

Małgorzata KAŹMIERCZAK

Pedagogical University of Kraków

FREEDOM IS NOT FREE. THE POLAND-USA PERFORMANCE ART PROJECT *JULIETT 484* AND ITS SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

In the following text I would like to consider the performances that took place during the exchange of artists from Poland and the USA in 2003 under the name *Juliett 484*. This project took place at a very specific moment in the history of both countries.¹ I would like to analyse it from the perspective of a contemporary participant of culture, after almost twenty years. This is difficult because no reliable factual description of it has survived. I am most interested in the political and social contexts, and within them especially the issue of personal freedom, which was severely restricted in both countries at the time. In the United States,² in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and, as Naomi Klein named it, under the 'shock doctrine,' where citizens surrendered their freedom to privacy and free movement in the name of so-called national

security. Poland, which joined NATO in 1999, also felt the effects of US foreign policy. The Second Gulf War began on March 20, 2003 and did not officially end until December 15, 2011. Anti-war protests in Poland were rare,³ although the majority of the Polish public did not support Poland's participation in the operation *Iraqi Freedom*.⁴ At the time, the CIA's secret prisons in Poland had not yet been discovered – the matter only came to light in 2005.⁵ The year 2003 in Poland was a year of pro-European euphoria – the signing of the treaty in Athens expanding the European Union by ten countries (April 16) and the European referendum (June 8).⁶ Acceptance of Poland's accession to the EU in the art community was unanimous.⁷ In 2003, the post-communist Leszek Miller government was still in power, but the so-

called 'Rywingate' – the biggest corruption scandal to date after 1989 – caused the eventual collapse of this political faction to the advantage of the right.⁸ In the parliamentary committee set up in January to explain it, Zbigniew Ziobro shone,⁹ which gained him immense popularity and contributed to the victory of the PiS party in the 2005 elections.¹⁰ How did artists react to these events and what threats did they see in the actions of those in power? What does it look like from today's perspective? The title of the text "Freedom Is Not Free" refers to a popular post-9/11 slogan used, among other things, on the Korean War veterans' memorial in Washington. In this context, it was a reminder that freedom is paid for by the sacrifices of soldiers, but it can be interpreted in different ways. Both countries have a deeply rooted myth of freedom which, in Poland, is reinforced by its periodic loss during the partitions, the German occupation and the communist regime. The myth of 'American Freedom' and the belief that the United States is the freest country in the world are among the basic myths underlying US identity.¹¹ What did this freedom really look like through the eyes of the performers taking part in *Julieta 484*?

The Submarine of Imagination

In March 2002, Władysław Kaźmierczak, curator of the *Castle of Imagination* performance art festival, was invited by artist and lecturer Marilyn Arsem along with Ewa Rybska to Boston to present a lecture and a performance at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts. In May 2002, artists from the Mobius group founded in 1975, Marilyn Arsem and Jed Speare, were invited to Poland for the *Castle of Imagination*.¹² This was when the idea of organizing an exchange of artists from Poland and the US was born. From the beginning, the idea of the Mobius Group was to share space with other artists and initiate exchanges, which made it unique at the time in the US.¹³ In the United States, in the wake of the systemic changes and the war in the former Yugoslavia, funding opportunities arose in the late nineties and early two-thousands for projects supporting contacts with artists from Central and

Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Supporting institutions here were mainly The Trust for Mutual Understanding, Artslink and Soros Centers for Contemporary Art.¹⁴ The *Castle of Imagination*, in turn, was the first annual international performance art festival organized in Poland after 1989. It was held between 1993 and 2006. The first edition of the *Castle of Imagination*, curated jointly by Władysław Kaźmierczak and Grzegorz Borkowski, took place in 1993 at the Teutonic Castle in Bytów, hence the name of the festival. Since 1996 Kaźmierczak was the sole curator. The last Bytów edition was held in 1999. Since 2000, the *Castle of Imagination* has been organized in various places in Poland. Crossing the country's borders was a natural consequence of the constant search for new contexts for art and new audiences. In 2003, 2005 and 2006, the *Castle of Imagination* was held successively in the USA, Great Britain and Germany.

The *Julieta 484* project, an exchange of artists from Poland and the US, took place in 2003, in several spaces. First in Poland, at the BGSW Gallery in Ustka and at the Modelarnia in Gdansk as part of the *Castle of Imagination* festival. The second of these spaces was on the grounds of the Gdansk Shipyard, where workers' strikes had taken place and where the so-called August Agreements were signed in 1980, resulting in the birth of Solidarity. In the States, the artists performed in Providence, RI (as part of the Convergence Festival), Boston (at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts) and New York (at the BPM Performance Space and the Chashama Theater¹⁵). The project was named *Julieta 484* after a former Russian submarine moored at Park Point Collier in Providence.¹⁶ Władysław Kaźmierczak, curator of the *Castle of Imagination*, did not hide his scepticism about making this the context for the event and imposing specific performance themes on artists:

(...) How artificial and grotesque the idea was, was transparent. Yet for the sake of performance art we have also invented this useful story on the significance of our artistic project. Another submarine sailed

in the water of the Baltic Sea in service of a totalitarian state. The actual presence of the Soviet submarine brings back memories on the cold war and the totalitarian system as well as the tragedy of the Kursk submarine vessel which came from the same production series. It could have been one of the war vessels patrolling the Gdansk Bay during Solidarity strikes in the 80s, it could have visited Ustka or another port on the Baltic Sea. Demobilised after its long service and not armoured anymore it was purchased by Mauno Koivisto – Finnish President's daughter's husband - and anchored in Helsinki to become a restaurant called *Julieta 484*. Since it caused false alarms in the NATO alarm system it had to be withdrawn from the port. It was chartered to Florida and then purchased by a Providence foundation – Collier Point Park, Providence, Rhode Island. Today it is a tourist attraction and a teaching aid but at the same time a silent and vulnerable monument of the cold war and the communist system. With the Polish part of the project located in Ustka (a port) and the Modelarnia building on the area of the Gdansk Shipyard right next to historical places where the peaceful fight with the totalitarian systems started, the *Julieta 484* has gained a distinctive political context.¹⁷

The context outlined by the event creators created for the grant application referred to the Cold War era. It supported the division between the 'good USA and the bad USSR.' Reference was also made to the sinking of the Kursk submarine (2000).¹⁸ Officially, the analogy between the Cold War and the just-launched War on Terror was overlooked. However, artists from the United States did not intend to uphold the myth of the US as a military power and guardian of democracy, on the contrary, they wanted to deconstruct this colonial power. This attitude was important for artists from Poland, because for them the trip to the 'cradle of performance art' was an important experience, and

what the US artists said about the reality of life in the States probably influenced the perception of this country by Poles. Polish artists, on the other hand, were critical of their contemporary history related to the Solidarity movement, Polishness as such, as well as Poland's progressive conservatism, which for US artists may also have been surprising and revealing.

