

**OŚWIADCZENIE O UDZIALE POSŁÓW W WYDARZENIACH  
ORGANIZOWANYCH PRZEZ STRONY TRZECIE I NA**

**ZAPROSZENIE STRON TRZECICH**

ZGODNIE Z ART. 5 UST. 3 ZAŁĄCZNIKA I DO REGULAMINU PARLAMENTU EUROPEJSKIEGO DOTYCZĄCEGO  
KODEKSU POSTĘPOWANIA POSŁÓW DO PARLAMENTU EUROPEJSKIEGO W ZAKRESIE INTERESÓW  
FINANSOWYCH I KONFLIKTU INTERESÓW

**Nazwisko:** Krasnodębski

**Imię:** Zdzisław



*Ja, niżej podpisany(-a), w pełni świadomy(-a) przepisów Regulaminu Parlamentu Europejskiego, w szczególności jego załącznika I zawierającego kodeks postępowania posłów, niniejszym oświadczam, zgodnie z art. 5 ust. 3 kodeksu postępowania i z decyzją Prezydium z dnia 15 kwietnia 2013 r., że na zaproszenie i w ramach wykonywania przeze mnie mandatu posła do Parlamentu Europejskiego wzięłem/wzięłam udział w opisanym poniżej zorganizowanym przez stronę trzecią wydarzeniu, w ramach którego strona trzecia dokonała zwrotu moich kosztów podróży, zakwaterowania lub pobytu lub bezpośrednio pokryła te koszty.*

\* \* \* \*

**Data:**

20/03/2017

1  
**INFORMACJE ZAWARTE W NINIEJSZYM OŚWIADCZENIU SĄ PODAWANE PRZEZ  
POSŁA NA JEGO WYŁĄCZNĄ I OSOBISTĄ ODPOWIEDZIALNOŚĆ I MUSZĄ ZOSTAĆ  
PRZEDSTAWIONE DO OSTATNIEGO DNIA MIESIĄCA NASTĘPUJĄCEGO PO  
OSTATNIM DNIU UDZIAŁU POSŁA W WYDARZENIU ZGODNIE Z DECYZJĄ  
PREZYDIUM Z DNIA 15 KWIETNIA 2013 R..**

Niniejsze oświadczenie zostanie opublikowane na stronach internetowych Parlamentu.

**NALEŻY WYSLAĆ POCZTĄ ELEKTRONICZNĄ NA ADRES: Administration-Deputes@europarl.europa.eu**

**NASTĘPNIE WYSLAĆ PODPISANY ORYGINAŁ NA ADRES:  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

**Members' Administration Unit<sup>1</sup>  
rue Wiertz, 60  
PHS 07B019  
B - 1047 BRUSSELS**

<sup>1</sup> Zastrzeżenia prawne. Dział ds. Administracyjnych Posłów jest administratorem danych w rozumieniu rozporządzenia (WE) nr 45/2001 Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady z dnia 18 grudnia 2000 r. o ochronie osób fizycznych w związku z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych przez instytucje i organy wspólnotowe i o swobodnym przepływie takich danych (Dz.U. L 8 z 12.1.2001, s. 1) i decyzji Prezydium z dnia 22 czerwca 2005 r. ustanawiającej przepisy wykonawcze do tego rozporządzenia (Dz.U. C 308 z 6.12.2005, s. 1).

