

## Pamięć o represjach

# Memories of Soviet Repressions in Post-Multi-Colonial Post-Soviet Spaces\*



Przydatne informacje

**Nazwa Programu:** [OPUS 20](#) [1]

**Źródło Finansowania:** [NCN](#) [2]

**Nr grantu:** 2020/39/B/HS6/02809

**Nr wewn?trzny UW:** 501-D131-66-0006664

**Kierownik grantu:** Zuzanna Bogumi?

**Wysoko?? dofinansowania:** 1285076

**Termin rozpocz?cia:** 01-03-2024

**Termin zako?czenia:** 28-10-2026

\*the formal title: "Pamięć o represjach sowieckich na post- wielokolonialnym Rosyjskim Dalekim Wschodzie"/"Memories of Soviet repression in the post-multicolonial Russian Far East"

## Projects objectives

The project aims to examine how Soviet repressions are remembered in post-multi-colonial, post-Soviet spaces and in countries, which were formerly dependent on the Soviet Union. It assumes that these regions are characterized by the coexistence of diverse cultural, religious, discursive, and aesthetic patterns of memory, where different memory policies are enacted and various religious denominations shape the collective memories. In these regions, different models of living with the dead can be found, while global memory trends influence these memories in distinct ways. Furthermore, these spaces, once part of the so-called Soviet sphere of influence, are now integrated into other geopolitical systems and economic and political dependencies, which also impact their relationship to the past. Therefore, the project's hypothesis suggests that the memory of Soviet repressions in post-multi-colonial, post-Soviet spaces is not monolithic or homogeneous, but rather consists of multiple facets, dimensions, and textures. The project seeks to describe this heterogeneous nature of memories of Soviet repressions and determine what the heritage of these repressions in post-Soviet spaces is.

During the implementation of the project, the Russian Federation launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, provoking the mobilization of memories of Soviet repressions in various ways across different societies. Therefore, the project also raises the question of how Russia's full-scale aggression against Ukraine, and the ongoing war over nearly past three years, have updated and transformed these memories of Soviet repressions. Additionally, it explores how these memories are being mobilized in the decolonization processes of the studied societies from the influence of the Russian Federation.

### Project team



**Zuzanna Bogumińska** (Project Leader) is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at University of Warsaw. She specializes in memory studies, museum studies and anthropology of religion. For last years Bogumińska worked on the secular and orthodox memories of Soviet repressions in Russia. She wrote: *Gulag Memories: The Rediscovery and Commemoration of Russia's Repressive Past* (Berghahn Books 2018), and *More than Alive: The Dead, Orthodoxy and Remembrance in Post-Soviet Russia* (together with Tatiana Voronina, Peter Lang 2023). She is also one of the advocates of the postsecular turn in memory studies and co-editor of two books on this issue: *Memory and Religion from a Postsecular Perspective* (with Yuliya Yurchuk, Routledge 2022), and *Towards Postsecular Memory Studies* (with Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, forthcoming Brill).



**Andriy Fert**, PhD in history is currently a lecturer at Kyiv School of Economics and a fellow at Center for East European and International Studies in Berlin (ZOiS). He was an Ukrainian PI in the international research project Postsecular Approach to Memory Processes in Central-Eastern Europe (Visegrad Fund, 2023–2024). Since 2017, he has been working for the Institute for International Cooperation of the Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband e.V. (DVV), coordinating projects related to history education in secondary schools in Ukraine. His studies focus on religion in the Soviet period and religion's role in memory processes. He currently studies the impact of the Russian war against Ukraine on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.



**Ketevan Gurchiani** is a professor of anthropology at Iliia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. She is particularly interested in lived religion, the domesticated and undomesticated nature of the city, and informal practices of resistance. Since 2020, Ketevan Gurchiani has been leading the project: "Tbilisi as an Urban Assemblage" (<https://urbanassemblage.iliauni.edu.ge> [3]). In this project she is interested in different aspects of the intertwining of human and non-human in the city. Ketevan Gurchiani is also involved in the projects "An Anthropology of Gardens Otherwise and Elsewhere", "Surrogacy as Networked Phenomenon", and "Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe".  
Webpage <https://faculty.iliauni.edu.ge/arts/ketevan-gurchiani/?lang=en> [4]



[Iwona Kaliszewska](#) [5] is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at University of Warsaw. Her research focuses on intersections among Islam, state and anti-state violence, and more recently on war and humanitarian crisis. Iwona has been conducting research projects in Dagestan and Chechnya since 2004, and lately in the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands. Her most recent book *For Putin and for Sharia. Dagestani Muslims and the Islamic State* has recently been published by the Cornell University Press.



**Raili Nugin** is a sociologist, working at the School of Humanities, Tallinn University. During her academic career she has studied transition to adulthood, generational conceptualisation, youth mobilities, rural youth, rural-urban relations, memory transmission and social exclusion. Within her different research projects (international and national), she has also studied Russian ethnic minorities in Estonia and recently, Ukrainian refugees in the context of rural-urban networks. She has authored several research articles in different journals (*Memory Studies*, *Journal of Youth Studies*, *Journal of Rural Studies*, *Sociologia Ruralis*), edited a book about generations (*Generations in Estonia: Contemporary Perspectives on Turbulent Times*, Tartu University 2015) and written a monograph about the generation born in the 1970s (*The 1970s: Portrait of a Generation at the Doorstep*, Tartu University 2015).



**Shugyla Kilybayeva** is a Senior Lecturer at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University and Adjunct Assistant Professor at KIMEP University, Kazakhstan. She is currently

engaged in the EU-funded projects as a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Researcher at TalTech Law School, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia. The area of Dr. Kilybayeva's research interests are in authoritarian politics, democratization, political participation, Central Asian and Kazakhstan politics. Recent collaborative publications include "The Shift in Kazakhstan Citizens' Political Participation: Pre and Post the 2019 Political Transition" (Springer) and "The State Failing People's Expectations: Resentment at the Pandemic Policy in Belarus and Kazakhstan" (Routledge).



