

MICHAEL D. KENNEDY\*

---

# Love, Law, and War in Ukraine and Israel/Palestine: Rearticulating Podgórecki's Place in a Polish Become American Sociological Imagination<sup>1</sup>

Miłość, prawo i wojna w Ukrainie i Izraelu/Palestynie.  
Określenie na nowo miejsca Podgóreckiego w polskiej,  
która stała się amerykańską, wyobraźni socjologicznej

## Abstract

Adam Podgórecki's place in American sociology, and my own engagement with his work 30 years ago, begins my contribution to this collection. I turn next to consider how some subsequent scholars have explained his work and its potential, and do some of the same by inviting our translation of intuitive and formal law into an exploration of vernacular and professional articulations of justice and law. I then consider the place of love in the relationship before moving on to examine two epoch-ending crises of our time: Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the war in Israel/Palestine. I conclude with an observation that Podgórecki and other scholars invite us to rethink how the intuitive and the formal, the vernacular and the professional, senses of justice might be rearticulated. I recommend that South Africa's intervention at the International Court of Justice might be a transformational moment.

**Keywords:** Adam Podgórecki, justice, law, love, knowledge, war

---

\* Prof. Michael D. Kennedy – Department of Sociology, Brown University, e-mail: michael\_kennedy@brown.edu, ORCID: 0000-0001-6768-4134.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to all those enabling and participating in the conference which preceded this volume, and especially to the anonymous reviewers, for moving my reflections so profoundly. My greatest appreciation, however, goes to Krzysztof Motyka for the original invitation to the conference and to his many contributions to the improvement of this manuscript. His expertise and his most collegial and considerate disposition have moved me most meaningfully. I also appreciate the serendipity of our first meeting in Ann Arbor in 1998, which, itself, moved this paper.



## Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł rozpoczyna rozważania na temat miejsca Adama Podgóreckiego w amerykańskiej socjologii i mojego udziału w dyskusji nad jego pracą 30 lat temu. Następnie przedstawiam sposób, w jaki kolejni badacze prezentowali jego twórczość oraz jej potencjał i robię to samo, włączając nasze rozumienie prawa intuicyjnego i formalnego do eksploracji wernakularnych i profesjonalnych sformułowań sprawiedliwości i prawa. W dalszej części artykułu zastanawiam się nad miejscem miłości w tej relacji, po czym przechodzę do dwóch kryzysów naszych czasów: inwazji Rosji na Ukrainę i wojny w Izraelu/Palestynie. Kończę spostrzeżeniem, że Podgórecki i inni badacze zapraszają nas do przemyślenia, w jaki sposób intuicyjne i formalne, wernakularne i profesjonalne poczucia sprawiedliwości mogą zostać ponownie sformułowane. Proponuję, aby interwencja RPA w Międzynarodowym Trybunale Sprawiedliwości stała się momentem transformacji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Adam Podgórecki, sprawiedliwość, prawo, miłość, wiedza, wojna

We are living through “epoch end”.<sup>2</sup> Sociology usually thrives in such crises, but the crisis does not tell us which past sociologists we should reach to for inspiration. The return to W.E.B. Du Bois<sup>3</sup> within the USA and to global sociology<sup>4</sup> is obvious in a sense, given the deep racialisation of our American despair. Du Bois could, of course, inspire discourses elsewhere, even on the other side of the global colour line, as I have proposed for Polish sociology.<sup>5</sup> But the invocation is far from automatic; cultural political work must be undertaken to demonstrate the relevance of a particular scholar or school of thought for the times in which we live.

I admire the work that is being undertaken in Poland and elsewhere to reconsider Podgórecki's place in Polish, as well as global, sociology. Since I am not especially expert in his work, or in the sociology of law for which he is best known, I am not the most suitable person to step up to this challenge. However, because some have argued that Podgórecki has been underappreciated for his contributions to other parts of sociology, this invitation may not be entirely inappropriate. Indeed, given my interest in Polish sociology as such, and my commitment to knowledge cultural sociology and its articulations of knowledge and social change, I find this invitation quite appealing.

In order to develop this project, I begin with considering Podgórecki's place in American sociology, and my own engagement with his work 30 years ago.

---

<sup>2</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Violence and Truth in 2022's Epoch End: Covid-19 and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine in the World Historical Context*, “Journal of Public Governance” 2022, vol. 61, no. 3, p. 5–24, DOI: 10.15678/PG.2022.61.3.01.

<sup>3</sup> A. Morris, *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2017.

<sup>4</sup> J. Itzigsohn, K. Brown, *The Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois: Racialized Modernity and the Global Color Line*, New York University Press, New York 2020.

<sup>5</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *National Cultures and Racial Formations: Articulating the Knowledge Cultures of Kłossowska and Du Bois*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo” 2019, vol. 63, no. 3, p. 7–30.

I turn next to examine how scholars have explained his work, and its potential, and do some of the same by inviting our translation of intuitive and formal law into an exploration of vernacular and professional articulations of justice and law. I even consider the place of love in the relationship before moving on to describe two epoch-ending crises of our time: Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the war in Israel/Palestine. I suggest that the former offered an opportunity to harmonise the vernacular and professional understandings of international law even if the architecture of existing institutions prevented the enforcement of justice and the law. I propose that the latter war only confirms the charge of hypocrisy so many in the Global South previously articulated when the USA and the West declared the Russian invasion of Ukraine illegal, but recognised Israel's assault on Gaza as a matter of self-defence. I conclude with the observation that Podgórecki and the other scholars invite us to rethink how the intuitive and the formal, the vernacular and the professional, senses of justice might be rearticulated. I recommend that South Africa's intervention at the International Court of Justice might be a transformational moment. But first, a few words on Podgórecki.

## Podgórecki's Place in American Sociology

Twenty years ago, in 2004, I began my journey in exploring globalising knowledge<sup>6</sup> following an invitation from Włodzimierz Wesołowski to address the Polish Sociological Association. That talk eventually became an article published in *Polish Sociological Review* in which I sought to characterise, and then explain, how Polish sociology figured in the American sociological imagination.<sup>7</sup>

Wesołowski was among the leading contributors, but there were several other authors who brought Polish sociology to its American audience. Adam Podgórecki (1925–1998) was among the more visible scholars. However, he was not as prominent at the 20<sup>th</sup> century's end within the USA as one might expect.<sup>8</sup> In what follows, I consider some accounts that could help to explain his reception in the USA. I also offer some reinterpretations in light of subsequent

---

<sup>6</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Globalizing Knowledge: Intellectuals, Universities and Publics in Global Transformations*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2015.

<sup>7</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Poland in the American Sociological Imagination*, "Polish Sociological Review" 2004, no. 4 (148), p. 361–383, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241669781\\_Poland\\_in\\_the\\_American\\_Sociological\\_Imagination](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241669781_Poland_in_the_American_Sociological_Imagination) (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>8</sup> However, his prominence in international sociology, especially in the research committee dedicated to the sociology of law, has been assured with a prize in his name; International Sociological Association, *Adam Podgórecki Prize*, <https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/research-networks/research-committees/rc12-sociology-of-law/rc12-adam-podgorecki-prize> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

global transformations that could elevate his relevance to discussions today. At least for me.

At the start, it would be useful to document variations over time regarding Poland's place in the US, and global, sociological imaginations. It is clear, however, that in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Polish scholarship and society moved ahead in both academic and public discussion in the USA. For example, in a 1981 issue of *Social Forces*, the Southern Sociological Society's official journal, itself housed in the highly regarded University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Department of Sociology, the following reviews of books by Polish scholars were published: Craig Calhoun reviewed Kolakowski's *Three Currents of Marxism*<sup>9</sup>, Gerhard Lenski reviewed Wesołowski's *Classes, Strata and Power*<sup>10</sup>, and George Ritzer reviewed Podgórecki and Los's *Multidimensional Sociology*.<sup>11</sup> Lenski, already a senior scholar, mostly praised Wesołowski. Calhoun, then an assistant professor, engaged Kołakowski with critical respect. Ritzer, however, was quite unsympathetic. He wrote,

This is a very ambitious book; in fact, one of its great faults is that it is too ambitious. (...) The result is highly selective and superficial coverage (...) Not content with having dealt with all sociological theories, the relationship among them, and a number of subareas within sociology, the authors turn in the last part of the book to applied sociology, "sociology and practice". This is another loosely connected set of essays, ranging from sociotechnics to the intelligentsia, to global ethics. There is not much that is very practical here, but we are treated to the authors' dreams of a new world in which the intelligentsia will save us from social nihilism by helping to create a new system of global ethics, to embrace not just all human beings, but all living creatures. Evident through the entire book is the authors' background and experience in Polish society. Most of the illustrative material is drawn from that world. In the end, the authors admit to "have been struggling ... to combine their unique East European experience with the academically elaborated Western rhetoric". While such a struggle is both useful and laudable, the authors seem to have struggled largely in vain.<sup>12</sup>

Of course, many sociologists of law were much more engaged, and familiar, with Podgórecki's work. But even Klaus Ziegert began his elaboration of the

<sup>9</sup> C. Calhoun, *Main Currents of Marxism. Volume 1: The Founders; Volume 2: The Golden Age; Volume 3: The Breakdown*. By Leszek Kolakowski. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. 434 pp.; 541 pp.; 541 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 607–610.

<sup>10</sup> G. Lenski, *Classes, Strata and Power*. By Włodzimierz Wesołowski. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 159 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 605–607.

