized in Warsaw, on Zoom, October 29, 2020.

“Populism, Fascism, and Why So Many Workers Turn from Left to Right,” at Cornell Institute for European Studies, Feb. 21, 2020; video link at [https://vod.video.cornell.edu/media/David+Ost+%22Populism%2C+Fascism%2C+and+Why+So+Many+Workers+Turn+from+Left+to+Right%22/1\_2pt4u605](https://vod.video.cornell.edu/media/David%2BOst%2B%22Populism%2C%2BFascism%2C%2Band%2BWhy%2BSo%2BMany%2BWorkers%2BTurn%2Bfrom%2BLeft%2Bto%2BRight%22/1_2pt4u605).

“Populism as Left-Fascism: Why (and Which) Workers Turn From Left to Right,” presented at national congress of the Polish Sociological Society, Wroclaw, September 2019.

“Competitive Authoritarianism or Electoral National Socialism: The Nature of Poland’s New Right Regime,” presented to international conference of Council for European Studies, Madrid, June 2019.

“Promoting and then Undermining Democracy: The Peculiar Role of Solidarity in Poland,” presented at “Labor and Challenges to Democracy” conference organized by Cornell University Law School, May 2019.

“Normalizing Fascism, and Why Many Workers Go Along,” presented at “Conservatism and Reaction in Contemporary Politics,” conference of Bard University, St. Petersburg Russia Gagarin Center for Civil Society and Human Rights, and Harriman Institute, at Columbia University, February 2019.

“Down With 1989: Poland’s Peculiar Right-Wing Backlash Against 1968,” at national convention of ASEEES, Boston, December, 2018.

“The Ever-Recurring Lure of ‘Real Democracy’ and the Ever-Recurring Challenges to Liberalism,” at Global Dialogues Fellows 2018 Conference, Transregional Center for Democracy Studies, New School of Social Research, New York, May 11, 2018.

“Illiberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe,” at European Community Studies Association – Canada, Toronto, May 20, 2018.

“Polish Memory Law: When History Becomes a Source of Mistrust,” at Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, Columbia University, May 3, 2018.

“Why Poland Matters: Sources of Radical Right Power in Eastern Europe and the World,” at Center for Russia, East Europe, and Central Asia (CREECA), University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 12, 2018.

“Does Capitalism Need Liberalism?”, invited presentation at “Tischner Lectures” series in Warsaw, sponsored by Kultura Liberalna, December 14, 2017; summary at <http://kulturaliberalna.pl/2017/12/19/kapitalizm-liberalizm-demokracja-debata-tischnerowska/?utm>.

“The New Authoritarian Drive in Poland,” presented at “The New Populist Right and Europe: Visions and Divisions,” international research workshop at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, November 2017.

“The Surprising Difficulties of Resisting Authoritarian Populism,” presented at ASEEES national conference, Chicago, November 2017.

“European Solidarity and the Legacy of the Polish Solidarity Movement,” keynote address for the TransSOL Summer School “Solidarity Beyond Borders,” supported by EU’s Horizons 2020 program, July 3, 2017.

 “Why Poland Matters: Eastern European Lessons for the Time of Trump,” presented at University of Chicago, and University of Illinois-Chicago, February 2017. Video of UoC talk at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GT7MsDyFC2c&t>

“Populist Authenticity in Eastern Europe’s New Right: The Cult of the *Blokowisko* and the New Pitfalls of Class,” presented at international conference “Populism in Theory: towards an anthropological frame,” University of Barcelona, January 2017.

“Illiberal Contagion: Hungary and Poland Under Fidesz and PiS,” presented at annual conference of ASEEES, Washington, D.C., November 2016.

“New Social Movements: For Civic Autonomy or Resentment Mobilization,” international conference on “Mobilizing for the Commons,” sponsored by Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and European Solidarity Centre, Gdansk; November 4-6, 2016.

“Why Didn't It Matter More?: The Impact of Hungary’s 1956 on the Global Left,” at international conference on “New Directions in the Scholarship on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution,” University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 2016.

“After After Solidarity: The Reactionary Communitarianism of Late Neoliberalism,” at the International Society for MacIntyrean Enquiry, Wrocław, Poland, May 2016.

“Polanyian Solidarities and the Return of the Right,” at the University of Lower Silesia, Wroclaw, Poland, May 2016.