**Tomasz Rawski** is a political and cultural sociologist focused on researching memory politics, nationalism/war and state socialism in contemporary Eastern Europe and beyond. He authored a book on Bosniak nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1995 and several articles in renowned journals, including *East European Politics and Societies*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* and *Problems of Post-Communism*. He participated in research projects focused on memory politics, including H2020: REPAST and H2020: DisTerrMem. He was a visiting scholar at University College London, Uppsala University and University of Sarajevo.



**Katarzyna Roman-Rawska**, assistant professor at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Literary scholar, sociologist, publicist and literary translator. She works on the intersection of culture and politics as well as anti-regime and anti-war resistance in contemporary Russia. <https://pan-pl.academia.edu/KatarzynaRomanRawska> [6]



**Margaret Comer** is Research Fellow on the AHRC and DfG-funded project 'Good Citizens, Terrible Times: Community, Courage, and Compliance in and beyond the Holocaust'. From 2020 to 2023, she was a Postdoctoral Researcher on the European Research Council-funded project 'Translating Memories: The Eastern European Past in the Global Arena', based at Tallinn University (grant agreement no 853385). In 2019-20, she was the Research Assistant on 'Safeguarding Sites: The IHRA Charter for Best Practice', an interdisciplinary project funded by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). She received her PhD from the University of Cambridge in 2019. Her research focuses on the heritage of mass repression, Soviet and post-Soviet memorialisation and heritagisation, Holocaust memorialisation and heritagisation, grievability and memory, and contested memory. She is specifically interested in how post-repression societies variously portray violence, suffering, perpetration, bystanding and victimhood at sites associated with mass violence.



**Magdalena Lejman** is a Soviet film researcher, focusing on collective images of the Soviet society imposed by feature film and state propaganda. Graduate of cultural studies and history (PhD). Senior expert at the Univeristy of Warsaw, specialising in visualisation, dissemination and management of research projects.



**Anna Pazio** is a PhD student at the Doctoral School of Social Sciences, University of Warsaw. Holds a BA in Hebrew Studies and both a BA and MA in Sociology from the College of Inter-Area Individual Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Warsaw. Affiliated with the Research Lab on Deep Mediatization at the Digital Economy Lab, University of Warsaw. Her research focuses on the sociology of politics, religion, and knowledge, with additional interests in memory politics and the philosophy of science.



**Alexander Makhov** is a PhD candidate at the Polish Academy of Sciences. He does research on Russian memory regarding Soviet times in academic and public discourse. His ongoing PhD research focuses on the impact of state memory politics on the academic history of Stalinism and Soviet repressions in Russia under Putin's rule. He explores how the recent move towards authoritarianism in Russia transforms its public memory and shapes the new state-centered narrative of the Russian past. His other work explores how Russia's invasion of Ukraine forced Russian migrants to reshape their identity to ease the adaptation in new countries.

## Project activities

Popular science activities

### Why Do Some Pasts Refuse to Die? | Margaret Comer | TEDxAstana

Researcher Margaret Comer reflected that memory of the past is not just history, but heritage — shaped by what we choose to preserve, from plaques on buildings to museums and memorials. For over a decade, she has studied how Estonia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Russia remember the victims of Soviet repression. Gulag sites and mass graves, she explains, are not only traces of tragedy but reminders of the value of human life.



[7]

Georgia in Turbulent Times Mini Conference

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## April 24, 2026

On April 24, 2026, our Institute hosted the international conference “*Georgia in Turbulent Times: Political Developments and the Future of Knowledge Production*,” organized by the Global Easts Centre and Studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw.

The event, held in a hybrid format, brought together invited international guests and a large audience participating both in person and online. The team of *Memories of Soviet Repressions in Post-Multi-Colonial Post-Soviet Spaces* research was its the driving force with Zuzanna Bogumińska - the project leader - as head organizer.

The conference focused on the current political situation in Georgia and reflected on the condition of academic research in a country facing increasing pressures and restrictions, particularly in the field of anthropology and, more broadly, the social sciences. Presentations and discussions addressed, among other topics, social protests, legislative changes affecting university autonomy, and tensions surrounding international academic collaboration.

Participants agreed that the developments unfolding in Georgia extend beyond the national context. Situated at the intersection of European and Russian spheres of influence, the country constitutes an important laboratory of regional and global transformations, particularly in the context of the so-called Global Easts.