The Power of Nightmares and Un-American Paranoia

Introduced after 9/11, back in 2001, the PATRIOT (Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act allowed for surveillance of ordinary citizens, tapping their phone calls, tracking their online activity, and even the books they borrowed from libraries.¹⁹ At the same time, George W. Bush Jr. in the founding manifesto of the Department of Homeland Security argued: "Liberty and freedom are fundamental to our way of life. Freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of movement, property rights, freedom from unlawful discrimination - these are all rights we are guaranteed as Americans, and rights we will fight to protect."²⁰ The perpetuation of the myth of American freedom and exceptionalism was evident in public spaces in the US. After 9/11, US flags appeared everywhere (in the New York subways on every train car). At the same time, bags began to be checked before entering stores, malls and libraries. This atmosphere of danger and, at the same time, loss of privacy must have translated into the art that the US performers showed. "The mood of their performance was mostly reflectively sad, a little bitter, which reminded us of the state of the spirit of Poland in the eighties during martial law. Is this the spirit of America at war today?" – Łukasz Guzek asked rhetorically.²¹ I will therefore analyse some of the performances during the *Julieta 484* project that dealt with the themes of war and U.S. foreign policy, which artists created in the context of wars with notable names in Afghanistan (*Operation Enduring Freedom*, 2001) and Iraq (*Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 2003).

The submarine in which the festival was held a year earlier had starred in a film *K-19. The Widowmaker* about the tragic nuclear reactor leak in 1961. In fact, it was a similar nuclear launcher submarine called the *K-77*, and Juliett was the name of the submarine type given by the US military. Marilyn Arsem – founder of Mobius – performed during the festival in the cabin of a KGB officer where, in the performance *Watching; Waiting*, she read the Department of Homeland Security alerts in a whisper.²² These alerts were meant to justify its existence and maintain a sense of perpetual threat. The context of the site imposed an analogy to the Cold War and the constant exaggeration of the USSR's military power once made by Team-B, but not based on any evidence. This CIA-competing group began in 1976 by President Gerald Ford claimed, among other things, that the USSR possessed non-acoustic submarines, although it never provided proof of this.²³ The analogy with accusations that Iraq had possessed weapons of mass destruction comes to mind. At the time, it was not known that they were false, but the artist's intuition proved accurate. The famous sentence from the first page of the aforementioned 2002 founding manifesto of the Department of Homeland Security, which reads: "Today's terrorists can strike at any place, at any time, and with virtually any weapon,"²⁴ spoke of a constant danger that is so undefined that it is impossible to win or end the fight against it. It was a danger that resembled a submarine lurking in the depths of the collective subconscious.

The scenario of threat that informed global politics after 9/11 has made the absence of any guarantor of belief much more palpable, particularly as it operates under the sign of the precautionary principle. As Adam Curtis's *The Power of Nightmares* (2004) documents, actions are justified on the basis of an imagined future, and the threat of a force that hasn't yet acted or revealed itself; there can be no empirical basis for this argument, since it is hypothetical and the proposed action seeks to prevent the imagined dangers from ever being released.²⁵

The quote above was written by Jill Bennett, citing a documentary by Adam Curtis showing parallels between the emerging movement of Islamic fundamentalists and neoconservatives in the United States since the late fifties.

In Ustka, at the Modelarnia in Gdansk, in Boston and in New York in a performance titled *American Foreign Policy*, Marilyn Arsem dissected the myth of US exceptionalism and imperialism. She set a terracotta pot with a cyclamen plant on a table, watered it, tended it, removed dust and blooms from it. She then asked the audience to close their eyes, smashed the pot with a stone, and then bandaged the whole thing and reassembled it. She repeated these actions over and over again until the plant and pot were completely destroyed, while never asking the audience to open their eyes, so some people had their eyes closed the whole time. The performance at the Modelarnia ended with an excerpt from George Bush's speech to the troops in Iraq, bringing to mind the poem *White Man's Burden* by Rudyard Kipling: "As you accomplished your mission, you treated innocent civilians with kindness, began delivering urgently needed food and medicine, and acted with the highest traditions of the United States Military. Our whole nation is proud of you, and I am proud to be your Commander in Chief."²⁶ Vanessa Gilbert, on the other hand, took the audience on a walk in a performance titled *I Want to Live in America* in Ustka – to an Internet café, an ATM and a port. These were three points where one can encounter advanced technology that is largely exported by the US. In the suitcase she carried she had a tape recorder with a recorded child's voice repeating the question, "Are we there yet?" Gilbert laid flowers and placed candles at the sites, she also deposited a notebook with her thoughts written down at the café, and drowned a few dollars at the harbour wharf. The artist exposed the myth of U.S. exceptionalism and the longing for a better world represented by the country, and at the same time criticized military-corporate technology. On the other hand, at the Modelarnia (and later also in Providence), in a performance called *Memento Mori*, the artist climbed onto a chair wearing a top with the word FREE written on it in a Statue of



1. Marilyn Arsem, performance *Watching; Waiting*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

2. Aleksandra Kubiak, performance *For them*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

3. Arti Grabowski, performance *Successor*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

4. Vanessa Gilbert, performance *Memento Mori*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

5. Grzegorz Kłaman, performance *Maybe Later*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

6. Władysław Kaźmierczak & Ewa Rybska, performance *The Giants*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

7. Antoni Szoska & Yin Peet, performance *Cross to Lingam*, Juliett 484, Providence, RI. Photographer: Bob Raymond

Courtesy of Marilyn Arsem

Liberty gesture, muttered the US anthem, and then climbed a ladder to the ceiling and spilled dogtags on the floor (in Providence she spilled them directly from the ceiling onto herself). These are the tags that soldiers wear around their necks so they can be identified after death.²⁷ So US foreign policy not only generates destructive activities in other countries, but is also complicit in the death of its own citizens in the name of bringing freedom and democracy.²⁸ Freedom Is Not Free. Other artists: Arti Grabowski and Jed Speare addressed the submarine context more generally – ridiculing toxic machismo, militarism and imperialism. In the performance *Successor*, Arti Grabowski first hit the bread with a baton to the rhythm of the ‘enedue rabe, the stork has swallowed the frog’ nursery rhyme, then he made himself bread epaulets and a general’s cap. Next, he set up plastic soldiers – black and white, later knocked over by a live rat, to which the artist tried to give orders. At the end, he pinned a medal from a lollipop to his bare chest. Jed Speare, on the other hand, for the performance *Sub-mission Regarding Juliett 484*, shot a black-and-white film inside the submarine, styled after avant-garde films of the twentieth- thirtieth and inspired by its name – Juliett. The film thus featured *Juliett and Romeo*. During the performance, Jed made uncoordinated movements on a chair to the rhythm of military steps, and then performed a shadow theater with two boats – a Soviet and a US one – both going down. Through such actions, the artists tamed the fears and sense of danger that became the glue of the global narrative about the post-9/11 world.

