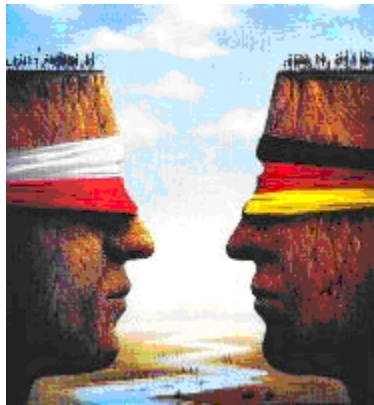


The Polish-German relationship

An analysis



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Executive summary

This thesis attempts to answer the main question, which is: “Do the Polish, and in particular those in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany and, if so, what is being done to address and change this negativity?” This question has to be divided into two parts: whether the Polish, and in particular those in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany or not and what is being done to address and change this negativity. The overall conclusion is that currently the Polish feel prejudice towards Germany, mainly on political level. The people of Silesia do not feel this prejudice towards Germany, since these people live in the border area with Germany and are used to being connected with the Germans. The initiatives made to change the negativity towards Germany were the establishment of Polish-German organisations and the signing of many treaties and agreements, such as: the Potsdam Agreement, the Treaty of Zgorzelec, the Normalisation Treaty and the Border Treaty. This paper gives answers to the sub-questions, which discuss the main happenings of the 18th, 19th and 20th century in Poland, the major events, the main countries which affected Poland’s past, decisions and treaties that have been made, the people who were involved in making decisions which affected Poland, how Poland got independent, what is done to achieve a good relationship between Poland and Germany, which projects have been successful and finally, how the relationship between Poland and Germany changed over the years. These questions are answered by examining the history, starting from the 18th century and ending with the post-World War Two period. The 18th century is important, since during this time, Poland faced the problem of its total takeover. The history allows us to understand the origins of Polish and German resentment. The paper gives an in depth outline of the history of the Republic of Poland and explains into detail the take-over of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the three great powers, which were the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire. The 19th century explains when Napoleon was conducting wars and managed to take over some former Polish areas which the Russian Empire conquered before. The period of the 20th century contained the creation of the Second Polish Republic. Chapter one concludes with World War Two, when Poland again was conquered by the Germans and by the Soviets. Chapter two starts with the communist regime, strikes and protests by anti-communist groups, the 1989 Round Table negotiations are explained and the ending of the communist control by the Soviet Union. Chapter three gives an overview of 20 Polish-German organisations and explores three of these in a case study. The case study was done by conducting research. The basic information came from the online information from their websites, but the in depth information was gained by interviewing employees of the organisations. Problems faced while conducting the research were the language barrier and the lack of willingness to help by the organisations.

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Preface

The goal of my thesis is to find an answer for the tensions towards Germany, from the Polish side, and to see if these tensions have changed over the years and if the tensions are still as strong as in the past.

Since I have been so fortunate to receive help on writing this thesis, I would like to thank a few people:

Thank you, Mr P. Shotton for being my mentor and giving me guidance and support throughout the whole process of writing this thesis.

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Thank you, Mr W.M. Zipser, Honorary Consul of the Dutch Consulate in Wrocław, Poland. Because you gave me the opportunity to do my internship at the Dutch Consulate, I have been able to have a look into the daily lives of Polish people, and to see that the Germans still have a great impact on the city and on the citizens of Wrocław.

Thank you, Mr E. Skubisz for informing me and teaching me everything I needed to know about the Polish history and for answering all questions I had considering Poland.

Dear reader, I hope you will enjoy and appreciate reading this thesis and learning from it on the topic: Polish-German relations. I chose this topic, since I think that the Polish history and the Polish relations with Germany are not very familiar to the public. During my time in Poland I realised that the history of Poland, with an emphasis on the German relations, is still with the people every day. Therefore, I wanted to know more about it, and while conducting my research I decided that I would like other people to know about Poland, its history and its relations with Germany, too. This is the result! I hope you will find the topic just as interesting as I do!

Lisa Westoby

Pronunciation of Polish reading signs

Vowels:

i	as y, like “Westoby”, “qual <u>ity</u> ”
u	as ou, like “y <u>ou</u> ”
y	as i, like “b <u>i</u> t”

Consonants:

c	as “ts”, like “l <u>ots</u> ”
g	as “garden”
h	as a hard h, like “ <u>h</u> elicopter”, “ <u>h</u> otel”
ś	as “sh”, like “ <u>sh</u> ip”
w	as v, like “ <u>v</u> owel”
z/ż	as the French “g <u>î</u> te”

Typical Polish letters:

ą	nasale o, as the French “b <u>on</u> ”
ę	nasale e, sounds like “ew”, like “st <u>ew</u> ”
ł	as w, like “ <u>w</u> ater”
ń	as “nj”, as the Spanish “ni <u>ñ</u> o”
ó	“ou”, as the Polish u, sound like “y <u>ou</u> ”

Double consonants:

cz	as “ch” or “cz”, like “to <u>ch</u> eck”, “ <u>C</u> zech Republic”
rz	as j, as the French word “j <u>ou</u> rnalist”
sz	as “sh”, like “ <u>sh</u> op”

Introduction

This thesis deals with the relationship between Poland and the people of Germany. These two neighbouring countries share a long history which has created a strong relationship.

During my internship I worked at the Consulate of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Wrocław, Poland. This city is the capital city of the province of Lower Silesia, a province that was part of Germany. After World War Two, during the Potsdam Conference in 1945, was decided to give this region to Poland. Wrocław is the Polish name of this city, the former German name is Breslau. While I was working and living in Wrocław for 7 months, I noticed that this area and city has close relations with Germany on many different levels. Also the people of Silesia hold different opinions about Germany. Nowadays tensions remain concerning Germany, but fortunately good feelings are also present.

In my thesis, I intend to analyse the relationship between Poland and Germany, how they work together and whether this relation has changed over the years. I will focus on the region of Silesia, since this region faced the moving from German to Polish control.

I will start by investigating the history from the 18th century until today. This, in addition to three case studies, will hopefully allow me to answer the central research question: “Do the Polish, and in particular those living in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany and, if so, what is being done to address and change this negativity?” The case studies are based on good practices of projects between Poland and Germany in the region of Silesia.

Chapter 1 is a chronological overview of the Polish history. Starting with the 18th century and ending with the 20th century. This chapter is important, because without proper knowledge of Poland’s past and historical happenings, it is more difficult to understand why and how Poland sees its relations between them and other countries. In this thesis it is about Germany. This chapter begins with the Polish crisis in the 18th century, reforms Poland has made to change the situation and the response Poland received from neighbouring countries. The invasion of Poland lies at the heart of this chapter. The causes, methods and repercussions of the invasion will be explored. By means of the historical overview this chapter will seek to explain:

- What happened in the 18th, 19th and 20th century in Poland?
- Why did major events occur?
- Which main countries have affected in Poland’s past?

Chapter 2 deals with the situation of Poland after World War Two. Emphases is laid on the relations with Germany and also the situation of Silesia is pointed out between the years 1945 and 1989, namely from after World War Two until the end of the Communist regime. This chapter seeks to show what happened after World War Two, which decisions were made, which treaties were signed and what happened with the relationship between Poland and Germany because of these drastic changes. Sub-questions of this chapter include:

- Why were these decisions and treaties made?
- Who was involved in making decisions affecting Poland?
- How did Poland become independent?

The final chapter contains three case studies. Each case study will present projects and programmes for an institution, organisation or foundation, which are related with Poland as well as Germany. The case studies attempt to show that there are good working relations between these two countries. The three case studies will seek to illustrate best-practices as implemented in Silesia. I will set out the activities and the projects of the organisation and attempt to assess if these were successful and how these organisations think that the relationship changed over the years and if this is positive. Sub-questions from this chapter include:

- What is being done to achieve a good relationship between these two countries?
- Which projects have been most successful?
- How did the relationship change over the years?

Chapter 3 will be followed by a final conclusion in which I have attempted to answer my central research question, if the Polish, and in particular those in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany and, if so, what is being done to address and change this negativity.

In conclusion, primary as well as secondary research has been conducted to obtain the information that I needed for this research paper and in particular for the case studies. My primary research was conducted by interviewing people from the main organisations and institutions which are outlined in chapter 3. My secondary research was conducted by using the existing information from books, texts and internet sources. First I started collecting all the data that I needed, conducting secondary research, and at the end of my thesis I used the interviews for the primary research in order to find new information which is not available from already existing sources.

1. History of Poland, a general overview

Chapter one outlines into depth the history of Poland, starting from the 18th century and ending with the 20th century. This chapter is of importance because it will allow us to understand the Polish resentment towards Germany, since these two countries share a long history together. The chapter attempts to answer the sub-questions about the main happenings of the 18th, 19th and 20th century in Poland, the major events at that time and finally, the main countries which affected in Poland's past. The chapter starts with the 18th century, while during this time Poland faced the difficult issue of a total takeover by the three great powers: the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire.

1.1. 18th Century

After the Thirty Years War, which ended in 1648, three new and great empires emerged, which were the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire. In these empires, the influence of the ruling head of state increased more and more (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 136). For the Habsburg Empire Emperor Joseph II was in charge, for the Russian Empire Catherine the Great and for the Kingdom of Prussia Frederick the Great (Johnson, 1996, p.128-129).

Before the Thirty Years War begun, the Kingdom of Poland joined with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as one republic. In this thesis referred to as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The founding of the official Polish Nobles' Republic took place at the closing of the Union Act by the *Sejm* (parliament) of Lublin in the year 1569. During that time this development was seen as necessary, since the ending of the heirless Jagiellonian Dynasty was approaching. At the Union Act of Lublin, Poland and Lithuania were formally made one country. There was one elected head of state and a ruler with the title of king. At the time, the kings were crowned in Kraków, as Kraków was the capital city. The highest political power was seated in a national parliament, the *Sejm Walny*, which had its meetings in Warsaw. This Republic had one foreign policy, one currency and the citizens: Poles, Lithuanians and Ruthenians were free to settle anywhere within the territory. The First Polish Republic (1569-1795) got the official name *Rzeczpospolita*. The republic kept two separate but identical territorial offices, armies and treasuries. This was a unique occurrence at European level, to make two separate states into one voluntary and peaceful federation. The official announcement was made by King Zygmunt August Jagiellończyk on July 1, 1569 (Pogonowski, 2000, p. 77-78).

Together with the making of the new Republic, many ideas were introduced by its citizens. These ideas are still used and seen as of importance for contemporary politics, and were, not only

at that time highly modern, but even modern by the standards of nowadays. These ideas contained: “general elections by all citizens, social contract between government and the citizens, the principle of government by consent, personal freedom, individual civil rights, freedom of religion, the value of self-reliance, the prevention of the growth of authoritarian power of the state and finally the prevention of rule by any form of oligarchy” (Pogonowski, 2000, p. 77).