## Beyond Eurocentric Memory Models Workshop

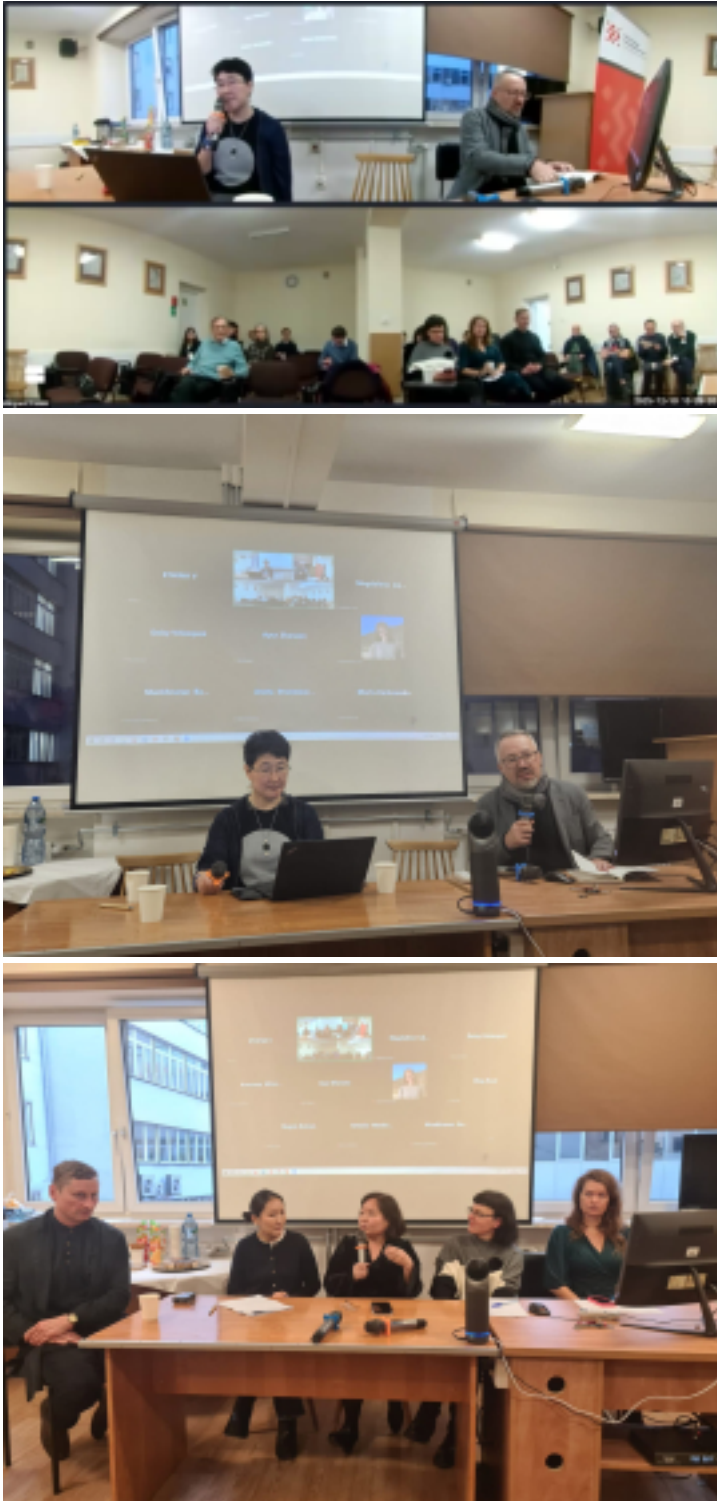
**December 10, 2025**

On 10 December, the Institute hosted an international workshop entitled “Beyond Eurocentric Memory Models: Political Repression and Remembrance in Mongolia.” The event brought together **scholars from Mongolia, Poland, and the United States** to engage in an in-depth **discussion on the history, meanings, and long-term impact of memories of political repression in Mongolia**, with particular attention to the religious and Buddhist dimensions of these memory processes. The event was held both onsite and online.

[Workshop Program and Book of Abstracts](#) [8]

The workshop was organized with the financial support of The Warsaw Centre for Global History, the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw, and the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw. It was held within the frameworks of the Marian Ma?owist Seminar and the Postcolonial Perspectives – Postdependence Entanglements Seminar Series.

 [Workshop poster](#) [9]





Mobilizing and Weaponizing Memories of Soviet Repressions Conference

**October 29-31, 2025**

The project team was deeply involved in organisation of the conference "[Mobilizing and Weaponizing Memories of Soviet Repressions](#)" [10], with the project PI - **Zuzanna Bogumi?** as the lead organiser of the whole event. The conference brought together over one hundred scholars from more than twenty countries — from Japan to Alaska. The event aimed to explore **local forms of articulating the memory of Soviet repressions**, both in the former republics of the USSR and in countries that once belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence. Timed to

coincide with the Day of Remembrance for Victims of Political Repressions (October 30), the conference examined the **roles of governments, civil societies, religious institutions, and grassroots movements in shaping, preserving, and contesting the memory** of Soviet repressions. Discussions focused on how these memories are being reinterpreted today within **processes of decolonization and disengagement from Russian influence**, as well as on the ways in which they may be instrumentalized in contemporary political and cultural debates.

During the conference, our team members presented papers on their research projects and shared their initial findings:

- Margaret Comer, *The Intersection of Gulag Heritage and Heritage of WWII in Kazakhstan, May 2025*
- Ketevan Gurchiani, *From Victims to Allies: The Political Afterlives of Stalinist Repression in Georgian Protests*
- Shugyla Kilybayeva, *Zheltoksan and Qandy Qantar: Protest, Repression, and the Struggle for Memory in Kazakhstan*
- Anna Pazio and Magdalena Lejman, *Reimagining Remembrance: The Sybir Memorial Run as Embodied Memory in a Post-Witness Era*
- Raili Nugin, *Mnemonic Practices and Collective Memory: Bridging or Dividing Communities?*
- Alexander Makhov, *Memory of Soviet Repression among Wartime Migrants from Russia*

In addition, members of our team served as moderators for several conference events:

- Zuzanna Bogumil: moderator of the Plenary Session: *Ethics, Forgetting, and the Politics of Memory: Researching Soviet Repressions in the 21st Century*. [Recording](#) [11]
- Zuzanna Bogumi?: moderator at the Conference Event: *Open Film Screening*
- [Iwona Kaliszewska](#) [5]: moderator of Panel Session 6 *Minority Memories of Soviet Repression in Contemporary Europe*







The conference was organized by the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Culture and Arts, University of Warsaw, with support from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education under the Excellent Science – Support for Scientific Conferences programme (KONF/SP/0014/2024/02). Event partners included the Faculty of History – Warsaw Center for Global History, the Faculty of Sociology – Center for Research on Social Memory, and the History Meeting House.

