

Interview of Luboš Studený with Jacek Kurczewski, 29.07.2025, online

Jacek Kurczewski (JK): 00:00:00 Good evening.

Luboš Studený (LS): 00:00:05 Good evening. Thank you for agreeing to the interview.

[...]

JK: 00:02:16 From the time you wrote me, I'm trying to remember who were Kára¹ and Řehák². And I don't remember them well. I remember one as being a very serious gentleman, but it seems to me that one was, let's say, in political terms, more soft and liberal. But I'm not sure who. And in fact, I don't remember where and when I met them.

LS: 00:03:01 That's important.

JK: 00:03:04 You see, I belonged to the young auxiliary forces, let's say, of Professor Siciński³, and he was wise enough to, instead of acting on his own, to have a young group of collaborators. And that helped him. The research helped him to develop a small group of sociologists who were interested in some aspects of the study. But we were not involved in the first stage, and we are not members of the upper level. And, as you know, the upper level dies quicker, usually, and not always. But because Professor Galtung⁴ died quite recently, we could say that. It's a pity. I don't know how many people who took part in this research you have been able to talk to, but I'm afraid not many.

LS: 00:04:35 Sadly, all the people who participated in Czechoslovakia, we either could not find or are deceased. But you mentioned that Siciński brought you as a sociologist to the project. Is this how you started participating in the project, that he picked you from the Warsaw University?

JK: 00:05:01 Yes, I was not exactly in his stable, let's say, but I was quite experienced in running the empirical research. Because, I was, in fact, firstly an empirical researcher. Well, in the field, I was running as a student with younger students. That was a practice which we had at the sociology at the University of Warsaw. And it was a tradition of empirical field studies which were done by so-called *kolo naukowe studentów socjologii*. And

¹ Karel Kára (1923–1988) was a Czech sociologist who specialized in the study of revolutionary processes, people's democracy, and later war and peace research. He earned his PhD in 1963 and his habilitation in 1966, and worked as a research scientist at various institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences until his death. Kára co-authored influential monographs on postwar revolutionary processes with Jiří Houška and contributed to international peace research, including studies on social perceptions of war and peace. In the 1970s, he also focused on the social situation of Roma communities in Czechoslovakia and served as chair of the Czechoslovak Sociological Society.

² Jan Řehák (b. 1939) is a Czech sociologist and statistician, founder of the company ACREA. He studied descriptive geometry and mathematical statistics at Charles University and completed further studies in mathematics, mathematical sociology, and survey research at the University of Michigan. Between 1965 and 1999, he worked at various institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences and taught statistical methods at Charles University, contributing to the training of social science researchers. Řehák developed original sociological research methods such as LINDA, D-model, and contingency table clustering, and co-founded companies for social research and SPSS software distribution in the Czech Republic.

³ Andrzej Siciński (1924–2006) was a Polish sociologist and professor of the humanities who served as Minister of Culture and Art in 1991–1992. He conducted extensive research on rural communities, social behavior, and lifestyles, publishing influential works between the 1970s and early 2000s. Siciński also co-led the *Images 2000* project, exploring youth opinions, expectations, and cultural attitudes at the turn of the millennium. Throughout his career, he was active in academic and cultural institutions, including the Polish Academy of Sciences, Collegium Civitas, and the Higher School of Visual Arts and New Media in Warsaw.

⁴ Johan Galtung (1930–2024) was a Norwegian sociologist and the principal founder of peace and conflict studies, establishing the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and the Journal of Peace Research. He pioneered key concepts such as structural, cultural, and direct violence, and the distinction between negative and positive peace, influencing global peacebuilding scholarship. Throughout his career, he held professorships at universities worldwide, co-founded TRANSCEND, and received numerous awards, including the Right Livelihood Award. Galtung was a prolific thinker whose work reshaped understanding of conflict, emphasizing systemic injustice and the pursuit of lasting, positive peace.

that was a very well-functioning mechanism. It was kept independent from cooperating with these proper academicians, but at the same time was independent.