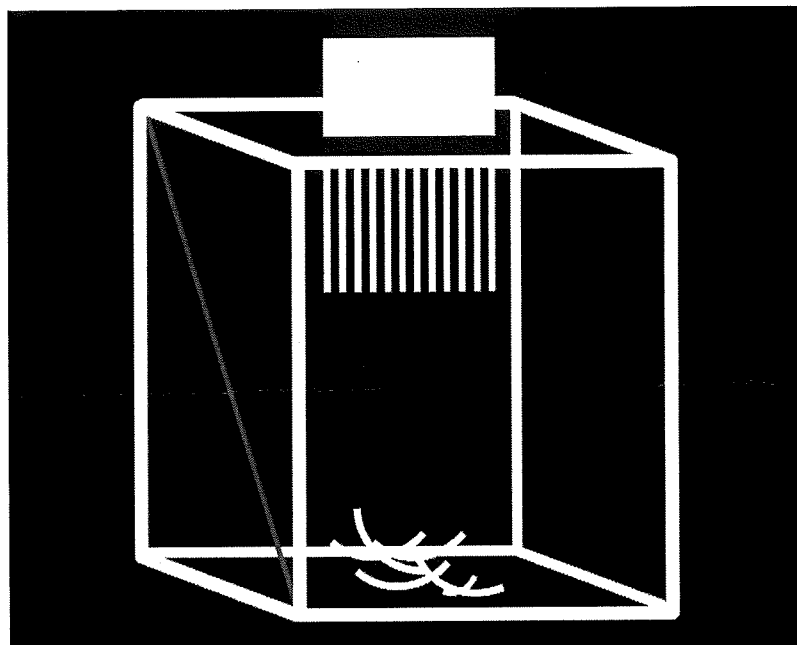
INFORMACJE OBOWIĄZKOWE	
	INFORMACJE, JAKIE NALEŻY PODAĆ
STRONA TRZECIA	Nazwa/nazwisko, funkcja i adres strony trzeciej, która zwróciła lub bezpośrednio pokryła wydatki posła <sup>2</sup>
RODZAJ POKRYTYCH WYDATKÓW	Podróż:
	Zakwaterowanie:
	Koszty pobytu:
	Daty (i czas trwania) udziału posła w wydarzeniu:
SZCZEGÓŁY DOTYCZĄCE WYDARZENIA	Rodzaj wydarzenia (jeżeli nie jest dostępny program wydarzenia, który łączy się do niniejszego oświadczenia, należy udzielić wyjaśnień w rubryce „Uwagi” poniżej):
	Miejsce (państwo, miasto):
INFORMACJE DODATKOWE	
UWAGI	- Pokryte koszty wyżywienia

<sup>2</sup> Jeżeli strona trzecia figuruje w rejestrze na rzecz przejrzystości, można się wstawić odesłanie do rejestru.

<sup>3</sup> Nie jest wymagane odrębne oświadczenie dotyczące śniadań.

# **“Illiberal Democracy”?**

## **Poland in Comparative, European Perspective**



**International Conference**

**Oxford, 3 – 4 MARCH 2017**

**ST ANTONY’S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**

*The conference is a part of the project “Knowledge Bridges Between Poland, Britain, and Europe” which is supported by the Noble Foundation's Programme on Modern Poland. The supervising Fellow is Professor Timothy Garton Ash, Professor of European Studies and Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow, St. Antony's College. The co-Directors of the project are Dr Jaroslaw Kuisz and Dr Karolina Wigura. The partners of the Project include University of Warsaw, Collegium Civitas in Warsaw, and Kultura Liberalna Foundation.*

## Friday, 3rd March - Kořakowski Lecture

16:30

Pre-lecture tea and coffee

Location: Senior Common Room (top floor of Hilda Besse Building)

17.00

LESZEK KOŁAKOWSKI LECTURE: Wolfgang Merkel (WZB Berlin Social Science Centre)

Defective Democracies? The case of Poland in European comparison

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (St Antony's College, Oxford)

Location: Nissan Lecture Theatre

18:45

Pre-dinner drinks

Location: Senior Common Room (top floor of Hilda Besse Building)

19:15

High Table dinner

Dining Hall (1<sup>st</sup> floor, Hilda Besse Building)

*Dessert usually concludes by 21:00/21:15*

## Saturday, March 4<sup>th</sup> – Conference

Venue: European Studies Centre

St. Antony's College

70 Woodstock Road, OX2 6HR

08:30

Coffee

9.00-10.30

Panel 1: What Distinguishes Illiberal from Liberal Democracy?

Michael Freeden (University of Oxford and SOAS, University of London)

Jacques Rupnik (College of Europe, Paris)

Zdzisław Krasnodębski (University of Bremen, MEP)

Chair: Zofia Stemplowska (Worcester College, Oxford)

10:30-11:00

Coffee

11.00-12.30

Panel 2: Who Defends the Constitution and the Rule of Law?

