

## Streszczenia w języku angielskim

**Adam Barabasz**

**Keywords:** the German issue, FRG, Polish People's Republic (PRL), NATO, EEC, revisionism, hegemonism

The main aim of the article is to present the views of M. F. Rakowski on multidimensional German problem existing in the Polish People's Republic in the years 1945-1989. The author's intention is to present the evolution of the views of the long-time editor of the *Polityka* weekly on the German issue in the years 1957-1977. Based on the formulated research problem and the analysis of available sources, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

- in the initial period of the development of the political career of M. F. Rakowski, his attitude to German issues was influenced by personal experiences,
- at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, M. F. Rakowski associated the rapid economic and political reconstruction of West Germany with Germany's aggressive intentions to gain influence in Central and Eastern Europe and German efforts to revise the Yalta-Potsdam agreements,
- after reaching the next levels of power in the party-state leadership of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), M. F. Rakowski's perspective of the assessment of Polish-West German relations underwent changes as evidenced by his activities.

According to the author, M. F. Rakowski's position on German issues evolved from reluctance to fascination. The article uses the historical method, analysis of sources and press content. The following methods also turned out to be useful: institutional and legal, comparative, behavioral and decision-making method.

**Rafał Jung**

**Keywords:** politics, diplomacy, sport, football, the Second Republic of Poland, the Third German Reich

This article is a historical and political analysis of the sporting events of the interwar period. It is a consideration of five football matches that the national teams of Poland and

Germany played against each other during the Third German Reich, between 1933 and 1938. Apart from their obvious sporting value, they carried significant political implications. The latter stemmed from the volatile political relations between Warsaw and Berlin following the Nazis' rise to power in 1933. Triggering enormous public interest in both countries, the matches became a valuable instrument for the political and sporting elites of Poland and the Third Reich in creating political objectives in their mutual relations. Such an approach was facilitated by a progressive subordination of sport to state institutions in both countries.

The above aspects are the object of analysis of sporting events from the interwar period using the historical and decision-making method. The analyzed events are the five matches that the national teams of Poland and Germany played in the then (and now) most popular sport discipline i.e. football during the period of the existence of the Third German Reich in the years 1933-1938.

### **Bogdana Koszel**

**Keywords:** chancellor Merkel, presidents of France, personal relations

The author analyzes the impact of personal relations between Chancellor Angela Merkel and the French presidents on the development of bilateral relations and European cooperation. Merkel was the only chancellor in the history of Germany that cooperated with four French presidents who represented not only various political options, but also had different life experience and political temperament.

In this context, the main research question focuses on whether Merkel, with a view to maintaining bilateral relations vital for both countries and cooperation in the European Union, managed to establish not only good personal relations with the leaders of the Fifth Republic, but also gradually became the more dominant partner in these bilateral contacts to the benefit of Germany.

The author proved the thesis that regardless of the political orientations of the French partners, their political experience and personal temperament, Chancellor Merkel managed to deepen bilateral cooperation between Germany and France and successfully combated the crises that occurred in the European Union.

The source basis of the article are declarations, speeches, press conferences, reports from bilateral meetings posted on the websites of the governments of Germany (*Die*

*Bundesregierung; Die Bundeskanzlerin*) and France (*France Diplomatie; Élysée*) and conclusions from meetings of the EU European Councils (consilium.europa). Especially helpful were press articles published in the leading dailies and weeklies of France and Germany. On the methodological level, the comparative, decision-making, behavioral and source content analysis methods were used in the preparation of the article.

## **Piotr Kubiak**

**Keywords:** German federal election, party system, traffic light coalition, chancellor, Olaf Scholz

The aim of the study is to characterize the course of the election campaign, a detailed analysis of the election results and an attempt to reflect on the consequences of the outcome of the elections that took place in Germany on September 26, 2021.

The author analyzes the election results with particular emphasis on the ongoing changes in the German party system. This election was unique for several reasons: 1) the chancellor in office was, for the first time, not seeking re-election so it was obvious that someone else would head the new government; 2) three parties (CDU/CSU, SPD and the Greens) nominated their candidates for chancellor; 3) the elections were highly personalized: errors and slip-ups of the leaders significantly impacted the ratings of their parties; 4) the election campaign was exceptionally dynamic (the party leading the polls changed three times), and its course was strongly influenced by unexpected events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the tragic flood in western Germany; 5) in their programs, most parties set themselves far-reaching goals related to the modernization of the German economy and the adaptation of Germany to the challenges of the climate crisis.