<sup>11</sup> G. Ritzer, *Multi-Dimensional Sociology*. By Adam Podgórecki and Maria Łós. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 344 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 610–612.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

Polish sociologist's significance with the following acknowledgement: "most of his numerous publications (...) have failed to reach a wider international public because they are written in Polish. His comprehensive writings are known outside Poland only in the most fragmentary fashion."<sup>13</sup> Ziegert wrote this in 1977.

Later, in the final decade of his life, Podgórecki contributed much more in English. Martin Krygier, whose work on law and social theory extends well beyond Polish ties even while he is deeply connected to the nation and its scholars, wrote a review of Podgórecki's English language account of *Polish Society*, alongside an assessment of Jacek Kurczewski's work *The Resurrection of Rights in Poland*, in a review essay.<sup>14</sup> Here too, we find a much more sympathetic treatment of Podgórecki's work, especially because it is appreciated from the heart of the challenge in, what at least I have called, transition culture.<sup>15</sup> But Krygier centres law in this account in ways I never have and goes on to make a point that other scholars long marked about Podgórecki's sociology, perhaps in more eloquent form than most. He wrote,

The book is frequently shrewd, perceptive, well-observed, and illuminating. It is thought-provoking and never dull. Much of it is witty, some of it bitter, some wild, and some- as, for example, his characterizations of former and perhaps present colleagues, courageous or outrageous, depending upon whose side you are on. Podgórecki has a love-hate relationship with Poland and with Poles. Sometimes it is simply hate. Words are not minced; sins not forgiven. Tributes are paid and scores are settled, in ways that people from more impersonal cultures with happier histories might find mystifying or excessive.<sup>16</sup>

Bronisław Misztal also reviewed Podgórecki's *Polish Society*. As Krygier, Misztal wrote,

For many American scholars who have had contact with Polish sociologists, this work will hardly be comfortable, since it offers an erudite "who's who" in discussing the crippled intellectual potential of sociology in Poland. But it is also enlightening (...). Although this book is difficult to read, especially for anyone unfamiliar with the myriad of names and situations it contains, its intellectual contents and overall historical message cannot be overestimated. Ten or twenty years from now researchers will find it prophetic and far-sighted, and I expect that for the next decade, it will provide a mine

<sup>13</sup> K. Ziegert, *Adam Podgórecki's Sociology of Law: The Invisible Factors of the Functioning of Law Made Visible*, "Law & Society Review" 1977, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 151–180.

<sup>14</sup> M. Krygier, *The Constitution of the Heart*, "Law & Social Inquiry" 1995, vol. 20, no. 4, p. 1033–1066.

<sup>15</sup> M. Kennedy, *Cultural Formations of Postcommunism: Emancipation, Transition, Nation and War*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2002.

<sup>16</sup> M. Krygier, *The Constitution of the Heart*..., p. 1046.

of knowledge for the new generation of scholars. A final note: Podgórecki's writing frequently resembles that of Milan Kundera, in which the life-world is mixed up with surrealistic situations; and Podgórecki is living proof that intellectual nonconformism, though it carries a high price, can offer an original perspective on history and society. This is a book about all of us. Read it.<sup>17</sup>

I could have been one of those "American scholars" to whom Misztal refers.

In fact, I also reviewed Podgórecki's *Polish Society* for the American Sociological Association's journal of book reviews, *Contemporary Sociology*. As a newly tenured associate professor at the University of Michigan, I could have been free to "speak my mind", but out of respect for the challenges I knew Polish sociologists in the diaspora typically faced (as both Misztal and Podgórecki faced), I was guarded in expressing my concerns.

Podgórecki's account of Polish society is based on Polish sociological traditions and an engagement with Polish empirical research. He presents an incredible assortment of home-grown concepts – dirty-togetherness and spectacular principledness to name a couple. They are used to illuminate Polish exceptionalism and more generic problems of communist and postcommunist society (...). Podgórecki identifies another distinction of Poland as the 'emotionally and personally loaded framework of interpersonal relationships' (p. 159). It is hard to miss this in Podgórecki's portrait of intellectual life, with its heroes (Lipski, Ossowska, his colleagues, and a few others) and its more numerous undeserving luminaries (often pre-fixed by "ex-communist"). Podgórecki's own place in Polish intellectual life looms large in this.<sup>18</sup>

In retrospect, I don't like the snark I shared. As a much more senior scholar reading my youthful attempt to balance appreciation with objection, I find my expression less than helpful, and probably unclear to those who lacked both a relatively sophisticated command of English language affect and at least familiarity with Polish intellectual life.<sup>19</sup>

I do not know that I would read *Polish Society* differently today, but I am surely less affected by the "interpersonal relationships" that undeniably shaped

---

<sup>17</sup> B. Misztal, *Book Review of Polish Society by Adam Podgórecki*, "Social Forces" 1995, vol. 73, no. 4, p. 1637–1638.

<sup>18</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Book Review of Adam Podgórecki*, *Polish Society*, "Contemporary Sociology" 1995, vol. 24, no. 2, p. 222–223.

<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, I do think Wicenty (2018) reads me pretty well: "Even Kennedy, who knows the Polish realities so well and who highly valued Podgórecki, finishes his review of *Polish Society* with a remark about the Polish sociologist's frustrations and his emotional involvement in the described phenomena" (FN 19). My only difference with Wicenty is that I don't find understanding these personal dispositions at odds with appreciating, and interpreting, professional engagement; to deny their relevance is, to my mind, limiting the data we might marshal to explain what appears on the printed page.

my engagement with Polish sociology. I was certainly not in a Podgórecki-loaded network, even while I knew Jacek Kurczewski at the time and appreciated his intellect and wit. I thus welcomed the chance of the conference preceding this volume to return to consider Podgórecki's scholarship, especially for the times in which we live and not just for the society he left. But before I leave Podgórecki as a scholar, allow me to offer my portrait from this chronological distance of the place he seemed to occupy in Polish scholarship.

Of course, Adam Podgórecki developed his sociological imagination in Poland, but unlike others who fell from political grace, or at least tolerance, in the immediate and subsequent aftermath of Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law in 1981, Podgórecki was "ousted" in the previous decade, in the Gierek era. In this sense, he was not so readily recognisable as an intellectual victim of political repression as others more prominent in the West. Piotr Sztompka, for example, comes to mind as someone who paid a small price for his resignation from the Polish United Workers Party in 1981/82. Wicenty identifies other qualities that led to Podgórecki's relative invisibility as well.<sup>20</sup>

For one, Podgórecki was not associated with subfields that enjoyed a broader global resonance in American sociology. Unlike the study of inequalities and power, the American sociology of law was more ethnocentric than these others; indeed, the International Sociological Association research committee devoted to law has been far less dominated by US sociologists than many other such bodies. Within the USA, the sociology of law was also characterised by many different traditions of inquiry relatively hostile to others, making Podgórecki's relatively peculiar approach harder to translate, or perhaps even appreciate, across US traditions.

As well, Podgórecki very much felt like he was "in between" two worlds.<sup>21</sup> He was also quite distant from a Marxist-engaged sociology ascendent in North American sociology in the 1970s and 1980s. Hungarian émigré Iván Szelényi, for example, benefited considerably from addressing critical sociologies associated with Alvin Gouldner, Michael Burawoy, and others. Podgórecki did not fit well in that stream, to say the least.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> D. Wicenty, *The Experience of Oppression and the Price of Nonconformity: A Brief Biography of Adam Podgórecki*, "Studies in East European Thought" 2018, vol. 70, p. 61–81, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11212-018-9300-x> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>21</sup> K. Ziegert, *Adam Podgórecki's Sociology of Law...*, p. 151–180.

<sup>22</sup> In fact, Podgórecki somehow managed not only to be a co-founder of the Institute for Social Prevention and Resocialization (*Instytut Profilaktyki Społecznej i Resocjalizacji*) at the University of Warsaw in 1972 but also establish the Institute's section on Sociology of Norms and Social Pathology with a staff of 17 – "none of whom was a member of PZPR, which was a major departure from the accepted standards for social sciences." By 1977, however, the communist authorities closed that section and moved Podgórecki to another department at Warsaw University. Podgórecki accepted

Especially with the growing fascination with the Polish Solidarity movement of 1980–1981, witnessed over the 1980s, Podgórecki's focus on law seemed much less important than the study of social movements and social change. Moreover, his distance from that articulation of the contest between communist authorities and Polish civil society did not move inspiration from Americans seeking insight into those struggles.<sup>23</sup> Notions such as “dirty togetherness” rather sullied what was for so many Americans, including me, a rather clear struggle for justice, democracy, and dignity.

Now that we are long past that decade's normative terms, we might return to his work to find new inspiration. As we search in this epoch end for analytical frames and normative foundations I find, in particular, the contrast between intuitive and formal law appealing, especially if we might translate that contrast into one between public and professional sensibilities of human rights and justice.

## Human Rights in Podgórecki's Light and Petrażycki's Shade

Krzysztof Motyka organised the panel discussion in which I initially began to revisit Podgórecki's work with this idea.