Adam Bodnar (Polish Ombudsman)

Marta Bucholc (Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Recht als Kultur", Bonn, Kultura Liberalna, Warsaw)

Gábor Attila Tóth (University Budapest, University of Debrecen)

Christopher Lord (ARENA Centre for European Studies, Oslo)

Chair: Radosław Zubek (Hertford College, Oxford)

12:45-14:00

Lunch in the European Studies Common Room

14.15-15.45

Panel 3: Does Economic Neoliberalism lead to Illiberal Democracy?

Philipp Ther (University of Vienna)

Joanna Tyrowicz (University of Warsaw)

Yaprak Gursoy (Istanbul Bilgi University, St Antony's College, University of Oxford)

Chair: David Priestland (St Edmund's Hall, Oxford)

15.45-16:45

Panel 4: Concluding Discussion with contributions from:

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (St Antony's College, Oxford)

Norman Davies (St Antony's College, Oxford), Jan Kubik (UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies),

Anna Zalewska (University of Bath), Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, Krzysztof Bobiński

## ABSTRACTS

### LESZEK KOŁAKOWSKI LECTURE

---

#### WOLFGANG MERKEL

WZB Berlin Social Science Centre

#### **The Spread of Defective Democracies: The Case of Poland in Comparative Perspective**

In 1989, Francis Fukuyama published his essay "The End of History", where he diagnosed the final triumph of capitalism and liberal democracy. One year later, the Norwegian-American rational choice theorist Jon Elster spoke of "The Necessity and Impossibility of Simultaneous Economic and Political Reform" in post-communist Europe and predicted the failure of transitions to democracy in the region. Ten years later, Freedom House counted 121 electoral democracies around the globe – more than ever before. By 2000, Poland's and Hungary's democracies seemed to have been consolidated – faster than any of the so-called third-wave democracies. To many observers, this was another proof of Fukuyama's Hegelian prediction.

However, another ten (in the Polish case, fifteen) years later, nationalist and illiberal governments were elected in Hungary and Poland in free and fair elections and began to dismantle crucial liberal elements of democracy. The Hungarian prime minister spoke proudly of constructing an "illiberal democracy". Was Jon Elster ultimately right? Are we now witnessing the emergence of non-liberal majoritarian "defective democracies" in Eastern Europe? Is the virus of illiberal populism spreading also throughout the Western Atlantic world? The lecture will try to give theoretically grounded and empirically founded answers to one of the most eminent political questions of our times with particular attention to the recent developments in Poland and Hungary.

## PANELS

---

#### MARTA BUCHOLC

Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Recht als Kultur", Bonn, Kultura Liberalna, Warsaw

#### **Utopian Conservatist Legal Culture**

Over slightly more than a year, Polish democracy has made its way from jurisprudential debates about legality of certain political acts through philosophical disputes about sources and legitimation of power up to a point where an argument engaging with normative notions seems no longer possible. It is the order of facts and not the order of reasons that currently governs the country's politics. The authority of the law in general and the constitution in particular has certainly suffered badly in the process. Nevertheless, it is time to state the sociological problem underpinning the nexus of law and politics clearly: what kind of legal culture made recent developments in Poland possible and in what direction this legal culture is evolving now, as we speak? Those who make it their business

to worry about the state of democracy in Poland need to look deeper into the society which, contrary to the letter of its own constitution, seems to care little about the rule of law.

#### **MICHAEL FREEDEN**

University of Oxford and SOAS, University of London

##### **Liberalisms and illiberalisms within liberal democracy**

The notion of liberal democracy possesses multiple interpretations in current political language pulling in different directions and consequently acting on diverse ideological positions. We cannot sharply dichotomize liberalisms and illiberalisms except as an abstract exercise that has no bearing on political realities. Often the presumed boundaries between the two categories are blurred, as 'ideal types' clash with more complex practices that challenge the so-called 'integrity' of liberal and progressive discourse, and that is evident across different European political cultures. Hence there are many understandings of 'illiberalism' inside what we assume are liberal democracies, not only outside it, and potentially 'illiberal' understandings often infect mainstream political discourse on issues such as majoritarianism, popular will and the relationships between state and government.