The study confirmed the thesis that the results of the elections to the *Bundestag* of the 20<sup>th</sup> electoral term validated most of the tendencies within the German party system that could be observed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Thus, the German party system will continue to be based on the six relevant parties represented in the *Bundestag* (*SPD, CDU/CSU, Greens, FDP, AfD* and *Die Linke*). However, the position of extreme parties (*AfD, Die Linke*) weakened, resulting in a greater number of possible coalition solutions. After the elections, a progressive coalition was formed, nicknamed a “traffic lights coalition”, made up of the *SPD*, the *Greens* and the *FDP* with Olaf Scholz as the new chancellor.

## **Izabela Lewandowska**

**Keywords:** scientific institutes in Poland after 1945, the Mazurian Institute, the Institute for Western Affairs, Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina, Warmia and Mazury

The Mazurian Institute in Olsztyn was the Research Station of the Institute of Western Affairs in Poznań from 1948 to 1953. The aim of the present study is to examine to what extent the documents collected at the Institute for Western Affairs reflect the situation of the Olsztyn institution.

The research problem was an attempt to answer the question: under what organisational and financial conditions did the Mazurian Institute function as the Research Station of the Institute for Western Affairs? Did these change, and if so - to what extent, upon its management being taken over by the Institute in Poznań? The research methods consisted of a critical analysis of documents deposited in the Archive of the Institute for Western Affairs and literature needed to draw a broader picture.

The conclusions were no surprise to the author of the text. Firstly, the sources provide a picture of the Institute in Olsztyn as a small unit, struggling with many difficulties - organisational issues, accommodation, staffing and, of course, funding. However, the extensive factual reports show the enormous work carried out by the Station Manager Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina and her very modest team. The Mazurian Institute cannot therefore be compared in status and scientific significance to the Institute for Western Affairs or the Silesian Institute, although the very name of these three institutions might suggest so.

## **Krzysztof Malinowski**

**Keywords:** German security policy, defence spending, arms supplies to Ukraine

Chancellor Scholz's speech of 27 February 2022 in which he announced that his government would make fundamental changes to German security policy in the wake of Russia's aggression against Ukraine should, in theory, translate into a more influential role for Germany in Europe. The implementation of *Zeitenwende* is a test of German security policy in the allied context, but also requires the decision-making centre to create stable conditions in the domestic context. It can be assumed that the effectiveness of the change depends on consensus

in the experimental three-party government coalition and securing the support of the Christian Democrats in part as well.

A hypothesis can be put forward that the scope and scale of the undertaken turn in the above mentioned two areas were determined not so much by expectations on the part of the US and other allies as by the domestic context, i.e. the limited ability of the decision-making centre to build a broader supra-coalition support and to manage tensions.

The author's aim is to clarify the ability of the decision-making centre to manage the tensions arising from the pressure of the Christian Democratic opposition and the widening divergence in the coalition between the supporters of adaptation (the Greens and the FDP) and its opponents (the left wing of the SPD), skeptical of military force.

The article, based on the literature of the subject, the press and Internet information, examines two issues: the question of increased defence spending and arms supplies to Ukraine is analysed through the prism of relations in a tripartite set-up: the decision-making centre - the coalition parties - the Christian Democratic opposition.

**Agnieszka Nitszke**

**Keywords:** the Visegrad Group, the Three Seas Initiative, German diplomacy, think tanks

Contemporary relations between Germany and Central and Eastern Europe are determined by several factors. After the reunification of Germany, the country experienced some of the difficulties of the political and economic transformation due to the need to adjust conditions in the five eastern federal states, which allowed successive German governments to understand better the experience of the Central European states. Another factor influencing Germany's involvement in this region of Europe is its geographical proximity and the resulting interest in the stabilization of this region. After the accession of Central European countries to the European Union, Germany became a link between the old and the new, Western and Eastern Europe. In intra-EU relations there arise increasingly frequently certain more or less institutionalized intermediate entities, situated between the level of the EU and the Member States. The Visegrad Group and the Three Seas Initiative that associate the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are examples of such cooperation forums.