So it was British style of students, of self- organization, I would say. So I had some early career. So Siciński took me as one of the young but experienced, relatively experienced, sociologists, who knows how to organize the group. And I was needed for him because, there was always this, as I wrote in the paper,⁵ well, the pilot study was important part of this study. And this is something which is not clear, even if it was written in the chapter you read. This was this division into the pre-main research part and the main research.

Of course, the condition of participation by Siciński in Poland in the research was to provide the proper public opinion research data. And for that, we've had been the only communist country which had officially acknowledged public opinion research. It was, it was set up by sociologists after October 56 and the liberalization. And it was helped methodologically by Paul Lazarsfeld⁶ and friends from United States. It was run by independent sociologists only after 56. It was first time non- sociologists who took position of directing the public opinion research center, which was located at Polish Radio. And I was cooperating with my teacher, Adam Podgórecki,⁷ who was sociologist of law, one of the first European sociologists of law. He emigrated in the 70s to Canada.

But as a student, I was helping him with doing research, public opinion surveys on law etc., on attitudes towards law. So that was my asset, that I was not originally a member of the Siciński's, team working in Polish Academy of Sciences. There were three younger people who were working with Siciński, he was Aleksander Lutyk,⁸ whom I talked half an hour ago on the phone, there was two ladies, Teresa Konwicka⁹ and Dorota Micielska.¹⁰ Siciński 's interest was in fact futurology. So some people had different perspectives, Galtung was from peace research perspective, which in Poland then was non- existing.

I became interested because taking part in this research, I wanted to do something for my intellectual development. I decided that the attitude toward war and peace, that will be something of my own, and this wish got granted because Siciński was not so much interested in it, he was interested in the research as part of futurological research.

⁵ Kurczewski, Jacek. 'Obraz świata w roku 2000 i co z tego wynikło'. In *Socjologia i Siciński: style życia, społeczeństwo obywatelskie, studia nad przyszłością*, edited by Piotr Gliński and Artur Kościański. Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, 2009.

⁶ Paul Felix Lazarsfeld (1901–1976) was an Austrian-American sociologist and mathematician who pioneered empirical social research and founded Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research. Trained in mathematics, he applied quantitative methods to sociology, producing landmark studies such as *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* and shaping the study of media, opinion, and voting behavior. Lazarsfeld developed influential research tools and theories, including the two-step flow of communication, the focus group, and innovative survey and statistical methods, while mentoring generations of sociologists. His work bridged European and American social research traditions, establishing modern empirical sociology and institutional models for knowledge production.

⁷ Adam Podgórecki (1925–1998) was a Polish sociologist of law who combined rigorous legal studies with a deep interest in social norms and morality. During World War II, he participated in the Polish resistance while completing his education in secret, later studying law at the Jagiellonian University and earning advanced degrees in sociology. He became a professor at the University of Warsaw, founded interdisciplinary research institutes, and mentored a generation of scholars, before being forced into exile in 1977 due to political pressures. In Canada, he continued his academic career at Carleton University and internationally, publishing extensively on sociology, law, morality, and social deviance.

⁸ Aleksander Lutyk (b. 1942) is a Polish sociologist specializing in rural studies. He graduated from the Institute of Sociology at the University of Warsaw in 1966 and holds a PhD in the humanities. Lutyk has conducted extensive research on rural communities and is a long-time researcher at the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IRWiR PAN).

⁹ Teresa Konwicka was a Polish sociologist specializing in the sociology of time, culture, and poverty. In the 1960s, she was actively involved in the interdisciplinary Social Forecasting Workshop, collaborating with leading researchers such as Kama Rudzińska and Aleksander Lutyk. After the workshop was shut down by authorities in 1968, she continued her academic career, focusing on social forecasting and the analysis of subjective values.

¹⁰ Likely Dorota Mycielska (1939–2007) was a Polish sociologist and historian; she held a master's degree in Polish studies from the University of Warsaw and a doctorate from the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

In the period October 56 and March, let's say, roughly 68, everything was always about playing games. That was the time span of relative or degenerating liberalization. It was always good to have a party academician to support you, when you were non- party, non- communist. Podgórecki, my teacher, wasn't not communist, and Siciński was not communist. That was funny, but, Podgórecki was unusual in this respect because he was a not a strong person, but the strong person behind him was a lady, professor Ossowska,¹¹ who was non- communist too. So I was developing totally with almost no contact with party academicians. But Siciński, in the academy, had the support of strong and very intelligent bright man Żółkiewski¹².