After 1648, the Thirty Years War, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lacked a strong authority. It had to think about how to make its own republic strong enough to equal itself with the three great powers. At that time a new king was elected, King Stanisław August Poniatowski. When he started ruling, he decided to make reforms. Soon after these reforms, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to deal with the reacting opposition of the Bar Confederacy (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 136). The Bar Confederacy consisted of Roman Catholic conservatives who fought a war for freedom and independence of the Republic against the Russian Empire. The leader of this opposition was Kazimierz Pułaski (1747-1779), also known as the “Eagle of the Bar Confederacy”. Later he was the commander of the American Cavalry, with the title of American Brigadier General, under President George Washington (Pogonowski, 2000, p. 128-129).

In the chaos that this war created, the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire each decided to annex a part of the Polish-Lithuanian territory. This happened in 1772, and is seen as the first partition (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 136-137). The three empires took a part of 30 percent of the Polish-Lithuanian territory. This was organised by the leader of the Kingdom of Prussia, Frederick the Great. Before the first partition started, this territory used to have a size of more than 460,274 square kilometres (Johnson, 1996, p.128). In comparison, Poland nowadays has a territory of 312,680 square kilometres (East & Pontin, 1997, p. 9).

Later the Kingdom of Prussia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth grew closer together because the Prussian leader, Frederick the Great, died. They signed a friendship declaration against the Russian Empire which helped to create reforms. The highest achievement under the reforms made at that time was the proclamation of the first constitution in Europe on May 3, 1791. This constitution actually caused greater tension between the three empires and the Commonwealth and became a second partition in 1793 (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 137). This time an amount of 40 percent was taken, which left only 30 percent. This time the partition was organised by Catherine the Great, the leader of the Russian Empire (Johnson, 1996, p.128). This second partition caused a national uprising in charge of Tadeusz Kościuszko (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 137). Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817) was an American general who fought in the war for the American independence in 1775 until 1783. In Poland he is known for his status as a freedom fighter (Pogonowski, 2000, p. 144-145). Unfortunately the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not manage to keep the empires on a distance with this resistance, which

caused the third and last partition of Poland in 1795. At this point the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth totally disappeared from the map. Not only Poland had vanished, but also its Lithuanian companion (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 137). This third partition was again organised by Catherine the Great (Johnson, 1996, p.128). Poland would not return on the map until 1918.

Between the years 1796 and 1798 there were many attempts to create an armed resistance against the three ruling powers, but all attempts were roughly stopped. The consequence of this was that there was not any choice than to adapt and listen to the new ruling powers (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 110).

1.2. 19th century

Even though the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth remained under the foreign rule, the Polish high culture, with its values and traditions was not wiped out. Also the Polish high educated people, known as the 'Polish Intelligence' or 'Polska Inteligencja' kept developing on the political, social and economical level. This is the reason that nowadays the high culture in the Polish provinces and areas are different, because the Intelligence of every area individually constructed a culture, which caused linguistic differences, such as dialects, differences in food, music and traditional clothing (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 109-110).

With the existence of hundreds of thousands of noblemen, who were anxious to regain their position as a free citizen, were later to become the so-called 'freedom fighters'. During the long period of international instability, which was created by the French Revolution as well as the wars under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Polish freedom fighters were using these opportunities to challenge the situation in their invaded country. They sought support of the French Republic in order to liberate and restore Poland again. This plan quickly fell apart, when in 1801 the French Republic made peace with the Habsburg Empire and with the Russian Empire. And on top of that, Napoleon Bonaparte sent out 5,000 Polish legionaries to Haiti, in order to conquer it. The freedom fighters no longer had any chance of taking back their own land (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 112-113).

Under the regime of Napoleon Bonaparte, some other legal elements were introduced into the Polish society, under the name of the 'Napoleonic Code'. Examples of these are, as outlined by Lukowski and Zawadzki (2001): "the abolishment of selfdom, the introduction of legal equality and personal liberty for all inhabitants and the permission of civil marriage and divorce" (p. 117). Also, some non-noblemen now had the opportunity to vote, to be seated in the *Sejm*, which is the Polish parliament, and to hold office. In the meantime Minister of Education Stanisław Kostka Potocki developed elementary schooling. These developments were made in order to make the

intelligence grow and to narrow down the gap between them and the middle class. Compromises were made, such as the noblemen who regained full property rights to all former owned lands. They were finally 'free' people but not entirely, since they still had to perform their labour (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 117).

A matter of importance of the 19th century was the Congress of Vienna, from September 1814 until June 1815. It was caused by the fast deteriorating relationship between the French Republic and the Russian Empire between the years 1810-1812. This resulted in a war which started on June 28, 1812, which was named: "the Restoration of the Kingdom of Poland". Actually, this war was meant to restore the ex-Polish lands of the Russian Empire, which were taken by Napoleon. The outcome of this war, with the Congress of Vienna ending in 1815, was not what Poland expected. Its result indeed was that the Russian Empire got back what it conquered before, while Poland should have received this territory. Poland was divided again. One aspect with which the Congress was dealing, was the so-called Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Russian Empire received it back in its hands from Napoleon, who had managed to take it from the Russian Empire (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 120-121).

Other aspects which the Congress had established were, as stated by Pogonowski (2000): "the free, independent and strictly neutral City Republic of Kraków as a joint protectorate of the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire. The Kingdom of Prussia annexed Toruń and the departments of Bydgoszcz and Poznań as the Grand Duchy of Poznań, while the Habsburg Empire annexed the Tarnopol region and the highlands south of Kraków, including the Wieliczka salt mine" (p. 152-153).

Of course it was obvious that the results after this Congress would not be that Poland would be totally independent again, the same counts for having the same frontiers as in 1772. The bad luck of the Poles was just that the three powers, which finally managed to overthrow Napoleon, were also the same powers that partitioned Poland. Another aspect was that it was highly unlikely for the Russian Empire to surrender and give up their conquered Grand Duchy of Warsaw, one of its greatest victories in military history (Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 120-121).

Luckily, because of the intensive lobbying of Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861), the outcome of this Congress was not similar to the total destruction of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 (Pogonowski, 2000, p. 152-153).

1.3. 20th century

Although the three great powers: the Russian Empire, the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of

Prussia took over the Polish territory, it was for the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian (former Habsburg Empire and Austrian Empire) in the years 1917 and 1918 to take over the parts that the Russian Empire arrogated. Later in the year 1918, these two powers fell and the Republic of Poland got united and in charge again. This happening was the creation of the Second Polish Republic, on the date of November 14, 1918 (East & Pontin, 1997, p. 10).

The creation of a Polish Republic took 123 years (from 1795 to 1918). Because of World War One, the Second Polish Republic started its existence. Since firstly the German Empire defeated the Russian Empire, and secondly the German Empire got defeated by the allies and thirdly the allies recognised the Polish independence, the Second Polish Republic was created. This meant that it was not actually the Republic of Poland that was fighting back for their country; it was just a happening in the Republic of Poland's advantage. Once the borders were set, the Second Polish Republic noticed that it was quite difficult to keep the democracy. This was because the Second Polish Republic did not have any experience on the political level, since it did not exist for 123 years (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 245). And it was not for long, or the Second Polish Republic would be taken over again.

On the date of September 1, 1939, Germany, 'the Third Reich', invaded the Second Polish Republic from the West. This meant the start of World War Two for Poland. It was only 17 days later, that the Soviet Union (former Russian Empire) invaded the Second Polish Republic from the East of the country. This two-sided invasion meant the end of the Polish independence and the end of the Second Polish Republic. The Second Polish Republic only existed for the short period of 21 years (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 245).

World War Two was a nightmare for the Republic of Poland (which existed at that time as the Government of the Republic of Poland in Exile). Hitler built most of his concentration camps and destruction camps in the Republic of Poland. Many Polish people were killed, as well as almost all Jewish people who lived in the Republic of Poland. (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 245) the Republic of Poland was the country where the largest amount of Jews lived. With an amount of 3.5 million Jewish people before World War Two, the Republic of Poland contained the largest group of Europe and the second largest group in the world. Only in the Baltic States were more Jews situated. Hardly 350,000 Jews survived the war, which meant that 90% had been killed. Those who did survive were the ones who flew away from the Republic of Poland or the ones who were deported to the inlands of the Soviet Union (Polonsky, 2003, Vol. 4, p. 65).

During World War Two, the Soviet Union killed thousands of officers in Katyń. There were many negative actions against the Republic of Poland. In the summer of 1944, the German army managed to stop the National Army of the Republic of Poland, the *Armia Krajowa*. The goal of this army was to free Warsaw. The National Army of the Republic of Poland was the largest

resistance army of Europe at that time (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 245).

At the end of World War Two the Yalta Conference took place. Before the Yalta Conference there had already been a meeting between Joseph Stalin from the Soviet Union, Franklin Delano Roosevelt from the United States of America and Winston Churchill from Great Britain. It was mainly a meeting between Stalin and Churchill to establish the “Soviet recognition of British interests in the Mediterranean and for the British acknowledgement of a Soviet sphere of influence in Romania and Bulgaria” (Johnson, 1996, p. 229). Roosevelt got only partial outcomes of these meetings from Churchill. This meeting took place in October 1944. During this meeting, there was also decided upon the division of the European countries among Stalin and Churchill in their so-called “percentage agreement” (Johnson, 1996, p. 229). As Johnson (1996) states: “this entire agreement was made rather nonchalantly at the dinner table” (p. 229). Johnson also outlines that: “The percentage agreement was established in the following way; (division in percentages, Soviet Union/Great Britain): Bulgaria 80/20, Greece 10/90, Hungary 75/25, Romania 90/10 and Yugoslavia 50/50” (1996, p. 229). But this agreement was not the only concern of Stalin. He stated that he wanted Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the People’s Republic of Poland to be “anti-Nazi, pro-Soviet Union” states. Together with this statement, Stalin proposed his idea: “the reestablishment of a federation of states along the Danube, with Vienna as its capital” (Johnson, 1996, p. 229).