In order to establish the basis for an adequate sociology of human rights, one must first elaborate two introductory concepts. The first concept is intuitive law. (...) The second concept is of a classificatory nature. It distinguishes: a) crippled and b) complete human rights. In social reality, as a rule, human rights are mainly abstract, meaning that they are pronounced, but not necessarily practiced. Abstract rights become crippled when they do not provide realistic conditions for their own operation. (...) For human rights to be complete, it is crucial not only that written prescripts be in congruence with the respective attitudes of intuitive law, but also that institutional and/or organizational links exist between these two elements

I find the above articulation of cultures of law particularly useful. It also led me back to Podgórecki's earlier (1977) elaboration of Petrażycki:

Petrażycki distinguished between “living law” (in his language “intuitive law”) and “law in books,” (in his language, “positive law” or “official law”). “Law in books” (binding law) is located in abstract reality as a normative phenomenon, whereas “living law” is spread among the people and influences their behavior directly (p. 191).

---

an invitation and moved, after a brief stay in the Netherlands and Oxford, to Carleton University as a professor where he taught until the end of his life; D. Wicenty, *The Experience of Oppression...*

<sup>23</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Professionals, Power, and Solidarity in Poland: A Critical Sociology of Soviet-type Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991.



Every knowledge culture has its own histories and vocabularies. Klaus Ziegert offered one of the earliest summaries of Podgórecki's sociology for an English-reading audience, one that remains quite helpful. He wrote, "Podgórecki's goal is not only to cooperate with lawyers in order to achieve a more realistic evaluation of law's capacity to structure social behavior, but also to replace the legal theory of the legal sciences with a legal theory constructed by the social sciences."<sup>24</sup> Ziegert also marked explicitly how Podgórecki's sociology draws on Leon Petrażycki.<sup>25</sup>

While in his 1977 article Podgórecki acknowledges that certain qualities of Petrażycki's 19<sup>th</sup> century almost Spencerian thought would not be embraced by the broader tradition of the 20<sup>th</sup>, if not also, now, 21<sup>st</sup> century, sociology, he rather continued to articulate the distinction between intuitive and official law in Petrażycki's terms.<sup>26</sup> That might continue to work for certain traditions in the sociology of law, but it does not carry over well into broader traditions of sociology and social analysis.

I would rather distinguish intuitive and positive law in terms of public and professional knowledge cultures around law as such. That of course resonates well with Michael Burawoy's approach to different kinds of sociologies and their interlocutors,<sup>27</sup> as well as with my own interest in knowledge cultural sociology and its commitment to figure the social relations and positions that shape the articulations and validations of knowledge.<sup>28</sup> To describe something as intuitive

<sup>24</sup> K. Ziegert, *Adam Podgórecki's Sociology of Law...*, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Those sociologists of law who are the followers of both scholars find this obvious. For me, and many other US sociologists, this lineage is not especially meaningful. But I try to make up for that loss here.

<sup>26</sup> I would wish to figure how we might bring Polish-centered scholarship more squarely into a US or even global field of learning. One way is to approach these scholars with a more universalizing Bourdieusian frame. For subsequent assessments of Petrażycki (and Podgórecki) in more Bourdieusian terms, see: H. Dębska, *Herezja w prawoznawstwie. Trajektoria polskiej socjologii prawa w XX wieku, in Polskie nauki społeczne w kontekście relacji władzy i zależności międzynarodowych*, ed. T. Zarycki, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2022, p. 105–137; and H. Dębska, *Kariera uczonego i tworzenie idei w warunkach fundamentalnych zmian strukturalnych. O Leonie Petrażyckim raz jeszcze, "Archiwum Filozofii Prawa i Filozofii Społecznej"* 2024, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 19–33. Comparisons across Polish and Central and East European fields of knowledge production can be useful too. T. Zarycki, for instance, compares Petrażycki with Badouin ne Courteney in *Pole językoznawczo-literaturoznawcze w Polsce. W poszukiwaniu strukturalnych czynników jego wzlotów i upadku na przestrzeni „długiego XX wieku"*, in *Polskie nauki społeczne...*, p. 185–227. T. Zarycki also notes that the tensions between Petrażycki and the Warsaw-Lviv school of law were homologous to those found between de Courtenay and the heirs to the Warsaw Lviv school of language headed by Roman Ingarden in T. Zarycki, *The Polish Elite and Language Sciences: A Perspective of Global Historical Sociology*, Palgrave, 2023, p. 348.

<sup>27</sup> M. Burawoy, *For Public Sociology*, "American Sociological Review" 2005, vol. 70, no. 1, p. 4–28, <http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Public%20Sociology,%20Live/Burawoy.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>28</sup> P.S. Kehal, L. Garbes, M.D. Kennedy, *Critical Sociology of Knowledge*, in: *Oxford Bibliographies in Sociology*, ed. Lynette Spillman, Oxford University Press, New York 2021, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0221.xml?>

connotes, in US English at least, something that is less discursively apparent and more internal; it's also more psychological than sociological, a distinction Podgórecki himself uses to describe Petrażycki's approach. To characterise human rights as abstract and theoretical fits well with a more professional discourse associated with the consolidation of a knowledge culture with privileged voices (jurists and prosecutors among others) in contrast to those discourses animated by merely popular interpretations of justice. That Podgórecki elevates the popular beyond the "mere", however, suggests something important sociologists are likely to embrace in today's world. But it makes sense, to me at least, that we use a term that sociologists across the discipline use more commonly. Other changes in discourse may be important too.

We can use words such as "intuitive", "popular", or even "public", but they don't always grasp what we seek. I rather appreciate what Jan Kubik argues in his essay elevating "vernacular knowledge" as our analytical frame.<sup>29</sup> I have celebrated his proposal that

researchers need to investigate whether problems are identified as such by the actors themselves, how they are articulated within (locally) available interpretive frameworks (ideologies), and whether and how they are used as foci of mobilization. By making vernacular knowledge the foundation for theory, evidence, and practice, Kubik and his colleagues elevate vernacular knowledge in scholarship. No longer is it to be understood in terms of its distance from any proper interpretative framework (based on Marxism, modernization, neoliberalism or any other generalizing theory). It is, rather, the foundation for understanding theory, evidence, and practice.<sup>30</sup>

Taking seriously not only intuitive understandings but also modes of expression seems like an appropriate extension of Podgórecki's sociology. Others are more conscious about their lineage.

Kurczewski elaborates Podgórecki's empirical theory of law, offering this injunction: "law should be understood as integrated parallel schemata (of a formal or informal character) which exhibit normative consistency."<sup>31</sup> Motyka reinforces this with the following invocation of Podgórecki himself<sup>32</sup>:

<sup>29</sup> J. Kubik, *From Transitology to Contextual Holism: A Theoretical Trajectory of Postcommunist Studies*, in: *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice, Mobilization and Hegemony*, eds. J. Kubik, A. Linch, New York University Press, New York 2013, p. 27–94.

<sup>30</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Mobilizing Justice Across Hegemonies in Place: Critical Postcommunist Vernaculars*, in: *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice, Mobilization and Hegemony*..., p. 390.

<sup>31</sup> J. Kurczewski, *Adam Podgórecki's Empirical Theory of Law*, "Societas/Communitas" 2013, vol. 15, no. 1, p. 92.

<sup>32</sup> K. Motyka, *Leon Petrażycki and Adam Podgórecki: On the Reception of the Psychological Theory of Law in Poland under Communism*, in: *Leon Petrażycki: Law, Emotions, Society*, eds. E. Fittipaldi, A.J. Treviño, Routledge, New York 2023, p. 47–70.

law should be understood as an integrated parallel schemata [sic] (the mutual acknowledgement of duties and claims) of formal or informal character. These schemata constitute an elaborate horizontal network of interrelations (independent from the state) that compose the main fabric of social relations. Vertical intervention (directly connected with the state) is a tool used by those who have power to sustain the legal schemata and the hierarchy of orders in a given social system.

These normative claims add nicely to the distinction between professional and vernacular considerations of the law, making clear that professional ties depend on a cultural normative integration, through professional schemata, on the one hand, but on the other depend even more deeply than other professional communities on the power of the state to reinforce their authority.

This set of distinctions seem quite useful for understanding how law functions in relatively “settled” times.<sup>33</sup> But in unsettled times, where law’s own public legitimacy is to be found in its articulation through its complement to struggles for justice, one might find the expression of intellectual responsibility in the quest to find justice beyond the rule of its authorities. And, as Krygier so insightfully notes, Poles, in modernity, have been unjustly ruled by authorities beyond their own nation for so long that we might consider being “unsettled” a Polish way of being.<sup>34</sup> And for that reason, we can see why Motyka might wish to turn toward Petrażycki and his own interest in something beyond state power.

As Kurczewski writes, “Despite his explicit positivist methodological standpoint, Petrażycki was in search of a new law of nature, and he considered the development of mutual love as an observable historical process” with “global ethics’ being its explicit normative expression.”<sup>35</sup> In fact, as Motyka observes, Petrażycki invokes St. Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 13) and declared love to be, “from the point of view of practical reason, the supreme ideal of conduct,”<sup>36</sup> and “from the point of view theoretical reason, the supreme truth.”<sup>37</sup> This builds on Motyka’s longstanding interest in that which lives beyond law which nonetheless binds us together. Indeed, in the conclusion of his PhD dissertation, Motyka writes,

<sup>33</sup> A. Swidler, *Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies*, “American Sociological Review” 1986, vol. 51, no. 2, p. 273–286.

<sup>34</sup> M. Krygier, *The Constitution of the Heart...*, p. 1047. For those especially interested in Jacek Kurczewski’s work as such, this essay offers a most thoughtful, and complimentary, account.

<sup>35</sup> J. Kurczewski, *Adam Podgórecki’s Empirical Theory of Law...*, p. 92.