Stefan Żółkiewski, who was a party member and pre- war communist. And being a pre-war communist that was something special. In Czechia, especially, you know, to be communist was not so strange like in Poland. But in Poland, it was rather unusual to have pre-war communists. Those people were, you know, saints from the communist party perspective. Mostly, especially in academia, of Jewish background. So they became, you know, easy target for the anti- Semitic campaign in March 68. And their career was finished or put, you know, on hold. Żółkiewski was a liberal Marxist since 56, liberal Marxist. He was introducing almost by force, French structuralism. My teacher was Zygmunt Bauman,¹³ communist who was teaching us cybernetics and ethnomethodology. So when I, when Zygmunt left Poland, I discovered that he's ethnomethodologist. But he started by being Marxist and teaching us Marxist Leninism, like Adam Schaff.¹⁴ And Adam Schaff is important name in the context of this research, because Adam Schaff was, he was a czar, czar of Marxism in Poland, communist Poland. He was from rich Jewish Polish assimilated bourgeoisie from Lemberg, from Lviv. He was very intelligent person. I remember the whole university was obliged to follow his lectures on Marxist Leninism. And as I wrote in my paper, the same person at the end changed. It was not only in the car, but also in his home. He took me to his WC, very elegant and rich, and flushed the water and said, the whole Marxism, you know, is shit. So that was my last contact with my teacher of Marxism, Leninism.

Schaff was very, was complicated person because being officially strong man Marxist, he was at the same time helping the very old professors. This was the bourgeois professoriate, which survived because he installed them in the Biblioteka Klasyków Filozofii,¹⁵ which was wonderful. We still use it. Old French and German

¹¹ Maria Jadwiga Ossowska (1896–1974) was a Polish ethicist, sociologist, and scholar of moral psychology, educated under Tadeusz Kotarbiński and Jan Łukasiewicz. She earned her doctorate on Stoic ethics in 1921, studied at the Sorbonne, and completed her habilitation before teaching in Poland and abroad, including during WWII at a secret university in Warsaw. Ossowska held professorships at the University of Łódź and University of Warsaw, led the Department of History and Theory of Morality at University of Warsaw, and influenced generations of students, including Leszek Kołakowski. She authored numerous works on moral theory and sociology, combining rigorous scholarship with a commitment to ethical reflection and public engagement.

¹² Stefan Jakub Żółkiewski (1911–1991) was a Polish literary critic, historian, and politician, serving as a deputy in the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, the Legislative Sejm, and the first four terms of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. He studied Polish philology at the University of Warsaw, later becoming a professor and first director of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Literary Research. Żółkiewski was active in the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, held key cultural and educational leadership roles, and served as Minister of Higher Education from 1956 to 1959.

¹³ Zygmunt Bauman (1925–2017) was a Polish sociologist and philosopher, renowned for his work on postmodernism and liquid modernity. Born in Poznań to a Jewish family, he survived World War II by fleeing to the Soviet Union and later serving in the Polish Army auxiliary to Red Army. After studying philosophy and sociology at the University of Warsaw, he began an academic career that included positions in Israel and, most prominently, at the University of Leeds in the UK. His influential works, including *Modernity and the Holocaust* and *Legislators and Interpreters*, explored the intersections of modernity, culture, and social change. Bauman continued writing and teaching until his death in Leeds in 2017, leaving a lasting legacy in sociology and cultural theory.

¹⁴ Adam Schaff (1913–2006) was a Polish philosopher of Jewish origin, specializing in epistemology and Marxist philosophy. He studied law and economics in Lwów and completed his philosophical studies in Moscow, earning a doctorate and habilitation. Schaff held key academic and ideological positions in the Polish United Workers' Party, directed the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and from 1969 to 1985 chaired the Board of Directors of the European Center for Coordination of Research and Documentation in Social Sciences in Vienna. Later in life, he advocated for democratic Marxism, critiqued capitalism, and remained engaged in intellectual debates until his death in Warsaw.