Remembrance of Soviet Repressions Specialist Conference

**September 21-24, 2024**

During the four-day conference titled “**Remembrance of Soviet Repressions in Post-Soviet Spaces,**” project members and invited experts on the memory of Soviet repressions discussed the existing convergences and divergences in the remembrance of Soviet repressions across various post-Soviet and post-dependent regions. In her opening speech, Zuzanna Bogumińska addressed the current state of Soviet Repressions Memory Studies. On the second day, participants travelled to the city of Białystok to learn how memories of Soviet repressions are materialized in Poland’s cultural landscape. They visited the Museum of Memory of Sybir, the Sybirak Memorial, and the memorials in Jedwabne, where memories of the Holocaust and Soviet repressions are in conflict. Over the next two days, through individual presentations and roundtable discussions, participants explored how Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing war have updated memories of Soviet repressions, as well as the particularities of vernacular remembrances of Soviet repressions in various post-multi-colonial, post-Soviet spaces.

 [Conference Poster](#) [12]

 [Conference Program](#) [13]







Postcolonial Perspectives – Postdependence Entanglements Seminars

**May 2022 – October 2026 / online**

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements” is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/39/B/HS6/02809 and Social Memory and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS3/00852. These seminars are organized jointly with the [Centre for Research on Social Memory](#) [14]. The seminars are held in Polish and/or English.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**The Collapse of the Soviet  
Union as a Partition:  
Toward a Critique of the  
Decolonization Paradigm**

**ANTON LIAVITSKI**  
LUDWIG MAXIMILIAN  
UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**17 March (Tuesday)**  
**9:30 am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://uw-eda-pl.zoom.us/j/zoommeeting/register/SR7-cuHR1qjCkkrndNaQ>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements” is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Centre, Poland: “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/20/1/146/02809 and Social Memory, and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/43/10/1/00462.



Seminar with Anton Liavitski (Ludwig Maximilian

University of Munich):

**“The Collapse of the Soviet Union as a Partition: Toward a Critique of the Decolonization Paradigm”**



17 March 2026



English

The nature of the Soviet Union as a multiethnic state remains a central question in contemporary historical scholarship. Some scholars view the USSR as a system that simultaneously fostered national difference and repressed non-Russian groups, while others describe it as a colonial empire. This talk contributes to this debate by asking how we can best understand the collapse of the Soviet Union. Drawing on debates in national and regional newspapers in Belarus, it reconstructs how the public perceived Soviet federalism and its violent dissolution. Belarusian interpretations of the Soviet collapse—shaped by entangled regional dynamics—were grounded in an anti-nationalist critique: a defense of Soviet federalism as a framework for peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups and a rejection of anti-Soviet nationalism as the primary cause of ethnic violence. In this light, the collapse of the USSR appears not as the liberation of preexisting nations but as a partition—an attempt to resolve tensions within a multiethnic polity that instead produced new hierarchies and conflicts within emerging nation-states.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**People on Stages, People in  
Cages. Ethnic Shows and  
Looking at Racialized Others  
in Estonian Cultural Memory**

**MARGARET TALI**  
TALLINN UNIVERSITY

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**17 February (Tuesday)**  
**9:30 am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://rb.gy/wcyzsh>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements” is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Centre, Poland: “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/20/3/Y56/02809 and Social Memory, and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/01/0/01/00002.

Seminar with Margaret Tali (Tallinn University):

“People on Stages, People in Cages. Ethnic Shows and Looking at Racialized Others in Estonian Cultural Memory”



17 February 2026



English

This presentation focuses on representations of race and racial difference in Estonia by connecting present and past in the memory of ethnic shows. I will discuss how historical representations have shaped contemporary discourses of race and racism and consider how particular visual tropes have transmitted those discourses. Furthermore, I revisit how the experience of layered colonialisms and Estonia's geographical location in the parallel influence zones of the Russian Empire and Germany have influenced understanding and representing racial difference..




**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**‘Even a Cemetery  
Is Affected by the War’**


**OLEG REUT**  
JOHANNES GUTENBERG  
UNIVERSITY MAINZ

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁA**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW




**18 November (Tuesday)**  
**11:00 am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://shorturl.at/awz6T>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements” is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Centre, Poland: “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/39/B/HS6/02809 and Social Memory and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS3/00852.



Seminar with Oleg Reut (Philipp Schwartz Fellow at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz): “**Even a Cemetery Is Affected by the War**”



18 November 2025



English

This paper examines the transformation of cemeteries in Russia in the context of the ongoing war, authoritarian politics, and the digital age. Traditionally, burial spaces functioned as sites of social cohesion, where the dead remained integrated into the community of the living. Yet armed conflict and its mass casualties have profoundly unsettled these patterns, pushing death into the public sphere and reshaping both the material and symbolic dimensions of commemoration.

Military funerals no longer represent private or modest events but have become highly mediated performances, intertwined with official narratives and subject to censorship and informational warfare. At the same time, cemeteries emerge as arenas of contestation, where questions of social inequality, hierarchy, and legitimacy are negotiated through burial practices and disputes over prestigious plots. The paper explores these developments within broader debates on death tourism and digital remembrance. Cemeteries in Russia are revealed not only as dark heritage but also as complex public arenas where civic identity, belonging, and protest are articulated.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**Tourism as memory-making:  
Russian tourism in the shadow of  
empire**

**ALENA PFOSER**  
LOUGHBOROUGH UNIVERSITY, UK

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**3 June (Tuesday)**  
**10:30 am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://shorturl.at/awj6T> 

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements” is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Centre, Poland: “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/39/B/HS6/02809 and Social Memory and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS3/00852.