In 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met each other in the city Yalta in the Soviet Union. (Nowadays Yalta lies in the Ukraine). During this meeting they discussed about Germany (Third Reich): about how to “treat” this country by means of “unconditional surrender, dismemberment, denazification and demilitarization” (Johnson, 1996, p. 230, 231). Nevertheless they never reached an agreement on or made a plan about what to do with Germany after World War Two. Not only Germany was discussed, the People’s Republic of Poland as well. This discussion about the People’s Republic of Poland was going to be one of the most important shifts of borders ever and would change the future of the People’s Republic of Poland drastically. Churchill and Roosevelt accepted the fact that the People’s Republic of Poland was included in the supervision of the Soviet Union, concerning the national security interests. That is why the People’s Republic of Poland would become some sort of protection for the Soviet Union to help them against future aggression. The frontiers of the People’s Republic of Poland were discussed. New frontiers in the northern and western part of the People’s Republic of Poland would be realised, which meant that parts of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) would be integrated. East Prussia would become Polish territory and would set the northern frontier at the Baltic Sea, as well as the western borders. These borders reach all the way to the rivers Oder and Neisse. This was called the “Oder-Neisse Line”. These new borders automatically meant the

expulsion of millions of Germans living in those areas assigned to the People's Republic of Poland. The Oder-Neisse border became effective not directly after the Yalta Conference but after their final meeting in Potsdam, East Germany, later in the year 1945 (Johnson, 1996, p. 231).

At the final meeting, which took place in Potsdam, East Germany, the decision was made that the Germans which were living in the new territories of the People's Republic of Poland had to move to the German side of the new border. This was also a rule for "*Volksdeutsche*", the ethnic German minorities living in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The criterion was that this had to happen "in a humane and orderly manner". Another point that was agreed on was the "reorganisation" of the Lublin government, which was dominated by Communists. In this government "some representatives of the Polish government in exile" had to have a seat, and "free and unfettered elections" had to be held as soon as possible (Johnson, 1996, p. 231-232).

Apart from the documents of Yalta, there was "an Allied 'Declaration on Liberated Europe' affirming the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they wanted to live, the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government and free elections". East and Central Europe were hoping that the Soviet Union would respect the rules of this Declaration, but this seemed false hope (Johnson, 1996, p. 232).

1.4. Summary and conclusions

This chapter gave an in depth outline of the happenings in Central and Eastern Europe during the 18th, 19th and 20th century. The sub-questions concerning the main happenings of the 18th, 19th and 20th century in Poland and the major events at that time are dealt with. The main aspect which was emphasised during the 18th century was the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the three great powers: Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. With three attacks, the three great powers managed to take over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth completely. The part which focussed on the 19th century showed how the Polish culture was maintained, without having control of the Polish country. It explains about Napoleon, his battles, the rules he established in Central and Eastern Europe, and the responses of other countries on Napoleon. It clarifies why the Congress of Vienna was held; in order to divide the parts of conquered land among the three great powers: Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. The last part of this chapter covers the 20th century, which the main issue: World War Two. It started with the German "Third Reich" invasion of West Poland, followed by the invasion of the Soviet Union from the East. It discusses why it affected the Republic of Poland; many people died, most concentration camps were built there and many Jewish people were killed. It explains the outcomes of the Yalta Conference; borders were established, the forced movement

of minorities from a foreign country back to their own country, the Lublin government was reorganised and the independence of the East and Central European countries was established.

Finally, an answer to the sub-question on which main countries affected in Poland's past is given. The Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire affected the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the most during the 18th century; the same three great powers including the French Republic in the 19th century; Germany (Third Reich), the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain in the 20th century.

2. Post-World War Two: the Polish-German relationship, with emphasis on Silesia

Chapter two starts with: outlining the post-World War Two period of Poland in general, followed by the post-World War Two Polish-German relationship, and ends with the post-World War Two events of the Polish-German border area Silesia. These three aspects are important to understand the origins of Polish and German resentment. This chapter will attempt to give an answer to the sub-questions, firstly on which and why certain decisions and treaties were made, secondly the persons who were involved in making these decisions and treaties and finally about how Poland got its independence.

2.1. Post-World War Two Poland

After 1945 the People's Republic of Poland fell under the influence of the communist regime directed by the Soviet Union. After the war the new state of the People's Republic of Poland was totally different than at the end of the 1980s, when it belonged to the East of Europe. It had been connected with Moscow until the end of the 1980s on several levels, namely: "on military level with the Warsaw Pact, on economical level with the Comecon and on political level with the Brezhnev Doctrine" (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 282).

In the years in which the People's Republic of Poland was under the influence of the Soviet Union, the church was incredibly important. It was one of the main campaigners of the anti-communist opposition. Together with the support of the people it started the Committee for the Defending of the Workers (KOR). This committee was one of the strongest powers of the opposition. Also the solidarity movement *Solidarność* had a strong opinion against communism and was officially recognised and legalised in 1980 when the Polish authorities had to approve this free and independent movement consisting of nothing more than the working class of people. (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 283) As Garlicki (2002) states: The *Solidarność* movement was protesting and striking regularly against the communist regime. At one moment these protests and strikes reached such a high point that the whole country was in turmoil (p. 377). This is why in September 1988 the president, Lech Wałęsa, had a secret meeting with the Minister of Internal Affairs, Czesław Kiszczak, in which they decided to hold the so-called "*Round Table*" negotiations (Garlicki, 2002, p. 378, 379). These negotiations took place in 1989, from February 6th until April 4th. On April 4, 1989 the "*Round Table Agreement*" was signed in which was decided that independent trade unions would be legalised, a Senate would be formed and the office of the President was introduced with an elected term of 6 years. This last fact meant that the power of the

communistic General Secretary was cancelled. With this Agreement, the *Solidarność* officially became an authorised and legitimate political party (Garlicki, 2002, p. 380, 381).

On September 12, 1989, an important historical moment took place. A new coalition government was formed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He was an eminent protester against communism, an earlier editor of the magazine *Wież*, which was a Catholic monthly magazine, and an adviser to *Solidarność*. It was the first time again, since 1948, that a non-communist was the president of the state in an Eastern European country. It was an eye-opener for other Eastern European countries. The interesting fact was that the Soviet Union accepted Mazowiecki as a leader. With this happening, the Brezhnev Doctrine was no longer applicable. This happening gave new opportunities to the other citizens living in Eastern European countries, while they used it as an example. Eventually, because of Mazowiecki, this happening led to the collapse of the communist regime in the entire Eastern European region in the year 1989 (Ramet, 1998, p. 144).

As noted by Ramet (1998): Mazowiecki basically had to start up and develop the democratic form of governance, since it had been under the communist rule for 45 years. He introduced an economic transformation, since the Polish economy had a difficult past; especially in the 1980s, because of a crisis caused by high inflations, a huge foreign debt and an ongoing lack of consumer goods (p. 144, 145). Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz did not agree with a slow and steady change of the economy. He wanted to see a fast change and therefore introduced the “Balcerowicz Plan”. This economic “shock therapy” was implemented immediately on January 1, 1990 and its goal was to stabilise the economy by fiscal controls and privatisation. It wanted to limit the high inflation rate, promote trading to diminish the debts, reduce financial shortages and build up the Polish currency, the Złoty. This Plan succeeded and managed to achieve its main goals, but not at once. Firstly, after implementing the Balcerowicz Plan, the unemployment grew and the inflation continued to grow, which meant political dissatisfaction of the people. But later, in 1993, it appeared that the Plan went into the right direction when the economy started to get better and the Plan was finally managing what it wanted to achieve (Ramet, 1998, p. 145, 146).

Besides the concerns about the communist regime, another phenomenon emerged after the war. It was the happening that the people were moving from one place to another; in this aspect from one country to another. It was officially established in Teheran in 1943 that ethnic minorities which appeared after the new establishments of the borders had to move. This meant that 1,240,000 Poles had to move from (the former) East Poland and East Prussia to the West. In total, 2,180,000 people moved, including people from Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. These people were living on the West side of the Soviet border, which meant that they had to move east. The unfortunate fact is that this shift meant that now the Eastern Polish culture and character was destroyed for ever

(Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 285). There was also a movement of German citizens, but this is described in part 2.2. "Post-World War Two Silesia".

2.2. Post-World War Two Silesia

The region of Silesia consists of two provinces, Upper Silesia and Lower Silesia, which are both of importance in this part of the chapter, since this part of the Republic of Poland used to belong to the German Democratic Republic (*DDR*/East Germany). The Upper Silesian industrial area is of most importance for the Polish economy. Also Lower Silesia, especially the cities of Wałbrzych, Lubin and Głogów, adds an extra added value to the industry as well as to the agriculture. The city of Wrocław belongs to the most cultural and scientific centres of the country and the Sudety- and Beskidy mountains are an attractive place to recreate for most Polish people and for tourists to enjoy their holidays (Bentchev, Leszczyńska, Marek, Vetter, 1990, p. 533).

A historical matter of importance for the Silesian region is the ethnic cleansing; in this aspect, the ethnic cleansing of the German citizens living in the People's Republic of Poland. In German it is called "*Umsiedlung*"; this meant forced movements of territory, because of the fact that the borders had been established differently and therefore were moved. This meant that the ethnic citizens belonging to their territory had to move along with the shift of borders (Goddeeris & Vos, 2005, p. 282-285).

This was established in the Potsdam Agreement on August 2, 1945. The Germans had to move from the Silesian area of the People's Republic of Poland to the west. About 10,000 Germans were deported to the Soviet Union to work (Gawin, Schulze, Vetter, 1999, p. 40). Most of these people who were deported to the Soviet Union were anti-communists and nationalist people. They were war prisoners or had been fighting along with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. These people were accused of betrayal, which meant that the deporting to the Soviet Union to work was their punishment (Johnson, 1996, p. 233).

The expulsion of the Germans reached its peak in the summer and autumn of 1946 (Gawin, et al., 1999, p. 40). Unfortunately this expulsion had the following consequences. Firstly, the Germans had to leave their house and home, their belongings and the life they were living there. Secondly, during the migration process, about 1.5 million German citizens lost their lives. If the Germans who came from further east, from around Hungary and Romania are included as well, the amount of victims is estimated at about 2.5 million. Mainly women and children were the ones who did not manage to arrive on their place of destination (Hendriks, 2005, p.78).

In 1950 around 100,000 people from German origin lived in the voivodship of Wrocław, who resided there already since 1939. Only 20,000 of them were recognised as natives. Together with

the move of the German minorities, the Polish moved towards Silesia too and settled there (Gawin, et al., 1999, p. 40-41). Data of 1950 show, as stated by Gawin, Schulze and Vetter (1999): “that in Lower Silesia about 40% of these people were expellees from the former East Polish regions, 50% came from different areas from the middle of the People’s Republic of Poland and about 10% was originating from that region. In Upper Silesia the composition of the citizens were different in 1950; 55% was originating from that area, 20% came from the former East Polish regions and 25% came from different regions in the People’s Republic of Poland” (p. 41). For these new people it was difficult to build up their lives there, since it was not their original homeland. During the rebuilding of the market squares, the typical German style of building from the 13th and 14th century remained (Gawin, et al., 1999, p. 41-42).