#### **GÁBOR ATTILA TÓTH**

University Budapest, University of Debrecen

##### **Constitutional Adjudication in Authoritarian Regimes**

After many waves of democratic transitions, authoritarian tendencies have appeared again in Europe and beyond. The cases of Turkey, several former Soviet republics, Poland, Hungary and some other countries represent such a scenario, where we do not witness transformation towards, but rather away from constitutional democracy.

The objective of this presentation is to contribute to the assessment of the emergence of the new authoritarian regimes. I first briefly summarize some common elements of contemporary authoritarianism. Cases from Azerbaijan and Belarus to Turkey and Venezuela demonstrate that when a populist leader gains concentrated power, a reshaped constitution become solely "semantic camouflage" or "façade constitution." As regards key legislative, executive and judicial bodies, authoritarian constitutions typically do not serve as normative benchmarks; they are only descriptive maps of powers. Moreover, constitutions may be only a paper facade, because all political power resides with the leader(s) of the ruling party. In order to understand how the country is really governed, the actual political exercise must be examined.

Second, I offer some case studies to demonstrate that modern authoritarianism alters, but does not abolish the entire set of judicial institutions associated with liberal democracy, yet these serve as either a tool of authoritarian imposition (the Russian Constitutional Court), or a façade of constitutionalism (the Hungarian Constitutional Court and the Polish Tribunal). A typical justification of this kind of change is that the representative government gives the majority of people what they want instead of the former counter-majoritarian activity of unelected courts. Less legal ties mean, however, that not only judiciary but also democratic parliamentary institutions are subverted. I argue that the lack of institutional limits on a majoritarian government does not simply result in the emergence of a so-called "illiberal democracy". This model is not only illiberal, but also undemocratic.

#### **YAPRAK GURSOY**

Istanbul Bilgi University, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

##### **Promoting Neoliberalism in Populist and non-European Contexts**

Neoliberalism is being widely criticized by European populist parties, which either advocate stronger welfare states that would benefit the natives of the homeland (the "extreme right" version) or obliterating neoliberalism throughout the continent altogether (the "extreme left" version). The opposition to these forces has also begun to see neoliberalism as the root cause of the rise of populist parties in Europe especially since the economic crisis of 2008. Yet, the connection between neoliberalism and populism outside of Europe is not as straightforward. Especially in countries where economic prosperity is still a main issue, populist leaders implement neoliberal principles, including privatization and deregulation, and at least in rhetoric proudly announce that they are decreasing the state's involvement in the markets. Populist leaders, who pose as "self-made men", promise to their constituencies the possibility of similar enrichment through entrepreneurship. Neoliberalism, thus, becomes

the pledge, not the enemy. This reverse connection between neoliberalism and populism is evident in countries outside of Europe, ranging from the USA to Thailand. The talk will make references to several countries and focus in particular on Turkey.

**CHRISTOPHER LORD**

ARENA Centre for European Studies, Oslo

**Using Democratic Auditing to Defend Democracy**

I argue that democracies need to be able to assess the democratic quality of their own political systems. More controversially, democracies cannot avoid assessing the democratic quality of other political systems. I defend democratic auditing as the most justifiable way of combining those two aims. In an ideal world, each political system purporting to be a democracy would assess itself using democratic auditing. The methods used in democratic auditing provide a defensible combination of general standards and local judgements on the application of those standards. How well any one country conducts its own democratic audit would be transparent enough to outsiders to allow an external assessment of its internal assessment. But how to start the ball rolling towards a world in which each political system conducts its own credible and transparent self-assessment? Paradoxically, I argue, the best way to start may be with countries that least need democratic audits: regular, rigorous and self-critical assessments by a few countries may raise questions why others are unwilling to follow suit.

## BIO NOTES

### KRZYSZTOF BOBIŃSKI

Krzysztof Bobiński, president of Unia & Polska a pro-European organisation. He studied modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford and worked with the Financial Times as its Warsaw correspondent from 1976 to 2000 and later published Unia & Polska, a magazine devoted to EU issues. He has written for openDemocracy and was an associate editor on the Europe section of Europe's World. He ended a two year spell as co-chair of the Steering Committee of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum in November 2016

### ADAM BODNAR

Adam Bodnar was born on 6 January 1977 in Trzebiatów.