Seminar with Alena Pfoser (Loughborough University, UK): “Tourism as memory-making: Russian tourism in the shadow of empire”



3 June 2025



English

Until recently the Russian Federation used to be one of the largest markets for outbound travel. Among Russians' favourite destinations were cities that used to be part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, and are now located in the independent nation-states bordering Russia. Based on extensive ethnographic research with tourists and tour guides in the cities of Tallinn, Kyiv, and Almaty before Russia's full-scale war on Ukraine, the presentation provides an empirically rich and conceptually sophisticated account of the mnemonic interactions between Russians and their neighbours in the shadow of empire and geopolitical confrontations. It analyses the practices through which cultural memories are performed in tourism encounters, as well as the forms they take, discussing imperial nostalgia, the production and consumption of national pasts, and memory diplomacy as key modes of remembering in Russian tourism. Overall, the presentation reflects on the legacies of imperial patterns of thought in Russian tourism while also pointing to the limitations of focusing solely on imperial nostalgia when analysing Russians' mnemonic relations to the territories of the former Soviet states.

The book on which the presentation is based is available in open access and can be downloaded here: [Tourism as Memory-Making: Russian Tourism in the Shadow of Empire | SpringerLink](#) [15]

POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS

**Monuments and  
Territory: War Memorials  
in Russian-Occupied  
Ukraine**

**Book discussion**

**MISCHA GABOWITSCH  
MYKOLA HOMANYUK**

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**1 April (Tuesday)  
9.30am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://shorturl.at/CTTs>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in framework of two research projects sponsored by the National Science Center, Poland: “Remembering Soviet  
repressions in the post-war multiple colonial Russia on Far East”, no. 2020/01/S/HS6/00169 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2023/45/B/HS/00012.



Book discussion with Mischa Gabowitsch and Mykola Homanyuk: “Monuments and Territory: War Memorials in Russian-Occupied Ukraine”



1 Apr 2025



English

From the very first days of their large-scale attack on Ukraine in February 2022, the Russian invaders have made exceptional efforts to interact with the war memorial landscape of the newly occupied territories. They have destroyed some of these memorials, renovated others, and built new monuments amid continued fighting. They also used war memorials in countless propaganda photos and videos aimed for a domestic audience and largely escaping Western attention. Mykola Homanyuk spent several months in occupied Kherson conducting wartime on-site ethnography and collected sources on the change of the monumentscape. The book shows how Russian invaders believed their own propaganda about Soviet war memorials being mistreated in Ukraine, and what they did when they discovered well-maintained monuments on the ground. More broadly, it explores the connection between monuments and territorial claims by irredentist empires, as well as the enduring role of monuments in sustaining imperial conquest or, in other cases, colonization.

We recommend you to read the introduction and first chapter of the book beforehand (pp.1-38):

<https://ceupress.com/book/monuments-and-territory> [16]

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**Churches and the War-Time  
"Spiritual Decolonization"  
in Ukraine**

**ANDRIY FERT**  
KYIV SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**21 January (Tuesday)**  
**9.30am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://shorturl.at/1lwy>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/99/B/HS4/01809 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS1/00832.



Seminar with Andriy Fert (Kyiv School of EconomicsKyiv School of Economics) on the topic: **“Churches and the War-Time “Spiritual Decolonization” in Ukraine”**



21 Jan 2025



English

The colonial nature of the subordination of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Patriarch of Moscow came to the fore in the late 2010s, prompted by the state campaign to gain official recognition of ecclesiastical independence from the Russian church administration. Unsurprisingly, with the Russian full-fledged invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the issue of coping with the legacy of Russian colonialism in church matters gained significant relevance for Ukrainian lawmakers and civil society activists. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC) faced increasing critique for spreading Russian propaganda in the form of religious practices, particularly venerating saints such as Russian emperor Nicolas II and medieval prince Alexander Nevsky or refusing to hold communal prayers in Ukrainian language in lieu of Old Slavonic. This presentation explores rank-and-file church members' responses to decolonization discourse by focusing on (un)changing saints' veneration practices and language issues at the grassroots level.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**From Brazil to Russia:  
Capoeira, a Tool for Decolonization?**

**SERGIO GONZÁLEZ  
VARELA**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW



**CHAIR  
ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**17 December (Tuesday)**  
**9.30am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://shorturl.at/Bgyae>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/99/B/HS4/01809 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS1/00832.



Seminar with Sergio González Varela (University of Warsaw) on the topic: **“From Brazil to Russia: Capoeira, a Tool for Decolonization?”**



17 Dec 2024



English

Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian art form that combines ritual, play, music, and fighting elements. Created by slaves in the Northeast of Brazil, arguably in the seventeenth century, capoeira has been historically associated with the power of the weak. It has been used as a martial art to fight colonial oppression. During the twentieth century, it became a codified ritual that politically worked closely with the Black Marxist movement in Salvador, fighting for the recognition of the African heritage in Brazil. During the first two decades of the twenty-first century, capoeira has expanded globally. However, its spirit for liberation from dominant ideologies continues to captivate practitioners in Brazil and abroad. In this presentation, I describe how practitioners have used capoeira in Russia and how this country's practitioners have interpreted this art's rebellious spirit in a post-Soviet context. Finally, I contrast the subversive configuration of capoeira with the efforts made by dominant state powers to use martial arts in general as a political tool to show strength, authority, and subjugation of others.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
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**Peripheral Shame: Affective City and  
the Nation on the Margins of Post-  
Colonial Georgia**


**TAMTA KHALVASHI**  
ILIA STATE UNIVERSITY

**CHAIR**  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW




**19 November (Tuesday)**  
**9.30am CET**

REGISTRATION:  
<https://uw.edu-pl/zoom.us/joining/register/1JAofuCspeapHdNurBZisXGeVAD7VHicjeMX>



Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/99/B/HS4/01809 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS1/00832.