In one pub in Providence, a framed slogan, “Paranoia is un-American,” was hung on the wall. It inspired Władysław Kaźmierczak and Ewa Rybska to create performances in Boston and New York’s Chashama Theatre under that very title. The original idea was to rent an avionette, fly over New York and drop leaflets with this slogan. The organizers reacted to the idea with one sentence: “don’t even think about it.” It is worth noting that at the time NATO coalition troops were spreading leaflets, ideological ‘manna from heaven’ in Afghanistan and Iraq as part of the so-called PSYOP (Psychological Operations). Even before the start of the operations in Iraq, some

33 million of them were dropped.²⁹ The performers finely parodied the appearance at the border, always associated at that time with stress for U.S.-visa-holding tourists from Poland.³⁰ This border in performance was a stretched string and tiny American flags. A meticulous inspection, removing shoes, looking into every corner of the body. In the background a conversation was played about the performance title with festival participants. The term ‘Un-American’ itself had come into existence in a political context when the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) was founded in 1938 – a special investigative unit tracking the manifestations of fascism, but especially communism in the United States until 1975. With its activities, HCUA fuelled Cold War sentiment especially in the fifties. “[T]he curiously conspiratorial nature of claims levelled against putative Communist subversives, such as Alger Hiss, entrenched the hysteria and paranoia that would characterize full-blown McCarthyism in the early 1950s would culminate in the execution of the Rosenbergs in 1961” wrote Simon Van Schalkwyk.³¹ It soon became clear that paranoia in the post-9/11 era is not just peculiar to the US. For, as Wendy Hui Kyong Chun wrote, “Paranoia stems from the desire to compensate for a perceived weakness in symbolic authority.”³²

The humiliating procedures noted by artists traveling to the *Juliett 484* festival were only in their infancy. In addition to colour CCTV cameras, despite the controversy, full body scanners were later introduced at airports and other public places, among others, which violate the right to privacy. This particularly affects the rights of transgender people by exposing them to transphobic attacks. If we add to this the racist facial recognition system³³ and the Chinese social credit system based on it, we will get the fulfilment of the grim prophecy of the George Orwell’s *1984*. At the same time, artists who are sensitized to all manifestations of oppression, subvert any “rationalizing or false answers to contemporary questions” – as defined by Andrzej Turowski, who continues: “If democracy is a means of improving collective life (rather than a political utopia), and politics a means of achieving a socially

desired order (rather than political power), then the art of the *particular* sparks that unrest without which democracy as a form of critical participation in the collective project would be unthinkable.”³⁴

Free Catholic Poland

As mentioned above, 2003 was dominated by pro-European euphoria. At the time, Poland was negotiating the shape of the preamble to the European Constitution, insisting on a reference to ‘Christian values.’ The prospect of joining the European Union triggered reflections on one’s own identity, the definition of Polishness, the place of Poles in Europe and the world, national vices and addictions. This was done, among other things, in his performance *Polish Menu* by Arti Grabowski who got drunk during the show, smashed bottles against a bucket placed on his head, nailed a large cross to his chest with a hammer, burned a bonfire ‘on his face’ – on the seat of the chair under which he was lying, all in the presence of the Polish flag.³⁵ Earlier, in Ustka, he performed a performance entitled *CV* during which he nailed to doors with nails various acronyms (PRL, MGR, SLD, ASP, ZUS, NIP³⁶ etc.) that accompany us during the bureaucratic life in Poland. The sharp ends of the nails went to the other side of the door. In the next step of the performance, the artist “placed the nail-strewn door in the middle of the room, supporting it lightly and with little security, he lay under it holding a string in his hand, the pulling of which was supposed to drop the door directly on him”³⁷ – recorded Łukasz Guzek. He then pulled the string, but luckily managed to dodge the falling door. In the last scene, he put it on his back and crawled with it to the set destination, then, lying all the time under the door, he lit a candle playing *Happy Birthday*. Also autobiographical, but more personal, was the performance of Aleksandra Kubiak, who in Ustka and then in a submarine performed a piece entitled *For them*. The ‘them’ were her alcohol-addicted parents. The artist hung from the ceiling of the gallery and then in the corridor of the submarine, face down, and drank vodka through a pipe.³⁸

At the time, part of the exhibition *Roads to Freedom*, about the bloodless seizure of power by Solidarity, was shown at the Modelarnia.³⁹ This process was addressed by Władysław Kaźmierczak and Ewa Rybska in a performance on a platform next to the *Juliett 484* submarine entitled *The Giants*. The performers hung up about hundred large photographs taken during the Gdansk Shipyard strike between August 15 and 30, 1980, and, moving slowly for several hours, collected and deposited field flowers and grasses in front of them. However, they wore muzzles on their faces, suggesting the lack of freedom of expression in ‘free Poland.’ The meaning of the performance was communicated by an inscription:

(...) The workers created the first independent union in the whole communist system. They developed a unique movement bringing back the human dignity and elementary human rights. Because of this strike, the consciousness of the Polish people was changed; they started to believe in the possibility of creating a free country with democratic rules. This strike also brought us to intensive thinking about the breakdown of the Yalta Agreement, which divided Europe into two parts and pushed Poland into a totalitarian ideology. During the strike the Soviet navy stood all the time in the Gdansk Bay in visible distance. The Navy wanted to give a signal and visible pressure that they would defend the communist ideology and Soviet empire. The peaceful revolution in Poland was very threatening to the totalitarian system. Today’s context: demobilized Soviet submarine / photos of shipyard workers reminds us of a gloomy time, which we hope, will never come back.⁴⁰

Today – in retrospect – we know that the ideals of Solidarity as a labour movement have been betrayed. In 2003, the unemployment rate was around 20%.⁴¹ “The fact that it was ‘Solidarity’, the party built by Poland’s blue-collar workers, that

oversaw the creation of this permanent underclass represented a bitter betrayal, one that bred a deep cynicism and anger in the country that has never fully lifted” wrote Naomi Klein.⁴² Freedom Was Not Free. Poland’s Road to Freedom – along with Leszek Balcerowicz’s plan, and in fact – the plan of Jeffrey Sachs and David Lipton⁴³ – constituted ‘shock therapy’ for Polish society, whose impoverishment and disillusionment resulted in its subsequent susceptibility to the populist slogans of PiS. Paradoxically, by voting for the Right, Poles got rid of the personal freedom they had won for themselves, under the (never realized and purely demagogic) slogan of revindication of state property sold off after 1989. Another issue was the struggle between these ‘giants’ – the leaders of 1980 strikes over the legacy of Solidarity and their mutual accusations taking away from Poles the feeling that they had accomplished something great. Lech Wałęsa was accused of collaborating with the UB (Security Office). *Gazeta Wyborcza* furthermore explains that “Kazimierz Świtoń accused Walesa of handing Poland over to ‘Jewish racists’ at the Round Table.”⁴⁴