“The State of Polish Democracy, A.D. 2016,” at Poznan Institute of Philosophy Congress, May 2016.

 “Populist Revolution in Poland: What Kaczyński’s Government Means for Europe, Russia, and Democracy,” at Tallinn University, Estonia, March 2016.

“A Right-Wing Turn in Politics?”, presented at Friedrich Ebert Foundation conference, December 10, 2015, Warsaw.

“State Socialism and the Varieties of Modernization,” presented at conference “Cities and Mass: Historical Trajectories of Modernizing Discourses,” Lodz, Poland, December 4, 2015.

“Ivan Szelényi, Class Theory, Class Politics, Class Practices,” presented at Festschrift conference “Ivan Szelényi: Intellectuals, Inequalities and Transitions,” University of Pecs, Hungary, October 16, 2015.

“Is Poland Poised to Become the New Hungary?: Why Right-Wing Nationalists Keep Winning,” presented at Central European University, Dept. of Political Science, Budapest, October 14, 2015.

“The Death and Reemergence of Class Analysis in Eastern Europe,” presented at congress of European Sociological Association, Prague, August 2015.

“Back to the Semi-Periphery: The Vitality of Semi-Marginal Political Innovations,” presented at “The Future(s) of Post-Socialism,” international conference at Stony Brook University, April 2015.

“Marxism After Marxist States,” roundtable presentation at national congress of Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, San Antonio, November 2014.

“Participatory Budgeting and Other ‘Real Utopias’,” presented at Global Resistance and Change workshop, Cornell University, November 2014.

“Neoliberal Regulation and the Global Precariat,” presented at workshop “From Proletariat to Precariat: Changing Labor Relations in the 20th and 21st Centuries,” Indiana University, Bloomington, September 19, 2014.

“Social Europe: Answer to the Crisis?”, presented at Jacek Kuron Festival, at Krytyka Polityczna, Warsaw, June 2014.

“Politics and Anti-Politics Then and Now,” discussion on new Polish translation of my book *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*, at Research Seminar on Solidarity, Warsaw, June 2014.

“The Promises and Limits of Anti-Politics,” presented, in Polish, at the Second Annual Polish Philosophical Symposium, “Solidarity, Participation, and Independent Culture,” in Ciążeń, Poland, June 2014.

“The Political Art of Tough Economic Choices,” presented at conference on “Twenty Five Years of Polish Transformation,” at Krakow University of Economics, June 2014.

“Costs and Assessments of the Polish Transformation,” presented, in Polish, at panel “(O)cena transformacji,” Bronislaw Geremek Foundation, Warsaw, May 29, 2014.

“The Growth and Decline of Social Dialogue: Neoliberal Trends in Industrial Relations,” at international conference on “Europe, Poland, Dialogue,” at Warsaw School of Economics, May 27, 2014.

 “Reconstructing Labor and Capital in Poland,” paper presented at Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations, March 2, 2014.

“1989: Turning Point for the Old Opposition,” presented at International Conference on “Poland’s Peaceful Revolution: 25 Years After the Round Table Talks,” at St. Antony’s College Program on Modern Poland, Oxford University, February 2014.

“The Curious Fate of Class Analysis in Eastern Europe,” and “Alternative Visions of the Future: How 1989 Imagined 2009,” both presented at national congress of Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, November 2013.

 “Challenges and Opportunities for Unions at Time of Continued Capitalist Crisis,” presented at conference “Trade Unions in Europe: Taking Stock and Mapping Future Prospects,” sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Foundation and European Solidarity Center, Warsaw, Poland; October 17, 2013.

“Patriotism and the Left,” keynote address presented at seminar of the same name, sponsored by journal *Against Dogma* (*Bez Dogmatu*), Warsaw, Poland; October 16, 2013.

“Protecting Capitalism with Labor: New Trends in the Political Economy of Regulation,” keynote address given to Doctoral School Conference of Estonia; Haapsalu, Estonia, May 24, 2013.

“Alternative Futures for Post-Socialist States: Ideology and the Emerging Possibilities for the Radical Right,” presented at national conference of Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, New Orleans, November 2012.

“Solidarity, Civil Society, Class and Democracy,” presented at National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, Kiev, Ukraine, May 2012.

“Interests and Actions: Can People Act Against Their Own Interests?”, presented as part of series “Poverty and Inequality,” at Poznan Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland, May 2012.