¹⁵ The *Biblioteka Klasyków Filozofii* is a publishing series established in 1950 by the State Scientific Publishing House to make classical philosophical literature, both international and Polish, accessible to Polish readers. During the era of the Polish People's Republic, the series was subsidized by the Ministries of Science and Higher Education, with several new volumes released annually in editions of several thousand copies, often

philosophy, classical philosophy, were translated by best Polish philosophers, who were paid and they were employed just to do this. They were not allowed to teach, but they were obliged to translate, Kant or Holbach or other philosophers into Polish.

So we have this Vienna Center, which came from this type of communism, Julian Hochfeld¹⁶ to Adam Schaff, who was Eastern countries representative on the board of Vienna Center. And in comparison to this UNESCO Center for Cooperation we have comrade Żółkiewski, professor Żółkiewski, and futurology. So Bertrand de Juvenel,¹⁷ and all these people were coming to Warsaw, and I was helping also Siciński to organise these futurological meetings. So this is a context in which you should put my experience, and frankly, I don't remember any Czech colleagues from this.

LS: 00:21:40 And they always speak about the Polish participants very fondly in their reports. We spoke about how you needed someone who was, like, guarding the project, communist. Do you remember how the organization of the project was in Poland? Were there any problems? How was it running across the many, many years? For instance Ornauer¹⁸ writes in several of his letters around 68, that there is, for example, no communication from Poland for many, many months. Nobody knows what is happening with them. Siciński is not answering anything. And afterwards, and even you write it in your chapter, that there was also some problem with the punched cards, that there was, like, a political problem.

JK: 00:22:59 I don't know how it was done in Czechoslovakia, frankly, but in Poland, you know, we had to get approval to send abroad anything. Ornauer was, let's say, a naive person who was not knowing the functioning of the communists. There were people who knew too well these games. But there were games to be played, okay? The same name of Adam Schaff was dangerous. You couldn't mention his name for being a revisionist. So, this is a problem with this political, strong man, support. At the end, the history of the project somehow crosses, you know, with the history of our societies, because it changes after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. And in our case, it's the March events, as we call it, of 1968. It cross-cuts, there's dramatic political change within Czechoslovakia and within Poland too. And suddenly, in Poland, it is like, you know, Siciński was never a member of the party, so the party has not had nothing against him. Our non-party elders, like my professor Podgórecki, professor Siciński, professor Ossowska, although she was the elder generation, but this productive generation suddenly was more independent, you know, and they were, they could be accused of contacts with the Baumans, you know, Schaffs, etc., or Żółkiewskis. That was, that was very unstable situation.

supplemented by reprints. The selection of early titles shows a deliberate effort to engage with Enlightenment traditions, especially French and German, which had been largely absent from Polish intellectual culture.

¹⁶ Julian Hochfeld (1911–1966) was a Polish sociologist, professor at the University of Warsaw, and influential mentor of a generation of Polish sociologists. He was actively involved in politics, serving on behalf of Socialist Party that later joined the Communist Party as a member of the National Council, the Legislative Sejm, and the first two terms of the Polish People's Republic parliament, while also holding leadership roles in socialist organizations and publications. After a political purge in 1948, he focused on academia, leading the Department of Historical Materialism and establishing the Chair of Political Sociology at the University of Warsaw, initiating some of the first empirical sociological research in postwar Poland. From 1962 until his death in 1966, he served as Deputy Director of the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO in Paris, where he passed away and was later buried at Powązki Military Cemetery in Warsaw.

¹⁷ Bertrand de Jouvenel (1903–1987) was a French philosopher, political economist, and futurist who taught at leading universities across Europe and the United States, including Oxford, Cambridge, Yale, and the Sorbonne. Born into French nobility, he was involved in numerous political and intellectual movements, including early flirtations with fascism in the 1930s and later contributions to economic and political thought, particularly welfare economics. He co-founded the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947 and later established Futuribles International, while his work explored power, redistribution, and the future of society. In later years, his views shifted leftward, showing sympathy for student protests in 1968, criticism of the Vietnam War, and support for Socialist François Mitterrand.