An artist who also referred to Solidarity was Grzegorz Klaman, who rebranded the submarine Juliett as Solidarity in the performance *Maybe Later*. Let me remind the reader, that in the official conception of the festival, the submarine might have been one of the warships patrolling the Gdansk Bay during the Solidarity strikes of the eighties. In the aforementioned film *K-19: The Widowmaker*, during the christening of the boat, the champagne bottle did not break. The sailors pronounced, ‘it’s a curse.’ The story from the film repeated itself in Providence. Klaman stuck a sign with the new name on the submarine and tried to break the bottle, which didn’t succeed right away because it was covered with rubber. Finally, after several attempts, he managed to smash it against a metal railing. Klaman also hoisted a red, white and black flag that he had designed on the mast. Adding black to the colours of the Polish flag was meant to remind people of Poland’s infamous history. In the early two-thousands, this was vividly being discussed, thanks to Jan Tomasz Gross’s book *Neighbors*,

published in 2000, about the Polish nation’s crimes against the Jews of Jedwabne.⁴⁵ The book caused a shock in a Polish society convinced of its own impeccability in the context of World War II, and even of the heroic deeds of the “righteous among the nations of the world.”⁴⁶ The publication, which has been repeatedly criticized for its inaccurate assessment of the sources, sparked a discussion about Polish participation in Nazi crimes – now impossible to erase, as evidenced by the PiS government’s backtracking on its ban on accusing the Polish people of co-responsibility for these (and other) crimes.⁴⁷ Returning to the performance – the gesture of Poland’s acquisition of the submarine was dressed up in pathos, on the other hand, the flag itself – intended to refer to values that Poles are supposed to be proud of – was manipulated and contaminated by the artist without allowing us to forget the ‘black pages of history.’ It is unclear what exactly the christening of the boat and the hanging of the manipulated flag meant in this context. The gesture can also be read as a criticism of Solidarity for its conservatism and ties to the Catholic Church. The political freedom won in 1989 meant giving in to its pressure. Freedom Was Not Free. Milan Kohout, an artist of Czech origin and signatory of *Charter 77*, also referred to it⁴⁸ in a performance of the *Word of God*, when in Gdansk he locked himself in a cage with chickens, to whom he read the *Holy Scriptures* in Czech. He also used the soundtrack from the *Roads to Freedom* exhibition, which, as mentioned earlier, was shown at the Shipyard at the time – these were recordings of police conversations from the 1970 demonstrations. One oppression turned into another.

How severe this oppression was, the Polish art world found out in 2003. On July 18, 2003, Dorota Nieznalska was sentenced to six months of restriction of liberty (performing community service) for offending religious feelings with the installation *Passion*.⁴⁹ Nieznalska’s trial took place at an express pace, especially for the Polish justice system. The first hearing took place on September 16, 2002, the verdict came on July 18, 2003 and came as a shock to the art community. Władysław Kaźmierczak and Ewa Rybska commented on it in

their performance *Body & Sin*. First, they set in motion a magnetic man-acrobat – spinning around his axis and performing funny poses. The image was transmitted from the camera to the cinema screen and suggested a resemblance with another person who appeared on the screen – Judge Tomasz Zieliński – the protagonist of the documentary film *The sentence*, from the trial of Dorota Nieznalska. The performers acted separately – Rybska, holding a glowing pendant in her hand, showed various objects wrapped in transparent containers: peppers, pasta, two vibrators, a plastic fluorescent cross, handcuffs, a black whip, and condoms. At this time Kaźmierczak took off his jacket and began to put plastic garbage bags over his white shirt, making a kind of cape or jabot to suggest a judge's outfit. Then he very slowly smeared his face and his entire head with black mud. “This mud with which Dorota Nieznalska was pelted sticks to every artist, all art (...)”⁵⁰ – commented Łukasz Guzek. Kaźmierczak then dried his face and hair with a hair dryer, took off his garbage bags and put on a jacket. Rybska handcuffed him to a chair and then whipped him. When the projection ended, the performers slowly began to howl like wolves. One of the spectators at the Modelarnia was Dorota Nieznalska, who snatched the whip from Rybska's hands and began to beat the screen with an image of the judge speaking. Other artists who addressed the Nieznalska case were Antoni Szoska from Kraków and Yin Peet from Taiwan. Their performance was titled *Cross to Lingam* (‘Lingam’ is the Sanskrit name for phallus – a symbol of male power). They built something like a large phallus – a totem – in the Modelarnia. To this totem made of wire they horizontally attached two brooms with bread loaves impaled on the handles. In this way they built a form of a cross. “The artists crushed the bread into tiny crumbs, covering the floor of the gallery with them. Then, with brooms, they swept the bread as is done in stone meditative eastern gardens, where gravel is raked in a mandala pattern”⁵¹ – recalled Łukasz Guzek.

Aleksandra Kubiak was one of the artists who came up with the performance on the spot – in Providence – prompted by an accidental encounter

with a non-binary person. The artist, with her torso wrapped in foil, sewed boiled eggs to her thighs.⁵² In Poland of the early two-thousands, the subject of queer, non-binary and non-heteronormative rights was completely ignored. In art criticism, male writers reacted to the emerging feminist discourses with the notion of androgyne, understood, however, more as a universal ‘humanity’ meant to be an argument for the existence of ‘universal art’ and depreciating the existence of feminist art, identified with the art of women.⁵³ At the time of the *Juliett 484* festival, *Pride Parades* were a novelty (the first one passed through Warsaw only in 2001). In 2003 Karolina Breguła created the campaign *Let Them See Us* on billboards. It was the first Polish artistic social campaign on LGBT issues and stirred up a lot of emotions. The company AMS, which was originally supposed to show it, withdrew at the last minute. It was eventually handled by City Board Media, but the billboards were often destroyed. “The fate of the campaign has showed the scale of intolerance, fear and censorship in our country,” two dozen Polish intellectuals wrote in a letter to the Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*.⁵⁴ One of the couples shown on Breguła's billboards were Tomasz Kitliński and Paweł Leszkowicz, who made a performance *To cut* in Ustka during the *Castle of Imagination* discussed in this text. The artists stood with their backs turned to the audience, at some distance from each other. From the tape flowed a parodied, long, vulgar and jazzy monologue by a woman who hates gays. After the tape was played, they turned to face the audience and grabbed their hands, exactly as on the Breguła poster. It was a very simple gesture, saying: ‘love is love.’ From today's perspective, one looks at this work as if not much has changed. In 2019, fifteen years after Poland's entry into the European Union, the right-wing *Gazeta Polska* launched its ‘LGBT-free zone’ campaign. According to a recent report by the Center for Research on Prejudice (2021), the situation of non-heteronormative people is as it was twenty-seven years ago. In some respects, it has even worsened – for example, the percentage of parents accepting their child's non-heteronormativity has dropped.⁵⁵ Tomasz Kitliński, on the other hand, became the victim of a homophobic campaign when,