“From Class to Culture or Class As Culture?”, presented to conference on Models and Their Effects on Development Paths: An Ethnographic and Comparative Approach,” Barcelona University, Spain, February 2012.

“Russian-Polish Relations: Have the ‘Benefits’ of Animosity Worn Themselves Out?”, presented at St. Petersburg University, Russia, August 2011.

“The Victory of ‘Illusory Corporatism’: How an East European Anomaly has Become the Norm,” presented at international congress of SASE, Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Madrid, Spain, June 2011.

“To What Extent did Solidarity Succeed, To What Extent did it Fail?”, presented as invited guest to the European Solidarity Centre, the University of Gdansk, and Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan, Poland, May 2011.

“Trade Unions at a Time of Crisis: American, European, and Asian Experiences,” presented to Regional Commission of Solidarity Trade Union, Poznan, May 2011.

“Labor and Politics in a Transforming Europe,” presented to Political Science Department, Tartu University, Estonia, March 2011.

“Understanding Solidarity,” invited speaker at conference “Solidarity from the Inside,” Institute of National Memory and Warsaw University History Department, November 2010.

“‘Illusory Corporatism’ Ten Years Later,” presented at international conference on Social Pacts and Social Partnership in Europe, Warsaw School of Economics, October 2010.

“The Meandering Meanings of Civil Society,” special University Guest Lecture, Tallinn University, Estonia, September 2010.

“Klasa a Ład Społeczny” (Class and Social Order), presented at Opening Plenary of national congress of Polish Sociological Association, Krakow, Poland, September 2010.

“Do Authoritarian Legacies Really Matter?: Contemporary Unionism in the Former Soviet Bloc,” paper presented at National Congress of American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., September 2010.

“Różnorodność analyz klasowych, różnorodność postkomunizmów” (Varieties of Class Analysis for Varieties of Post-Communism), talks presented at Economics University of Krakow; AGH University of Science and Technology (Krakow); Silesian University (Katowice); and Brave New World cultural center (Warsaw), May-June 2010.

Discussant on panel “Democracy in Europe,” at International Conference of Europeanists, Council of European Studies, Montreal, April 2010.

“Class Identities, Democracy, and Political Mobilization in the USA and Eastern Europe: Current Trends, Future Perspectives,” paper presented at Wroclaw University, Poland, December 2009.

“The Return of Class in Postcommunist Society,” paper presented to national convention of American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), Boston, November 2009.

“Some Thoughts on Ed’s Thoughts on Revolution, Freedom, Liberalism and Democracy,” presented at “Backward Toward Revolution: Festschrift for Edward Friedman,” University of Toronto, October 2009/

“Solidarity/ Solidarities: 1989 in a Global Perspective,” presented to conference “Solidarity/Solidarities,” at University College of London, June 2009.

“Trade Unions and the Global Economic Crisis in Eastern Europe,” presented at Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, February 2009.

“Liberal Education: American and European Experiences,” presented to international conference “Elites, Public Debate, and Higher Education Reform,” University of Warsaw, December 2008.

“After Communism and Keynesianism: Can Europe Escape Populism?”, presented to national convention of AAASS, Philadelphia, Nov. 2008.

“A Critical Review of Social Science on Postcommunist Transformations,” presented to Institute of Sociology, Tallinn University, Estonia, Sept. 2008

“Using America Against Europe,” presented to 4th Pan-European Conference on European Union Politics, Riga, Latvia, September 2008.

Invited speaker for special panel “Is Marx Obsolete?”; and presenter of paper “After Postcommunism: Legacies and the Future of Unions in Eastern Europe,” at International Conference of SASE, Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Costa Rica, July 2008.

“Passions and Elite Politics,” presented to International Conference of International Institute of Sociology, Budapest, June 2008.

“Populism and Democratization,” presented at panel at Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia, June 2008.

Invited speaker to founding conference of the Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, Central European University, Budapest, presenter at panel “Labor and the Qualities of Democracy,” June 2008.

“The Paradox of Left Anti-Communism: Oppositionist Legacies and the Rise of the Radical Right,” presented to international conference on Legacies and the Radical Right, at New York University, April 24-26, 2008.

“Reexamining the Economic Consensus of 1989,” presented to international conference on 1989 and Beyond: The Future of Democracy, at the New School for Social Research, April 18-19, 2008.

