

A b s t r a c t s

Jadwiga Staniszkis

Revolutionary Elites, Pragmatic Masses
The Polish Populists' Pyrrhic Victory

In Poland, a neo-traditionalist elite has come to power, whose populist rhetoric has made it the subject of much conversation. This elite feels that it has no control over the processes for which it bears political responsibility. For a long time, it was marginalised and has only now come to understand that European integration and globalisation have put limits on its power, and that a hierarchal form of governing is no longer possible. So as to distract from its lack of certitude, this elite makes use of an imitative nationalist ideology. Since Polish society is pragmatically adapting to the new circumstances of EU membership, the nationalists' success at the polls was but a pyrrhic victory. They will only be able to survive, if they return to the political centre.

Klaus Bachmann

Reason's Cunning
Populism and Modernisation in Poland

Poland is unique. Only here does the government consist solely of populist parties. Anybody who tries to analyse it using ideal types from academic research into political parties will fail, because, for historical reasons, the classical fault lines of the party-building process do not exist in Poland. The populists' success feeds on demographic pressure, the transformation of values, and a deep-seated uncertainty brought on by the reforms at the end of the 1990s. But a comparison with Europe shows: Populism in Poland is not unique. It has the same paradoxical consequences: Populists attack democracy, but they make it more stable by expanding its ability to integrate; they make use of anti-modern rhetoric, but by polarising, they consolidate their opponents and drive modernisation forward; and because populists are as a rule incapable of solving problems they have named, they lose voters' support.

Peter Oliver Loew

Enemies! Everywhere Enemies!
Psychograph of a Problem in Poland

The coalition of rightwing and populist parties led by the Law and Justice party has begun to carry out a moral cleansing of Poland. Contrived concepts of enemies serve this end. The topos of an układ ruling everything makes it possible to find evil in all those areas uncon-

trolled or only partially controlled by the government. Historical factors favour this conservative utopia as do an increasingly media-driven form of politics and the problematic traditions of Polish political culture.

Andrea Huterer

The Fight for Law and Justice

The Political Rhetoric of the Kaczyńskis

The language of the brothers Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński lends itself to an analysis of the president's and the prime minister's worldview. The language contains key words and uses methods which polarise, discredit and exclude. The irony is that the Kaczyńskis' Manichaean figures of speech, concepts of enemies and insinuations lie in the tradition of Communist thought which the politicians claim to transcend. What is more: The Kaczyńskis' metaphors and techniques stem from the classical arsenal of manipulative rhetoric which Adorno exposed in his studies of authoritarian character.

Ulrich Schmid

One Happy Family

The Giertychs and Their Ideology

Polish Minister of Education Roman Giertych, a member of the archconservative League of Polish Families, comes from an extremely politically active family. As a young man, he founded the nationalist movement "All-Polish Youth" (Młodzież Wszechpolska). Roman's father, Maciej Giertych, represents the League in the European Parliament, who, in his published works, speaks out for traditional family values and against Germany's alleged striving for hegemony in Europe. Jędrzej Giertych, Roman's grandfather, made a name for himself as a nationalist publicist. In its political creed, the family Giertych invokes the national-democratic politician Roman Dmowski and the Catholic historiosoph Feliks Koneczny. Among the constants in the Giertychs' ideological worldview are a close connection between the Polish nation and Catholicism, a defensive position towards Europe as well as conspiracy theories in which the Germans, homosexuals and, interchangeably, the Jews or Free Masons appear as the enemy.

Kai-Olaf Lang

A Europe Policy without a Compass

Poland Seeks a Course in the EU

So far, the balance of Polish EU-membership is so-so. Fears that Poland would be a querulous member obsessed with its own interests have not been confirmed. In East European policy or the regulation of EU finances, Poland has acted constructively. Starting 2007, Poland will be the largest recipient of EU financial assistance. In questions concerning EU institutions or where Poland's supposedly "vital interests" are concerned, confrontational elements hold sway. This parallel existence of cooperation and confrontation is an expression of the Polish government's lack of conceptual clarity in foreign and Europe policy. The

“patriotic foreign policy” posited by Jarosław Kaczyński and the ideological superstructure of a “self-confident otherness” are counterproductive: Poland is harming itself and with that its own interests.

