

ABSTRACTS

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Jan Pruszyński

The Right to Cultural Heritage and the Property of Art Objects

One of crucial problems referring to political relations between Poland and Germany is restitution and/or reparations for art objects and monuments of history purposely destroyed or plundered during Nazi occupation 1939-1945, determining total destruction of the Polish culture. The author underlines, that notion: cultural heritage - not defined yet - consist both of material objects, and intellectual values identifying nations politically, socially and culturally, proving truths and commemorating historical events, indispensable to make civilized community. He emphasizes also imprecisely used qualifications "historical and artistic values", camouflaging material value forejudging their keeping by untitled persons. Referring to the property, author stresses it does not the same, as the right to cultural heritage. He adds at last that the lack of the implementation of treaty regulations by government officials caused private initiative of making up and put into circulation the document named: The Gdańsk Charter of the Protection of Heritage, being an attempt of justifiable solving problems of restitution of art treasures, being the only fair way to close the chapter of past hostile relations, and to build a united Europe.

Maria Tomczak

The New Government Coalition in the FRG

On 18 September 2005 early parliamentary election was held in the Federal Republic of Germany. It was preceded by a dynamic election campaign, focused mainly on economic problems. The poll results showed not only an indecisiveness of the German society as to the need of deep reforms of the system, but also revealed the changes that are taking place in the party system in the FRG at the beginning of the 21st century. They are connected both with a marked fall of significance of the big nationwide parties and the shortcomings of the process of the reunification of Germany. The new system of power that has emerged hampered the construction of a stable electoral coalition. Finally, after long negotiations it was decided that a government of the so-called great coalition CDU/CSU-SPD would be created. The new government received a considerable credit of social confidence, on account of memory of a similar political construction that functioned efficiently in the former FRG in the years 1966-1969. The office of chancellor was taken over by Angela Merkel who comes from the former GDR. Her remarkable political career is largely the effect of the process of building political elites in the 1990s.

Andrzej Guziół

The Place of Russia in the Foreign Policy of the FRG and the Chances for a Common Eastern Policy of

the EU

In the next few years the European Union will face the difficult task of developing a truly common policy towards Russia. The realization of this task depends largely on the ability to construct a joint Polish-German vision of relations with Russia. The chances will be all the greater, the better Russia's role in German foreign policy is recognized. Already during the Christian-Democratic-Liberal government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl changes began in the perception of Russia as unified Germany's partner in international relations. Eventually, Russia was no longer depicted as a potential enemy and source of threat to European security. Those changes were further followed-up during the government of the red-green coalition of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder. Russia became a strategic and trustworthy partner of the FRG. The substance of German-Russian relations was considerably expanded. The new German government continues to a significant extent the hitherto policy towards Russia. In this situation it is necessary to intensify the Polish-German dialogue on the future of the EU's relations with Russia.

Robert Łoś

FRG - Poland during the Breakthrough of October 1956

The article presents the attitude of West Germany's government led by Konrad Adenauer towards Poland at the time of the breakthrough of October 1956. This was a serious challenge for the FRG as in September 1955 it established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, but the challenge was no smaller for Warsaw, where the course of events was generated by the changes in Moscow. The attitude of the FRG to the ongoing developments was important in the sense of an opportunity of finding a solution in mutual contacts. K. Adenauer, in spite of the opinions of allies did not believe in changes in Poland that could make Warsaw permanently independent of Moscow. However, he had to undertake some measures so as not to be accused of passivity in the face of what was seen as revolutionary changes in Warsaw. The more obscure the stance and changes within the satellite states of the Soviet Union, the more the FRG did not know how to find its way in the new situation. This is the framework for interpreting the behaviour of K. Adenauer or his minister Heinrich von Brentano from May 1956 onward. It is difficult to determine univocally when the federal government ceased to be interested in the developments in Warsaw. The latest date possible seems to be the period of severing diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

Bernd Rother

Willy Brandt's Visit to Warsaw in December 1985. Circumstances and Facts

The article describes the course of Willy Brandt's visit to Poland in December 1985 and the circumstances that accounted for his not meeting Lech Wałęsa. W. Brandt did not strive very hard to talk to the Nobel Prize winner as most of the leadership of the SPD was convinced that all opposition movements in the East Block were doomed to failure. Moreover, SPD leadership was critical of the activity of "Solidarność". The goal of W. Brandt's meeting with the East European leaders was to reactivate the policy of détente. The agenda of the visit included meetings with the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), and talks with Church authorities and representatives of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia (KIK). It was only after his return to Germany that W. Brand exchanged letters with L. Wałęsa.