¹⁸ Helmut Ornauer (1938–2022) studied law and political science in Vienna and early in his career led the Austrian United Nations Student Association from 1966 to 1969. From 1968 to 1975, he served as Scientific Secretary at the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences. He held numerous development and international positions, including coordinating JUGENDRAT in Ecuador, consulting for UNIDO, and directing Austrian development organizations such as ÖFSE and the Coordination Office of the Austrian Bishops' Conference. Alongside his professional roles, he was an academic lecturer in development policy at the University of Vienna and actively involved in Catholic social organizations, including Justitia et Pax and the Catholic Action of Austria, and from 2001 to 2021 chaired the arbitration panel of the Austrian Donation Quality Seal.

So, there was a new director. Everything, was agreed with the previous director of the research center, but there was political change and the new director had to be consulted, and he could simply say no. And he didn't like Schaff, he was, he was in the other part of communist faction, but, well, he somehow decided that it's better to let non-party scientists cooperate with party sociologists, so finally he agreed. But it took time, and Ornauer was not necessarily the man who, who could understand this political problem.

It would be wonderful to write about this crossing of these two historical processes, micro history of the project and some grand history of Polish and Czechoslovak society. I belonged to this group, well, I was not communist, and I was against invasion, but I don't remember your elder colleagues' position, political position, in fact, perhaps there, there were no, they had no political position before, I mean, before invasion.

LS: 00:27:50 There is not many sources on their political position and many of them very much disappear after 1968 from the institute or at least from the research work. Some did, less qualified jobs for a decade afterwards.

JK: 00:28:35 Another point which I should feel I should comment is about the punch cards. Punch cards were funny thing, you know. But it is noteworthy to mention the pilot study we did in Poland, which I really was, and I am still impressed by, is that it was a hundred-person national quota sample, and the results were in general fitting the proper random mass sample surveyed later and recorded on punch-cards. At least you knew the direction. The difference was that in pilot study the whole international questionnaire was used while in the random representative sample only the questions that political censorship (formally non-existent) had allowed. And censorship did not allow some questions to be asked. One should add that the peculiarity of our sociology was that especially students were important. And students' camps, summer camps, were important in this respect. We were doing research using hand-written questionnaire. This is something I've forgotten to tell. The younger people. So for me, still, at my age, I feel a bit uneasy when I must write down the questions, because a questionnaire to be distributed to the young surveyors if printed should be first brought to the censors. Even obituaries were censored in communism. So why not censor any piece of something which was reproduced? But you could send 100 students, if you could find them, or 20 students, with hand-written questionnaires, and that was not censored. You could ask any question you like. So, you know, there was freedom of research combined with a lack of freedom of technical use.

LS: 00:31:06 How was the cooperation with Galtung as the head director of the research?

JK: 00:31:13 I don't know. Galtung was, you know, top, top, top. And there was, of course, natural rivalry between professors. So, of course, we were trying to be also as good as Galtung, which was not easy, and impossible, because I really learned a lot from his handbook of methodology of social sciences. Galtung taught me some very practical things. For instance, he convinced me that you should never continue this total stupidity that we publish the results of public opinion research with comma, like 55 comma 22 percent. He insisted on 56, rounding up to the full numbers. And he saw no reason, to follow the game, of pretences that is behind this superficial accuracy, in providing this, publishing this, the tables full of percentages and percentages. But the pressure of academic market forced me to abandon this reasonable practice later on.

But we developed a special method of Wrocław taxonomy in order not to be worse than Galtung, to have an own specific mathematic tool. And that was funny. And Siciński was trying to convince Galtung that the Wrocław taxonomy should be used in the research as well.

Also, Galtung was for us something... and again, if I say today, it sounds very strange, but we've been a bit afraid of Galtung, because he was anti-American. [...] So the irony was that that here was anti- American progressive pacifist Galtung, cooperating with from the eastern side with pro-American and anti-communist sociologists, from Poland at least.

LS: 00:36:32 So were there some tensions about political stances or also after like March 68? Because there was also a meeting in Skolimów.

