

Streszczenia w języku angielskim

Krzysztof Malinowski

Keywords: German foreign policy, Germany-USA relations, transatlantic orientation, NATO, German political parties

Belonging to the transatlantic security community is an axiom of German foreign policy. Germany has been able to maintain a stable position in the North Atlantic Alliance thanks to the transatlantic orientation of the main German political parties. The last decade has seen its erosion, exacerbated by the presidency of Donald Trump. Joe Biden's victory in the 2020 presidential election created an opportunity to revive transatlantic and German-American relations.

The aim of the article is to diagnose the state of the transatlantic orientation in Germany in the face of US expectations and the Bundestag elections (09'2021), which may bring a change in the governing coalition. It was assumed that the quality of Germany's engagement in the new phase of its co-operation with the US depends on the condition of the transatlantic orientation. The official party positions and politicians' statements concerning the prospects of alliance co-operation were analyzed with regard to such issues as the future of the North Atlantic Alliance, the 'burden sharing' among allies and attitudes towards Russia and China.

The thesis was formulated that although the German political parties *CDU/CSU*, *FDP*, *SPD* and the Greens (with the exception of *Die Linke* and *AfD*) are generally in favor of NATO, the low degree of convergence of opinions among individual parties as regards strengthening NATO security and the strategy towards Russia points to the modest potential of the transatlantic orientation and may indicate that it is in the process of decomposition.

Joanna Dobosz-Dobrowolska

Keywords: Germany, Security Council, UN, peace and security, conflict prevention, climate, humanitarian law, disarmament

The article discusses the policy of unified Germany in the UN Security Council in the terms of 1995-1996, 2003-2004, 2011-2012 and 2019-2020, focusing in particular on the last

two-year period. It aims to identify the main areas of German involvement and outline the process of shaping a vision of Germany's global role.

The subsequent terms of Germany in the UN SC are characterized by increasing involvement, which led to taking over by Germany in 2019-2020 of the global presidency (or co-presidency) in Germany's priority areas of responsibility, which include: conflict prevention, counteracting climate change and its consequences for security, strengthening the protection of women, supporting compliance with humanitarian law and disarmament. Concomitantly a second thesis may be put forward that in these areas in the years 2019-2020 Germany's activity took a formative form. The last German term in UN SC also showed Germany's increasing effectiveness in integrating large groups of countries around its demands and priorities.

Those theses were verified by inductive inference combining distributed source data. The research problem is explained by two approaches: (1) individualistic, interpreting Germany's aspirations to shape global politics in accordance with the assumptions appropriate to its internal documents, mainly the coalition agreements of the ruling parties, and (2) structuralist, perceiving the manner and scope of the states' involvement in the global peace and security processes as an inevitable process leading to the commonality of professed values and mutual adjustment of states.

Michał Turski

Keywords: Deutsche Volksliste, region of Łódź, Volksgemeinschaft, Volksdeutsche, World War II

The aim of the paper is the analysis of the German People's List (German: Deutsche Volksliste, German abb. DVL, in Polish: Volkslista or Niemiecka Lista Narodowościowa, inf. in Polish: Folkslista) in the region of Łódź during World War II. The Volksliste was part of the Nazi schema to re-Germanize the Łódź Germans and separate them from the influence of Polish culture and society. The main research questions are the problems of categorization of Volksdeutsche by Volksliste offices and the motivation of Germans behind rejection of the Volksliste or their application for admission to a higher category.

The hypothesis about the categorisation of Germans in the Volksliste assumes that the criteria used by the Volksliste offices were insufficient and the most frequently used criteria of language and religion did not allow for a proper categorisation of the Łódź Germans. According

to the author there existed many reasons for people to accept the Volksliste (they were also sometimes forced to accept it) or to apply for admission to a higher category, the economic reasons being the most important ones – the desire to preserve one's wealth or job, or to maintain one's social position.