Paweł Świeboda

Poland Has Not Yet Perished Warsaw’s Introverted Europe Policy

Since the dual victory of the national conservatives’ in the 2005 parliamentary and presidential elections, Poland’s Europe policy has been transformed significantly. If Poland acted self-confidently but constructively beforehand, under the Kaczyński brothers, it has become quite erratic. On the one hand, Poland has often threatened to use its veto or has in fact on its own and in defiance of the other 24 members blocked settlements. On the other hand, there are also attempts to deepen integration. Poland has become active above all in energy policy as well as foreign and security policy. The only thing which is clear is that, in the eyes of the Kaczyńskis, the nation-state is still far from exiting the historical stage.

Astrid Sahn A Difficult Neighbourhood

Poland’s Belarus Policy

Despite the frequent changes of government in the last decade, Poland’s policy towards Belarus has been marked by coherence. Criticism of the government in Minsk is accompanied by offers for Belarusian society. Poland would like to remain a partner for Belarus and its possible integration into the West, while defending its own interests vis-à-vis Russia. Poland is trying to distinguish itself within the European Union as a trailblazer of EU Eastern Europe policy. Neither Belarus, nor the EU seems to value Poland’s engagement.

Sebastian Płóciennik

Protego, ergo sum? Poland, the Law and Justice Party and the World Economy

In the 2005 election campaign, the current Polish governing parties made criticised the foundations of economic policy in the 1990s. This gave rise to the fear that the Law and Justice party would undo the achievements realised. Despite the Euro-scepticism and protectionist rhetoric, however, the conservative government has not shaken the Polish economy’s integration into European and global markets. It has taken efforts to consolidate the budget, keep the zloty stable and has seen to it that money from the EU funds is collected with greater consistency. In the negative column of the ledger, it is noted that the introduction of the euro has been called into question, and that social spending continues to leave enormous holes in the Polish budget.

Mechthild Schrooten

Poland within the Single European Market
Taking Stock after Two Years of EU-Membership

After two years of EU membership, the balance is extremely positive in Poland's favour. The gross domestic product has grown considerably, inflation is under control, and unemployment has fallen. The cause for this, however, is a strong domestic economy. Trade with the EU states by contrast has hardly grown, for Poland has long been integrated in Western Europe's economies. However, money from EU structure and cohesion funds is providing a positive impulse.

Reinhold Vetter

Hardly a Match for Globalisation
Poland's Social System Put to the Test

Since the collapse of Communism in 1989, the standard of living has risen sharply in Poland. At the same time, serious social differences exist. Poland's new government calls for a society of solidarity. But a clear programme for social policy is lacking. The labour market, the health-care system and the pension system are inadequate. Instead of an inefficient social state, which demobilises citizens, a social policy which helps people help themselves is required. The challenges of globalisation cannot be overcome only by investment in education, infrastructure and technology.

Maria Jarosz

Corruptio, ergo sum
Corruption in the Polish State and Society

Bribery, abuse of authority and nepotism are still widespread in Poland. The average citizen and the political elite consider corruption one of the largest problems facing society, a problem which destabilises the community and destroys citizens' trust in politics. At the same time, corruption is largely accepted as a routine way of getting things done in politics and commerce and industry. The Kaczyński government has announced unequivocally its intention to fight corruption and has taken the first concrete steps. However, so long as no fundamental change in attitude takes place and a legal system full of loopholes continues to encourage corrupt behaviour, it will be impossible to get a handle on the problem.

Renata Nowak-Lewandowska

Emigro, ergo sum
The Emigration of Poles and Its Consequences

Since Poland acceded to the EU and several EU member-states, first and foremost Great Britain and Ireland, opened their labour markets to Polish workers, more and more Poles are migrating abroad. Among the labour migrants are low-qualified workers who do jobs

in agriculture, gastronomy and construction, which are poorly paid but better remunerated than in Poland. Much more serious for Poland's economy is the loss of highly qualified specialists. To counteract this brain drain, Poland needs an effective state-sponsored migration policy flanked by reform of the economy, labour market and the education and health-care systems.

Michał P. Garapich

Flexible and Individualistic
Polish Migrants between Worlds

Half a million people from the new EU member-states are officially living and working in the United Kingdom. The greater part of them are Poles. But Polish migration is not a new phenomenon. Migration and exile are an important part of the Polish national identity. What is new is the character of this work-related migration. Instead of emigrating for good, migrants today show greater pragmatism and flexibility towards their respective opportunities. They live and work between and within two worlds: in their homeland and in their host country. This has implications for how they understand themselves.