JK: 00:36:50 And who was there in Skolimów?

LS: 00:36:51 Skolimów, that was a plenary meeting, but I have no exact list who actually attended. But I guess it was in Poland so five people from Poland were there. Let me check real quick who was exactly there. Karel Kára was there actually Siciński was presenting a paper, you were presenting a paper.

JK: 00:37:22 And what was an exact day?

LS: 00:37:55 It was in 1970, November 1970. Kára was there and the whole Polish team was there and Galtung as well. You were presenting something about variables, about pessimism, optimism, relations between East and West.

JK: 00:38:25 That was Teresa Konwicka... but maybe I was presenting her work.

LS: 00:38:42 Well, the original question was, if after 68, especially, or even before, if there were political tensions with Galtung or other Western scholars, or even with other Eastern.

JK: 00:39:00 So I wouldn't call it tensions because there was no open debate, no political debate.

But in the email you were also asking why Siciński was not there after the project, when the idea of the post-volume was discussed.¹⁹ Siciński was not interested because, I think, because of feeling of political dissonance with Galtung.

LS: 00:39:44 Let's get back to the research itself. You said you were the only one who was interested in peace research, right? The others were mostly futurologists or interested in futurology, right?

JK: 00:40:13 Yes.

LS: 00:40:15 And, did you cooperate with some of these organizations, even international or Polish during your research? Because there was also a peace research committee at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

JK: 00:40:34 It seems to me that I once gave a paper, empirical paper, you know, I was the only one who was doing empirical sociology. And, in those days, if I remember right, there were some future political scientists. Political sciences was in Poland introduced after 1968, which is again a paradox because it was introduced by professors of Marxist political sciences, but, it was based on French model of science politique. And also, for a year, as Podgórecki couldn't find post for me at the university, as a friendly exchange I was working in these political sciences. Maybe also because I was experienced peace researcher, but I'm joking because Professor Żychowski²⁰ was not interested at all in this, in such a type of stuff. I think I wrote three or four papers on attitudes toward war and peace, and one was very theoretical. French sociologist, Bouthoul,²¹ discovered this paper and wrote to Professor Ossowska, who was old, respectful lady of my age, asking her, who was that? Who is developing polemology in Poland, because French used to call it polémologie.

That was not totally unrelated with Johann Galtung's perspective again, but for me it was a part of my interests in sociology of law. I was focused for a decade on dispute settlement. And the peace-research-aspect of image of the world study²² fits in my own development, because it's part of the interesting dispute resolution. And I wrote mostly sociology of law, mostly on things like that.

LS: 00:44:06 How did the cooperation with other countries evolve during the project? Because there were sometimes efforts to cooperate more internationally, not just like everybody doing their own research, but cooperating together, but we didn't see many papers or results out of this, only quite few.

JK: 00:44:37 At my level, I didn't see, nor experience this interest. It's strange, but you know, that was not an international community of scientists of different ages. There was cooperation between these leaders and run by a duumvirate, a strange duumvirate with secretarial services.

¹⁹ In the 1990s the group did discuss a follow up-study to Images 2000, but it was never realised.

²⁰ Marian Żychowski (1922–1972) was a Polish historian specializing in 19th-century history. After World War II he studied ethnology and sociology at the University of Warsaw and later pursued an academic career linked with institutions affiliated with the Polish United Workers' Party, where he became professor and held several leadership positions. He was one of the founders and the first director of the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw, significantly shaping the development of political science in Poland. Żychowski was also active as a scholar of the history of the Polish workers' movement and religion in politics.

²¹ Gaston Bouthoul (1896–1980) was a French sociologist and the founder of polemology, the scientific study of war and collective aggression. He studied law and economics at the University of Paris and later specialized in sociology at Bordeaux. After World War II, he co-founded the French Institute of Polemology with Louise Weiss, aiming to develop a framework for a "scientific pacifism." His works, including *Traité de polémologie* and *La guerre*, had a lasting influence on the study of conflict and its role in human history.

²² Ornauer, H., H. Wiberg, A. Siciński, and J. Galtung, eds. *Images of the World in the Year 2000: A Comparative Ten Nation Study*. De Gruyter, 1976.