<sup>36</sup> L. Petrażycki, *Die Lehre von Einkommen*, vol. 1, H.W. Müller, Berlin 1893, p. 340, after K. Motyka, *Leon Petrażycki and Adam Podgórecki...*, p. 58.

<sup>37</sup> L. Petrażycki, *Wstęp do nauki polityki prawa*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1968, p. 43–44, quoted by K. Motyka, *Leon Petrażycki and Adam Podgórecki...*, p. 58–59.

Petrażycki's concept of law, especially intuitive law, in a society with an imposed system of authority, seemed close and even heartening. It said that man is governed in his conduct mostly by his own autonomous rules, and of the rules of a non-autonomous nature, only a part depends on state power.<sup>38</sup>

Love is clearly not something to be legislated. Instead, we might see it as an expression of that intuitive, transcendent spirit expressed in many different languages, from ancient texts to more recent emancipatory expressions. In the Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 6 verse 32, for example, it is said that "When a person responds to the joys and sorrows of others as if they were his own, he has attained the highest state of spiritual union." In a most complementary sense, bell hooks proposes that "the only way out of domination is love, and the only way into really being able to connect with others, and to know how to be, is to be participating in every aspect of your life as a sacrament of love."<sup>39</sup> Most Polish scholarship does not draw on the Bhagavad Gita or bell hooks to think about love, and thus the opportunity for extending the conversation could rest in that engagement; but we also might respect Polish traditions and consider how Petrażycki can contribute to reframing American sociology and its engagement with love.

We can begin with Petrażycki himself who declared that

Love in the sense of cordial devotion toward another – being nothing but a propensity or disposition to experience caritative impulses as to that other – is manifested in thousands of different benevolent actions and abstentions, and the same is true of love in the evangelical sense – a general trait of character – a propensity to experience caritative impulse – as regards others in general. Opposed to these caritative impulses are impulses of malice or hatred directed at causing evil and endowed, in their turn, with extremely free responses which change in concrete cases.<sup>40</sup>

Of course, Petrażycki refined his ideas over time. In their edited collection on Petrażycki, Fittipaldi and Treviño offer the following in their glossary about his treatment of love:

---

<sup>38</sup> K. Motyka, *Wpływ Leona Petrażyckiego na polską teorię i socjologię prawa*, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 1993, p. 206.

<sup>39</sup> B. Hooks, G. Yancy, *Buddhism, the Beats, and Loving Blackness*, "New York Times" 10.09.2015, <https://archive.nytimes.com/opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/12/10/bell-hooks-buddhism-the-beats-and-loving-blackness/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>40</sup> L. Petrażycki, *Law and Morality*, transl. H.W. Babb, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1955, p. 27.

love (as the ultimate ideal for legal policy): benevolence, or sympathetic proactive concern for others, including current and future humanity as a whole, as distinct from the love for one's partner, relatives, and friends. According to Petrażycki, human culture has a tendency toward the replacement of law and morality with love not only for humans but also for all sentient beings. Petrażycki held that the acceleration of this tendency should be the ultimate goal of legal policy. In his early writings, Petrażycki treated love as an ethical ideal. After developing his theory of law, he characterized it as an extralegal and extramoral ideal.<sup>41</sup>

Motyka also elaborates on Petrażycki's sense of love in his contribution to that volume.

In his own words, this ideal was "the attainment of a perfect social character, a complete rule of active love in mankind" (1959: 15). When discussing how to attain this ideal, Petrażycki explained that: it is about (...) the gradual eradication of selfish, malicious (...) emotional dispositions, and thereby of the very psychical ability of the corresponding behaviors, [like] killing others— even if with the justifying epithet of "enemies" —, inflicting (...) wounds, and causing others harm, as well as about instilling, developing, and strengthening caritative emotional dispositions and thus creating the mental necessity of good, merciful, compassionate, etc., behaviors. 1925[1913]: 53–54.<sup>42</sup>

I have only begun to explore Polish sociological traditions in the engagement of love, and for that I am especially grateful to those who organised and participated in this conference preceding this volume and to the reviewers who considered an earlier version of this paper. Their suggestions, however, already have extended my work in critical ways, even beyond Petrażycki and Podgórecki.

Indeed, we can draw upon Zenon Bankowski who frames his 2001 book as a quest to figure how the "moral life should be seen as not one or the other of law and love, but as the interlinking and tension between these two. So, it is not law or love, rather the precarious intertwining between the two that we are seeking."<sup>43</sup> Indeed, only through their articulation, he argues, that both "lose their negative aspects by being dependent upon each other."<sup>44</sup>

His conclusion, while drawing on other traditions and examples few Americans would be poised to engage nevertheless fit with some of the traditions around civil society's engagement that studies of the Polish Solidarity movement itself inspired. Bankowski writes in the pursuit of the mutuality of law and love:

<sup>41</sup> *Leon Petrażycki: Law, Emotions, Society*, eds. E. Fittipaldi, A.J. Treviño, Routledge, New York 2023.

<sup>42</sup> K. Motyka, *Leon Petrażycki and Adam Podgórecki...*, p. 47–70.

<sup>43</sup> Z. Bankowski, *Living Lawfully: Love in Law and Law in Love*, Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V., 2001, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.

Part of the way forward would be in juries and lay justice, institutions which can be seen as ‘bridging institutions’ – they are part of the legal system but also as being the conduit to the outside make the outside part of the system. Also important would be the way legal reasoning should leave itself open to interested groups and institutions which through this opening become part of the system injecting particularity into it. It is in all of this that we might see a system of ‘living lawfully’.<sup>45</sup>

We might identify other expressions of love from various traditions so that its universality could be acknowledged even while its modes of expression might vary, if not also collide. Most obviously, nationalisms declare love of the nation to be one of the highest obligations, but that love can readily conflict with other nations’ expressions of devotion.

While justice might be what love looks like in public (a recurring expression of Cornel West), human rights might be the law’s best attempt to render justice across national boundaries. Its various codifications also fulfil quite readily the distinctions Podgórecki and kin would make about its abstract qualities; they might also point to the difficulty of translation into public sensibilities or intuitive law, much less into a language of love.

We might wade into this challenging articulation by recognising not only how the public language of love can be embedded in particular religious or spiritual traditions, but its very public expression opens it up to those beyond familiar communities, and even beyond rules as such. Much as Sorokin saw fit to explore yoga in his 1954 volume on the ways and power of love,<sup>46</sup> perhaps an exploration of how Petrażycki<sup>47</sup> and hooks could be productively combined in the search for a spirit of love in analysing, and animating, global social change could be transformational. Were we to focus on two expressions of solidarity and war in these times to consider the combinations of love and law we might find renewed inspiration.

## Law, Love, and War in 2022–2024

Thinking about law, love and war in 2022–2024 is helped by thinking with these expressions of Petrażycki through Podgórecki, Kurczewski, and Motyka. Human rights are readily understood in professional terms and abstract language, but their articulations with public sensibilities and their emergent

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, p. 226.

<sup>46</sup> P. Sorokin, *The Ways and Power of Love: Types, Factors, and Techniques of Moral Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston 1954.

<sup>47</sup> Sorokin was himself among the few in the USA to invoke Petrażycki in their sociology; Nicholas Timasheff was another. See: K. Ziegert, *Adam Podgórecki’s Sociology of Law...*, p. 151–180.

qualities matter. We might focus on those solidarities war makes, thickening the bonds made with the language of friends and enemies. But we might also think about how law, love, and war intersect in ways that can rearticulate global social change.

At the foundation of this rearticulation is the recognition that love for the nation and its institutional expressions is both intuitive and institutionally grounded. In this, it is hard to evade the ready observation that intuitive and formal laws reinforce one another to make nationalism the trump card of all identities<sup>48</sup> while its cultural expression is, also, the subject of various politics invoking alternative histories.<sup>49</sup> There is of course extensive literature on nationalism of which most readers of this text know at least a portion, on which I build.

## Justice and Formal Law Regarding Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

One of the most grotesque claims in the last decade has been Putin's justification for violating Ukrainian sovereignty with the argument that Ukrainians commit genocide against Russians and speakers of Russian. That claim has itself been rejected in the International Court of Justice; indeed, Ukrainian representatives used a clever manoeuvre to bring the court to rule on this Russian invasion. They argued, "Russia's false claims that Ukraine was engaging in genocide against members of the Russian ethnic minority in eastern Ukraine, which it had used to justify its unlawful acts of aggression, made for a 'dispute' under the Genocide Convention that the Court should resolve." The Court agreed with Ukraine and ordered Russia to cease its military operations on Ukrainian territory; of course, Russia ignored that ruling.<sup>50</sup>

One should not, however, take for granted that Ukrainian nationalism was itself somehow "natural" in resisting Russia's imperial grab. Before the empire's 2022 invasion, people were still wondering how much variation there was in Ukrainians' geopolitical identifications. Presumably, Putin himself believed that at least those in the East of the country would have welcomed the Russian

---

<sup>48</sup> C. Calhoun, *Nationalism*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1998.

<sup>49</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *What Is "the Nation" after Communism and Modernity?*, "The Polish Sociological Review" 1994, vol. 105, no. 1, p. 47–58; and *Istorychna spadshchyna ta hromadians'ke suspil'stvo: al'ternatyvni natsiji v Skhidniy Yevropi*, in: *Ukraina Moderna*, vol. 1, eds. Y. Hrytsak, M. Krykun, Lviv State University, Lviv 1996, p. 114–131.