In the 1970s the political significance of Silesia within the People’s Republic of Poland grew. Especially when Edward Gierek became the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers’ Party, in Polish: *PZPA, Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*. When he obtained this position, he decided to take his entire Upper Silesian dynasty with him to Warsaw (Gawin, et al., 1999, p. 42).

The political and economical development also rose with the signing of several treaties. There are three German-Polish treaties which are related to Silesia, since they deal with the Oder-Neisse border. Firstly, the Treaty of Zgorzelec was signed on July 6, 1950 in Zgorzelec. It was an agreement in which the governments of East Germany, the GDR: German Democratic Republic (in German *DDR: Deutsche Demokratische Republik*) and the People’s Republic of Poland agreed on the marking of the German-Polish state borders. Secondly, the Treaty between the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the People’s Republic of Poland on the basics of normalisation between the mutual relations was signed on December 7, 1970. Finally, the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Third Polish Republic was signed, as a confirmation of the existing borders between them, on November 14, 1990. With the last treaty the recognition of the borders were internationally accomplished and in that way it took the political-economical developments of Silesia to a higher level (Gawin, et al., 1999, p. 42).

2.3. Poland and Germany: Overview of their Post-World War Two relationship

Germany was divided into two and had to find a way how to re-create one republic. As Johnson (1996, p. 243) says: It started working on developing a way how to create proper German-German relations, in terms of “co-operation, détente, rapprochement, normalisation” between East and West Germany. The minister of foreign affairs, Willy Brandt, then came with a new political “reunification” strategy named “*Ostpolitik*” in the year of 1969 (Johnson, 1996, p. 243).

The goal of this *Ostpolitik* was to improve the relations between East and West Germany and

to secure these permanently by signing contracts with each other. This *Ostpolitik* also contained Treaties with the communist countries, especially with the Soviet Union and with the People's Republic of Poland, to create a better relation and co-operation. Because of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, East and West Germany could join the United Nations simultaneously. The trade relations and the personal contact between East and West Germany improved ("Brandts Ostpolitik", n.d. para. 2-3).

In the 1990s, the contact between the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany was quite intensive. Both of them were working on building a positive relationship. Because there were still German ethnic minorities in the Republic of Poland after the expulsion, the realisation of organisations and institutions on Polish-German mutual matters began (Van den Heuvel, 2005, p.189). The movement towards a positive relation started with the attaching of the original code of arms of the city from 1530 on the Town Hall of Wrocław. It was seen as the crown on the new Polish-German peace (Hendriks, 2005, p. 76).

Agreements between the two countries were signed: in 1992 the Agreement for the Promotion of Cross-Border Traffic; in 1993 the Agreement on Military Co-operation; in 1994 the Agreement on Environmental Problems and in 1997 the Agreement of Co-operation during Catastrophes. Even the University of Frankfurt an der Oder (Frankfurt on the Oder), which was newly established, played an important and positive role in the relationship, since many international students, under which mainly Polish students, went to study there (Van den Heuvel, 2005, p. 189-190).

Of course there were also negative feelings towards each other. The Federal Republic of Germany has been bothering the Republic of Poland in many different ways after the war. I have tried to make an overview of these recent 'attacks', using several sources. But first, it is important to know how German people see the Republic of Poland nowadays.

According to Basil Kerski (2009, para.1), most Germans have the same view on the Republic of Poland. He states that the Republic of Poland is still quite an unknown neighbour to the Federal Republic of Germany. Kerski states: "The Republic of Poland regularly raises not any or a negative association: grey and poor, a backward country and nationalistic, a disruptive factor in Europe, more troubles than profits for the EU (...) a 'problematic child'" (2009, para. 1).

In the articles of Krzysztof Rak, Mariusz Muszyński (2007, para. 2, Vol. 27, Nr 2) and *Spiegel Online* (2007, "A long list of cross-border salvos" section, para. 5) is stated that the Federal Republic of Germany submitted a claim against the Republic of Poland in 2006. This claim came from the Prussian Trust, which is "an organisation representing German post-war expellees from Central and Eastern Europe". The claim was sent to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, stating that "the People's Republic of Poland committed crimes during the forced evacuation of Germans to East Germany in 1945 and that the Federal Republic of Germany is

demanding the restitution of property loss to the People's Republic of Poland in 1945" (as cited by Rak & Muszyński, 2007, para. 2, Vol. 27, Nr 2). The Polish Foreign Minister Anna Fotyga responded to this claim by saying: "The resettlement of the German population was decided by the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and World War Two began with the German attack on the Second Polish Republic and caused irreparable losses and sufferings to the Polish state and nation" (as cited by Rak & Muszyński, 2007, para. 2, Vol. 27, Nr 2). Rak and Muszyński responded to this in their text by saying that the Polish territory used to be totally occupied by the Soviet Union in 1945. The Federal Republic of Germany should be more sensible and its government should make this issue a German problem, instead of blaming the Republic of Poland (2007, para. 2, Vol. 27, Nr 2). Jarosław Kaczyński, Polish Prime Minister at that time, responded to this claim by stating: "No country in the world can allow property claims from citizens of another country on one third of its territory" and "if German elites fail to react to this claim firmly, the nation could again move in a direction that once already ended in a great European tragedy" (as cited in Spiegel Online, 2007, "A long list of cross-border salvos" section, para. 5).

The German online magazine "*Spiegel Online*" is a well-known source which regularly writes on the topic: "Polish-German relations". *Spiegel Online* published several articles on their website in 2007. These articles had quite negative titles, such as: "The Kaczyński twins' thin skin, a long list of cross-border salvos", "German-Polish relations, a history of betrayals", "The unloved neighbours, a history of hostility between Poland and Germany". All of these articles were addressing the negative relationship that the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany have. The next part refers to the articles which *Spiegel Online* has published.

A fact to which the Republic of Poland responded negatively was, when the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Federation decided upon the construction of a natural gas pipeline right through the Baltic Sea in 2005. The Republic of Poland became scared because it reminded them of the division of 1939 by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Germany's Third Reich (Spiegel Online, 2007, "A long list of cross-border salvos" section, para. 2).

The German magazine *Die Tageszeitung* published a negative article about the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, calling him "Poland's New Potato". Of course this was not accepted by the Republic of Poland, because this article reminded them of Nazi-articles published in the Nazi propaganda newspaper *Stürmer* (Spiegel Online, 2007, "A long list of cross-border salvos" section, para. 3).

Nowadays, the Republic of Poland still feels negativity towards Germany. Spiegel Online (2007) backs this up by stating that: "Germany is still the greatest enemy in the eyes of the Warsaw government" ("A history of hostility between Poland and Germany" section, para. 3). Polish

President Lech Kaczyński confirms this statement during a discussion on the greatest threats of his nation in September 2005 by stating: “Threats? Those are our neighbours, Russia and Germany” (as cited in Spiegel Online, 2007, “A history of hostility between Poland and Germany” section, para. 3). Lech Kaczyński’s brother Jarosław Kaczyński, former Polish Prime Minister, emphasised the tensions between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland by pointing out that: “The relations between Poland and Germany will be normal only when Poland is just as wealthy as Germany” (as cited in Spiegel Online, 2007, “A long list of cross-border salvos” section, para. 8).

Although the Federal Republic of Germany did not always show their most positive side towards the Republic of Poland, the same can be said vice versa. Spiegel Online has made a photo gallery of all cynical images which the Polish media has made about the Federal Republic of Germany over the years. These can be viewed in the list of appendices. These images range from showing German President Angela Merkel with a Hitler-moustache, to figuring former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder as a German Trojan Horse.

This chapter has basically emphasised the negative feelings between the relationship of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland, chapter three however will put a different view on this by outlining positive and successful initiatives of both the Polish and the German side.

2.4. Summary and conclusions

Chapter two focussed on Poland; Silesia, the Polish border area with Germany; the Polish and German relationship during the time after World War Two until now. The first part about Poland after World War Two emphasises the communist regime which ruled after the War, the *Solidarność* movement which fought against communism, the new political developments made by forming a new coalition and the “shock therapy” of Balcerowicz in order to fight the ongoing economical crisis.

Part two focussed on the Silesian area. This area is important because it belonged to East Germany and now belongs to the Republic of Poland. Many German minorities had to move after World War Two back to Germany, although nowadays there is still a group of ethnic Germans living in Silesia. Therefore, the expulsion of the German minority from Poland back to East Germany was the main aspect in this sub-chapter. The expulsion of the Germans from Poland was established during the Potsdam Agreement of 1945. Explained is the political significance within Silesia; when Gierek became the First Secretary of the United Workers’ Party. This sub-chapter finalises with the Polish-German Treaties signed which are related to Silesia: the Treaty of

Zgorzelec in 1950, between the governments of East Germany and the People's Republic of Poland, in which the marking of the German-Polish state borders was agreed; the Normalisation Treaty in 1970, between the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland, in which the basics of normalisation between the mutual relations were established; the Border Treaty in 1990, between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Third Polish Republic, in which the existing borders were confirmed and internationally recognised. This part of the summary attempted to answer the sub-questions on why decisions and treaties were made and which persons were involved in making these decisions and treaties which affected Poland.

In conclusion, an answer to the sub-question how Poland got independent is given. As explained in chapter one, Poland officially appeared on the map again after World War One, and got at the same moment, in 1918, its official independence. But, although Poland was officially independent, the communist regime took over. Poland managed to fight back the communism by creating a new coalition in 1989, which meant the collapse of the communist regime. The anti-communistic Solidarity movement played a big role in this, since they achieved to play a role in politics too.

3. Analysis of Polish-German organisations and three case studies

Chapter two is mainly focussing on the negative side of the Polish-German relations. Chapter three will focus on the positive side of the relationship. I have searched the internet and I have found 20 initiatives on Polish-German relations interesting enough to give descriptions of. I found these organisations by informing myself via the Willy Brandt Centre in Wrocław. I have visited this centre. On their website they made a list in which they give an outline of organisations they co-operate with directly and the list contains organisations which co-operate with each other. I have filtered the list and selected the most interesting ones, based on the criteria that their goals are connected with the Polish-German relationship and co-operation.

The initiatives I have selected do not only come from institutions, organisations, foundations and societies, but also from the media by means of magazines and internet sources. They focus on many different aspects, such as education, politics and economy. All these initiatives share one common goal (my selection criteria): to create a better mutual understanding and co-operation between the Republic of Poland (now referred to as Poland) and the Federal Republic of Germany (now referred to as Germany).

The list below is ordered in alphabetical order.