He graduated from the faculty of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw and also from LL.M. programme in the field of comparative constitutional law at Central European University in Budapest. In 2006 he was awarded PhD degree at University of Warsaw in the field of constitutional law. His PhD thesis entitled: "Multi-level society in the European constitutional sphere" was awarded with honourable mention in the competition organized by Przegląd Sejmowy (Parliamentary Review).

In 2004-15 Adam Bodnar worked for Helsinki Foundation of Human Rights, firstly as a co-founder and coordinator of Precedent Cases Programme and then as a head of legal department and vice-president of the Management Board. He is also an expert in the Agency of Fundamental Rights of European Union. In 2013-2014 Bodnar was a member of the board of directors of the United Nations Fund for Victims of Torture. In 2001-2004 he worked as a lawyer in Weil, Gotshal & Mangers law firm. Since 2006 he has been giving lectures at the law and administration department of the University of Warsaw.

Until the time of assuming the post of Ombudsman, Adam Bodnar, PhD cooperated with various non-governmental organizations, including Panaptykon Fund (chairman of the Foundation Council), ClientEarth Polska (member of the Programme Council), Prof. Zbigniew Hołda Association (co-founder and the member of the Management Board). He was also a member of the Civic Legislation Forum operating at Batory Foundation and of the editorial team of kulturaliberalna.pl.

In 2011 he was awarded with the Tolerance Prize by the Polish LGBT organizations. In 2013 he received a scholarship within the scope of German Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme.

With an approval of 67 non-governmental organizations in 2015 he was notified for the post of Ombudsman by Democratic Left Alliance Parliamentary Club and by independent members of the parliament, and also by Civic Platform Parliamentary Club. The Sejm appointed him at this post on 24 of July 2015 and on 7 August 2015 the Senate of the Republic of Poland approved this choice. Then, on 9 September 2015 the Sejm took his oath.

### MARTA BUCHOLC

Marta Bucholc is a professor of sociology at Käte-Hamburger-Kolleg „Recht als Kultur“ of Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn. She obtained her habilitation (2014) and her Ph. D. (2006) in sociology at the University of Warsaw. She graduated in sociology, philosophy and law at the University of Warsaw. Her research focus is history of social theory, sociology of law and sociology of knowledge. Her recent books include Sociology in Poland: To Be Continued? (2016), Piąty wymiar [Fifth Dimension](2016) and Global Community of Self-Defense (2015). She translated several books into Polish, including The Sociological Imagination by Charles Wright Mills, Purity and Danger by Mary Douglas and Le Temps de Tribus by Michel Maffesoli.



## MICHAEL FREEDEN

Michael Freeden is Emeritus Professor of Politics, University of Oxford, Emeritus Professorial Fellow, Mansfield College Oxford, and Professorial Research Associate, SOAS, University of London. His books include *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford, 1978); *Liberalism Divided: A Study in British Political Thought 1914-1939* (Oxford, 1986); *Rights* (Milton Keynes, 1991); *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* (Oxford, 1996); *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2003); *Liberal Languages: Ideological Imaginations and 20th Century Progressive Thought* (Princeton, 2005); *The Political Theory of Political Thinking* (Oxford, 2013); *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (co-edited, Oxford, 2013); *Comparative Political Thought: Theorizing Practices* (co-edited, Routledge, 2013); and *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2015). He is the founder-editor of the *Journal of Political Ideologies*. He has been awarded the Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies by the UK Political Studies Association, and the Medal for Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, Bologna University. He is currently co-editing, and contributing to, a book series on the conceptual history of Europe.

## GÁBOR ATTILA TÓTH

Gábor Attila Tóth is Associate Professor of Constitutional Law and Human Rights at the ELTE University Budapest and the University of Debrecen. He is also Constitutional Jurisprudence Expert in the EU Project "Support to the Constitutional Court of Moldova." Moreover, he is founding editor-in-chief of the *szuveren.hu*, website of liberal democratic ideas. He has been awarded a Humboldt Research Fellowship for Experienced Researchers, therefore from 2017 he will be research fellow at the Humboldt University, Berlin. Previously, he gained visiting fellowships to the New School for Social Research, New York (2014 and 2016), a DAAD research fellowship to the Humboldt University, Berlin (2010-11), an Oxford scholarship from the British Council (2001), and a human rights scholarship from the Helsinki Committee, Warsaw (1994). Between 2013 and 2015 he served as expert for the Freedom House. Between 2000 and 2010 he worked as adviser and senior adviser to the Constitutional Court of Hungary. In 1994 he was founder of the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, in 2013 he served as executive director of the HCLU. He is author of numerous articles and 8 books, including the edited volume, *Constitution for a Disunited Nation* (CEU Press, 2013).