as an employee of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, he protested the award of the Amici Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska medal to the Minister of Education and Science Przemysław Czarnek due to his statements expressing hatred toward the LGBT community, as well as his lack of merit justifying the award beyond the competence of the governor. Minister Czarnek reported Kitliński's words to the prosecutor's office, accusing him of insulting the state.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Performance is the kind of art that reacts very quickly to political and social events. More than other art genres, it functions as a 'sensitive seismograph' because it happens here and now. Some of the performances described above were prepared on the spot, inspired by the moment, by contact with the space, with another country. This is the artists' way of working that is characteristic of festival performances. The performances, which were prepared in advance, generally also referred to current reality. Today we can see that the artists' intuitions were going in the right direction, diagnosing problems that subsequently only compounded. No US administration has abolished the PATRIOT Act, and in Poland persecuting artists and accusing them of 'insulting religious feelings' has become one of the overarching goals of the Law and Justice government.⁵⁷ Ordo Iuris has even published a manual on how to do it effectively.⁵⁸ Isaiah Berlin would say that negative freedom – from state control – has become merely a slogan and an unfulfilled promise of so-called liberal democracies. It has been replaced by 'freedom to,' which citizens voluntarily give up in the name of 'higher goals,' such as 'public safety' or 'moral codes'.⁵⁹ Artists during *Julieta 484* took advantage of meeting in places of special historical significance that no longer exist⁶⁰ to construct statements about different types of enslavement and to deconstruct national myths. They also met at an important moment in the history of both countries. They spoke about the oppressiveness of the Catholic

Church, the state apparatus, the bureaucracy, or the capitalist system, as well as homophobia that excludes and takes away personal freedom. As in any such exchange, it is important how the citizens of the two countries viewed each other's socio-political reality. The attitude of Poles to U.S. politics is perhaps best reflected here by the closing of eyes in Marilyn Arsem's performance. US citizens, on the other hand, admired Poles for their bloodless revolution, but did not recognize the differences in Polish society's perception of the events that led to the systemic transformation. They may also have been unaware of the oppression resulting from the strengthening of the Catholic Church that manifest in the form of censorship, prosecutorial investigations against artists, or daily homophobia.

The performances mentioned above complement and complete the historiographic picture of the US and Poland in 2003 in a meaningful way.⁶¹ They complement it with a human agent, an individual perspective, taking advantage of the fact that in art they can operate both on an abstract level and create images deeply rooted in history and culture.⁶² Performance like no other art functions 'in the present,' influenced by current political events. At the same time, artists using their social position – often also acting as lecturers or art curators – disseminate their vision of the world, along with all their anxieties, intuitions and diagnoses.

Notes

¹ In the Castle of Imagination / Juliett 484 the following artists participated: Marilyn Arsem, John Boehme, Marek Choloniewski, Nicola Frangione, Vanessa Gilbert, Arti Grabowski, KKO Group (Marta Jurkowska, Małgorzata Migula, Emilia Musiał), Władysław Kaźmierczak and Ewa Rybska, Tomasz Kitliński and Paweł Leszkowicz, Grzegorz Klamon, Milan Kohout, Aleksandra Kubiak, Paweł Kwaśniewski, Mari Novotny-Jones, Angel Pastor, Yin Peet, Christian Schmidt-Chemnitzer, Magda Sowierszenko & Eugen Proba, Jed Speare, Antoni Szoska and Dominik Złotkowski. The curators were: Władysław Kaźmierczak, Bob Rizzo and Jed Speare.

² In the text, I do not use the words 'America' and 'United States' interchangeably. If the word 'America' appears, it is only in quotations.

³ saba, "Protest antywojenny w Warszawie," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 30.03.2003.

⁴ Anna Grudniewicz, "Wzrost nastrojów antywojennych. Komunikat z badań" (Warszawa: CBOS, 2003); "Polacy o misji stabilizacyjnej w Iraku. Komunikat z badań" (Warszawa: CBOS, 2003), Adam Leszczyński, "90 proc. przeciwko inwazji na Irak," *Oko.press*, published electronically 19.06.2016, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://oko.press/90-proc-polakow-przeciwko-inwazji-irak/>.

⁵ Dana Priest, "CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons," *Washington Post* published electronically 2.11.2005, accessed 10.06.2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/AR2005110101644.html>.

⁶ In the referendum, 77% of Poles voted in favour of joining the European Union, 23% against. The turnout was 59%. <https://referendum2003.pkw.gov.pl/sww/kraj/indexA.html>.

⁷ The only manifestation of a discussion on the subject in the art press was a short text by Kazimierz Piotrowski, who commented on anti-European statements on Radio Maryja in the pages of *Exit* magazine, taking the side of integration. See: Kazimierz Piotrowski, "inteGracja / inteGration," *Exit*, no. 3 (55) (2003): 3096-99.

⁸ 'Rywingate' or 'Rywin affair' was a scandal, which started after a prominent film producer Lew Rywin offered Adam Michnik – the former dissident and Solidarity leader who is the Chief editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza* – amendments to the media ownership law in return for a payment of \$17.5m. He said he was operating on behalf of the cabinet. Adam Michnik recorded their conversation. See: Ian Traynor, "Bribery case threatens Polish government," *The Guardian*, 9.06.2003, accessed 19.01.2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/09/filmnews.poland>.

⁹ Zbigniew Ziobro, currently a Minister of Justice, known for his ultra-conservative views. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zbigniew_Ziobro.

¹⁰ PiS – Law and Justice Party is a right-wing populist and national-conservative political party in Poland. Its leader is Jarosław Kaczyński. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_and_Justice, accessed 19.01.2023.

¹¹ Por. John Wickey, *The Myth of American Freedom. Understanding How Democracy Stands in the Way of Restoring America* (Boise, ID: Delphic Press, 2010).

¹² The name "Möbius," in turn, began to be used from 1977. First it was Möbius Theater (1977-1985), then Möbius Performing Group (1985-1990), and finally Möbius Artists Group (1991 and continuing). The organization incorporated in 1980 as Möbius Theater, Inc., an artist-run 501(c)3 non-profit, tax-exempt organization for experimental work in all media, but dropped 'Theater' from the legal name in 1985 to become Möbius, Inc. See: <https://www.mobius.org/history>.

¹³ In 1996-1997 there was an exchange of female artists from North Macedonia, and in 1999-2002 there were several exchanges with male and female artists from Croatia. See: <https://www.mobius.org/history> See also Nina MacLaughlin, "Möbius moves. The artists' group goes global with 'Juliett 484'," *The Boston Phoenix*, published electronically 19-25.09.2003, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://bostonphoenix.com/boston/events/perform/documents/03162630.asp>.

¹⁴ Private correspondence with Marilyn Arsem. 13.03.2022.

¹⁵ Brooklyn-based performer Dan McKereghan was the first to collaborate with the Chashama Theatre. In 2002, he organized the Currency festival there. This theatre is run by Anita Durst, an actress and niece of the famous Robert Durst, a multiple murderer. See Dani Anguiano, "Robert Durst, convicted murderer and disgraced real estate heir, dies at 78," *The Guardian*, published electronically 10.01.2022, accessed 2.05.2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/jan/10/robert-durst-convicted-murderer-disgraced-heir-dies-78>. The Theatre has changed location several times, always being near Times Square – the area once known for its peep shows. Before another skyscraper was built here, Anita Durst was allowed to adapt the space into an independent arts venue. See: Cait Munro, "HBO True-Crime Expose of Robert Durst Reveals Family's Art World Connections," *Artnet*, published electronically 20.03.2015, accessed 2.05.2022, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/robert-durst-family-art-world-278871>.