The aim of the article is to analyze the perception of both these international bodies in the German political space. The hypothesis that in relations with the *V4* and *3SI* Germany follows pragmatism, not perceiving the *V4* and *3SI* as competitors or closest partners, will be tested.

The article is based on qualitative research methods, primarily the content analysis method, institutional-legal and comparative methods.

**Agnieszka Szczepaniak-Kroll**

**Keywords:** migration, migrants, integration, Poles in Germany

The article deals with the problem of the "invisibility" of Poles in Germany. In this way, West Germany has been writing and talking about Polish migrants for several years. Their "invisibility" is supposed to result from trouble-free integration, placed as a role model for others. In fact, this is an expression of one-sided integration so far, which, to be complete, should become a two-way process, more engaging with members of the host society.

In the text, I analyze, what "invisibility" means, how it manifests itself, what migrants think about it, and what are its positive and negative aspects. I also consider whether there are opportunities to "come out of the shadows" and what Poles have a chance to achieve through this.

The article is based on qualitative research (interviews and observations) carried out as part of two research projects focused on the phenomenon of integration of Polish migrants in Germany.

**Jan Wiktor Tkaczyński**

**Keywords:** Germany, constitutional law, state, religious associations

The aim of the article is a constitutional-legal analysis of the relations between the state, churches and religious associations in the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany.

The structural flexibility of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (*Grundgesetz*, GG) is surprising in two ways. Firstly, because, conceived in 1949 as a provisional constitution, it proved to be not only a remarkably durable creation but also a useful (and convenient) tool with which the restoration of German-wide state unity was accomplished in 1990. Secondly, however, because of the regulation of Article 140 of the Basic Law. For it is not often that we come across a regulation in the text of a constitution currently in force, whereby the provisions of the previous basic law are transferred to the new one in their entirety and without any changes. The case in the German constitutional reality pert

ains to the relations between the state, churches and religious associations. According to article 140 of the Basic Law, the regulations of articles 136, 137, 138, 139 and 141 of the Weimar Constitution (*Weimarer Reichsverfassung*, WRV) indeed constitute an integral part of the Basic Law of 23 May 1949.

The author puts forward the hypothesis that if one views the current German constitution (but with old regulations) from the perspective of its flexibility, it can be said that the systemic separation of church(es) and state, known and practiced in the world since the French Revolution of 1789, is not (and was not) the model of state/church separation in Germany, i.e. one in which the state maintains religious neutrality, and the churches remain autonomous in their activities in relation to it.

### **Ryszard Zięba**

**Keywords:** Poland, France, security, the European Union, NATO, Germany, Russia, USA

The purpose of the article is to show the place and importance of France in Poland's security policy. The undertaken analysis is an attempt to verify the hypothesis that France holds an important place in Polish security policy due to the convergence of strategic security interests of both countries and the concentration of these interests in Europe, however each country chooses different means and ways of conducting its security policy.

The analysis is carried out from a neorealist perspective, which involves examining the strategic security interests of Poland and France against the background of the evolving international system. For more than 100 years the mutual relations between France and Poland have been dynamic. Initially, the bonding element was a sense of threat from Germany. Accordingly, during the interwar period, France and Poland were bound by the 1921 Treaty of Alliance. However, both countries lost their independence during World War II, and the alliance was not renewed after the war. During the Cold War split, convergence and divergence of security interests were also evident. After the 1989 breakthrough, Poland joined NATO and the EU and, together with France, found itself in the Western security community. Poland wants to strengthen its position in Europe, but fears the threat from Russia, and to neutralize it seeks support, most recently from the US. France, on the other hand, pursues a strategy of making the European Union a global player and – being nominally a great power, a permanent member of the UN Security Council – does not abandon its global ambitions (*mondialisme*). Due to these convergences and differences in the understanding of their own security interests, the relations

between France and Poland are meandering, volatile and even complicated, as can be seen in their changing dynamics throughout the post-Cold War period.

The basic research method is the analysis of documents and critical analysis of the literature on the subject as well as the comparative method. This analysis is carried out from a neorealist perspective, which assumes the study of the strategic security interests of Poland and France against the background of an evolving international system.