<sup>50</sup> O. Hathaway, *Taking Stock of ICJ Decisions in the Ukraine v. Russia Cases and Implications for South Africa's Case Against Israel*, "Just Security" 05.02.2024, <https://www.justsecurity.org/91781/taking-stock-of-icj-decisions-in-ukraine-v-russia-cases-and-implications-for-south-africas-case-against-israel/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

invasion with flowers. They did not. Indeed, throughout this war, as Russian brutality became ever more evident, Ukrainian solidarity in resistance grew.<sup>51</sup>

Ukrainian resistance to Russian invasion has taken many forms, and the solidarities it has won have been genuinely transformative. The most dramatic may have been the consequential expansion of NATO to include Finland and Sweden beyond their Cold War-bred neutralities in the contest between the USSR plus allies, and the USA plus allies. The most difficult transformation to interpret, however, has been the invasion's impact on the status of international law, with genocide being perhaps the most important theme in that stream of jurisprudence. Ukraine has certainly engaged, then, not only in warfare but also lawfare in its defence.

Ukrainians have been meticulous in their documentation of Russian war crimes.<sup>52</sup> The genocide in Bucha was a turning point for many in the world. A United Nations Commission of Inquiry has collected evidence of summary executions, sexual violence, and forced transfer of Ukrainian children to Russia.<sup>53</sup>

The treatment of this invasion by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was itself a profound disappointment to those who might find justice through lawfare compelling. But given the politics, the outcome was hard not to anticipate. This is a politically challenging case, not for the facts of the matter given that Ukraine has, at least in terms of United Nations General Assembly Votes, garnered sufficient support to claim that the world stands with it in declaring Russian invasion a violation of international law. But the ICJ must be careful in such cases; it has no power that allows it to enforce its decisions. It can only recommend certain actions to the United Nations Security Council. That Council, of course, can be prohibited from acting on the veto of any of its permanent members, of which Russia is one. There is no enforcement possible, and thus the ICJ is likely not to squander its legitimacy by declaring the impossible. At best Ukraine can claim a moral victory.<sup>54</sup>

The singular exceptions to this failure of the rule of law have happened in the International Criminal Court. To date (July 2024) the International Criminal Court has issued arrest warrants in two cases: to Vladimir Putin, president of

---

<sup>51</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *How Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Matters: A Knowledge Cultural Sociology*, "Footnotes: Magazine of the American Sociological Association" 2023, <https://www.asanet.org/footnotes-article/how-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-matters-a-knowledge-cultural-sociology/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>52</sup> F. Coleman, *To Prosecute Putin for War Crimes, Safeguard the Digital Proof*, "Foreign Policy" 10.04.2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/10/prosecute-putin-war-crimes-evidence-bucha-safeguard-digital-proof/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>53</sup> N. Cummings-Bruce, *Welcome to Hell: UN Panel Says Russian War Crimes Are Widespread*, "New York Times" 15.03.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/15/world/europe/russia-war-crimes.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>54</sup> O. Hathaway, *Taking Stock...* (accessed: 16.08.2024).



the Russian Federation, and to Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova, Commissioner for Children's Rights in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation, as they bear "responsibility for the war crime of unlawful deportation of population (children) and that of unlawful transfer of population (children) from occupied areas of Ukraine to the Russian Federation, in prejudice of Ukrainian children." Two military leaders have also been indicted for "the war crime of directing attacks at civilian objects, the war crime of causing excessive incidental harm to civilians or damage to civilian objects, and the crime against humanity of inhumane acts."<sup>55</sup> They have not been arrested, of course. But these charges have affected reputations; however, the consequences of reputational damage have been diminished by the events of 7 October 2023 and its aftermath.

## Justice and Formal Law Regarding Israel/Palestine

The relationship between Israel and Palestine has been in the courts of public opinion and formal law since the founding of the State of Israel, and even before. But recent developments in the International Court of Justice bring to light a critical decision. At the request of the United Nations General Assembly, the ICJ considered the legality of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza since the 1967 war; in its July 2024 ruling, the ICJ declared that Israel should end its occupation of those areas, along with East Jerusalem, as soon as possible. Just as Putin could ignore the ruling over Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu declared:

The Jewish people are not occupiers in their own land – not in our eternal capital Jerusalem, nor in our ancestral heritage of Judea and Samaria. No decision of lies in The Hague will distort this historical truth, and similarly, the legality of Israeli settlements in all parts of our homeland cannot be disputed.<sup>56</sup>

Israel also faces another case in the ICJ; South Africa brought Israel to court on charges of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza. In its document, South Africa describes "acts and omissions by Israel" as "genocidal in character because they are intended to bring about the destruction of a substantial part of the Palestinian national, racial and ethnic group."<sup>57</sup> In this ICJ case, the cultural

---

<sup>55</sup> International Criminal Court, *Situation in Ukraine*, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/situations/ukraine> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>56</sup> R. Berg, *UN Top Court Says Israeli Occupation of Palestinian Territories Is Illegal*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cjerjzxlpydo> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>57</sup> International Court of Justice, *Application Instituting Proceedings*, <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

shock may have been even greater. After all, Israel was itself a signatory to the establishment of the ICJ and the importance of the Holocaust to the understanding of genocide gives it a culturally powerful position in the definition of what constitutes such evil. Israel responds to these charges of committing genocide with incredulity; how could it be charged with genocide? Indeed, Benjamin Netanyahu declared, it was Hamas who would destroy Israel if it could.<sup>58</sup> Israeli leaders use the character of the threat to their nation to justify what appears to be extreme acts of brutality if not genocide because of how Hamas conducts its war against Israel. And it's not just Israelis who make that claim of self-defence.

Holocaust historian and Israeli citizen Omer Bartov<sup>59</sup> anticipated, on his return to Israel, to find more sympathy for the eradication of Hamas than one might find in the USA, but it exceeded even his anticipations. He found two reigning sentiments: (1) a rage and fear that threatens to make war an end in itself; (2) "the utter inability of Israeli society today to feel any empathy for the population of Gaza." Such indifference was not what he remembered around past conflicts in which Israel was embedded, but now, he regrets to write, it prevails. Rather than a war to achieve political ends, it has become a war whose point is destruction and genocide.

Alongside these contests over the meanings of self-defence vs. genocide, Israel also enjoys the support of the USA, another member of the UN Security Council with the capacity to veto any resolutions. But there is a difference between Russia and the USA; of course, Putin will not alter Russian behaviour because of global public opinion. However, because the USA is ideologically committed to the rule of law in ways that Russia is not, America would find it more difficult to simply defy a ruling of the ICJ.<sup>60</sup>

What is more, public opinion matters more in the USA than in Russia; indeed, public mobilisations in Palestinian solidarity within the USA have been overwhelming. Already on 8 November 2023, following a protest in support of Palestinian life and dignity, sociologist Eman Abdelhadi declared, "I have been to so many protests in my life. None as big as this. None as beautiful as this. None as full of rage and joy and grief. I love us, I love our people – Palestinians, our allies, all the free people of the world. I believe. I believe we will win."<sup>61</sup> Mobilisations and expressions like this have moved Kamala Harris, now

---

<sup>58</sup> R. Berg, *Israel to Fight South Africa's Gaza Genocide Claim in Court*, BBC, 02.01.2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67866342> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>59</sup> O. Bartov, *As a Former IDF Soldier and Historian of Genocide, I Was Deeply Disturbed by My Recent Visit to Israel*, "The Guardian" 13.08.2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/aug/13/israel-gaza-historian-omer-bartov> (accessed: 13.09.2024).

<sup>60</sup> O. Hathaway, *Taking Stock...* (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>61</sup> E. Abdelhadi [@emanabdelhadi], "I have been to so many protests in my life...", X.com, 05.11.2023, <https://twitter.com/emanabdelhadi/status/1720952234341474728> (accessed 16.08.2024).

the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, to declare greater awareness and sympathy for Palestinian suffering than her predecessor. How that affects policy is another matter.<sup>62</sup>

Also, the ICJ ruling will not be issued for some time, but already there is manifestly more Palestinian solidarity globally than at any previous time in world history. It matters, too, that South Africa has led the charge in the courts. The UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese declared that “watching African women and men fighting to save humanity” from the “ruthless attacks supported/enabled by most of the West will remain one of the defining images of our time.”<sup>63</sup> The author added, “As the proceedings opened, South Africa’s lawyers were uncompromising and principled, speaking from, and to, our national experience.”<sup>64</sup>

Palestinian solidarity has become one of those expressions of love in public for many who can recognise the legacies of colonialism and empire by the Global North over the Global South. South African leadership in that lawfare struggle appears to be the manifestation of an intuitive understanding of the law to hold global institutions, historically dominated by the Global North, accountable to victims in the Global South. Recognising that articulation is critical for appreciating how both conflicts might be shaping one another, and global trajectories more broadly. However, one can’t only think in these terms because other conflicts and contradictions shape the politics of global social change.