¹⁶ The submarine sank in 2007. Associated Press, "Providence submarine museum sinks," *Boston.com*, published electronically 19.04.2007, accessed 15.05.2022, http://archive.boston.com/news/local/articles/2007/04/19/providence_submarine_museum_sinks/.

¹⁷ <https://www.performance.com.pl/en/en.html>.

¹⁸ Today it is openly written that the lies of the then newly elected President Vladimir Putin on this issue were the beginning of the end of democracy in Russia. The submarine Kursk sank in August 2000, with 118 crew members killed and 23 managing to save themselves. See: Inna Denisova and Robert Coalson, "Kursk Anniversary: Submarine Disaster Was Putin's 'First Lie'," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, published electronically 12.08.2015, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/kursk-disaster-putin-turning-point-russia/27184505.html>.

- ¹⁹ Public Law 107–56 - Oct. 26 2001, “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001,” edited by 107th Congress.
- ²⁰ “National Strategy for Homeland Security,” edited by Office of Homeland Security (2002), 20.
- ²¹ Łukasz Guzek, ed., *Performatyzacja sztuki. Sztuka performance i czynniki sztuki akcji w polskiej krytyce sztuki* (Gdańsk: ASP, 2013), 58.
- ²² <http://marilynarsem.net/projects/watching-waiting/>.
- ²³ Lawrence J. Korb, “It’s Time to Bench ‘Team B,’” *CAP* published electronically 18.08.2004, accessed 15.05.2020, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/its-time-to-bench-team-b/>.
- ²⁴ “National Strategy for Homeland Security,” 13.
- ²⁵ Jill Bennett, *Practical Aesthetics. Events, Affects and Art after 9/11* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 127.
- ²⁶ <http://marilynarsem.net/projects/american-foreign-policy-i/>.
- ²⁷ The dogtags were designed by sculptor Holly Laws, who in 2000 was preparing a set for an adaptation of Homer’s *Iliad* at a theater in Rochester. At the time, she invited poets to collaborate, who created six sentences: “THIS IS THE PERSON / WHO IS NOT A PERSON / THIS IS THE BODY / THAT IS NOT A BODY,” “COUNTLESS / WHISPERS / REPEAT / EACH LIFE,” “AND SO AS KINSMEN / WE WALKED BETWEEN THE ROOMS,” “ONCE WHEN I WAS LIVING / NEAR THE END OF THE WORLD,” “I COULD DO NOTHING / THIS IS TO SAY I WAS A CHILD,” and “ANYONE IS EVERYONE.” <http://curamag.com/events-archive/2012-events-benefiting-covenant-house.html>.
- ²⁸ 4,487 U.S. soldiers have died in the Iraq war. See “Iraq war in figures,” *BBC News*, published electronically 14.12.2011, accessed 29.06.2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11107739>.
- ²⁹ Jennifer Gabrys, “Leaflet Drop: The Paper Landscapes of War,” *Invisible Culture. An Electronic Journal for Visual Culture*, no. 7, published electronically 20.03.2004, accessed 15.05.2022, http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_7/Gabrys/gabrys.html; Daniel L. Haulman, “USAF Psychological Operations, 1990-2003,” (2003).
- ³⁰ Visas for Poles were waived in November 2019.
- ³¹ Simon Van Schalkwyk, “‘Un-American Confessions’: Translation as Subversion in Robert Lowell’s *Life Studies* (1959),” *European Journal of American Studies*, no. 12 (2) (2017): 13, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4000/ejas.12031>.
- ³² Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, *Control and Freedom. Power and Paranoia in the Age of Fiber Optics* (Cambridge, MA-London: MIT, 2006), 267.
- ³³ See, e.g., Ruha Benjamin, *Race After Technology. Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code* (Cambridge-Medford, MA: Polity, 2019). Or a film by Shalini Kantayya, “Coded Bias” (USA 2020).
- ³⁴ Andrzej Turowski, *Sztuka, która wzniesła niepokoje. Manifest artystyczno-polityczny sztuki szczególnej (Art That Sparks Unrest. The Artistic-Political Manifesto of Particular Art)* (Warszawa: Książka i Prasa, 2012), 88.
- ³⁵ Private correspondence with Arti Grabowski, 15.05.2022.
- ³⁶ PRL – Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa (People’s Republic of Poland), MGR – MA, SLD – Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (Democratic Left Alliance), ASP – Akademia Sztuk Pięknych (Academy of Fine Arts), ZUS – Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych (Social Insurance Institution), NIP – Numer Identyfikacji Podatkowej (Tax ID Number).
- ³⁷ Guzek, *Performatyzacja sztuki*, 60.
- ³⁸ Conversation with Aleksandra Kubiak, 17.03.2022.
- ³⁹ <http://fcs.org.pl/projekt/drogi-do-wolnosci-stala-ekspozycja/>.
- ⁴⁰ <http://www.performance.com.pl/en/en.html>.
- ⁴¹ Główny Urząd Statystyczny, “Stopa bezrobocia rejestrowanego w latach 1990-2022,” published electronically 26.04.2022, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/rynek-pracy/bezrobocie-rejestrowane/stopa-bezrobocia-rejestrowanego-w-latach-1990-2022,4,1.html>.
- ⁴² Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine. The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books. Henry Holt and Company, 2007), 192.
- ⁴³ Leszek Balcerowicz was as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who in the summer of 1989 became the first elected non-communist Prime Minister in the whole Eastern Bloc. Assisted by Harvard Professors Jeffrey Sachs and David Lipton, Balcerowicz quickly implemented a process of economic transformation based on private market economy. See: Richard J. Hunter Jr., and Leo V. Ryan, “A Retrospective Analysis and Future Perspective: Why Was Poland’s Transition So Difficult?” *The Polish Review* 60, no. 2 (2006): 147-171.
- ⁴⁴ Maciej Sandecki, “Spowiedź Wałęsy,” *Gazeta Wyborcza Trójmiasto*, 10.10.2003.
- ⁴⁵ Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). The book was first published in Poland in 2000.
- ⁴⁶ Por. Barbara Józefik and Krzysztof Szwejca, “Polish myths and their deconstruction in the context of Polish-Jewish relations,” *Archives of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy*, no. 1 (2011).

⁴⁷ In January 2018, an amendment to the IPN Law was introduced providing for a penalty of up to three years in prison for attributing co-responsibility for Nazi crimes to Poles. The amendment was criticized by many lawyers and historians. President Andrzej Duda referred it to the Constitutional Court. On July 17, 2018, another amendment repealing criminal sanctions went into effect. See: "Najnowsza nowelizacja ustawy o IPN – co się zmieniło?" *Infor*, published electronically 2.07.2018, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://www.infor.pl/prawo/kodeks-karny/kary-i-srodki-karne/2289628,Najnowsza-nowelizacja-ustawy-o-IPN-co-sie-zmieniło.html>.