Though, well, when I came to the Essex conference, there was a very nice man who was doing research in the UK. He was very nice, typical 1960s anti-nuclear pacifist, militant pacifist, who was involved in all this anti-nuclear, anti-American, anti-NATO, etc. things. That was not kind of people we, from Warsaw, were interested very much. They were nice as persons, but we couldn't find a common language.

LS: 00:46:23 So this not finding a common language, because the project as a cooperation between, let's say, a Marxist perspective and Galtung's perspective was a problem? Because at least officially it had to be Marxist research. For example, Soukup²³ or Stupka²⁴ couldn't come back to Czech Republic or Czechoslovakia and say that they are doing something else. Kára even wrote a piece, a paper, Marxist theory of war and peace.

JK: 00:47:07 I even don't remember that, but I remember that my Western partners were hoping that I will write in Marxist way. But I simply was doing very typical sociological, empirical, etc. work. But I somehow, I think after all, Karl Marx²⁵ was, for me a sociologist, and especially Engels²⁶. But I didn't like the idea of being myself the official Marxist of the group. So my paper, *Social Strata*,²⁷ uses the concept of social strata, but not social class.

LS: 00:48:05 At one of the latest meetings, it was also agreed that Siciński and the Czechoslovak participants should devise a paper on how the project would have been better made from a Marxist point of view. And, of course, it didn't happen at all, but this is something which is seen in the reports that especially Czechoslovak participants are stressing the Marxist perspective.

JK: 00:48:37 So this is why I don't remember them. I'm sorry.

LS: 00:48:43 Okay. Did the Polish team, like these five people we spoke about, stay the whole duration of the project, or were there some changes?

JK: 00:48:57 No, they were there all the time.

LS: 00:49:26 Did you have some cooperation with the members of the project after the project ended? Or did you keep in touch?

JK: 00:49:38 With Håkan Wiberg.²⁸ He was a person who used to come to Poland very often. He had contact with Polish sociologists. By the way, he was the man who was trying to rejuvenate the idea of Images and have us do something together again. Because all this should be described historically, I should add that it was the

²³ Miroslav Soukup (1919 or 1927-?), Czechoslovak sociologist.

²⁴ Václav Stupka (1929-2025), Czechoslovak sociologist.

²⁵ Karl Marx (1818–1883) was a German philosopher, political theorist, economist, journalist, and revolutionary socialist, best known for co-authoring *The Communist Manifesto* and writing the three-volume *Das Kapital*. Born in Trier, Prussia, he studied philosophy at Bonn, Berlin, and Jena, where he earned a doctorate, and was influenced by Hegelian philosophy. With Friedrich Engels they actively promoted socialist movements such as the Communist League and the First International. His work laid the foundation for Marxism, analyzing capitalism through historical materialism and advocating for the working class's revolutionary overthrow of capitalist systems. Marx's writings on society, economy, and class struggle have profoundly influenced political thought, economics, and modern sociology.

²⁶ Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) was a German philosopher, political theorist, journalist, and revolutionary socialist, best known as Karl Marx's lifelong collaborator and co-founder of Marxism. Born in Barmen to a wealthy textile-manufacturing family, he became a critic of capitalism after witnessing harsh industrial working conditions in Manchester, England. Engels met Marx in 1844, and together they authored influential works including *The Communist Manifesto* and *The German Ideology*, while actively participating in socialist movements such as the Communist League and the First International. He financially supported Marx throughout his life and later edited and completed the remaining volumes of *Das Kapital* after Marx's death.

²⁷ Kurczewski, Jacek. 'Social Strata and Attitudes towards Peace and War'. In *Images of the World in the Year 2000*, edited by H. Ornauer, H. Wiberg, A. Siciński, and J. Galtung. De Gruyter, 1976.

²⁸ Lars Håkan Valdemar Wiberg (1942–2010) was a Swedish peace and conflict researcher active in Lund and Copenhagen. He studied mathematics, philosophy, and sociology at Lund University, where he earned his doctorate in 1977 and served as director of the university's Peace Research Institute from 1971. Later, he became professor of sociology at Lund (1981) and, between 1988 and 2001, director of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), later part of the Danish Institute for International Studies, where he continued as senior researcher until 2007. A prolific scholar and activist, Wiberg contributed to peace research, future studies, and philosophy of science, while also engaging in solidarity movements and early anti-nuclear initiatives.