Mirosława Grabowska

Credo, ergo sum
Religiousness and the State in Poland

Since the partitions of Poland in the 18th century, national and religious identity merged with one another. The construction "Pole = Catholic" was intensified by the Second World War and repression under Communism. Since the collapse of Communism, the position of the church in the Polish state has changed fundamentally. But Polish society remains one of the most religious in Europe. Despite modernisation and globalisation, there is no evidence to suggest Polish life will soon embrace laicism. The high degree of religiousness influences individual morality, social values and social engagement and also supports Polish democracy.

Janina Paradowska

Confrontation and Rancour
The Basis and Abyss of Lustration in Poland

Poland's parliament in October 2006 passed a new lustration law. A large number of people must allow themselves to be investigated for involvement in the Communist secret service. The amended law foresees a radical disclosure of secret service files. It heralds a new stage in confronting the Communist past, which has been tackled only haltingly in Poland. But this is about more than historical truth. Lustration also has an instrumental, political function: It is being used to discredit political opponents and settle old scores with former allies from the old Solidarity elite.

Katrin Steffen

Ambivalences in Affirmative Patriotism
Politics of History in Poland

Flanked by publicists and historians, Poland's government has discovered history policy. This policy aims to promote identity, strengthen Polish national pride and establish an affirmative patriotism. Critics complain of an anachronistic definition of nation which excludes minorities and a reductionalist understanding of history which levels the contradictions of Polish development, the country's diversity and European integration. The argument over sovereignty of interpretation when it comes to history is less about issues of historiography than the continuation of politics by other means. But the debate over history policy could lend itself to creating consensus on Poland's cultural memory as well as the function and meaning of national history.

Claudia Kraft

Remember Local, Think European
Regional History in Poland

Since they took over power in 2005, Polish national conservatives have been trying to push through a centrally steered affirmative history policy. This is viewed critically, above all in Germany. In the process, it is forgotten that in the last few years, numerous civil-society initiatives have been established in Poland. These organisations are rediscovering the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional heritage of formally German eastern territories. The most prominent example is the cultural society Borussia. Such initiatives aim to make a contribution to Europe's diverse and contradictory culture of memory.

Beata Halicka

My House on the Oder
Memoirs of New Settlers in the Oder Region

The history of the Oder region can now be observed from a new perspective. Diaries of people who were resettled there from various parts of Poland and Ukraine are now accessible. They tell of social and cultural differences, conflicts and problems of integration, which prevented a new regional identity from taking shape. This is only now the case. Now we have an opportunity to confront the history of the region and that of the people in their fractures and contingencies.

Olaf Sundermeyer

Between Market Position and Power
German Media Corporations in Poland

German media corporations play a crucial role in the Polish print media market. The Passauer Neue Presse invested in numerous regional newspapers in Poland as early as 1994. The conservative quality paper Dziennik, the weekly newsmagazine Newsweek

Polska, and the tabloid from Axel Springer are each reaching peak circulation within their respective genre. German capital, however, in no way means German policy. The Springer product Fakt, for example, makes use of anti-German stereotypes in Poland just as BILD reproduces anti-Polish prejudices in Germany. So it is not the Springer papers but Warsaw-based journalists from Germany's daily papers which feel the restrictions on freedom of the press under the Kaczyński brothers.

Michał Maliszewski

Media Power Play

Television and Radio in Poland

The media market in Poland is undergoing a development similar to what can be seen in all of the other countries of Europe: Public television and radio are losing members of their viewing audiences to private broadcasters, smaller broadcasters are being swallowed by the competition, and international media corporations are dividing up the market among themselves. But in Poland, public television has been able to defend its dominant position so far. For politicians, this makes it a much sought-after instrument for influencing public opinion. The attempt to exert political control over the media has intensified under the current government. It has transformed the television and radio council into a pliable organ and, with that, secured for itself access to the public media where personnel and programming are concerned.

Gertrud Pickhan

A Window on Freedom

Jazz in the People's Republic of Poland

Jazz enjoys great popularity in Poland. In the People's Republic, jazz was considered by fans an expression of a different way of life. But the cultural, social and political history of jazz in Poland has hardly been studied. The findings of western jazz studies can be transferred to key periods of development. These are the interwar period, the post-war period, late Stalinism and the Thaw. By including the United States, the transatlantic dimension of this transfer of a musical culture is traced in the process. It appears that jazz as a "weapon of the Cold War" was highly effective in Poland. Under conditions of Soviet-style state socialism, it became a new means of expressing deep-rooted Polish aspirations for freedom.