⁴⁸ *Charter 77* was a declaration in defence of human rights signed by 242 signatories on Jan. 1, 1977. Milan Kohout in 1986 was expelled from Czechoslovakia and left for Boston. Por. Monika Hoření, "Každé umění by mělo být angažované," *Haló noviny. Český levicový deník*, published electronically 2.08.2013, accessed 29.06.2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150924024801/http://www.halonoviny.cz/articles/view/7911270>.

⁴⁹ See the photos and the description of the work: <https://nieznalska.com/en/passion-en/>, accessed 19.01.2023. Karol Sienkiewicz, "Dorota Nieznalska's *Passion* – A Decade of Judgment on Artistic Freedom in Poland," *Culture.pl*, published electronically 14.12.2011, accessed 29.06.2022, <https://culture.pl/en/article/dorota-nieznalskas-passion-a-decade-of-judgment-on-artistic-freedom-in-poland>.

⁵⁰ Guzek, *Performatyzacja sztuki*, 60.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 61.

⁵² This performance was performed twice: at the BPM Performance Space in Brooklyn and at the SMFA gallery in Boston, where it was marked with a 'for adult audiences' card. Conversation with Aleksandra Kubiak, 17.03.2022.

⁵³ See Grzegorz Dziamski, "Sztuka kobiet: od outsidera do Innego," *Format*, no. 8-9 (1992): 35. In 2003 Andrzej Karmasz took part in the Eugeniusz Geppert competition with his work *Androgynous Portraits*. See: Andrzej Jarosz, "Młodzi bez przyszłości?" *Ibidem*, no. 43 (2003): 46. In Polish art, the topic of transgenderism was perhaps the first (in a series realized in 2004-2007 *malawida: moRgan&veriKami*) to be taken up by Barbara Konopka. See: Krzysztof Jurecki, "Barbara Konopka," *Culture.pl*, published electronically, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/barbara-konopka>. It wasn't until 2011 when Anna Grodzka won the parliamentary elections that the topic began to be more widely discussed. In the same year Michalina Manios - the first transgender celebrity – won third place in the TVN Top Model competition and told her life story as a gender-corrected person. Nonbinarity in the consciousness of Polish society appeared only through Margot (Małgorzata Szutowicz) in 2020. See: Renata Ziemińska, *Niebinarne i wielowarstwowe pojęcie płci* (Warszawa: PWN, 2018), 72. About the situation of intergender people in Poland read on pages 71-73 of the same book. See also: Mateusz Król, "(Nie)widzialność osób transpłciowych w Polsce," *Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne*, no. 14 (2017).

⁵⁴ https://web.archive.org/web/20120206011545/http://niechnaszobacza.queers.pl/index_en.htm.

⁵⁵ Ewa Siedlecka, "Dramaty osób LGBT w Polsce. Nienawiść, wyrzucanie z domu, depresje," *Polityka*, published electronically 12.12.2021, accessed 29.06.2022, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/2146550,1,dramaty-osob-lgbt-w-polsce-nienawisc-wyrzucanie-z-domu-depresje.read>.

⁵⁶ Angus Reid, "Poland: prominent academic targeted by far-right," published electronically 14.11.2019, accessed 3.05.2022, <https://www.petertatchellfoundation.org/poland-prominent-academic-targeted-by-far-right/>.

⁵⁷ Stian Gabrielsen, "Freedom of Expression Under Attack in Poland," *Kunstkritikk* published electronically 7.02.2022, accessed 15.05.2022, <https://kunstkritikk.com/freedom-of-expression-under-attack-in-poland/>.

⁵⁸ Filip Ciepły, ed., *Odpowiedzialność karna artysty za obrazę uczuć religijnych* (Fundacja na Rzecz Kultury Ordo Iuris, 2014).

⁵⁹ See: "Berlin: Aktion gegen Werbestrategie-Ausstellung," *Indymedia*, published electronically 25.03.2004, accessed 25.09.2019, <http://de.indymedia.org/2004/03/77993.shtml>; Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁶⁰ The Modelarnia was demolished in 2012, and the Juliett, as mentioned above, sank in 2007. See: Rafał Borowski, "Te budynki zniknęły ze stocznego krajobrazu," *Trojmiasto.pl*, published electronically 27.02.2019, accessed 29.06.2022, <https://historia.trojmiasto.pl/Te-budynki-zniknely-ze-stocznego-krajobrazu-n132156.html>.

⁶¹ Today, it has been joined by Internet giants, troll farms and a deluge of fake news, among others. See: Jakub Dąbrowski, "Wolność sztuki 2010-2020 albo o kulminacji wielkiej smuty," *Magazyn Szum*, no. 35 (2021/2022): 26.

⁶² Girma Negash, "Art Invoked: A Mode of Understanding and Shaping the Political," *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* 25, no. 2 (2004): 188.