“A Labor Revival in Postcommunist Transition Societies, and Why It’s Not Likely to Make a Difference,” a talk at University of Denver, Graduate School of International Affairs, February 2008.

“Solidarnosc a Transformacja: bledy, lekcje, przyszlosc” (“Solidarity and Transformation: Mistakes, Lessons, the Future”), talk at “Solidarnosc a Transformacja,” a trade union conference focused on my book, at Institute of Politics, Wyszynski University, Warsaw, Poland, February 2008.

“The Legacy of the Left,” presented at international conference on “The Captive Mind Revisited,” Villa Decius, Krakow, October 2007.

“After Postcommunism,” presented to annual conference of Political Sociological Association, Zielona Gora, September 2007. ALSO: guest at special panel on my my book, *The Defeat of Solidarity*.

“Challenges to Democracy in the Postcommunist World,” invited speaker for special panel, Warsaw Eastern Europe Conference, Warsaw, July 2007.

“Anger, Politics, and Structural Adjustment,” presented to workshop on “Citizenship, Civil Society, and Political Parties in European Constitutional Politics,” Academy of Sciences, Prague, the Czech Republic, July 2007.

Two lectures at Bremen University, Germany, Department of Social Sciences, June 2007: “Explaining the Right-Wing Turn in Poland,” and “Polish Foreign Policy Between Europe and America.”

“Against the Notion of a New Anti-Semitism: Lessons From Eastern Europe,” presented to Conference on Global Anti-Semitism, Paris, Maison de Science de l’Homme, June 2007.

 “The Defeat of Solidarity,” presented at major Warsaw cultural club Fabryka Trzciny, May 2007.

Guest speaker at “Special Panel on David Ost’s *The Defeat of Solidarity*,” annual conference of Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, April 2007.

“Recent Developments in Postcommunist Unionism: Toward a Four-Dimensional Industrial Relations System,” presented at conference on Trade Unions in Central and Eastern Europe, at Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, March 2007.

“Solidarity and Populism Before and After 1989,” presented to national convention of AAASS, Washington D.C., November 2006.

“The Bad Lessons of Eastern Europe,” presented to international conference on “The Power of the Powerless,” University of Oslo, Norway, October 2006.

“Americans in the Eyes of Poles,” presented to conference on “Images of America: Polish Perspectives on the U.S.”, University of Rochester, October 2006.

“Why Labor Turns to the Right: Social Forces in the Postcommunist Transition,” presented to conference on “The Transformation of State Socialism,” Cambridge University, UK, September 2006.

Speaker at special panel on my book, *The Defeat of Solidarity*, at UCLA, February 2006.

Keynote speaker at conference on “Solidarity: 25 Years Later,” University of Toronto, January 2006.

“New Foreign Policy Debates in Eastern Europe,” presented to conference on “Post-Communist State and Society: Transnational and National Politics,” Maxwell School, Syracuse University, October 2005.

“The European Constitution as Catalyst for Participation?: Lessons from Eastern Europe,” presented at conference on “Democracy and Multi-Level Governance in the EU and Canada,” Carleton University, Ottawa, September 2005.

“After Postcommunism: Legacies and the Future of Unions in Eastern Europe,” paper presented to Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Budapest, June 30-July 2, 2005.

“Class, Democracy, and the Politics of Postcommunism: Or, Why Solidarity Turned to the Right,” talk given to Graduate Faculty Sociology Department, and Transregional Center for Democratic Studies, New School University, April 5, 2005.

“Between Europe, Iraq, and America: Polish Rethinking of National Interests,” paper presented at East-Central European Studies Center, Columbia University, New York, March 1, 2005.

“The Legacy of Jacek Kuron,” paper presented at Boston University, December 2004.

“What the East can Teach the West: Learning from Postcommunism,” paper presented at national convention of AAASS, Boston, December 2004.

“Learning to Fight: Structuring Antagonisms as the Task Facing Democracy,” presented at international conference on “Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies,” in Konjic, Bosnia, July 2004.

“Social Movement or Economic Unionism: Lessons of the Post-Communist East European Experience,” presented at Cornell University, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, May 6, 2004.

“Displacing the Third World: How East European Developments Changed Western Understandings of Revolution”, and “Marcuse’s *One-Dimensional Man* Forty Years Later,” talks given at “Remaking Revolution” conference, Hobart & Wm. Smith Colleges, April 2004.