Maria Wagińska-Marzec
Controversies over the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth

The theatre in Bayreuth (*Bayreuther Festspielhaus*) founded by Richard Wagner in 1876 and intended exclusively for the performance of his works, has experienced stormy ups and downs throughout the course of its history. Since its beginnings it has remained in the hands of the composer's family, and has always faced problems of a financial nature. Ceaseless endeavours to raise funds for the maintenance of the festival institution and high artistic standards of the Wagner festivals have continually accompanied this celebrated stage. However, the crisis in Wagner's theatre that broke out in the 1990s was of a broader dimension, as it was linked not only with financial problems due to a planned withdrawal of donation by the federation for festivals, but also with a serious crisis of the festivals' management that has not been solved to this day. An account of the controversy over the election of a successor to the current president of the festival, Wolfgang Wagner, sheds light on the recent problems of this institution of international renown.

Marek Andrzejewski
The German-Speaking Emigration in Poland in the Years 1933-1939

Although a number of valuable contributions to the study of German-speaking emigration in Poland have appeared in recent years, the state of knowledge on the subject is far from satisfactory. The article is an attempt to organize the factual material and draw attention to areas requiring research. The significance of the problem has long been underestimated both by German and Austrian scholars engaged in studying the topic of German-speaking emigration. It has been overlooked that on account of the length of its border with the Reich, Poland must have played an active role in the emigration process. On the other hand, for most of the escapees the Republic of Poland was not a target destination, and Franz Theodor Cskor was just one of not so numerous exceptions. Causes for this state of matters can be traced, among others, to the difficulty in finding employment, the often reluctant attitude of the administration towards emigrants, and a conviction about inevitable Polish-German conflict. The role of Poland as a country of transition increased after the Anschluss of Austria and the developments in Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939.

Katarzyna Jedynakiewicz
Erika Mann's Émigré Political Cabaret "Die Pfeffermühle" (1933-1937)

The article presents the history of a cabaret called "Die Pfeffermühle" ("The Pepper Mill") - one of the most successful cultural initiatives of the German emigration following Hitler's rise to power. The team inaugurated its activity on January 1, 1933 and after performing in Munich for two months resumed its production in Zurich on September 30, 1933. The inventor of the undertaking - author, writer and journalist Erika Mann - made it her goal to discredit the ideology and reality of the Third Reich. By drawing upon to the tradition of political cabaret in the times of the empire and the Weimar Republic, she turned the stage into an efficient tool of criticism of National Socialism. "Die Pfeffermühle" functioned for four years giving shows in Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. It owed its popularity and successes both to high artistic standards and clarity of the presented programme. Much of the credit in this respect goes to Erika Mann herself - the originator, manager and author of most of the cabaret's texts.

Henryk Kuszczak

Opinions about Germans. The Attitudes of the Inhabitants of Gubin

The borderland regions as well as towns in the immediate neighbourhood of the German border such as Słubice, Zgorzelec, Kostrzyn or Gubin are frequently the objects of study of sociologists from various scientific centres in Poland. Their aim is to describe processes that accompany the opening of the border and contacts of the Polish and German population, as well as to register the changes that are taking place in the awareness of the inhabitants of the borderland, especially their attitude towards their western neighbours. The article presents the results of a study conducted in Gubin in January 2004 on one hundred randomly chosen inhabitants of the town.