## TIMOTHY GARTON ASH

Timothy Garton Ash is Professor of European Studies in the University of Oxford, Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford, and a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He is the author of ten books of political writing or 'history of the present' including *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, & Prague*, *The File: A Personal History*, *In Europe's Name* and *Facts are Subversive*. He writes a column on international affairs in the *Guardian*, which is widely syndicated, and is a regular contributor to the *New York Review of Books*, amongst other journals. He leads the 13-language Oxford University research project [freespeechdebate.com](http://freespeechdebate.com), and his latest book is *Free Speech: Ten Principles for a Connected World*. Awards he has received for his writing include the Somerset Maugham Award, Prix Européen de l'Essai and George Orwell Prize. In May 2017 he will be awarded this year's Charlemagne Prize.

## YAPRAK GURSOY

Yaprak Gürsoy is an associate professor in the Department of International Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University and a senior member at the University of Oxford, St Antony's College. Her areas of interest include comparative politics, regime change, civil-military relations, foreign policy, and populism. She is the author of *Between Military Rule and Democracy: Regime Consolidation in Greece, Turkey, and Beyond* (University of Michigan Press, forthcoming in 2017) and *The Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Turkey* (in Turkish) (Istanbul Bilgi

University Press, 2013). Her scholarly publications have appeared in *Political Science Quarterly*, *Democratization*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, and *Turkish Studies*, among others.

#### **LENA KOLARSKA-BOBINSKA**

Lena Kolarska - Bobinska, a professor of sociology and a graduate of Warsaw University. She was until autumn 2015 Poland's minister of higher education and before that a member of the European Parliament where she sat on the Committee for Industry, Research and Energy. From 1991 to 1997 she was director of the Centre of Public Opinion Research, a Warsaw based public polling institute. In 1997 she became the director of the Institute of Public Affairs, a leading Polish think tank. She is the author of more than 200 academic works published both in Poland and abroad. Currently she is a professor at the Collegium Civitas and a member of the Council of the Civic Institute (Instytut Obywatelski)

#### **ZDZISŁAW KRASNODĘBSKI**

Zdzisław Krasnodębski is a sociologist, social philosopher, publicist. He is a professor at the University of Bremen and an associate professor at the Akademia Ignatianum in Cracow. He taught, among others, at the University of Warsaw, University of Kassel, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Catholic University of America, Columbia University. He also gave visiting lectures at numerous universities e.g. Princeton University, University of Oxford and University of Cambridge. He is an author of several books on sociology, philosophy and politics. In 2014 he ran the elections and received a mandate of the Member of the European Parliament of the eighth term. He is a member of Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE) committee and a substitute member of Culture and Education (CULT) and Security and Defence (SEDE) committees. He serves as an ECR coordinator in ITRE and is also as a co-chair of Working Group on Demography, Intergenerational and Family Policies.

#### **CHRISTOPHER LORD**

Christopher Lord is Professor at ARENA, The Centre for European Studies, The University of Oslo. He has written several books and articles on democracy, legitimacy and the European Union.

#### **WOLFGANG MERKEL**

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel is Director of the "Democracy and Democratisation" research program at the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) and Professor of Political Science at the Humboldt University Berlin. He is a member of a number of key bodies, including the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. He is also a non-party member of the Basic Values Commission of the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). His recent publications include *Democracy and Crisis* (2017 forthcoming), *Demokratie und Krise. Zum schwierigen Verhältnis zwischen Theorie und Empirie* (ed., 2015); *Handbook of Political, Social, and Economic Transformation* (2017 forthcoming), *Handbuch Transformationsforschung* (2015, together with Raj Kollmorgen and Hans-Jürgen Wagener); *The Future of Representative Democracy* (2011, together with Sonia Alonso and John Keane); *Systemtransformation* (2010); *Social Democracy in Power. The Capacity to Reform* (2008), which has been translated into German, Chinese and Vietnamese; the 2-volume *Defekte Demokratie* (2002, 2006); and more than 200 journal articles on such subjects as democracy and democratisation, 21st-century dictatorships, political parties, comparative public policy, the future of social democracy, welfare states and social justice.