3.1. General overview of Polish-German organisations

3.1.1. Dialog, Polish-German magazine



This is a magazine that has already been printed from 1987 on. The language is both in German as in Polish. The goal of this magazine is to inform people about Germany and Poland in order to prevent prejudices. It is a critical magazine that is based on facts, it is honest and independent. The magazine is published four times a year, with an edition of 7,000 copies. It is sponsored by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by the Foundation of Polish-German Co-operation. The initiative holders were the German Günter Filter and the Pole Adam Krzeminski. (“Über den Dialog”, n.d., para. 1-5)

In December 2009 Dialog issue 90 was printed. This issue put a special emphasise on Warsaw. It also contained a text of Władysław Bartoszewski, a former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, named “It pays to be impudent...”, an outline of a conversation with Władysław Bartoszewski on the topic “the legacy of the European revolutions of 1989”, an article about German families living in Warsaw and a political text on “the new Federal Government and its

Polish-German agenda”. (“Ausgaben”, n.d., para. 1/2/5/9) The website of Dialog, Polish-German magazine is: <http://www.dialogonline.org/pl/index.html>.

3.1.2. Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa



The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is an organisation which realises common projects in the border provinces of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic. The organisation will be discussed more into detail in my case studies part. (“Institution”, 2010, para. 2)

3.1.3. Foundation of German Humanities Institutes Abroad



This Foundation is situated in Bonn, Germany. It consists of ten humanities research institutes. Its goal is to “promote research with a focus on history, culture, economic and social sciences (...) and to promote a mutual understanding between Germany and the selected countries”, including Poland. It has an annual budget of around 32 million Euro (2009). (“Über uns”, 2009, para. 1-4)

The ten humanity institutes it contains are: “German Forum for Art History Paris, German Historical Institute London, German Historical Institute Moscow, German Historical Institute Paris, German Historical Institute Rome, German Historical Institute Warsaw, German Historical Institute Washington D.C., German Institute for Japanese Studies Tokyo, Oriental Institute Bierut and finally Oriental Institute Istanbul”. All of these institutes are depending on their own individual researches, events, articles, contacts and fields of work. (“Institute”, 2009, para. 1-2) The website of the Foundation of German Humanities Institutes Abroad is: <http://www.stiftung-dgia.de/index.php?id=1&L=0>.

3.1.4. Foundation for Polish-German Co-operation



This institution is providing project funds under the Polish law. The Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation (FPGC) is active since 1991 and is based in Warsaw. The funds which the FPGC provides are meant for organisers from Poland and Germany to realise mutual projects. Until 2001, the main activity of the FPGC was to promote and finance cultural heritage in Poland and in Germany. The FPGC managed to maintain and protect castles, churches and monuments and

worked on developing and realising meeting places. Since this activity has ended, the FPGC decided to start with another project in 2002. It is now working on investing in projects which are organised to bring Polish and German people together to communicate and work with each other to create bilateral co-operation. It supports around 800 projects a year. (“Zielsetzung/Aufgaben”, 2010, para. 1, 3)

The projects FPGC supports are concerned to achieve a better co-operation on a cultural, communicative and scientific level. It financially supports Polish-German partners and their projects. The maximum amount financed by the FPGC is 50,000 PLN, which is 12,500 Euro. (“Zielsetzung/Aufgaben”, 2010, para. 2) The website of the Foundation for Polish-German Co-operation is: <http://www.fwpn.org.pl/?&lng=de>.

3.1.5. Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation



Fundacja Polsko-Niemieckie
POJEDNANIE
Stiftung Polnisch-Deutsche
AUSSÖHNUNG

This is a non-profit organisation which was founded in 1991.

This Foundation is based on a treaty between Poland and Germany. They work for: bringing together Polish and German people, World War Two victims, victims of the

Third Reich of Germany, victims of the Nazi repression, and they stimulate the communication between the Polish and German people of all generations. This foundation also provides educational projects in Germany and Poland about World War Two in order to inform and to remember. The main task of this foundation is to create a good co-operation between Germany and Poland. The foundation reaches its goals by giving financial support. In total it has supported over 7,000 victims. The total amount of financial aids paid averages around 4.7 billion PLN/ 1.3 billion Euros. It also provides free artificial limbs, transplantations and other necessary operations and corrective equipment needed. This foundation is supported by volunteers. These are mainly students. They visit the elderly and/or lonely people who enjoy getting some attention and company, a person to talk to (“Information about the organisation”, 2008, para. 1-3, 5, 7-8). The website for the Foundation of Polish-German Reconciliation is: http://www.fpnpl/index_en.php.

3.1.6. Friedrich Ebert Foundation



This is a non-profit, private and educational German foundation, founded in 1925. It does not mainly focus on relations with Poland since it has offices in over 100 countries. Friedrich Ebert was the first democratically elected president of Germany. The aims which are stated on their website are: “to further political and

social education (...); to facilitate access to university education and research (...), to contribute to international understanding and co-operation". At this moment, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation is working on projects on "social cohesion, democratic culture, innovation and participation and solidarity and globalisation". ("About FES", 2010, para. 1-4) The website of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation is: <http://www.fes.de/>.

3.1.7. Fundacja Dom Pokoju/ House of Peace Foundation



The House of Peace Foundation aims on educating people on peace by spreading stories in co-operation with cultural centres and the church. ("Kim jesteśmy?", 2009, para. 1/4) During my research I have interviewed the founder and president of this foundation, Mr E. Skubisz. This information along with more extensive information on this foundation can

be found in part 3.2. "Three case studies".

3.1.8. German-Polish Youth Office (GPYO)



Deutsch-Polnisches Jugendwerk
Polsko-Niemiecka Współpraca Młodzieży

This is the only Polish-German organisation in Poland that has the status

of an international organisation. It was established in 1991 by the ministers of foreign affairs from both Germany and Poland. The idea came from former German president Helmut Kohl and his colleague from Poland, the first non-communistic Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The goal of this organisation is to improve the relationship between the two countries and to arrange exchanges between youngsters of the countries. This is achieved by letting young people meet each other, learning about each other's cultures, to create friendships and to end the prejudices that are still present today, keeping in mind that the relation between the two countries was not very positive in the past. They receive economical funding from both Germany and Poland. A total amount of 9.6 million Euros was donated to them in 2009. ("Geschichte des DPJW", 2010, para. 1-5) The website of the German-Polish Youth Office is: <http://www.dpjw.org/>.

3.1.9. Goethe-Institut



This institute is operating worldwide for more than 50 years and is an initiative from Germany. ("About us", 2010, para. 1-3) They have three main objectives: "to promote the German

language abroad, to encourage international cultural co-operation, to convey an all-round image of Germany by providing information on its culture, society and politics” (“Who we are”, 2010, para. 2). In order to do this, they have “projects in a spirit of partnership and co-operation, which generate long-lasting effects”, and they use printed-, audio- and video-sources, have libraries and international teaching centres (“What we do”, 2010, para. 2, 3). Their statement is: “we live and work in diversity and are, together, one institute: the Goethe-Institute” (“Mission statement”, 2010, “Our method of working” section, para. 9). This institute works together with other institutions in Germany, such as: “Frankfurter Buchmesse”, “Deutsche Kultur International”, “Ruhr. 2010 European Capital of Culture” and “Deutscher Musikrat”. Next to these it co-operates with other organisations such as: “British Council”, “Istituto Servantes”, “Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst” and “Anna-Lindt-Stiftung”. Also the federal states “Land Berlin” and “Land Nordrhein-Westfalen” are partners of the Goethe-Institut. (“Strategic partners”, 2010, para. 2-4) The website of the Goethe-Institut is: <http://www.goethe.de/>.

3.1.10. Heinrich Böll Foundation



Its regional office is based in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, but it also has offices based in

Prague, Czech Republic and Kiev, Ukraine. These three offices cover the work that is done in the countries Belarus, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine. They independently organise events on different levels such as international politics, ecology and democracy. Also they co-operate with other organisations (“About us”, n.d., para. 1, 2). “The task of the Heinrich Böll Foundation (...) is to support the process of European Integration, in order to bring closer the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ members of the European Union and its Eastern neighbours on key issues of European policy” (“Who we are”, n.d., “Heinrich Böll Foundation in Central and Eastern Europe” section, para. 1). This foundation is an independent and political organisation which works together with its co-operations and co-foundations which are established all over Germany’s 16 states. It relies on their partners and volunteers. Trust and mutual respect are two of the main factors they expect from their partners and in return they guarantee their employees to be experts, socially committed, flexible and highly-qualified, motivated and team-oriented. (“Mission statement”, n.d., “Our culture” section, para. 8, 10, 12, 13) The website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation is: <http://www.boell.pl/web/40.html>.

3.1.11. House for Polish-German Co-operation



The House of Polish-German Co-operation will be discussed more into detail later on in my case

studies part.

3.1.12. Konrad Adenauer Foundation



Konrad Adenauer was the first chancellor of Germany. The basic

principles of this political foundation are: “freedom, justice and solidarity”. This foundation consists of more than 70 offices and projects in over 120 countries, with its main office in Warsaw, Poland. It “promotes democracy, the rule of law and a social market economy”, and works together with “governmental institutions, political parties and civil society organisations (...) in order to build strong partnerships”. (“About us”, 2009, para. 1, 3, 5) The Konrad Adenauer Foundation works closely together with many Polish organisations, such as: “Das Danziger Institut für Marktwirtschaftsforschung in Gdańsk, Poland (in Polish: Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową)”, Polish Robert Schuman Foundation in Warsaw, Poland (in Polish: Polska Fundacja imienia Roberta Schumana)”, “Centre for International Relations in Warsaw, Poland (in Polish: Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych)”, “Institute for Politics of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Poland (in Polish: Instytut Politologii UKSW)”, “Willy Brandt Centre in Wrocław, Poland” and “House of Polish-German Co-operation in Opole and Gliwice, Poland”. (“Partners”, 2009, para. 1-4, 10, 11) The website of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is: <http://www.kas.de/proj/home/home/48/8/index.html>.

3.1.13. Krzyżowa Foundation



This foundation is not explicitly focussing on only Polish-German relations and co-operation, but on the working together of people from Europe and from the rest of the world. It is a foundation that brings people together to meet and speak about their different backgrounds in order to create a mutual understanding and a better civil society in Europe. Their goal as stated on their website is: “bringing people of the world together to learn from and teach each other”. In order to manage they have some temporary projects and activities as well as permanent programmes; such as their main

programme, the Wrocław-L'viv Programme. ("Krzyżowa Foundation", n.d., para. 1, 2) The Wrocław-L'viv Programme started by signing a co-operation agreement between the two partner cities from Poland and Ukraine. The municipality sponsors this programme and the Krzyżowa Foundation has been co-ordinating it since 2002. This programme has a few objectives: it wants to establish co-operation and develop contacts between the non-governmental organisations and institutions of Wrocław and L'viv, it supports the development of Ukraine by using Polish obtained know-how, it supports Ukraine's development of democracy and its European ambitions and it wants to make the contact and co-operation of the two neighbours stronger. ("Wrocław-L'viv Programme", n.d., para. 1, 2) The website of the Krzyżowa Foundation is: <http://www.krzyzowa.org.pl/>.