“Making Sense of Polish-Jewish Conflicts,” talk given at Center for Russian, East Europe, and Central Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, March 25, 2004.

“Social Movement Unions as Organs of Co-Optation: Trade Unions and Democratization in East-Central Europe,” paper presented at National Convention of Industrial Relations Research Association, San Diego, January 2004. Also, organized panel “Central European Industrial Relations Upon Entry into the EU.”

“Eastern Europe and the Transformation of the American Left,” paper delivered at National Convention, AAASS, November 2003.

Two lectures at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary: “Why Labor?: Reflections on Class, Democracy, and Postcommunism,” and “Prospects for American and Global Democracy in Light of America’s New Imperial Project,” March 2003.

“The Decline, and Recent Revival, of Civil Society in Postcommunist Eastern Europe,” presented at Dalarna University, in Falun, Sweden, March 2003.

“The Rise, and Hopeful Decline, of Transitology,” presented at New School University’s Institute for Democracy, Krakow, Poland, July 2002.

“Divergent Post-Communist Pathways: Russia, East Europe, State Weakness, Cultural Assertion,” presented at National Convention of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August-September 2001.

“Are Business Unions Better Than Political Unions?: Polish Labor Weakness and Lessons of the Early American Experience,” presented at conference on “Central Europe a Decade Later: New Shopfloor Relations After Communism,” at London School of Economics, December 2000.

“Class Analysis, Social Science, and Postcommunism,” presented at International Conference of Europeanists, Council of European Studies, Chicago, March 2000.

“Capitalisms, Corporatisms, and Postcommunism,” talk at Colloquium on European Studies, Cornell University, February 7, 2000.

“Social Movements and Democratic Transformation,” presented at National Convention of AAASS, November 1999.

Series of three lectures given at Dept. of Law, University of Valencia (Spain): “Workers, Intellectuals, and the Left: Lessons of the European Transitions,” June 1999.

“Solidarity and Capitalism: Transforming Industrial Relations in Poland,” talk given at Dept. of Sociology, University of Jyvaskyla (Finland), June 3, 1999.

“Union Weakness in Postcommunist Poland,” talk given at international conference on “Trade Unions and the Workers’ Movement in East-Central Europe After Communism,” Warsaw, May 1999.

 “Non-Violent Social Protest: Martin Luther King Jr. and Solidarnosc,” talk presented at American Studies Center, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, January 14, 1999.

 “Bourgeois Society/Civil Society,” talk given at Tver State University, Russia, June 10, 1998.

 Series of lectures/classes on “Nationalism and Globalism,” at Central European University, Warsaw, May 1998.

 “What’s ‘Left’ in Europe?: The Postcommunist East,” talk given at Eleventh International Conference of Europeanists,” Baltimore, February 1998.

 “For-Itself But Not In-Itself: Class and Democracy in Post-Communist Europe,” paper presented at International Conference, “Does Class Still Unite?: Socio-Economic Differentiation as a Challenge for the Trade Unions,” Hoger Instituut voor de Arbeid, Leuven, Belgium, January 8-9, 1998.

 “Illusory Corporatism in Eastern Europe: Tripartism in the Service of Neoliberalism,” paper presented at International Conference of European Science Foundation, “Institution Building in the Transformation of Central and Eastern European Societies,” Central European University, Budapest, December 5-7, 1997.

 “The Curious Fate of Class after Communism,” round-table discussion organized for National Convention of AAASS, Seattle, November 1997.

 “Class Before and After Solidarity,” talk given at conference on “Polish Workers in Europe and America,” University of Rochester, November 15, 1997.

 “Class, Labor and Democracy in Post-Communist Poland,” talk given at Center for Research on Social Organization, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 30, 1997.

 “Solidarity and the Elections: Victory as Defeat,” talk given at Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 29, 1997.

 “Back in Power: The Left in Central Europe Since 1993,” talk given at Cornell University, Colloquium on European Studies, October 27, 1997.

 “Labor, Class, and Democracy in Post-Communist Society,” talk given at Center for Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 1997.

 Guest panelist (with Bronislaw Geremek, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs) at international symposium, “After Communism: Political and Economic Transformation in East Central Europe,” Reed College, Portland, Oregon, March 1997.