## DAVID PRIESTLAND

David Priestland is Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford. He has published widely on the history of global communism and of the Soviet Union, and more recently on the history of market liberalization since the 1980s. His books include *The Red Flag: A History of Communism* (2009), which was published in seven translated editions and was shortlisted for the Longman/History Today prize for the best history book of the year, and *Stalinism and the Politics of Mobilization* (2007). His most recent book is *Merchant, Soldier, Sage: A New History of Power* (2012).

## JACQUES RUPNIK

Jacques Rupnik was educated at the University of Paris and at Harvard, is currently Director of Research at CERI and Professor at Sciences Po in Paris as well as visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges. Since he joined CERI, Sciences Po in 1982 he has been writing and lecturing about East European history and politics and European integration. He was advisor to president Vaclav Havel in the 1990's. Executive director of the International Commission for the Balkans, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1995-1996) and drafter of its report *Unfinished Peace* (1996), member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2000) and co-drafter of *The Kosovo Report* (Oxford UP, 2000). Among the various positions held: advisor to the European Commission (2007 – 2010). Member of the board of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague since 2010. Member of the board of directors of the European Partnership for Democracy in Brussels (2008-2013). He has been a visiting Professor in several European universities and in the Department of Government, (2006) at Harvard University where he is regularly Visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies.

J. Rupnik has published a number of books and scholarly articles including *The Other Europe* (1989). Among the most recent: *Western Balkans and the EU: 'the hour of Europe'*, Paris, EUISS (2011), 1989 as a Political World Event: Democracy, Europe and the new international system, London, Routledge, (2013), *Géopolitique de la démocratisation, l'Europe et ses voisinages*, Presses de Sciences Po (2014).

## ZOFIA STEMPOWSKA

Zofia Stemplowska is Associate Professor of Political Theory at the Department of Politics and International Relations and Asa Briggs Fellow at Worcester College, University of Oxford. Before joining Oxford she was Associate Professor of Political Theory at Warwick, Lecturer in Political Theory at Reading and at Manchester and a Barbara McCoy Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford University. Her research focuses on problems of domestic, global and historical justice. She grew up in Warsaw.

## PHILIPP THER

Philipp Ther is professor of Central European History and director of the Institute of East European History at the University of Vienna. Previously he was a professor of comparative European history at the EUI in Florence. His most recent publication *Die neue Ordnung auf dem alten Kontinent. Eine Geschichte des neoliberalen Europa*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2014, was awarded with the non-fiction bookprize of the Leipzig bookfare and will be published by Princeton University Press in the fall of 2016 (the book has been published in Polish and Czech in 2015/16, Spanish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Albanian translations are in the making). Before he published in English *The Dark Side of Nation States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe*, New York: Berghahn Press, 2014 (German 2011, Polish 2012, Czech 2017); *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in 19th Century*

Central Europe, West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2014 (Czech 2008). He has published twelve other books and numerous articles in more than twelve European languages.

#### **JOANNA TYROWICZ**

Joanna Tyrowicz is an Assistant Professor of Economics at University of Warsaw and President for the Foundation of Admirers and Mavens of Economics. She earned her PhD in Economics at Faculty of Economics, University of Warsaw, she also holds a degree from Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. As of 2007 she serves as an Economic Advisor at Economic Institute of National Bank of Poland, specializing in labor market and household issues. I have also been a consultant at The World Bank in projects. She was a Fulbright scholar at Columbia University, and a Mellon Fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies. Her tenure book "Unemployment Hysteresis" was awarded the Prize for Best Economic Book of 2014 by Polish Economic Association.

#### **RADOSŁAW ZUBEK**

Radosław Zubek is an Associate Professor of European Politics in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford. His current research focuses on coalition politics, legislative agenda-setting and pledge fulfilment in European democracies.