3.1.14. Point. The Polish-German Calendar



Point. was an initiative of the Foundation for Polish-German Co-operation, but because it was very successful, it managed to work on its own from 2007. This foundation is the successor of the Polish-German Internet Portal "*Jahres 2005/2006*". It was established by the German and Polish government and informs about events, texts, articles on topics such as culture, science, history and co-operation about both Germany and Poland. There are also a German-Polish online forum and search engine, which provide information on exchanges and competitions. You also have the opportunity to react to articles or recommend other visitors of the website to read them. Other information which can be found on this website is for example on recent developments as well as difficulties between the Polish-German relations, information about politics of both of the countries, and of course the online calendar, in which every Polish and/or German event is shown per day. It means that it is an interactive website in which the people can actively participate. The latest development of this website is the interactive Polish-German map of the countries. It went online in January 2010 and it shows around 240 institutions which are connected to Poland and Germany in a cultural, scientific and sociable way. ("Über uns", 2010, para. 1-6) The website of *Point.* The Polish-German Calendar is: http://www.de-pl.info/de/event_calendar.php.

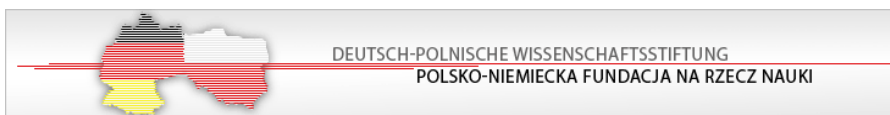
3.1.15. Polish-German Academic Society



In Polish: *Polsko-Niemieckie Towarzystwo Akademickie* (PNTA), is

based in Cracow, Poland and was established in 1993. This society has got several aims, as stated on their website: “promoting scholarships (...), academic and educational exchange and co-operation between Poland, Germany and other countries; contributing to learning the language, country, culture and to the development of contacts and cultural exchange between people of Poland, Germany and other countries; contributing to strengthening ties between the Polish nation and other European nations and supporting European integration”. They achieve this by organising events, programmes and projects. This Academic Society offers scholarships to different groups, such as undergraduate, graduate and doctorate students, but also to Polish teaching assistants who would like to work in Germany. Scholarships are also given to German students who signed up for a Polish language course or for a study in Poland. Further, this Academic Society also facilitates trips for Germans to learn about the culture and the language (“Welcome to the Website of the Polish-German Academic Society, 2010, para. 1-3). The website of the Polish-German Academic Society is: <http://www.pnta.pl/>.

3.1.16. Polish-German Science Foundation



This foundation was established to improve the science

and international understanding in order to strengthen the co-operation of students, science teachers and companies in Poland and Germany. It has projects in both countries and supports new, innovative ways of co-operation (“Deutsch-Polnische Wissenschaftsstiftung”, n.d., para. 1). At this moment this foundation has 34 scientific projects which they are financially funding with a combined amount of 2 million Euros. These projects are divided into research projects, courses, scientific conferences and scholarships. (“Geförderte Projekte”, n.d., para. 1) The website of the Polish-German Science Foundation gives an outline of every single project, the field of the projects, the partners which are co-operating in the projects and the amount of the funds awarded to the projects. The website of the Polish-German Science Foundation is: <http://www.pnfn.pl/pl/>.

3.1.17. Robert Bosch Foundation



Robert Bosch was a precision mechanic, born in 1861 in Albeck, Germany and known as an entrepreneur and a philanthropist. He has founded his own foundation on precision mechanics and was a donator

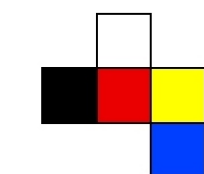
of the Technical University in Stuttgart, Germany, and the German Political University of Professional Education in Berlin. Therefore, this Robert Bosch Foundation named the organisation after him as the person to represent it (“Robert Bosch – Unternehmer, Bürger and Stifter”, n.d., para. 1-3). The main purpose of the foundation is public health care, along with welfare, international understanding, culture, education, arts and research and teaching on the topics social- and natural sciences and humanities. (“Testament und Auftrag”, n.d., para. 4) It gives out scholarships and grants and it organises competitions and hands out prizes. (“Startseite”, n.d., “Unsere Förderung” section) It also co-operates with the Robert Bosch Hospital to make sure that all criteria Robert Bosch held are met, to make sure that the quality of this hospital is maintained. (“Robert-Bosch-Krankenhaus”, n.d., para. 1) The website of the Robert Bosch Foundation is: <http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/html/index.asp>.

3.1.18. Schlesische Wochenblatt/ Silesian Weekly



This German magazine is meant for the German minority living in Poland. It is the most popular magazine among the German minority and is read by people between the ages of 30 and 60. The highest amount of readers live in the Opole region, in Upper Silesia. Since Upper Silesia has the largest German minority group of Poland, this is quite logical. The magazine is printed in both German on one page and Polish on the other. It has articles on scientific, cultural, political, economical and relational topics, focussing on both Germany and Poland. It contains interviews, articles, reports and short news messages about the most important and recent topics concerning Poland and Germany. (“Impressum”, n.d., para. 1, 2) The website of the Silesian Weekly contains a German-Polish dictionary, a link to an online Polish-German radio station and an archive in which you can find some of their articles. The website is only available in the Polish and German language. The website of the Silesian Weekly is: <http://www.wochenblatt.pl/>.

3.1.19. Social and Cultural Society of the Germans in the Opole district (SKGD)



Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Niemców na Śląsku Opolskim



This organisation is putting effort in the German minority of Upper Silesia, in order to support the German culture and bilingual education system. The Social and Cultural Society (SKGD) is an

officially recognised minority organisation by both Germany and Poland. The SKGD is funded by the public and uses these funds to build schools, centres, hospitals, libraries and kindergartens. The SKGD also works together with non-governmental organisations in Germany, Poland and abroad. The main target group of this initiative is the youth, in order to ensure the future existence of the German minority in Upper Silesia. Therefore, the SKGD organises several cultural activities such as concerts, theatre plays and field trips. Another aspect which the SKGD has created to involve the youth in their organisation is the “Youth Faction of the German minority”. The youngsters, who are involved in this organ, are legible to take decisions along with the main board of the SKGD. (“About us”, n.d., para. 1-3) The website of the Social and Cultural Society of Germans in the Opole district is: <http://www.tskn.vdg.pl/pl/>.

3.1.20. Willy Brandt Centre



The Willy Brandt Centre is an educational centre and is situated in Wrocław, Poland, in the capital city of the province of Lower Silesia. This centre was established in 2002 and was initiated by the German Academic Exchange Service/ Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD). The Willy Brandt Centre is an inter-disciplinary initiative and was founded especially for students studying German or European Studies at the University of Wrocław, Poland. The three objectives that this Centre has are providing scientific research, stimulating educational functions and services. The first project organised by the Willy Brandt Centre dealt with the problems concerning European integration and the Polish and German relationship in Europe. The reason for organising this project was because of the transformation process of the city Wrocław and the region Lower Silesia after 1989. The work that the Willy Brandt Centre did has been published in several reports. This Centre also supports study programmes; it provides seminars, lectures and doctoral programmes for students. Soon the first group of people with the generally excepted title PhD will graduate from this Centre. The Centre publishes articles online and runs a library with books meant for the studies German and European Studies, in Polish, German and English. This Centre co-operates with and is supported by various foundations, such as: “Foundation for Polish-German Co-operation”, “Konrad Adenauer Foundation”, “Robert Bosch Foundation” and the “Friedrich Ebert Foundation”. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation annually organises a lecture about Willy Brandt, to commemorate him. (“Über uns”, 2009, para. 1-4) The website of the Willy Brandt Centre is: <http://www.wbz.uni.wroc.pl/>.

3.2. Three case studies

Of all these 20 Polish-German initiatives, I chose three to be analysed in-depth in my case study. Since my research is focussing on Poland, with a special emphasis on Silesia, I chose three organisations which are established in the Silesian area and which are highly involved in improving the Polish-German relationship and co-operation by organising projects and realising other informative initiatives. I conducted my research by interviewing the selected organisations and by collecting data from their websites. There was no possibility to interview the people in person or by phone, since the questions and answers had to be filtered by the directors as ‘information that is proper to publish’. Therefore I chose to write down my open questions and send them via email. The list of questions can be found in the list of appendices.

Unfortunately I have noticed that it is quite a challenge to communicate with organisations in Poland. Many of the organisations which I contacted to conduct an interview with, answered negatively. All together I have contacted the Krzyżowa Foundation, the Willy Brandt Centre, the German-Polish Youth Office, Fundacja Dom Pokoju, the House of Polish-German Co-operation, the Foundation of Polish-German Co-operation and the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa. Firstly I focussed on the Silesian organisations, but since they were not all willing to participate, I also contacted organisations outside Silesia, which did not want to participate either.

Luckily I found two organisations willing to help me with my research, by answering the questions of my interview. I have added a third organisation, without conducting an interview. All three organisations are based in Silesia, as I originally wanted to focus on, since this is the Polish-German border area.

This list is not ordered in alphabetical order, but I described first the organisation of which I got most information and ended with the organisation of which I obtained less information. Also, the first organisation described, the House of Peace Foundation, is related to me to most, since it has its base in Wrocław, the city where I lived for half a year.