 “Can Unions Survive Communism?: New Trade Unionism in Poland and the Czech Republic,” talk given to Arbeitsgruppe Transformationsprozesse, Max Planck Gesellschaft zur Forderung der Wissenschaften, Humboldt University, Berlin, November 1996.

 “The Collapse of Communism and the Return of Class,” talk given at Central European University, Warsaw, November 1996.

 Discussant on two panels at National Conference of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29-September 1, 1996: “Russian Labor and Democratic Transformations,” and “Political Economy of East European Transformations.”

 “The Changing Concept of the Left in Eastern Europe,” presented at International Conference of Europeanists, Council of European Studies, Chicago, March 1996.

 Organized Round-Table panel on “Eastern Europe: After the Social Democratic Collapse,” at International Conference of Europeanists, Council of European Studies, Chicago, March 1996.

 “What is Solidarity Anyway?: The Political Dilemmas of Neoliberalism,” paper delivered as invited participant to “Coalitions Under Stress: Governing Party-Labor Alliances in the 1980s and 1990s,” conference sponsored by Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, January 12-13, 1996.

 “Post-Communist Transition and Workers,” paper presented at national conference of AAASS, Washington, D.C., November 1995.

 “Toward a Politics of Non-Liberal Economics,” talk given at international conference on “Social and Economic Aspects of Democratization,” Economics Department, Moscow State University, October 1995.

 “What Happened to the East European Left”,” paper presented to Fourth Biennial Conference on East Central European and Polish Affairs, St. Mary’s College, Orchard Lake, Michigan, October 1995.

 “Work and Democracy in Small Industrial Towns: The Case of Mielec, Poland,” paper presented at V World Congress for Central And East European Studies, Warsaw, Poland, August 1995.

 “Slavic Studies: Where to Now? Why Bother?”, presented at Center for Slavic and East European Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley, April 26, 1995.

 “Political Moderation and Political Extremism in Post-Communist Poland,” talk given at Jackson School of International Relations, University of Washington, Seattle, April 24, 1995.

 “Christopher Lasch and the Legacy of American Populism,” talk given at commemoration of legacy of Christopher Lasch, Ithaca College, March 1995.

 “Solidarity and Public Space in Poland: From Civil Society to Bourgeois Society,” paper presented at Annenberg Scholars’ Conference: On Public Space, Annenberg School for Communication, Univ. of Pennsylvania, March 1995.

 Chair and Organizer of panel, “Structuring Antagonisms in Post-Communist Eastern Europe,” at national conference of AAASS, Philadelphia, November 1994.

 “Is Eastern Europe Re-Turning Left?”, panel participant with Adam Michnik, at University of Rochester, October 26, 1994.

 Organizer of three panels on “Socio-Cultural Consequences of Democratization,” and presenter of paper “Labor, Class, and Democracy: Organizing Antagonisms in Post-Communist Society,” World Congress of International Political Science Association, Berlin, August 1994.

 “Workers, Anger, and Democracy: Shaping Antagonisms in Postcommunist Countries,” talk given (in Polish) at University of Torun, Poland, April 12, 1994.

 Commentator on panel, “Domestic Impacts of Internationalization,” at APSA national conference, August 1993, Washington, D.C.

 “Social Consequences of Liberalization: Labor, Class, Politics, and Democracy in Eastern Europe,” paper presented at SSRC Conference on “The Social and Political Consequences of Liberalization in Comparative Perspective,” co-sponsored by Joint Center for African Studies, University of California. Berkeley, April 1993

 “Labor, Class, and Politics,” presentation at conference on “Markets, States, and Democracy: The Political Economy of Post-communist Transformation,” Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, February 1993.

 “Labor, Ideology, and Politics in Poland,” talk given at Center for European Studies, Cornell University, February 8, 1993.

 “Liberalism and Leftism in Contemporary Poland,” paper presented at International Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, March 27-29, 1992; also, chair and discussant of panel on “Persons and Positions in Post-Communist Societies.”

 Guest speaker at World Policy Institute Lecture Series, topic “The Triumph of Liberalism in Eastern Europe,” at New School for Social Research, New York City, March 5, 1992.

 Panelist on two “roundtable” discussions -- “Is Latin American the Future of Eastern Europe?” and “Social and Political Obstacles to Privatization” -- at national conference of AAASS, Miami, November 1991.

 Chair and Discussant on panel, “Approaches to the Political Transformation of Socialist State,” APSA national conference, August 1991, Washington D.C.