 Center for Research  
on Social Memory

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 CENTRE  
OF SOCIAL MEMORY

Seminar with Tamta Khalvashi (professor of Anthropology at Ilia State University in Georgia) on the topic: **“Peripheral Shame: Affective City and the Nation on the Margins of Post-Colonial Georgia”**



19 Nov 2024



English

Based on the forthcoming book *Peripheral Shame: Affective City and the Nation on the Margins of Post-Colonial Georgia*, Tamta Khalvashi explores post-Soviet Georgia as a unique postcolonial space that gives rise to an affective condition of peripheral shame. By mixing family archives and autoethnographic reflections with traditional fieldwork material, she follows glimpses of this shame in various urban settings, from the monuments on the move to indebted houses or from unburied bodies of Soviet mass killings to awkward coexistence of different religious and ethnic groups in urban courtyards of Batumi on the western edge of Georgia. Khalvashi offers a new way of conceiving shame, not just as a feeling of stratified geopolitical, social, or personal relations but as an impulse to straddle with or repair ongoing peripheral frictions. She thus approaches shame as a productive feeling that gives rise to inconvenient coexistence, which is the only way to live and survive on the margins of the postcolonial world.

POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS

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**Political and Cultural Mythologies  
of Post-Soviet Sovereignty**

**ILYA KUKULIN**  
AMHERST CENTER FOR RUSSIAN CULTURE

CHAIR  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

21 May (Tuesday), 4pm CET

**Registration:**  
[https://uw.edu.pl/zoom.us/join/registration/1jckd-GopjgIGRGj-22w-pTjv\\_RyaCMcxz](https://uw.edu.pl/zoom.us/join/registration/1jckd-GopjgIGRGj-22w-pTjv_RyaCMcxz)

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/19/B/H56/00309 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/H51/00832.



Seminar with Ilya Kukulin (a research fellow at the Amherst Center for Russian Culture) on the topic: **“Political and Cultural Mythologies of Post-Soviet Sovereignty”**



21 May 2024



English

The new states on the ruins of the USSR emerged not as a result of the struggle of enslaved peoples, but as a result of the crisis of central power. We could now discuss in what ways the new political elites of the former “union republics” -- and especially Russia -- reproduced the Soviet notion of sovereignty, and what new elements were included in this notion. In my paper, I hope to discuss the cultural and political mythologies of sovereignty that have proliferated in the public rhetoric and Russian language literature of the “perestroika” period and in Russia in the 1990s.




**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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# Labyrinth of Postcoloniality

**Book discussion**



**ALIMA BISSENOVA**  
NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY

**CHAIR**  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**23 April (Tuesday), 9, 30am CET**

**Registration:**  
[https://uw.edu-  
pl/zoom.us/joining/register/1jErcQ1rjTsjE1E7zhYfgx2bA\\_1Kk67m-PyQ](https://uw.edu.pl/zoom.us/joining/register/1jErcQ1rjTsjE1E7zhYfgx2bA_1Kk67m-PyQ)

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/19/R/H56/02/049 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/R/H5 1/00832.



Book discussion with the editor Alima Bissenova (Nazarbayev University) on a book “Labyrinth of Postcoloniality” (2023). Moderator: Zuzanna Bogumi?



21 April 2024



English

This collection is an attempt to form a new post-colonial agenda, in which we, seven Kazakhstani authors, are trying to rethink and theorize our current state from the position of our own locality and develop a “local” point of view on the most pressing issues of “our post-coloniality” - a point of view that would be pronouncedly local but, at the same time, global – connected with the universal post-colonial experience.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**(Re)interpreting Harbin’s Russian  
colonial heritage: changing China,  
changing perceptions**

**WENZHUO ZHANG**  
UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

**CHAIR  
MAŁGORZATA  
GŁOWACKA-GRAJPER**  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**20 February (Tuesday), 9, 30am CET**

**Registration:**  
[https://uw.edu-  
pl/zoom.us/meeting/register/tjErc0irqTsJEtE7zhYfgx2bA\\_1Kkt9m\\_PyQ](https://uw.edu.pl/zoom.us/meeting/register/tjErc0irqTsJEtE7zhYfgx2bA_1Kkt9m_PyQ)

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post- multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/19/B/H56/00309 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/H51/00532.

Melbourne ) on the topic: “(Re)interpreting Harbin’s Russian colonial heritage: changing China, changing perceptions.” Moderator: Ma?gorzata G?owacka-Grajper.



21 February 2024



English

**POSTKOLONIALNE PERSPEKTYWY -  
POSTZALEŻNOŚCIOWE UWIKŁANIA**

**„Obszar postradziecki w  
perspektywie postkolonialnej”**

**IWONA KALISZEWSKA**  
INSTYTUT ETNOLOGII I ANTRPOLOGII  
KULTUROWEJ UW

**GRZEGORZ SKRUKWA**  
WYDZIAŁ HISTORII, UAM

PROWADZĄCE:  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ  
MAŁGORZATA  
GŁOWACKA-GRAJPER**

**16 maja (wtorek), 9.30**

**Rejestracja na spotkanie:**  
<https://www.gluon.eu/meeting/register/1f1ce-0j7a6c9m1c9f8CzkoYorJwpXczM?fbclid=IwAR0KCSHQDVj8e9YWA1e2RO5Bw16HHAQB8L3Qg...019c1p0jUkBSQqyysa/registration>

Seria dyskusji „Postkolonialne perspektywy – postzależnościowe uwikłania” odbywa się w ramach grantów badawczych finansowanych przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki: „Pamięć o represjach sowieckich na post-wielokulturowym rosyjskim Dalekim Wschodzie” nr 2020/91/B/HS4/02809 oraz „Pamięć społeczna a post-imperialne dziedzictwo rosyjskie we współczesnej Polsce” nr 2022/41/B/HS1/00832.