The article is based on various archival sources: the German administration documents from Łódź, Poznań, and Warsaw archives as well as the ego-documents, such as complaints about too low a category on the Volksliste (the case of Oskar Ambroży Klikar)

Łukasz Jędrzejski

Keywords: Western and Northern Lands, Polish Film Chronicle, Władysław Gomułka, film, propaganda

The aim of the article is to present the images of the political communication created by the editorial team of the Polish Film Chronicle (PKF), an important means of transmission of political contents.

In the research considerations, the hypothesis was adopted that in post-war Poland, the PKF became an important component of propaganda activities carried out by the state. Apart from the press and the radio, it was an important tool of political influence in the state authority-society relations.

The article uses the technique of exegesis and media analysis. The system analysis method was also used. The study has shown that the political communication of the PKF contained a whole set of meanings, values and principles that played an important role in the media and political message concerning Western and Northern Territories in Poland and influenced the creation of their image. The pictures of the Western and Northern Territories presented by the editorial team of the PKF were a component of the political communication process, of which the final effect was to legitimize the actions of the post-war state authorities. Joining new territories to the "Motherland" symbolized the cohesion of the nation and the state. The glory of historical events related to the Western and Northern Territories, referred to in the communication messages of the PKF, and the construction of a new symbolic and cultural order were characterized by political intentionality and trivial indoctrination. The consistent reference to the myth of the Piast Poland with regards to the Western and Northern Territories had a compensatory function after the loss of the Eastern Borderlands of the Republic of Poland. The subject of the films included in the PKF shaped the image of the Western and Northern

Territories and contained elements of anti-war, anti-German, patriotic, national and popular propaganda desired by the state authorities. The content of the PKF fostered the Polonization of the memory concerning the end of the war and its consequences, and strove to increase the achievements of the glorious tradition of the Polish nation in viewers' eyes.

Tomasz Jaworski, Małgorzata Łukianow, Marcin Maciejewski

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, Western and Northern Territories, post-war migrations, post-war period, Lubusz Land

The paper aims at characterising the situation related to the re-emigration of Poles from Czechoslovakia to the Western and Northern Territories: historical background, personal motivations of the re-emigrants, travel conditions and re-arranging life in the Polish-German border area. However, it is not possible to fully highlight this issue without considering additional contexts, such as the conditions of residence before the war and in particular: the period between 1945 and 1948, from the end of the war to the moment of departure.

The authors distinguish several key factors that can be considered as determinants of the integration of re-emigrants from the areas of eastern Slovakia. The decisive issue was the time of arrival and the fact that most farms that were habitable were occupied by settlers who had arrived earlier. What seems particularly interesting, this issue did not affect the decision on the direction of transport of re-emigrants. Even though the National Repatriation Office had knowledge about the fact that there were not enough farms and land in the district (powiat), the re-emigrants were directed to the West. What is more, the Przewóz commune in 1948 was only colonized in 40%, but this probably indicates that these were rather unattractive areas than forgotten ones.

Relevant materials for the present study were collected during a query in the Archives of New Files in Warsaw, the most valuable ones coming from the files of the State Repatriation Office in Łódź together with reports of provincial branches in Rzeszów and Wrocław. Thanks also to the resources from the files of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was possible to obtain the information necessary to outline the broader pre-war context, mainly on the basis of notes of the Polish consular institutions in Košice and Uzhhorod. The archival material was supplemented and confronted with the recollections of the re-emigrants, collected by the authors of the text using the spoken history method.

Maria Bula

Keywords: FRG, *Bundestag*, prisoners of war, captivity, USSR

The history of German prisoners of war from World War II has long been a topic of historical and political discussion in the Federal Republic of Germany. After the establishment of the FRG in 1949, members of the first term of the Bundestag discussed the extremely topical issue which was: bringing German prisoners of war from the USSR to West Germany ten years after the start of World War II.

The aim of this paper is to determine how the above mentioned politicians dealt with the problem of POWs on the basis of an analysis of the plenary protocols of the Bundestag (*Plenarprotokolle*) and printed documents (*Drucksachen*) produced during the first two terms of the German parliament: 1949–1953 and 1953–1957.