 “The Generation of New Interests in Post-Communist East Europe,” paper presented at panel on “Parties and Movements in an Age of New Identities,” at World Conference of International Political Science Association, Buenos Aires, July 1991.

 “Labor and Economic Restructuring: New Problems for New Business in Poland,” talk delivered to convention of human resource managers at School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Center for Advanced Human Resources Studies, Cornell University, May 2, 1991.

 “The Decline of Civil Society and the Crisis of Liberalism in Poland,” presentation at conference on Social Movements and Regime Liberalization in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, April 12-13, 1991.

 “Populism in East Europe and the International Context,” presentation at Telos Conference on “Populism, Community, and the New Class,” at Elizabethtown College, April 5-7, 1991.

 “Politics and Interests in Post-Communist Society: New Patterns of Interest Formation in Poland,” paper presented April 4, 1991, to “Workshop on Europe 1989-1992: Challenges to States, Markets, and Citizenship,” New School for Social Research, New York City.

 “Polish Solidarity and the Transformation of Eastern Europe,” paper presented at New Hampshire International Seminar series, Center for International Perspectives, University of New Hampshire, March 29, 1991.

 “Obstacles to Liberal Democracy in Post-Communist East Europe,” paper delivered at Soviet and East European Studies Program, Cornell University, March 27, 1991.

 “Shaping a New Politics in Poland,” paper presented at conference on Dilemmas of Transition from State Socialism in East Central Europe, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, March 15-17, 1991.

 “Problems of Liberal Transition in Poland,” presentation at symposium on Upheaval in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, at Institute on East Central Europe and the Soviet Union, at Institute on East Central Europe/ Harriman Institute, Columbia University, March 8, 1991.

 “Post-Communist Society and the Obstacles to Liberal Democracy in Eastern Europe,” paper presented at International Colloquium on Transitions to Democracy in Europe and Latin America, University of Guadalajara, Mexico, January 21-25, 1991; published in Conference Proceedings.

 “Security Implications of Democratization Processes in Eastern Europe,” part of panel discussion presented to the Working Group on European Security, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, November 14, 1990.

 “Demise of A Misunderstanding: Labor and Intellectuals in Poland,” paper presented at Workshop on Changing Relations Between Intellectuals and Labor, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, November 1990.

 “Interests and Politics in Post-Communist Society,” paper delivered at APSA National Conference, August 1990, San Francisco.

 “Democratization in Eastern Europe and Transition Theory,” paper delivered at International Conference on Democratization in Latin America and Eastern Europe,” in Pultusk, Poland, June 1990.

 Discussant, “Post-Communist Societies in the Making: The Role of Intellectuals,” at AAASS national conference, November 1989.

 Invited panelist in special seminar: “Communism in Decline?”, at Hamilton College, October 2, 1989.

 “Solidarity and The Transformation of Europe,” talk to the faculty of Hobart and William Smith Colleges, September 22, 1989.

 “Corporatist Theory and Eastern Europe,” paper delivered at Center for European Studies, Harvard University, November 1988.

 Invited participant in “International Conference on the History and Culture of Polish Jews,” Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 1988.

 “Does ‘Bourgeois’ Mean ‘Citizen’?: Politics, Markets and the Dilemmas of Opposition in Poland,” paper delivered at National Convention of AAASS, November 1987, Boston.

 “The Necessity and Impossibility of Totalitarianism,” presented at Western Political Science Association conference, March 1987, Anaheim, California.

 “Intentional Ambiguity: Solidarity’s Internal Authority Structure,” paper delivered at National Convention of AAASS, New Orleans, Nov. 1986.

“The Totalitarianism of Everyday Life: Reflections on Contemporary Eastern Europe inspired by Merleau-Ponty and Milan Kundera,” at Seminar on Democracy, East and West,” New York, October 1986

“Democratization and State Socialism,” paper delivered at Wisconsin Political Science Association, October 1985.

 “Solidarity at the Imposition of Martial Law”, paper delivered at AAASS East Coast Regional Conference, February 1983, at Princeton University; similar paper presented as special guest lecturer at Harvard University (March 1983), Columbia University (March 1983), and SUNY-Binghamton (April 1983).

 “Comecon and the World Economy,” paper delivered at 5th Annual Political Economy of World-System Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, May 1981.