The target of the study was to determine the attitudes of the inhabitants of Gubin towards Germans, and the major conditioning factors. The following were taken as attitude indicators: the image of a typical German, degree of friendliness and discernible social distance. After appropriate categorization of the responses three types of attitudes have been distinguished: positive, indifferent and negative. Among elements conditioning the occurrence of particular attitudes the following four groups have been distinguished: 1) socio-demographic features (e.g. age, education), 2) self-assessment of the inhabitants (e.g. satisfaction with life, perception of one's future), 3) contacts with Germans, 4) perception of Poland and Polish-German relations.

Magdalena Tomaszewska

The National Identification of Young "Late Expulsed" from Poland in Germany

Young "late expelled" from Poland to Germany are people who had spent their childhood in Poland and then were "uprooted from their hitherto environment and planted into a new German one". It is also others who decided for them about changing their citizenship into German. Other objective factors (school, family, friends, state authorities) also induced those fremde Mitbürger to adopt an appropriate attitude as a consequence of the assumed German citizenship. This "quasi-coercion" of migration is connected here with the issue of "second generation" migrants. A biographical turning point and the resulting lack of continuity, unsettled "normality", uprootedness and double loyalty might lead to problems with handling everyday life, and disrupt the process of forming one's identity - a sense of group belonging, the national group included. The primary aim of the study based on narrative biographical interviews with the expelled - students from Bayreuth - was to answer the question why young "late expelled" from Poland exhibit a particular type of national identification - Polish, German, double, a yet different one, which one? What decides that in the last instance, when asked to complete the sentence "I am ◆" they give this and no other answer? What factors come into play here?

Monika Mardas, Adam Szymaniak

Settling Accounts with the Past. The Responsibility of Former East-German Leaders for the Death of Escapees from the GDR

The subject matter considered includes selected aspects of the legal proceedings in the case against Fritz Streletz, Heinz Kessler and Egon Krenz concerning instances of homicide of persons illegally crossing the border of the German Democratic Republic. The first part of the article outlines the historical background and the profiles of the three former party leaders of the GDR. Next, the trial of the East German policy-makers in unified Germany is analyzed. Reasons for the judgment of the district courts, federal courts and the Federal Constitutional Tribunal are

discussed. The last part presents the case of F. Streletz, H. Kessler and E. Krenz before the European Tribunal of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The arguments of the plaintiffs are collated with the standpoint of the government party and then related to the decision of the Strasbourg Tribunal.

Anna Artwińska

Friedrich Schiller in the GDR: "For He is Ours" (The Jubilee of 1955)

The article discusses the problem of instrumental treatment of the classical tradition in the German Democratic Republic in the era of Walter Ulbricht. The example of celebrations of the 150th death anniversary of Friedrich Schiller illustrates the strategies of manipulating the life and work of this German classic by the party, as well as ways of annexing the contents of the Weimar classics by Communist propaganda. The author is interested in connections between politics and literature in a totalitarian state, especially in methods of using cultural heritage to legitimize the system. The year 2005 was announced the Year of Schiller in Germany, and this was an ample pretext to recall the specificity of the jubilee of the 150th anniversary of the death of the author of *The Robbers*.

Ernest Kuczyński

"She was a Moral Authority" The Reaction of the Polish Press to the Death of Marion Countess Dönhoff

Marion countess Dönhoff (1909-2002), for many years the editor-in-chief and co-publisher of the Hamburg weekly "Die Zeit", was not only an outstanding political journalist but also a moral authority in post-war Germany. In her many books and press publications she appealed for a responsible attitude to the nations of the world, the maintaining of ethical values, and social justice. She also proposed directions in foreign policy, including reconciliation with the East. In Poland she won renown above all as an indefatigable supporter of the Polish-German agreement, impressing the public opinion with her moral courage and involvement in recognizing the border on the Odra and Nysa. Her death on March 11, 2002 received wide coverage in the Polish press, which univocally emphasized her invincible character, will power, broadly conceived objectivism, tolerance, determination to seek the truth and responsibility, and belief in the necessity to build bridges across state borders.

The article discusses the reaction of the Polish press to the death of countess Dönhoff, including the attitudes, accounts and opinions of public personages as well as newspapers, institutions and private persons who knew and respected the German journalist.