## Antisemitism, Israeli Contradictions, and Jewish Transformational Solidarity

Alongside the contest over whether Israel’s assault on Gaza, and other forms of harm to Palestinian lives and well-being, is an expression of just war or genocide, questions of antisemitism become more palpable. I have not been especially engaged in the politics of Israel/Palestine, or even of Polish/Jewish relations like many of my US sociology colleagues.<sup>65</sup> But this has become an obligation for every academic in the USA given the intensity of the contest

---

<sup>62</sup> J. Bouie, *Kamala Harris Can’t Escape Gaza Any More than Joe Biden Can*, “The New York Times” 30.07.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/opinion/kamala-harris-netanyahu-israel-gaza.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>63</sup> S. Jacobs, *South Africa Sees Its Moral Conscience in a Genocide Case*, “New York Times” 26.01.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/26/opinion/south-africa-israel-genocide.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>65</sup> G. Zubrzycki, *Resurrecting the Jew: Nationalism, Philosemitism and Poland’s Jewish Revival*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2022.

within universities and associated professional organisations.<sup>66</sup> Antisemitism is real, but it is also being weaponised.

Soon after 7 October 2023 and the initial contests on campus, several of my friends sympathetic to Israeli arguments recommended I read Jason Rubenstein, the senior rabbi of the Joseph Slifka Center for Jewish Life at Yale. He wrote a letter to the Yale University community in which it was said:

Antisemitism is a fear, and hatred, of Jewish power – expressed primarily as a readiness to believe that Jews, when organized and acting together on large scales, are dangerous, the very essence of evil... Bassel's theory of antisemitism, like a scientific theory, makes a prediction: Israel, as the greatest assertion of power by Jews as Jews in the last two millennia, should be a locus of antisemitism. (This of course does not imply that all criticism of Israel is antisemitic, nor that Israel is the only site of antisemitism).<sup>67</sup>

In this argument, the focus on Israeli actions vis-à-vis Palestinians could only be understood through a lens of hatred and fear of Jews understood as a coherent body without meaningful differences among them, much less contradictions in their body politic.

Israeli scholars can, however, find not only political contests within Israel, as any democracy ought to express, but deep contradictions within the idea of the Israeli nation itself. Scheindlin, for example, draws on public opinion research to note that most Israelis would prioritise hostage release over toppling Hamas. She argues further that

[the] hostage situation is an eerie metaphor for long entrenched beliefs that Israel can fulfill fundamentally irreconcilable aims. The idea that Israel can both occupy Palestinian territories and retain its Jewish majority is a political illusion... It is not possible to suffocate and sideline Palestinian self-determination, bask in regional normalization, and also live with a reasonable level of peace. However, most Israeli Jews in public opinion polls believe, still, in a fantasy that Israel transcends these contradictions.<sup>68</sup>

If such a transformation of Israel is only a fantasy, then the most effective means of defying that future impossibility is not only to assure sufficient su-

---

<sup>66</sup> M.D. Kennedy, *Contemplative Studies, Martial Arts and Solidarity: An Autobiographical Knowledge Cultural Sociology of Transformational Theory and Practice*, "Stan Rzeczy" 2023, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 113–144.

<sup>67</sup> J. Rubenstein, *Reckoning with Antisemitism at Yale*, <https://slifkacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Reckoning-with-Antisemitism-at-Yale.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>68</sup> D. Scheindlin, *Myth and Reality In Israel's Hostage Negotiations*, "New York Times" 27.02.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/27/opinion/israel-hostage-negotiations-entebbe.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

periority in the means of violence, but to magnify the power of an ideology that justifies its abiding illusion. At least that is what Omar Bartov has cautioned as he warned against misusing the memory of the Holocaust to justify genocidal practices in the defence of Israel. In fact, he argues, Israel/Palestine faces a self-destructive cycle where “allegations of genocidal intent by one side appear to legitimize genocidal intent by the other, all in the name of liberation, self-determination, justice, and dignity.”<sup>69</sup>

With the examples of Bartov, Scheindlin, and others, we can appreciate that there is a different kind of national identity possible, one different from the readiness to risk genocide while defending one’s own people. It might even be found within Judaism itself.

Like many other cases across the USA, Brown University was the site of student-led protest demanding a ceasefire in Israel-Palestine. The mobilisation was early and effective; it drew, in part, on the Boycott/Divestment/Sanctions movement in the previous decade.<sup>70</sup> It also drew on substantial Jewish activism in Palestinian solidarity, substantially diminishing the veracity of discourses claiming that campus polarisation was defined by antisemitism’s ring. From the early days of protest, a cultural politics of love was elaborated by many Jewish voices. One group published an open letter in the Brown University student newspaper. It began this way:

“Solidarity is the political version of love.” - Jewish feminist activist Melanie Kay/Kantrowitz

As of today, it has been a month since the Oct. 7 attacks that have dominated global political consciousness and discourse, not to mention our experiences as young Jewish people. Zionist institutions purport to be representative of all Jews, often using us as a rhetorical shield to support the unconscionable actions of the state of Israel. We feel a particular pain as Jews, having to continuously justify our stance against genocide. We are here to make ourselves clear: We stand in solidarity with Brown Students for Justice in Palestine and the Palestine Solidarity Caucus in the pursuit of the liberation of Palestinian peoples. We know intimately that Jewish struggles are necessarily bound up in global struggles for freedom. We are a group of Jewish students who have coalesced around our shared vision of justice, anti-occupation, liberation, and community.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> O. Bartov, *Weaponizing Language: Misuses of Holocaust Memory and the Never Again Syndrome*, Council for Global Cooperation, 12.03.2024, <https://cgcinternational.co.in/weaponizing-language-misuses-of-holocaust-memory-and-the-never-again-syndrome/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>70</sup> M.D. Kennedy, M. Tadesse, *Towards a Theory and Practice of Diversity and Inclusiveness in Globalizing US Universities: The Transformational Solidarity of Knowledge Activism*, “Youth and Globalization” 2019, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 254–281.

<sup>71</sup> A Collective of Anti-Occupation Jews, *An Open Letter from Jewish Students*, “Brown Daily Herald” 7.11.2023, <https://www.browndailyherald.com/article/2023/11/an-open-letter-from-jewish-students> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

Although this is a particular example, it signalled a broader cultural politics of love that could be found across US campuses. It was not, however, heralded so much given the broader public interest in identifying polarisation as a defining feature of epoch end. With these expressions of love, we can see the potential for a different kind of Jewish response to the crisis made manifest on 7 October 2023. This kind of engagement has been obvious to those who have attended to the prospects and pains of Palestinian lives since, at least, the Nakba. With their examples, we can see that being Jewish and being an Israeli nationalist are not the same thing.

The complexity, or clarity, depending on one's politics, of this contest over charges of genocide by Israel against the Palestinians of Gaza is substantial enough. But this contest has also deepened the challenge of protecting human rights in, and figuring solidarity with, Ukraine.

## A Matter of Global Solidarity with Ukraine

Before the Hamas assault on Israel on 7 October 2023, Ukraine was already struggling to develop global solidarity in its support. Most of Europe was, of course, mightily organised in its favour, fearing that Russia would continue to threaten even NATO members if its military incursions were not halted in Ukraine. But the Global South did not have similar fears; indeed, it was relatively easy to make the case that Western solidarity with Ukraine against Russian invasion was not a principled but political act; after all, the USA and Great Britain invaded Iraq in 2003 with similar imperial claims; namely, that it was its duty to prevent further destruction from taking place, as they sought to defend Kurds from Sadaam Hussein's barbarism, just as Putin declared his intent to defend Russian speaking minorities from the Nazism of Ukrainian authorities.<sup>72</sup> Still, the quest for global solidarity with Ukraine held promise.

That promise was there right from the start. On 22 February 2022 the Kenyan ambassador to the United Nations delivered a speech likening Russia's invasion to colonial repression, with the diplomat firmly supporting Ukraine: "Kenya and almost every African country was birthed by the ending of empire. Our borders were not of our own drawing."<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> L. Fadel, S. Antoon, *The 2003 US Invasion of Iraq Brought Terrorism to My Country, Iraqi Author Says*, "NPR Morning Edition" 22.03.2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/03/22/1165249956/the-2003-u-s-invasion-of-iraq-brought-terrorism-to-my-country-iraqi-author-says%E2%80%A6> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>73</sup> B. Chappel, *Kenyan Ambassador Compares Ukraine's Plight to Colonial Legacy in Africa*, "NPR News" 22.02.2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/02/22/1082334172/kenya-security-council-russia> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

Seven months later, the president of Ghana declared the Russian invasion costly for African well-being: “Every bullet, every bomb, every shell that hits a target in Ukraine hits our pockets and our economies in Africa. In Ghana, we are experiencing the highest inflation in 21 years.”<sup>74</sup> In fact, there were substantial Ukrainian diplomatic efforts in reaching out to Africa.<sup>75</sup> Diplomats and their think tanks were working to link African commitments to non-alignment and sovereignty with the cultural politics of Ukrainian solidarity: “the Ukraine war should inspire a self-assessment of Africa’s ability to agree on how to solve conflicts. In the absence of principled consistency, non-alignment may look like short-sighted opportunism.”<sup>76</sup>

Of course, these debates were not just organised around self-criticism; it was laced with concern over the abiding hypocrisies in the West. Martin Kimanji, the very diplomat who spoke so powerfully in the immediate aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, shared later how the colonising powers fail, themselves, to act on principle.<sup>77</sup>

This kind of dialogue is necessary to realise the common sense, perhaps the intuition, that could make the rule of law work on a more global scale. To be honest about real challenges is a foundation for mutuality’s sincere address. We will never know, however, how far that kind of hermeneutic project could have gone for the conjuncture defined by war in Israel/Palestine and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has stymied any hint of global progress around a public culture or vernacular defined by human rights, justice, and most obviously, love.