Polish Sociological Association that during 1960s had contacts with Norwegian Sociological Association. I remember I was one of the three students of sociology who were taken within the delegation which was something like 20 Polish sociologists who came to Oslo.

And there was Johan Galtung who was you know the key figure. There was a party given by Galtung and his Japanese wife²⁹ etc. That was nice and that was helpful because it helped to have some independent contacts. It was approved by, but as always in those years it had to be approved by, the Communist Party. So though it was done by non-party members, it had the political-level acceptance. But acceptance was made as there was a Ossowska's pupil whose friend was Polish People's Republic Ambassador to Oslo.

So they developed a story, again the kind of party line story, that we've been in important cooperation and there were party sociologists who were confirming this story. I wouldn't be surprised even if in the reports of some another ministry you will find important note, that is very important political initiative to influence and strengthen the contacts between the progressive Norwegian academicians and Polish sociologists.

LS: 00:53:03 When you spoke about the meeting with Galtung in private, do you remember this also from some other meetings like in Essex, that there were places to speak just outside of the formal meetings?

JK: 00:53:26 No, no, I don't remember.

LS: 00:53:32 I'm not sure if you were there, but Stupka writes that in Essex, Galtung invited the participants to his flat to have some gathering.

JK: 00:53:53 Drinking whiskey, I guess.

LS: 00:53:55 Probably.

JK: 00:53:56 So I took part then, but this is why I don't remember.

LS: 00:54:03 Regarding cooperation: did the idea how the participating countries should cooperate evolve somehow over the duration of the project?

JK: 00:54:19 Ah, goodness, well, I remember, I only have a vague reminiscence that there were topics discussed, and Andrzej Siciński discussed it with me, telling me that we should invent something, et cetera, somehow, in order to continue in the future, for instance, the cooperation. But nothing concrete came out if it that I could tell you.

JK: 00:54:58 By the way, before we met, my colleague Olek Lutyk, he is alive, and if you wish to contact him in the late August, he will be in Warsaw back, so you may try to find some, perhaps he remembers something, especially, we cannot recall from memory, there was Austrian social researcher who interviewed us about 10 or 15 years ago about the project. Austrian.

LS: 00:55:54 Austrian?

JK: 00:55:55 He came, he was staying in Warsaw, interviewing us, and I don't remember his name, Alexander also doesn't, but perhaps in his notes he could find it.

LS: 00:56:15 That's a good point, I will try to search for it. If you give us contact to Mr. Lutyk, we could try it later on.

JK: 00:56:31 I was asking him about Czechs, but he didn't remember.

JK: 00:56:42 I'm thinking that if there were not these two grey-looking gentlemen who were staying almost always on their own, in their own room, drinking together and looking carefully around.

²⁹ Fumiko (Fumi) Nishimura (born 3 March 1925) was a Japanese peace researcher and activist, and wife and long-time collaborator of Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, whom she married 1969. Nishimura co-founded TRANSCEND International with Galtung in 1993, building a global network for peace, development, and environmental cooperation. She also co-authored academic works with him, including *Learning from China?* (1978), and remained active in promoting conflict transformation and cross-cultural understanding.

LS: 00:57:07 Because we have already almost used up the time, one question to close. Do you remember the language which was used, was it English or French or something else?

JK: 00:57:23 English.

LS: 00:57:24 English, okay. And were there no problems with English among the participants?

JK: 00:57:30 Of course there were, but well, that's also changing historically, you know. People misunderstood themselves in those days, but it's like talking with Trump today. We think we understand Trump. Do you?

LS: 00:58:01 I am not sure, never sure.

JK: 00:58:08 People pretend they understand Trump, and Trump pretends he understands.

LS: 00:58:15 Okay, so you said we have one hour, and we already used this time up. So thank you very much for the interview.

JK: 00:58:23 Thank you. I wish you success in your work.