3.2.1. Fundacja Dom Pokoju

Dom Pokoju, or in English: the House of Peace. This is a foundation which has been founded by Edward Skubisz. This foundation has its base in Wrocław, Poland. The House of Peace was founded in the year 2005. (Personal interview, March 15, 2010) It was set up with the help of the Bishop of Breda, the Netherlands, cultural centres and the church of Breda. (“Kim jesteście?”, 2009, para. 1)

The House of Peace Foundation has the objective to spread the international and intercultural dialogue. It aims on educating people on peace by spreading stories in co-operation

with cultural centres and the church. ("Kim jesteśmy?", 2009, para. 1)

The foundation works together with or receives funds from many different organisations. Organisations with which the House of Peace co-operates are: the Municipality of Wrocław, Poland; the Lower Silesia Marshal Department; the Municipality of Breda, the Netherlands; the Youth in Action Programme, Poland; the Bishopric of Breda, the Netherlands; Haëlla Foundation; Communicantes Foundation; Pax Christi Nederland, the Netherlands; Edith Stein Foundation; Ostoja Association; Serafim Foundation; Tratwa Association; Krzyżowa Foundation; Centrum voor Cultuur van de Lage Landen/ Centre for Culture of the Lower Countries in Wrocław, Poland and the Hobbit Foundation in Wrocław, Poland. ("Nasi partnerzy", 2009, para. 1)

The foundation also organises peace-educative and intercultural projects, with the goal to create a better relationship between people from different countries and cultures in Central Europe that started existing after the year 1945. (Personal interview, March 15, 2010)

To realise their objectives, this foundation organises and leads workshops, creates and develops informative materials, which are available online as well as printed, it organises meetings with social workers and teachers who are connected or who know a lot on the topic: peace and the prevention of conflicts. These workshops and informative materials are meant for schools and for cultural organisations. The House of Peace has got a permanent exhibition in which individual stories from people of historical backgrounds are presented and these exhibitions are supported by showing visual materials. Another exhibition it has is related to people who have experienced negative influences because of discrimination, torture, violence or war. The foundation co-operates with people, especially youngsters, and with other organisations which are interested in the same or similar topics, from all over Europe. It also informs and instructs youth on topics related to their interests. ("Kim jesteśmy?", 2009, para. 5)

The House of Peace Foundation keeps unique testimonies from people born between the years 1933 and 1968 in Central Europe. This is a project that the foundation works on; the collection of personal and unique stories from individual people on difficult or negative situations, such as: periods of war, people who were imprisoned or sexually abused, people who were misunderstood because of religion, political views or because of race, but also to commemorate people who past away. Individual stories are gained by contacting people who have witnessed unmerciful situations in the past. This foundation considers these individual stories to be more attractive and impressive to most people, than reading books on these topics, as these are only written in general. At this moment, the House of Peace is still looking for people born between the years 1933 and 1968, because they continue to write testimonies. They use these stories to educate other people and to compare them with current conflicts. ("Kim jesteśmy?", 2009, para. 1/4)

The House of Peace has created a centre, which is used as a peace monument, in which

people from all kinds of generations and cultures can meet. (“Kim jesteśmy?”, 2009, para. 4) This foundation also organises projects which involve people, mainly youngsters, from all kinds of countries, such as: Germany, Poland, Ukraine and the Netherlands. (Personal interview, March 15, 2010)

The most successful project the House of Peace Foundation has organised was the project “Stories told”. It was a project in the year 2007. According to Edward Skubisz this project was the most successful because they managed to reach many youngsters with it. In this project 10 youngsters, three from Germany, four from Poland and three from the Ukraine participated. The project was about their grandparents. In pairs, consisting of two youngsters from a different country, they went to visit their own grandparents. These grandparents all shared a common history, since they experienced the forced movement away from their lands after 1945. The youngsters were interviewing their grandparents on their experiences of this forced move. At the end of the project a report was written including all these stories. The report is available in Dutch, German and Polish. (Personal interview, March 15, 2010)

One achievement which the House of Peace is very proud of is the prize they won on February 21, 2007. The foundation was awarded with the Marshal Andzej Łoś Award, for they were evaluated as the best non-governmental organisation in the province of Lower Silesia. This prize was given to them because of the fact that the foundation works for and with people from all kinds of cultures, ages and nationalities, to unite together to generate a joint act and create mutual respect, conversation, co-operation, understanding and peace. These initiatives were judged as highly important for society. (“Kim jesteśmy?”, 2009, para. 6)

Dom Pokoju would like to have a project based on women in the future. It believes that there are still many women who have experienced incidents which are valuable to tell to the world. Also it thinks that in the future Poland and Germany will have positive relations with each other, especially because the co-operation between Warsaw and Berlin are already much better than right after World War Two. (Personal interview, March 15, 2010)

I have been so fortunate to visit Dom Pokoju in November 2009. At that moment a new group of young people from countries from all over Europe started a project on how to make the city of Wrocław a more multicultural and attractive city.

The website of the House of Peace Foundation is: <http://www.dompokoju.org/>.

3.2.1.1. Assessment

Main project: “Stories told”.

Other projects: A database with testimonies from people, born between 1933 and 1968, who have

- faced a negative historical happening and a permanent exhibition of these people from the database with their pictures and stories on their negative experience.
- Goals: To educate people on peace, to spread international and intercultural dialogue.
- Realisation: Developing own methods, like books and other printed media, but also online, organising meetings and workshops.
- Funds: Sponsors, such as the Municipality of Wrocław, Poland; the Lower Silesia Marshal Department; the Municipality of Breda, the Netherlands; the Bishopric of Breda, the Netherlands; Haëlla Foundation; Communicantes Foundation; Pax Christi Nederland, the Netherlands; Edith Stein Foundation; Serafim Foundation; and the Krzyżowa Foundation.
- Sector: Education, culture.
- Area: Lower Silesia.
- Target group: All ages, youth but also elder people.
- Achievement: The Marshal Andrzej Łoś Award, for the best non-governmental organisation in the province of Lower Silesia.

3.2.2. House for Polish-German Co-operation

The House for Polish-German Co-operation (HPGC) is situated in Silesia; in the city of Gliwice, Upper Silesia, as well as in Opole, which is in Lower Silesia. It is a non-governmental and non-profit organisation. It originates from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which was active from 1992 until 1997 in Upper Silesia. Since the Friedrich Ebert Foundation was aiming to create a well-functioning Polish-German co-operation, it established a bilateral organisation based on partnership. The HPGC opened its doors for the first time in February 1998. The opening was made official by the President of Germany, Prof. Herzog and by the head of his Polish chancellery, Prof. Huebner. ("House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation", n.d. para. 3)

This organisation works together with many different other organisations. These are Polish, German and other European organisations which have their projects within the European Union. The organisations they work with are, as stated on their website (n.d.): "The Union of German Social-Cultural Associations in Poland, Katowice Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Regional Polish-German Association in Gliwice, Self-governmental Association in Legnica, Young Democrats Association in Opole, Regional Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Gliwice, German Educational Association, Polish Association of the German Language Teachers, Association for the Co-operation in Regional Energy Market, Katowice, The Union of German Minority Youth in Poland, GTZ German Agency for Technical Co-operation, German-Polish

Association - Federal Union, Friedrich Naumann Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation” (“House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation”, n.d. para. 4).

As stated on their website (n.d.), topics on which the House of Polish-German Co-operation works or has worked, together with its partners organisations, are: “the Polish accession to the European Union; the development of a civil society in Poland; ethnic minorities, with a special emphasis to the German minority in Poland; intercultural dialogue; multiculturalism; local and regional sustainable development; trans-border co-operation; the development of self-governmental administration/ decentralisation; the development of democratic structures, by supporting non-governmental organisations and finally, the protection of the natural environment” (“House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation”, n.d. para. 5).

The House of Polish-German Co-operation is active by organising events, seminars, conferences and study excursions. It co-operates closely with youngsters and with youth organisations. The activities and projects that are organised by the foundation are addressed to the authorities, locally as well as regionally; several organisations, non-governmental and non-profit; minorities living in Poland, mainly German minorities and finally; developmental organisations on the regional as well as on the local level. (“House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation”, n.d. para. 6-8)

A huge project which the House of Polish-German Co-operation worked on was the project about the Polish accession to the European Union. It did this by organising events and activities. Because this project was this large, in 1999 the House of Polish-German Co-operation established a centre dedicated to this project, called the “European Centre”. The activities this centre performed were: informing and educating the public about the European Union and the enlargement of the Union and supporting the Polish citizens by informing them on and creating a better understanding of the accession into the Union, the procedures and policies. (“House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation”, n.d. para. 6)

This organisation does not have one project which they see as the most successful, due to their high amount of projects. The organisation does have one achievement however of which they are very proud. This is the historical database, in which the organisation keeps all the records of all projects from the past. These records can be found on their website: “www.e-historie.pl”. This website was created in 2009. (Personal interview, March 18, 2010)

In order to realise their goals and to strengthen the co-operation between them and their partner organisations, the organisation realises international projects: by keeping contacts with international connections, by using their large experience and their know-how, by using equipment such as technical devises and because of the communication, which is based on a high technical level. (“House Task Future, a milestone in Polish-German co-operation”, n.d. para. 9)

The House of Polish-German Co-operation believes that the region of Lower Silesia would be poorer if their organisation would not realise their cultural projects, educational programmes and social contacts. The House claims that they have many positive influences on the Polish-German relationship because of their many projects. This organisation also states that the relationship between Poland and Germany changed significantly in the positive way, due to initiatives like the House of Polish-German Co-operation. Although it still would like to see a better dialogue between the two countries. This is the factor which Poland and Germany have to focus on. The House of Polish-German Co-operation wishes to grow and to keep continuing to develop themselves. The organisation is growing so well, that it thinks it will become the largest organisation acting on Polish-German matters in Poland. (Personal interview, March 18, 2010)

The website of the House of Polish-German Co-operation is: <http://haus.pl/en/information1.html>.

3.2.2.1. Assessment

Main project: Historical database with former projects: “www.e-historie.pl”

Other projects: Projects on: the Polish accession to the European Union; the development of a civil society in Poland; ethnic minorities, with a special emphasis to the German minority in Poland; intercultural dialogue; multiculturalism; local and regional sustainable development; trans-border co-operation; the development of self-governmental administration/ decentralisation; the development of democratic structures, by supporting non-governmental organisations and the protection of the natural environment.

Goals: To create a well-functioning Polish-German co-operation.

Realisation: Organising international projects, seminars, events and study excursions, in order to maintain contacts with international connections, using their large experience and their know-how, using equipment such as technical devices and using communication, which is based on a high technical level.

Funds: Sponsors and partner organisations.

Sector: Education and culture.

Area: Gliwice and Opole in Upper Silesia.

Target group: Polish citizens of all ages, mainly young people.

Achievement: The creation of the “European Centre”, because of the large project on the Polish accession to the European Union.