## Epoch End, Law and Love

When Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, we could see, once again, the limits of law and love in constraining those who mobilise extraordinary violence for the sake of restoring an empire. My relative expertise in matters of global social change focuses more on the lands bordering Poland than elsewhere, but it is hard to imagine that the contest in Israel/Palestine would not be of similar if

---

<sup>74</sup> F. Fassihi, *One Man Chose this War: Harsh Words Fly at UN Security Council Meeting*, “New York Times” 22.09.2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/world/europe/un-security-council-lavrov-blinken-ukraine-war.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>75</sup> P. Fabricius, *Ukraine’s Kuleba Tries to Change Africa’s Narrative on the War*, Institute for Security Studies, 14.10.2022, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/ukraines-kuleba-tries-to-change-africas-narrative-on-the-war> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>76</sup> F. Djilo, *Unpacking Africa’s Divided Stance on the Ukraine War*, Institute for Security Studies, 12.08.2022, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/unpacking-africas-divided-stance-on-the-ukraine-war> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>77</sup> J. Ioffe, *Africa’s Xi-Biden Power Play*, “Puck” 20.12.2022, <https://puck.news/africas-xi-biden-power-play/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

not greater world historical consequence as the Russian invasion of Ukraine. But unlike that war, where matters of international law seem relatively settled if nonetheless frustrated only by the location of Russia and its geopolitical power in constraining the administration of justice, the war in Gaza defies similar faith in the professional legal apparatus. It even defies an uncomplicated Ukrainian sensibility in recognising affinities.

Ukrainians can recognise affinities with both Palestinians and Jews. Official statements by Ukrainian President Zelensky are common in demanding the West support Ukraine in similar ways it has supported Israel.<sup>78</sup> But other Ukrainians have articulated their own Palestinian Solidarity. In an open letter to Palestinians, Ukrainian researchers, artists, political and labour activists, and members of civil society declared themselves to stand in solidarity with the people of Palestine.<sup>79</sup>

This open letter resonates most obviously with the dominant discourses of the Global South where charges of hypocrisy ring out when Palestinians are not defended in similar terms as Ukrainians. While one might readily find arguments in publications identifying with “the Global South”, concerns over double standards even animate American publications of the foreign policy establishment.<sup>80</sup>

It hardly seems evident to me what global futures will entail given the lack of vision other than military victory by one established identity over another established identity. But it is clear that the articulations of intuitive law or vernaculars are radically divided not only based on where people live, but whose principles are to be upheld, and whose right to life is most respected. We live in the most dangerous times where human rights are at risk both in reality and as a principle if they have not already suffered an utter collapse in political and policy relevance.

---

<sup>78</sup> News Wires, *Ukraine's Zelensky Calls for Same Unity from Allies as from Israel*, France 24, 15.04.2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20240415-ukraine-zelensky-calls-same-unity-from-allies-israel> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>79</sup> Ukrainian Palestinian Solidarity Group, *Ukrainian Let of Solidarity with the Palestinian People*, Al Jazeera, 08.11.2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/11/8/ukrainian-letter-of-solidarity-with-the-palestinian> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

<sup>80</sup> O. Stuenkel, *The Global South Is Accusing America of Hypocrisy*, “Foreign Affairs” 01.01.2024, p. 30–32.



## Conclusions

I am an American sociologist with a particular interest in Polish sociology stemming, in part, from my interest in social change in Poland. However, part of my interest in Poland comes from my appreciation for how Polish sociology was both engaged in the dynamics of its own society and its quest to understand more general principles that can be illuminated by comparing other places to Poland, and considering Poland's place in the world at large.

I have not been engaged substantially with Podgórecki's sociology for a number of reasons; I am not a sociologist of law, nor have I been particularly devoted to human rights as a normative framework, nor as an object of explanation. The works by Podgórecki that I have read I found off-putting for justifiable, and not quite so justifiable, reasons. But in the course of the conference that Krzysztof Motyka organised, and following subsequent reflection, I see a different light of inspiration. With my recent interest in figuring sociology of love as a complement to my abiding commitment to emancipatory social change, I see a new place for Podgórecki and Petrażycki, when we envision an intuitive law finding its place not only in the actually existing vernacular societies but in the potential of their transformational solidarities.

For those foreign policy experts motivated by understandings of nations defined by those who rule them, such an articulation hardly seems important. But for those sociologists working to figure out cultural politics that might resonate not only across those disinherited from the nations in which they live, but from the world that fails even to see them, much less recognise them, this rearticulation of intuitive and positive law, or of public vernaculars and professional cultures of law and policy, offers promise.

We saw that promise in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It was such an obvious and grotesque assault on international law, and on Ukrainian sensibilities. Ukrainian allies moved more effectively in solidarity with that nation than one might have expected, especially after the halting response to Russia's earlier stealth invasion in 2014. And while declarations defending human rights and international law could move listeners to scepticism, especially if they had themselves been members of societies that have been victimised by colonialism's ravages or more recent Global North interventions, as America in Iraq in 2003, progress in diplomatic circles at least was evident as African leaders and policymakers could argue that the continent's nations undermined their self-professed commitments to principles of sovereignty by failing to recognise Russia's imperial venture. The road to global solidarity was not paved with gold, but at least its contours were evident. And then 7 October 2023 came. Or rather, the particular Israeli response to Hamas's assault ruined the promise of global solidarity and the power of international law.

Some could see what many Ukrainian leaders also saw; a common assault by dictatorships on flawed democracies. But other Ukrainians saw their reflections in Palestinian lives lost, land stolen, and infrastructures decimated. Others in the Global South did not bother to look for similarities and differences between suffering by Ukrainians and by Palestinians. As the USA, Germany, and the United Kingdom stood up in defence of Israeli war practices that South Africa, in its charge to the International Court of Justice called genocidal, they could only see the hypocrisy of the Global North return, once again, to the international stage.

We could consider this through the lens of the Global South, and others beyond that geopolitical association like Ireland who understand the lash of colonialism; we could treat this simply as a kind of Western legalism that operates only when it suits the interest of the Global North. That is, in a sense, the much simpler path, but it treats the law as nothing more than an instrument of rule and domination rather than a vehicle for justice and rights.

If we were to consider, rather, the conditions under which vernaculars can be mobilised through legal institutions to change the terms of discussion, despite the interests of the powerful, we might find a sociology resonant with Podgórecki's legacy, and global transformations today. Indeed, by tracking what happens with the International Court of Justice and South Africa's charges against Israel's war practices, we might see a new spirit for a sociology of law that treats the intuitive, the vernacular, as critically as legal precedent in understanding the conditions of, and possibilities for, social change.

## Bibliography

- Abdelhadi E. [@emanabdelhadi], "I have been to so many protests in my life...", X.com, 05.11.2023, <https://twitter.com/emanabdelhadi/status/1720952234341474728> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- A Collective of Anti-Occupation Jews, *An Open Letter from Jewish Students*, "Brown Daily Herald" 07.11.2023, <https://www.browndailyherald.com/article/2023/11/an-open-letter-from-jewish-students> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Bankowski Z., *Living Lawfully: Love in Law and Law in Love*, Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V., 2001.
- Bartov O., *As a Former IDF Soldier and Historian of Genocide, I Was Deeply Disturbed by My Recent Visit to Israel*, "The Guardian" 13.08.2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/aug/13/israel-gaza-historian-omer-bartov> (accessed: 13.09.2024).
- Bartov O., *Weaponizing Language: Misuses of Holocaust Memory and the Never Again Syndrome*, Council for Global Cooperation, 12.03.2024, <https://cgcinternational.co.in/weaponizing-language-misuses-of-holocaust-memory-and-the-never-again-syndrome/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Berg R., *Israel to Fight South Africa's Gaza Genocide Claim in Court*, BBC, 02.01.2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67866342> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Berg R., *UN Top Court Says Israeli Occupation of Palestinian Territories Is Illegal*, BBC, 19.02.2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cjerjzxlpvdo> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