Rozmowa z Iwon? Kaliszewsk?, (Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej UW) i Grzegorzem Skrukwa? (Wydzia? Historii, UAM) na temat „**Obszar postradziecki w perspektywie postkolonialnej**”. Moderator: Zuzanna Bogumi?



16 maja 2023



Polski

Rok temu w maju zainicjowa?y?my spotkania z serii „Postkolonialne perspektywy – postzale?no?ciowe uwik?ania”. Rok od tego spotkania i ponad rok od pe?noskalowej militarnej agresji Rosji na Ukrain? perpektywa post-kolonialna i post-imperialna sta?a si? niemal?e norm? w mówieniu o wojnie w Ukrainie i analizowaniu przemian spo?ecznych i kulturowych zachodz?cych w wielu pa?stwach postradzieckich.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

**“The Post-Soviet as Post-Colonial.  
A New Paradigm for Understanding  
Constitutional Dynamics in the  
Former Soviet Empire”**

BOOK DISCUSSION  
WITH THE AUTHORS  
**WILLIAM PARTLETT**  
AND  
**HERBERT KÜPPER**

FIRST COMMENT  
**IMMO REBITSCHKE**

**14 March (Tuesday), 9.30am CET**  
**Registration:**  
<https://uw-edu-pl.zoom.us/j/7woc-irrTgoH9DUtBqj9xkCE1AHRldiYhPW>

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National Science  
Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post-multiple colonial  
Russian Far East”, no. 2020/39/B/HS6/02809 and Social Memory  
and the Post-Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS3/00832.

Book discussion with the authors William Partlett (University of Melbourne,) and Herbert Ku?pper (Research Centre for Eastern and South Eastern Europe, Regensburg) on the book “**The Post-Soviet as Post-Colonial. A New Paradigm for Understanding Constitutional Dynamics in the Former Soviet Empire**” (Edward Elgar 2022)



14 March 2023



English

First comment: Immo Rebitschek (Friedrich Schiller University Jena)  
Chair: Ma?gorzata G?owacka-Grajper (Faculty of Sociology UW)

The Post-Soviet as Post-Colonial. A New Paradigm for Understanding Constitutional Dynamics in the Former Soviet Empire describes the collapse of the Soviet Union as a moment of decolonization and the post-1991 constitution-building experience as a postcolonial one. Partlett and K?pper's application of the post-colonial

paradigm to the former Soviet world adds new facets to post-colonial constitutional theory by presenting a third type of (ideology-based) colonialism and a third type of decolonization.



**POSTKOLONIALNE PERSPEKTYWY -  
POSTZALEŹNOŚCIOWE UWIKŁANIA**

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**Dyskusja wokół książki  
„Zbyt g?o?na historyczno??.  
U?ytkowanie przesz?o?ci w Azji  
Wewn?trznej”**

**ZBIGNIEW SZMYT**  
INSTYTUT ANTROPOLOGII I ETNOLOGII  
UAM

**PROWADZĄCA  
ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
OŚRODEK ETNOLOGII I ANTROPOLOGII  
WSPÓŁCZESNOŚCI IAE PAN

**10 stycznia (wtorek), 9.30**  
**Rejestracja na spotkanie.**

<https://uw.edu.pl/zoom.us/join/10001998185601809>  
EKOYNDqultqb4SKDd

Seria dyskusji „Postkolonialne perspektywy – postzależnościowe uwikłania”  
odbywa się w ramach grantów badawczych finansowanych przez Narodowe  
Centrum Nauki: „Pamięć o represjach sowieckich na post-wielokulturowym  
rosyjskim Dalekim Wschodzie” nr 2020/19/B/HS6/01809 oraz  
„Pamięć społeczna a post-imperialne dziedzictwo rosyjskie we współczesnej  
Polsce” nr 2021/40/B/HS1/00832.



Dyskusja wokół książki Zbigniewa Szmyta (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza) zatytułowanej, **“Zbyt g?o?na historyczno?? U?ytkowanie przesz?o?ci w Azji Wewn?trznej”** (Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2020).  
Spotkanie prowadzi Zuzanna Bogumił



10 Stycznia 2023



English

Zbyt głośna historycznie?? opisuje poszukiwania u?ytecznej przesz?o?ci prowadzone przez mieszka?ców postsocjalistycznej Azji Wewn?trznej. Autor, traktuj?c histori? jako polityk? skierowan? ku przesz?o?ci, analizuje jej u?ycia na poziomie pa?stwa, spo?eczno?ci lokalnej i na poziomie rodzinnym. Wiele uwagi zosta?o po?wi?cone praktycznym formom funkcjonowania przesz?o?ci wykraczaj?cym poza tradycyjn? historiografi? i polityk? historyczn?, a tak?e poza instytucje j? reprodukuj?ce: szko?y, muzea, uniwersytety.

**POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES -  
POSTDEPENDENCE ENTANGLEMENTS**

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**Global Easts-Entangled  
Mnemoscape in Postcolonial  
Perspectives**

**JIE-HYUN LIM**  
SOGANG UNIVERSITY /  
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**CHAIR**  
**ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ**  
DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY  
AND ANTHROPOLOGY IAE PAS

**13 December (Tuesday), 9.30am CET**

**Registration:**  
[https://uw.edu-  
pl/zoom.us/meeting/register/tjEudogqDkrGtMldO\\_wjABW\\_oK3opKUGjOj](https://uw.edu-pl/zoom.us/meeting/register/tjEudogqDkrGtMldO_wjABW_oK3opKUGjOj)

Series „Postcolonial perspectives – postdependence entanglements”  
is organized in frames of two research projects sponsored by the National  
Science Centre, Poland “Remembering Soviet repressions in the post- multiple  
colonial Russian Far East”, no. 2020/39/B/HS6/02309 and Social Memory  
and the Post- Imperial Russian Heritage in Poland no. 2021/41/B/HS3/00832.



