Łukasz KUMIĘGA, *Strategie perspektywizowania polskiej prawicy w niemieckim dyskursie medialnym na przykładzie tygodnika „Junge Freiheit” / Strategies for forming a perspective on Polish right-wing politics in the German media, as exemplified by the Junge Freiheit weekly*

The author undertakes an analysis of a discourse in the German media as exemplified by the Junge Freiheit, weekly, a publication regarded, on the basis of a number of empirical studies, as providing a platform for so-called folk-nationalism. The analysis in question focuses on the strategies for the conceptualisation of the right wing of Poland’s political scene. Within the framework of the general analysis, the following aspects have been set out: the discoursive context of the study and the characteristics of the medium being analysed. 51 articles, the topic of which was Poland, and which are understood here as an analytical category, were subject to a detailed scrutiny which made it possible to identify three discoursive threads:

- Polish foreign politics,
- Polish domestic politics,
- historical politics.

The results of the detailed scrutiny subsequently lead to a definition of the ways in which Junge Freiheit articulated the weekly’s perspective on Polish right-wing political groupings:

- a) a ultra-chauvinist movement, in respect of historical politics,
- b) an important partner in the joint struggle against political correctness at the European level,
- c) a social-democratic movement, in respect of the economy,
- d) a conservative-Catholic movement, as far as social issues are concerned.

The following discoursive strategies applied by the medium under study are identified:

- a) a strategy aiming at separation, within the framework of the discoursive subthread: German-Polish relations and historical politics (the expulsion of Germans from Poland after 1945, the Centre Against Expulsion project),
- b) a link-up strategy within the discoursive sub-thread: the right-wing parliamentary faction in the European Parliament.

Piotr Madajczyk, *Polityczne bariery w polskich badaniach nad czystkami w XX wieku / Political barriers to Polish research on the purges of the XX century*

The article analyses selected aspects of the impact of politics on historical research conducted in Poland on forced migrations. The first problem which is subjected to analysis is the impact of the political debates on the concepts applied in the research, an impact which may be still discerned. Political manipulation of the concept of ‘ethnic cleansing’ creates difficulties in introducing it as an analytical category, analogous to the purges under the criteria of class. Second, because the notion of the nation state is being demonised in the FRG, a tendency to marginalise it in research on forced migration may also be seen in Poland. What has emerged as a reaction to this trend is a sui generis escape into the theory of totalitarianism, according to which it is the totalitarisms which were responsible either entirely, or to a decisive degree, for the crimes of the XX century. The theory in question refers to the undoubted similarities
between the Nazi and the Soviet population policies.
Another problem is the specific manner in which the concept of ‘concentration camps’ operates in the Polish collective memory. These camps form a part of the global history of the XX century. In Poland they are, however, identified with the German camps of the World War II. By the same token, yet another concept, without which it is difficult to analyse population policy, has become a taboo. However, providing an historical setting to research on ethnic- and class-based purges also needs, an open debate on the analogous mechanisms of operation and violence which can be seen in them. Such an approach is met in Poland with the apprehension that all these activities would be put on the same plane, without perceiving a different context to the events. This is, however, inevitable at present and provides a particularly difficult challenge for the historian.

Elisabeth Maria ROTTER, Roland FREUDENSTEIN, Powrót do przyszłości? Stosunki niemiecko-polskie podczas niemieckiej prezydencji w Radzie Unii Europejskiej i po zmianie rządu w Polsce / Back to the future? German-Polish relations during the German EU Council Presidency and following the change of government in Poland

Is a return to the German-Polish community of interest from the 90s, which defined defined bilateral relationships between the two countries between 1991 and 1998, possible? Will mutual contacts between them find their focus in the future? It is these questions that the authors attempt to answer. They describe the lines of conflict, beginning with the ‘war on resolutions’ in 1998, including the negotiations of 2000 on the compensation for the slave labourers, and concluding with the controversies around the UE Constitutional Treaty, the war in Iraq and the Centre Against Expulsions in 2003. Their considerations focus mostly on the mutual, conflict-filled mutual relationship between the two countries during the German EU Council Presidency in 2007, from the point of view of the interests of one and the other. The controversies and the accompanying political atmosphere surrounding the voting procedure in the Council are described, as are the issues of energy policy, the Ostpolitik, and the EU Reform Treaty. The authors posit that although the ‘battle’ between Germany and Poland in Brussels had a benign ending, both these states and the entire Union have suffered considerable losses as a result of the confrontation. In the in conclusion, the authors attempt to appraise the chances of the future development of German-Polish relations, following the change of government in the latter country, hoping that in the new political set-up, once the areas of active interests have been defined, the come-back of the German-Polish community of interest will be feasible.

Małgorzata ŚWIDER, Wizyta Herberta Wehnera w Warszawie w lutym 1982 roku w świetle sprawozdań Frakcji SPD / Herbert Wehner’s visit to Poland in February 1982, in the light of SPD Parliamentary Party reports

Drawing on SPD Parliamentary Party reports held in Archiv der Sozialen Demokratie in Bonn, the author describes the political context and the circumstances of the visit made by Mr Herbert Werhner, the leader of the SPD Parliamentary Party in the Bundestag, the first western politician of major stature to accept the invitation of the then Communist authorities after the introduction of martial law in Poland. The non-official visit to Warsaw was paid in February 1982, during a period when Poland was isolated internationally, and was regarded in
both the political arena and the media as one of the West German government’s most controversial actions toward the political opposition in Poland. The CDU/ CSU, which was then in opposition, accused the SPD of being inconsiderate and of providing support for Poland’s military authorities.

On the basis of the available documents, the author describes the course of the visit and Mr Wehner’s talks in Poland with representatives of the Communist government and of the Catholic Church and with General W. Jaruzelski. The most important questions asked in these confidential talks pertained to the causes of the crisis that had arisen, the circumstances in which the martial law had been introduced, including the role of the Soviet Union, and the possibilities of re-opening a political dialogue with Solidarity and its leader, Mr Lech Wałęsa, as well as a matter which was important to the Polish party to the talks – the forestalling of sanctions against Poland. It is difficult to appraise the significance of Mr Wehner’s visit unambiguously, because other source materials have yet to be disclosed. As far as the SPD politicians are concerned, what was probably paramount was the fact that the two most important political forces in Poland, the government and the Church, confirmed that the route chosen by the SPD-FPD coalition government in the Federal Republic of Germany was right.