Bibliography

- Anguiano, Dani. "Robert Durst, convicted murderer and disgraced real estate heir, dies at 78." *The Guardian*. Published electronically 10.01.2022. Accessed 2.05.2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/jan/10/robert-durst-convicted-murderer-disgraced-heir-dies-78>.
- Associated Press. "Providence submarine museum sinks." *Boston.com*. Published electronically 19.04.2007. Accessed 15.05.2022. http://archive.boston.com/news/local/articles/2007/04/19/providence_submarine_museum_sinks/.
- Benjamin, Ruha. *Race After Technology. Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Cambridge-Medford, MA: Polity, 2019.
- Bennett, Jill. *Practical Aesthetics. Events, Affects and Art after 9/11*. London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Berlin, Isaiah. *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- "Berlin: Aktion gegen Werbestrategie-Ausstellung." *Indymedia*. Published electronically 25.03.2004. Accessed 25.09.2019. <http://de.indymedia.org/2004/03/77993.shtml>.
- Borowski, Rafał. "Te budynki zniknęły ze stoczniewego krajobrazu." *Trojmiasto.pl*. Published electronically 27.02.2019. Accessed 29.06.2022. <https://historia.trojmiasto.pl/Te-budynki-zniknely-ze-stoczniewego-krajobrazu-n132156.html>.
- Chun, Wendy Hui Kyong. *Control and Freedom. Power and Paranoia in the Age of Fiber Optics*. Cambridge, MA-London: MIT, 2006.
- Cieply, Filip, ed. *Odpowiedzialność karna artysty za obrazę uczuć religijnych*: Fundacja na Rzecz Kultury Ordo Iuris, 2014.
- Dąbrowski, Jakub. "Wolność sztuki 2010-2020 albo o kulminacji wielkiej smuty." *Magazyn Szum*, no. 35 (2021/2022): 24-37.
- Denisova, Inna, and Robert Coalson. "Kursk Anniversary: Submarine Disaster Was Putin's 'First Lie'." *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*. Published electronically 12.08.2015. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://www.rferl.org/a/kursk-disaster-putin-turning-point-russia/27184505.html>.
- Dziamski, Grzegorz. "Sztuka kobiet: od outsidera do Innego." *Format*, no. 8-9 (1992): 32-37.
- Gabrielsen, Stian. "Freedom of Expression Under Attack in Poland." *Kunstkrønikk*. Published electronically 7.02.2022. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://kunstkrønikk.com/freedom-of-expression-under-attack-in-poland/>.
- Gabrys, Jennifer. "Leaflet Drop: The Paper Landscapes of War." *Invisible Culture. An Electronic Journal for Visual Culture*, no. 7 (2004). Published electronically 20.03.2004. Accessed 15.05.2022. http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_7/Gabrys/gabrys.html.
- Główny Urząd Statystyczny. "Stopa bezrobocia rejestrowanego w latach 1990-2022." Published electronically 26.04.2022. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/rynek-pracy/bezrobocie-rejestrowane/stopa-bezrobocia-rejestrowanego-w-latach-1990-2022,4,1.html>.
- Gross, Jan Tomasz. *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Grudniewicz, Anna. "Polacy o misji stabilizacyjnej w Iraku. Komunikat z badań." Warszawa: CBOaS, 2003.
- Grudniewicz, Anna. "Wzrost nastrojów antywojennych. Komunikat z badań." Warszawa: CBOS, 2003.
- Guzek, Łukasz, ed. *Performatyzacja sztuki. Sztuka performance i czynnik sztuki akcji w polskiej krytyce sztuki*. Gdańsk: ASP, 2013.
- Haulman, Daniel L. "USAF Psychological Operations, 1990-2003." 2003.
- Hoření, Monika. "Každé umění by mělo být angažované." *Haló noviny. Český levicový deník*. Published electronically 2.08.2013. Accessed 29.06.2022. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150924024801/http://www.halonoviny.cz/articles/view/7911270>.
- Hunter, Richard J. Jr. and Leo V. Ryan. "A Retrospective Analysis and Future Perspective: Why Was Poland's Transition So Difficult?" *The Polish Review* 60, no. 2 (2006): 147-171.
- "Iraq war in figures." *BBC News*. Published electronically 14.12.2011. Accessed 29.06.2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11107739>.
- Jarosz, Andrzej. "Młodzi bez przyszłości?". *Format*, no. 43 (2003): 46-47.
- Józefik, Barbara, and Krzysztof Szwejca. "Polish myths and their deconstruction in the context of Polish-Jewish relations." *Archives of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy*, no. 1 (2011): 35-41.
- Jurecki, Krzysztof. "Barbara Konopka." *Culture.pl*. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/barbara-konopka>.
- Kantayya, Shalini. "Coded Bias." USA, 2020.
- Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine. The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books. Henry Holt and Company, 2007.
- Korb, Lawrence J. "It's Time to Bench 'Team B'." *CAP*. Published electronically 18.08.2004. Accessed 15.05.2020. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/its-time-to-bench-team-b/>.

- Król, Mateusz. "(Nie)widzialność osób transpłciowych w Polsce." *Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne*, no. 14 (2017): 163-80.
- Leszczyński, Adam. "90 proc. przeciwko inwazji na Irak." *Oko.press*. Published electronically 19.06.2016. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://oko.press/90-proc-polakow-przeciwko-inwazji-irak/>.
- MacLaughlin, Nina. "Möbius moves. The artists' group goes global with 'Juliett 484'." *The Boston Phoenix*. Published electronically 19-25.09.2003. Accessed 15.05.2020. <https://bostonphoenix.com/boston/events/perform/documents/03162630.asp>.
- Munro, Cait. "HBO True-Crime Expose of Robert Durst Reveals Family's Art World Connections." *Artnet*. Published electronically 20.03.2015. Accessed 2.05.2022. <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/robert-durst-family-art-world-278871>.
- "Najnowsza nowelizacja ustawy o IPN – co się zmieniło?" *Infor*. Published electronically 2.07.2018. Accessed 15.05.2022. <https://www.infor.pl/prawo/kodeks-karny/kary-i-srodky-kanne/2289628,Najnowsza-nowelizacja-ustawy-o-IPN-co-sie-zmieniilo.html>.
- "National Strategy for Homeland Security." Edited by Office of Homeland Security, 2002.
- Negash, Girma. "Art Invoked: A Mode of Understanding and Shaping the Political." *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* 25, no. 2 (2004): 185-201.
- Piotrowski, Kazimierz. "inteGracja / inteGration." *Exit*, no. 3 (55) (2003): 3096-99.
- Priest, Dana. "CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons." *Washington Post*. Published electronically 2.11.2005. Accessed 10.06.2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/AR2005110101644.html>.
- Public Law 107-56 - Oct. 26 2001. "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001." Edited by 107th Congress.
- Reid, Angus. "Poland: prominent academic targeted by far-right." Published electronically 14.11.2019. Accessed 3.05.2022. <https://www.petertatchellfoundation.org/poland-prominent-academic-targeted-by-far-right/>. saba. "Protest antywojenny w Warszawie." *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 30.03.2003.
- Sandecki, Maciej. "Spowiedź Wałęsy." *Gazeta Wyborcza Trójmiasto*, 10.10.2003.
- Schalkwyk, Simon Van. "'Un-American Confessions': Translation as Subversion in Robert Lowell's Life Studies (1959)." *European Journal of American Studies*, no. 12 (2) (2017): 1-8. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4000/ejas.12031>.
- Siedlecka, Ewa. "Dramaty osób LGBT w Polsce. Nienawiść, wyrzucanie z domu, depresje." *Polityka*. Published electronically 12.12.2021. Accessed 29.06.2022. <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/kraj/2146550,1,dramaty-osob-lgbt-w-polsce-nienawisc-wyrzucanie-z-domu-depresje.read>.
- Sienkiewicz, Karol. "Dorota Nieznańska's Passion – A Decade of Judgment on Artistic Freedom in Poland." *Culture.pl*. Published electronically 14.12.2011. Accessed 29.06.2022. <https://culture.pl/en/article/dorota-nieznalskas-passion-a-decade-of-judgment-on-artistic-freedom-in-poland>.
- Traynor, Ian. "Bribery case threatens Polish government", *The Guardian*. Published electronically 9.06.2003. Accessed 19.01.2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/09/filmnews.poland>.
- Turowski, Andrzej. *Sztuka, która wznieca niepokój. Manifest artystyczno-polityczny sztuki szczególnej (Art That Sparks Unrest. The Artistic-Political Manifesto of Particular Art)*. Warszawa: Książka i Prasa, 2012.
- Wickey, John. *The Myth of American Freedom. Understanding How Democracy Stands in the Way of Restoring America*. Boise, ID: Delphic Press, 2010.
- Ziemińska, Renata. *Niebinarne i wielowarstwowe pojęcie płci*. Warszawa: PWN, 2018.