Historical research methods were used in the study, including the inductive-descriptive method and the method of analyzing the contents of documents according to Ole Holsti's questionnaire in order to determine which politicians in the Bundestag spoke most often, how they spoke about the issue of aiding prisoners of war, in what context, and what their statements resulted in.

The analysis shows that German politicians were eager to propose new laws or amendments to the existing ones in order to identify and support prisoners of war already in the country or still detained abroad. The case of the prisoners of war was an especially high profile issue at the turn of 1955 and 1956, when the largest wave of returns took place, thanks to the actions of the German Chancellor, who went to Moscow for this purpose. The resolution of this issue in 1955 became the basis of Chancellor K. Adenauer's political success.

Krzysztof Siwek

Keywords: Zbigniew Brzeziński, United States, Poland, Oder-Neisse Line, frontiers, Germany, Europe, political ideas

The objective of this article is to present the political ideas of Zbigniew Brzeziński behind his position on the U.S. policy toward the question of Poland's western frontier in the 1960s.

The main task is focused on the extent of connection between Brzeziński's argument for the final recognition of the Oder-Neisse Line by the United States and his aim to overcome the Cold War division of Europe and the problem of national borders. Brzeziński's views on the frontier is worth explaining also in relation to his opinion on Polish-German and Polish-Soviet relations as well as on Polish nationalism and communist ideology. Accordingly, the question of the Oder-Neisse Line is addressed here in the context of Brzeziński's comments on U.S. policies toward the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union and Europe as a whole. The main sources for the study were Brzeziński's political commentaries, publications and archival material concerning Poland's western border in the 1960s. However, this study extends beyond the purely diplomatic history of the Polish frontier question by combining Brzeziński's views on the Oder-Neisse Line with his internationalist concept of European political-economic relations.

As this paper demonstrates, Brzeziński's claim for the formal recognition of the Oder-Neisse Line by the United States in the 1960s developed within the framework of American political, geopolitical and economic designs for Germany, Soviet Union and for Europe as a whole in the context of the Cold War. Although his argument regarding Poland's western border contributed to the desirable increase of U.S. political interest in Poland and Central-Eastern Europe, nonetheless Brzeziński favored a kind of European interdependence of states and "Europeanization of Poland" over the restitution of its full sovereignty based on anti-Soviet nationalism. This peculiar universalist vision of Central-Eastern Europe coupled with socio-economic determinism appear to have profoundly affected Brzezinski's Polish frontier claim based on an assumption that both the Cold War division of Europe and national borders would eventually diminish in political significance as a result of Western recognition.

Krzysztof Jankowiak

Keywords: Poland-GDR relations, tourism, counterrevolution

The aim of the study is to show on specific examples the evolution of mutual relations between Poland and the Democratic German Republic in a period of deepening economic crisis in Poland followed by an explosion of freedom connected with the strikes in August 1980 and the rise of a trade union movement independent of the United Polish Workers' Party.

According to the official propaganda, the correct relations between Poland and the GDR in the 1970s, deteriorated significantly with the growing economic crisis and the upsurge of

independent initiatives in Polish society. The mistreatment of Poles by the GDR authorities took place even before the strikes of August 1980 and the birth of Solidarity. The emergence of the independent trade union movement in Poland caused the GDR authorities to close the border, preventing the transfer of these trends to their own territory. Not only were Poles denied entry to the GDR, but measures were also taken to dismiss Polish workers from German factories. The GDR authorities also pressured Warsaw to clean up and crack down on counterrevolution. Deterioration in relations between Poland and the GDR became apparent for citizens wishing to travel through German territory. Tourists from Poland were subjected to various forms of harassment aimed at effectively discouraging them from making such trips. Interestingly, Warsaw was surprised by the new policy of the GDR authorities and presented a different view of the situation than the German state. Attempts to force the change did not, however, bring positive results. The problem of border traffic disappeared after the introduction of martial law in Poland.

The study mostly uses the historical method, but the inductive method was also employed. The problematic of the relations between Poland and the GDR is not very rich and the crucial processes have already been described. That is why the present paper does not repeat previous opinions, focusing on the identification and description of specific cases.