Seminar with Jie-Hyun Lim (Sogang University/  
University of Warsaw), on the subject of "**Global Easts-Entangled Mnemoscape in Postcolonial Perspectives**".  
Moderator: Zuzanna Bogumił (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology PAS)



13 December 2022



English

The end of the global Cold War has dramatically reconfigured the mnemoscape in the third millennium. In Eastern Europe, released memories of Stalinist terror and Holocaust collaboration unboxed the Pandora box of conflictual memories. In East Asia and the other peripheral region, the West could no longer marginalize the memories of colonial genocide and atrocities because the imperative to defend Western civilization against Soviet communism had lost its historical force. With a focus on global Easts-Eastern Europe and East Asia, I will probe for the non-hierarchical comparability and multidirectional interactions among the memories of the Holocaust, colonialist crimes, and the Stalinist terror. Dislocating this triple victimhood from the memorial provincialism and relocating it in the postcolonial perspectives would be the first step towards mnemonic solidarity. Suggesting “critical relativization” and “radical juxtaposition” as conceptual tools, I will try to rescue global memories from remembering provincialism.





10 Maja 2022

A|Z English

Militarna napaść Federacji Rosyjskiej na Ukrainę 24 lutego 2022, poprzedzona rewizjonistycznym wykładem historycznym Władimira Putina na temat historii Ukrainy oraz przedstawieniem postrzeżonego przez Rosję porządku geopolitycznego w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, a następnie reakcje UE i NATO na wywołaną przez Rosję wojnę, w sposób wyrazisty pokazały trwałość i zaleźności sytuacji mieszkańców regionu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Wyznaczanie interpretacji historii Polski i całego regionu w nurt studiów postkolonialnych ma już swój dźwięk i tradycję, lecz ciągle aktualne pozostaje pytanie o to, co badania nad kolonializmem i perspektywa postkolonialna (de-kolonialna) mogą wnieść do rozumienia przeszłości i aktualnej sytuacji państw i społeczeństw regionu (w różnych wymiarach – od ekonomicznego, przez polityczny, po kulturowy).

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Online Project Team Meetings

## September 2024 – October 2026 / online

We organize a monthly seminar to discuss selected existing research on the remembrance of Soviet repressions in post-Soviet spaces and in countries that were formerly dependent on the Soviet Union. We also examine existing concepts and theories in memory studies, heritage studies, and post-colonial and subaltern studies to assess their applicability and usefulness for our research.

Other information

**EN: Results of the competition for the position of student/student or doctoral student/doctoral candidate in the NCN-20 project**

**PL: Wyniki konkursu na stanowisko typu student/studentka lub doktorant/doktorantka w projekcie NCN-20**

EN: Committee for research grants in the research project entitled: 'Memory of Soviet repression in the post-multicolonial Russian Far East'. - Contract No. - UMO- 2020/39/B/HS6/02809, funded by the National Science Centre, kindly informs that as a result of the competition, the research fellowship for the position of fellow\_2 is awarded to **Anna Pazio**, and for the position of fellow\_3 is awarded to **Alexander Makhov**. Congratulations!

PL: Komisja ds. stypendiów naukowych w projekcie badawczym pt.: „Pamięć o represjach sowieckich na postwielokolonialnym Rosyjskim Dalekim Wschodzie” – nr umowy - UMO- 2020/39/B/HS6/02809, finansowanym przez

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Narodowe Centrum Nauki, uprzejmie informuje, że w wyniku konkursu stypendium naukowe na stanowisko stypendysta\_2 otrzymuje **Anna Pazio**, a na stanowisko stypendysta\_3 otrzymuje **Alexander Makhov**. Serdecznie gratulujemy!

?

**Powiązane materiały** [Remembrance, Religion](#) [17]

[Nagrania: \(In\)Visible](#) [18]

[Conference: Mobilizing and Weaponizing Memories of Soviet Repressions](#) [19]

[Mobilizing and Weaponizing Memories of Soviet Repressions - Conference](#) [20]

[Fotorelacja Mobilizing and Weaponizing Memories of Soviet Repressions](#) [21]

[Workshop Beyond Eurocentric](#) [22]

**Source URL:** <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/6792>

### Links

[1] <https://ncn.gov.pl/ogloszenia/konkursy/opus20>

[2] <https://www.ncn.gov.pl/>

[3] <https://urbanassemblage.iliauni.edu.ge>

[4] <https://faculty.iliauni.edu.ge/arts/ketevan-gurchiani/?lang=en>

[5] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/instytut/ludzie/pracownicy/iwona-kaliszewska>

[6] <https://pan-pl.academia.edu/KatarzynaRomanRawska>

[7] <https://youtu.be/bllgJsFsJOI?si=7v14E4qUfzZjgtmt>

[8] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/beyond-eurocentric>

[9] [https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/beyond\\_eurocentric\\_2.pdf](https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/beyond_eurocentric_2.pdf)

[10] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/conference-mobilizing>

[11] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/wokol-etnologii/mediateka/plenary-session-ethics-forgetting-and-politics-memory-researching-soviet>

[12] [https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/poster-remembrance\\_post.pdf](https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/poster-remembrance_post.pdf)

[13] [https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/tentative\\_conference\\_program\\_28\\_08\\_2024\\_changed\\_1.pdf](https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/tentative_conference_program_28_08_2024_changed_1.pdf)

[14] <https://crsm.uw.edu.pl>

[15] <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-031-83738-8>

[16] <https://ceupress.com/book/monuments-and-territory>

[17] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/6773>

[18] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/6846>

[19] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/7011>

[20] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/news/mobilizing-and-weaponizing-memories-soviet-repressions-conference>

[21] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/7230>

[22] <https://etnologia.uw.edu.pl/en/node/7253>