- Bouie J., *Kamala Harris Can't Escape Gaza Any More than Joe Biden Can*, "The New York Times" 30.07.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/opinion/kamala-harris-netanyahu-israel-gaza.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Burawoy M., *For Public Sociology*, "American Sociological Review" 2005, vol. 70, no. 1, p. 4–28, <http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Public%20Sociology,%20Live/Burawoy.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Calhoun C., *Main Currents of Marxism. Volume 1: The Founders; Volume 2: The Golden Age; Volume 3: The Breakdown*. By Leszek Kolakowski. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. 434 pp.; 541 pp.; 541 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 607–610.
- Calhoun C., *Nationalism*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1998.
- Chappel B., *Kenyan Ambassador Compares Ukraine's Plight to Colonial Legacy in Africa*, "NPR News" 22.02.2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/02/22/1082334172/kenya-security-council-russia> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Coleman F., *To Prosecute Putin for War Crimes, Safeguard the Digital Proof*, "Foreign Policy" 10.04.2022 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/10/prosecute-putin-war-crimes-evidence-bucha-safe-guard-digital-proof/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Cummings-Bruce N., *Welcome to Hell: UN Panel Says Russian War Crimes Are Widespread*, "New York Times" 15.03.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/15/world/europe/russia-war-crimes.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Dębska H., *Herezja w prawoznawstwie. Trajektoria Polskiej Socjologii Prawa w XX wieku*, in: *Polskie nauki społeczne w kontekście relacji władzy i zależności międzynarodowych*, ed. T. Zarycki, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2022, p. 105–137.
- Dębska H., *Kariera uczonego i tworzenie idei w warunkach fundamentalnych zmian strukturalnych. O Leonie Petrażyckim raz jeszcze*, "Archiwum Filozofii Prawa i Filozofii Społecznej" 2024, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 19–33.
- Djilo F., *Unpacking Africa's Divided Stance on the Ukraine War*, Institute for Security Studies, 12.08.2022, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/unpacking-africas-divided-stance-on-the-ukraine-war> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Fadel L., Antoon S., *The 2003 US Invasion of Iraq Brought Terrorism to My Country, Iraqi Author Says*, NPR Morning Edition, 22.03.2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/03/22/1165249956/the-2003-u-s-invasion-of-iraq-brought-terrorism-to-my-country-iraqi-author-says%E2%80%A6> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Fabricius P., *Ukraine's Kuleba Tries to Change Africa's Narrative on the War*, Institute for Security Studies, 14.10.2022, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/ukraines-kuleba-tries-to-change-africas-narrative-on-the-war> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Fassih F., *One Man Chose this War: Harsh Words Fly at UN Security Council Meeting*, "New York Times" 22.09.2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/world/europe/un-security-council-lavrov-blinken-ukraine-war.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Hathaway O., *Taking Stock of ICJ Decisions in the Ukraine v. Russia Cases and Implications for South Africa's Case Against Israel*, "Just Security" 05.02.2024, <https://www.justsecurity.org/91781/taking-stock-of-icj-decisions-in-ukraine-v-russia-cases-and-implications-for-south-africas-case-against-israel/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Hooks B., Yancy G., *Buddhism, the Beats, and Loving Blackness*, "New York Times" 10.09.2015, <https://archive.nytimes.com/opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/12/10/bell-hooks-buddhism-the-beats-and-loving-blackness/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- International Sociological Association, *Adam Podgórecki Prize*, <https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/research-networks/research-committees/rc12-sociology-of-law/rc12-adam-podgorecki-prize> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- International Court of Justice, *Application Instituting Proceedings*, <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- International Criminal Court, *Situation in Ukraine*, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/situations/ukraine> (accessed: 16.08.2024).

- Ioffe J., *Africa's Xi-Biden Power Play*, Puck, 20.12.2022, <https://puck.news/africas-xi-biden-power-play/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Itzigsohn J., Brown K., *The Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois: Racialized Modernity and the Global Color Line*, New York University Press, New York 2020.
- Jacobs S., *South Africa Sees Its Moral Conscience in a Genocide Case*, "New York Times" 26.01.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/26/opinion/south-africa-israel-genocide.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Kehal P.S., Garbes L., Kennedy M.D., *Critical Sociology of Knowledge*, in: *Oxford Bibliographies in Sociology*, ed. Lynette Spillman, Oxford University Press, New York 2021, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0221.xml?> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Kennedy, M., *Istorychna spadshchyna ta hromadians'ke suspil'stvo: al'ternatyvni natsiji v Skhidny Yevropi*, in: *Ukraina Moderna*, vol. 1, eds. Y. Hrytsak, M. Krykun, Lviv State University, Lviv 1996, p. 114–131.
- Kennedy M., *Cultural Formations of Postcommunism: Emancipation, Transition, Nation and War*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2002.
- Kennedy M.D., *Book Review of Adam Podgórecki, Polish Society*, "Contemporary Sociology" 1995, vol. 24, no. 2, p. 222–223.
- Kennedy M.D., *Contemplative Studies, Martial Arts and Solidarity: An Autobiographical Knowledge Cultural Sociology of Transformational Theory and Practice*, "Stan Rzeczy" 2023, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 113–144.
- Kennedy M.D., *Globalizing Knowledge: Intellectuals, Universities and Publics in Global Transformations*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2015.
- Kennedy M.D., *How Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Matters: A Knowledge Cultural Sociology*, "Footnotes: Magazine of the American Sociological Association" 2023, <https://www.asanet.org/footnotes-article/how-russias-invasion-of-ukraine-matters-a-knowledge-cultural-sociology/> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Kennedy M.D., *Mobilizing Justice Across Hegemonies in Place: Critical Postcommunist Vernaculars*, in: *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice, Mobilization and Hegemony*, eds. J. Kubik, A. Linch, New York University Press, New York 2013, p. 385–408.
- Kennedy M.D., *National Cultures and Racial Formations: Articulating the Knowledge Cultures of Kłosowska and Du Bois*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2019, vol. 63, no. 3, p. 7–30.
- Kennedy M.D., *Poland in the American Sociological Imagination*, "Polish Sociological Review" 2004, no. 4 (148), p. 361–383, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241669781\\_Poland\\_in\\_the\\_American\\_Sociological\\_Imagination](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241669781_Poland_in_the_American_Sociological_Imagination) (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Kennedy M.D., *Professionals, Power, and Solidarity in Poland: A Critical Sociology of Soviet-type Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991.
- Kennedy M.D., *Violence and Truth in 2022's Epoch End: Covid 19 and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine in the World Historical Context*, "Journal of Public Governance" 2022, vol. 61, no. 3, p. 6–24, DOI: 10.15678/PG.2022.61.3.01.
- Kennedy M.D., *What Is "the Nation" after Communism and Modernity?*, "The Polish Sociological Review" 1994, vol. 105, no. 1, p. 47–58.
- Kennedy M.D., Tadesse M., *Towards a Theory and Practice of Diversity and Inclusiveness in Globalizing US Universities: The Transformational Solidarity of Knowledge Activism*, "Youth and Globalization" 2019, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 254–281.
- Krygier M., *The Constitution of the Heart*, "Law & Social Inquiry" 1995, vol. 20, no. 4, p. 1033–1066.
- Kubik J., *From Transitivity to Contextual Holism: A Theoretical Trajectory of Postcommunist Studies*, in: *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice, Mobilization and Hegemony*, eds. J. Kubik, A. Linch, New York University Press, New York 2013, p. 27–94.
- Kurczewski J., *Adam Podgórecki's Empirical Theory of Law*, "Societas/Communitas" 2013, vol. 15, no. 1, p. 79–97.

- Lenski G., *Classes, Strata and Power*. By Włodzimierz Wesolowski. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 159 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 605–607.
- Leon Petrażycki: *Law, Emotions, Society*, eds. E. Fittipaldi, A.J. Treviño, Routledge, New York 2023.
- Misztal B., *Book Review of Polish Society by Adam Podgórecki*, "Social Forces" 1995, vol. 73, no. 4, p. 1637–1638.
- Morris A., *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2017.
- Motyka K., *Leon Petrażycki and Adam Podgórecki: On the Reception of the Psychological Theory of Law in Poland under Communism*, in: *Leon Petrażycki: Law, Emotions, Society*, eds. E. Fittipaldi, A.J. Treviño, Routledge, New York 2023, p. 47–70.
- Motyka K., *Wpływ Leona Petrażyckiego na polską teorię i socjologię prawa*, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 1993.
- News Wires, *Ukraine's Zelensky Calls for Same Unity from Allies as from Israel*, France 24, 15.04.2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20240415-ukraine-zelensky-calls-same-unity-from-allies-israel> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Petrażycki L., *Law and Morality*, transl. H.W. Babb, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1955.
- Ritzer G., *Multi-Dimensional Sociology*. By Adam Podgórecki and Maria Łós. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 344 pp., "Social Forces" 1981, vol. 60, no. 2, p. 610–612.
- Rubenstein J., *Reckoning with Antisemitism at Yale*, <https://slifkacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Reckoning-with-Antisemitism-at-Yale.pdf> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Scheindlin D., *Myth and Reality In Israel's Hostage Negotiations*, "New York Times" 27.02.2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/27/opinion/israel-hostage-negotiations-entebbe.html> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Sorokin P., *The Ways and Power of Love: Types, Factors, and Techniques of Moral Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston 1954.
- Stuenkel O., *The Global South Is Accusing America of Hypocrisy*, "Foreign Affairs" 01.01.2024, p. 30–32.
- Swidler A., *Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies*, "American Sociological Review" 1986, vol. 51, no. 2, p. 273–286.
- Ukrainian Palestinian Solidarity Group, *Ukrainian Letter of Solidarity with the Palestinian People*, Al Jazeera, 08.11.2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/11/8/ukrainian-letter-of-solidarity-with-the-palestinian> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Wicenty D., *The Experience of Oppression and the Price of Nonconformity: A Brief Biography of Adam Podgórecki*, "Studies in East European Thought" 2018, vol. 70, p. 61–81, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11212-018-9300-x> (accessed: 16.08.2024).
- Zarycki T., *Pole językoznawczo-literaturoznawcze w Polsce. W poszukiwaniu strukturalnych czynników jego wzlotów i upadku na przestrzeni „długiego XX wieku”*, in: *Polskie nauki społeczne w kontekście relacji władzy i zależności międzynarodowych*, ed. T. Zarycki, Warsaw University Press, Warsaw 2022, p. 185–227.
- Zarycki T., *The Polish Elite and Language Sciences: A Perspective of Global Historical Sociology*, Palgrave, 2023, p. 348.
- Ziegert K., *Adam Podgórecki's Sociology of Law: The Invisible Factors of the Functioning of Law Made Visible*, "Law & Society Review" 1977, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 151–180.
- Zubrzycki G., *Resurrecting the Jew: Nationalism, Philosemitism and Poland's Jewish Revival*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2022.