3.2.3. Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa

The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is an institution which was established after World War Two, after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Because of the changes which Europe underwent after 1989, the border area between Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, next to the Neisse River changed too. Negative factors at that time were: a dramatically damaged area with a low permeability of borders, a failing and/or a deteriorated infrastructure, a poor or non-existing cross-border communication because of the lack of knowledge of other languages and finally, significant problems had to be solved, but could only be solved on cross-border level by the linking and co-operation of more countries together. Since most of these problems were cross-border problems, they had to be solved with cross-border co-operation. ("Institution", 2010, para. 1)

In order to solve the problems which occurred in 1989, instruments had to be used. This was only possible by adjusting the organisation its instruments to the specific situation. Since there was a pressing need for cross-border co-operation, and because Western European pioneers and experienced partners and friends emphasised the need of this, the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa was established. In 2007, the size of this area the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa covered was 13,254 km² with an amount of 1,638,216 inhabitants. ("Institution", 2010, para. 1)

The first milestone in the process of establishing a cross-border institution was at the initial meeting, the International Conference in Zittau, Germany, from the 23rd until the 25th of May, 1991. Present were President Václav Havel from the Czech Republic, President Lech Wałęsa from Poland and President Richard von Weizsäcker from Germany. They created a memorandum that outlined the main rules, lines and features of the further actions to be taken. On December 21, 1991 the first formal establishment of the Joint Council was completed. ("Institution", 2010, para. 2)

The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is the local dominating and supporting institution in the border area of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic. This Euroregion is not a legal entity. It has had many successful initiatives because of the high working level of this institution. The co-operation with this institute is voluntary. The Council decides upon its partners and new partners, bearing in mind their regulated framework. In 2004 a common seat of the three countries, Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, was established in Zittau, Germany. The largest city in the Euroregion Neisse area is Liberec in the Czech Republic. The aim of this organisation is to create and emerge a common and varied co-operation within this area; and it strives for the improvement of information exchange, communication across the borders, and the priorities of elaborating, declaring and developing within the Euroregion area. It also wants to improve and support tourism within the area. These aims will especially be achieved because of their set statement of harmonised cross-border planning, which is stated in their framework of a 'Common

Planning Area Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa'. ("Grundsätze", 2010, para. 1)

Since this Euroregion was successful in creating a common cross-border institute, it needed to have a complementary reward in the shape of a logo, as the identification symbol of the institute. Citizens of all three countries could send in their ideas and creations, and from 600 different entries the final symbol was chosen ("Grundsätze", 2010, para. 1):



Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa Logo
("Grundsätze", 2010, para. 1)

A current project the Euroregion organises is a project between Poland and Germany. It started in October 2009 and will finish in March 2012. It aims to develop a tight relationship with mutual projects between the German and the Polish part of the Euroregion. The available fund received from their governments to realise the project is 3,9 million Euro. ("Gemeinsamer Kleinprojekte", 2010, para. 1)

I have contacted the Euroregion by telephone and by email. Unfortunately they did not have the opportunity to answer my questions considering their institution and my thesis due to their busy schedule, which contains cross-border projects and meetings. (Personal telephone conversation, March 12, 2010) On their website a list can be found in which is the cross-border meetings are shown.

The website of the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is: <http://www.neisse-nisa-nysa.org/>.

3.2.3.1. Assessment

Main project: Project on creating mutual events between Poland and Germany, from 2009 until 2012.

Other projects: Projects from 1989 on: the dramatically damaged area with a low permeability of borders, a failing and/or a deteriorated infrastructure, a poor or non-existing cross-border communication because of the lack of knowledge of other languages and finally, the linking and co-operation of more countries together.

Goals: To develop a tight relationship with mutual projects between the German and the Polish part of the Euroregion.

Realisation: By their framework of a 'Common Planning Area Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa',

	in which is stated to have a harmonised cross-border planning.
Funds:	Governments of Poland, Czech Republic and Germany.
Sector:	Culture, economy and politics.
Area:	In Poland the Silesian area, but also the border provinces in Germany and the Czech Republic, together called: Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa.
Target group:	Polish citizens of all ages, but also Czech and German citizens.
Achievement:	Establishing a cross-border institution, with three offices in Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic.

3.3. Evaluation

During my research, I have contacted seven organisations out of my long-list; the Krzyżowa Foundation, the Willy Brandt Centre, the German-Polish Youth Office, Fundacja Dom Pokoju, the House of Polish-German Co-operation, the Foundation of Polish-German Co-operation and the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa. These were the ones which I found most interesting, and I primarily looked at the organisations which were mainly focussing on Polish-German relations and co-operation and which are situated within the Silesian area. Unfortunately I noticed during my research, that it is very difficult to communicate with these organisations and to ask them about information other than stated on their website.

Firstly, I chose the Willy Brandt Centre for my case study, because they have had a project on European integration and the Polish-German relations in Europe and they own their own library, which I have visited. This Centre only was willing to participate by email contact, so the director could filter the questions on relevance. Unfortunately the secretary, Mrs Agnieszka Przybyszewska, stated that they could not help me with my research, as they are a part of the University of Wrocław, so not the proper institute to include in my study. (Personal email, March 15, 2010)

I have tried to contact the Krzyżowa Foundation, but this organisation answered that they are not going to spend any time on answering questions. All information which is allowed to be published is stated on the website. (Personal telephone conversation, March 13, 2010)

These were two out of five negative reactions. Personally I think that the organisations were a little bit scared to co-operate, because most of the organisations receive funds from institutes and sponsors, as they are non-governmental organisations. In my opinion they are scared for negative publicity about their organisation, since they could lose their sponsors.

The willingness to co-operate was not the only difficulty; also the language played a big role. It seemed that these organisations could only be contacted in Polish. Luckily, Mr R.

Mańkowski helped me with the translations and the telephone conversations, since I do not speak Polish so well.

Fortunately, I managed to interview two organisations: the House of Peace Foundation and the House of the Polish-German Co-operation organisation. I have added the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa on my own, without conducting an interview.

These three organisations do not differ that much from each other. The House of Peace Foundation and the House of Polish-German Co-operation both keep databases, one from interesting stories and the other from interesting projects. The goals are quite equal: they want to make the Polish and German people communicate and co-operate for a better mutual understanding. They all do this by organising projects and events. The House of Peace Foundation even develops its own educational methods, such as books. The House of Peace Foundation and the House of Polish-German Co-operation both receive funds from sponsors, while the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is supported by the governments of the participating countries. The sector in which all organisations work is also similar, because culture is the main sector. Other sectors are education, economics and politics. All organisations are based in the Silesian area and focus on citizens, mainly youngsters from Poland. The biggest achievements they had differ, as the House of Peace Foundation won a prize for their achievements, while the others are very satisfied with creating own centres and offices.

In conclusion it is quite difficult to say which organisation was most successful, since they all three managed to achieve their objectives. I think that the combination of all these initiatives focussing on Poland and Germany, outlined by me in part 3.1., are a success all together. Besides the 20 organisations I described, there are many more. The great amount of organisations which focus on Polish and German relations, show how important the matter is. I think it is a good thing that there are many of these organisations, because it means that there is a need and the motivation from people to create and stimulate good relationships with each other: the people from Poland and Germany.

3.4. Summary and conclusions

Chapter three gave a broad overview of several organisations in Poland, which focuss on the relationship and co-operation of Poland and Germany. Also a case study was conducted among three organisations. They have been described into detail. This chapter explored 20 organisations in order to answer the sub-questions. The answer to the first sub-question points out what is done to achieve a good relationship between Poland and Germany. This question can be answered by saying that all these organisations are good initiatives to connect Poland and Germany. With

projects, events and other activities they try to create a better mutual understanding and co-operation on several levels, such as: economy, politics and culture.

The answer to the next sub-question deals with the most successful projects. The question is quite difficult to answer since all organisations have had good projects. I have analysed three organisations into detail, and the House of Peace Foundation has got the project “Stories told” which seemed most successful according to the organisation itself. For the House of Polish-German Co-operation the creation of a historical database “www.e-historie.pl” seemed their highest achievement. The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa is currently having a long-term project, which started in 2009 and will finish in 2012, in order to create tight relationships between the Euroregion area in Poland and in Germany by organising mutual projects.

The last sub-question deals with the relationship between Poland and Germany and how this relationship changed over the years. According to the research I conducted I can conclude that the relationship between Poland and Germany got stronger. Because of the many organisations which are putting effort in making the two countries work together, Poland and Germany are connected in the positive sphere. As outlined in chapter two, the relation on the political level between these two countries is still not fully developed, because of the difficult past they share with the many wars. Luckily, the citizens are taking the initiatives to create cross-border projects and events, and the governments in some cases stimulate these financially. I would say that the relationship developed positively, because it is shown that both countries do work and want to co-operate with each other.

Conclusion

In this thesis my goal was to attempt to answer the central research question: “Do the Polish, and in particular those in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany and, if so, what is being done to address and change this negativity?”

This question has to be divided into two parts: the first part deals with whether the Polish, and in particular those in Silesia, currently feel prejudice towards Germany or not, the second part deals with what is being done to address and change this negativity.

I came to the overall conclusion that currently the Polish still feel prejudice towards Germany. The prejudice mainly exists on political level, since issues between the two countries were discussed in chapter two, about gas pipe lines, war crimes, borders and the heads of state. This causes for the Polish government, as well as for the German government, reluctance towards each other. The people of Silesia do not feel this prejudice towards Germany, since these people live in the border area with Germany and are used to be connected and in touch with Germans. German minorities are still living in Silesia and they have established their own German educational and community centres, as outlined in chapter three.

My next conclusion, the measures taken to change the negativity towards Germany are as follows: the initiatives which are taken to create a positive feeling towards Germany are the establishment of Polish-German organisations as outlined in my thesis. I focussed on these, for they all share a common goal in order to bind the Polish and German people together, to create a better mutual understanding, communication and co-operation. These organisations are all successful in achieving their goals, as they organise projects, events, trips and conferences with the help of sponsors and/or (local) governments. Target groups are mainly youngsters living in Poland, but also people of all ages from Poland and Germany are included in some organisations, such as the House of Peace Foundation in Wrocław. Other positive features of the relationship between Poland and Germany were that after World War Two, many treaties and agreements were signed to stimulate a positive co-operation and relation. Examples are: the Potsdam Agreement, the Treaty of Zgorzelec, the Normalisation Treaty and the Border Treaty.

This thesis has been brought about by using sub-questions. Each chapter contains three sub-questions, which create a better structure to the chapters. Now I will focus on what happened in the 18th, 19th and 20th century in Poland and on what the major events were at that time. The main happening, and therefore the major event, which was emphasised during the 18th century was the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the three great powers: the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. These three great powers managed to take over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth completely with three attacks, one in 1772, 1793

and 1795. This meant that Poland was under foreign rule and did not have any independence.

The part on the 19th century contains many happenings, which explain how the Polish culture was maintained without having control of the Polish country. Napoleon's battles are explained, the rules he established in Central and Eastern Europe and the responses of other countries to Napoleon. The major event is clarified, which is the Congress of Vienna, and why this Congress was held. This was held in order to divide the parts of conquered land among the three great powers: the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire.

The last part of this chapter covers the 20th century with the major event: World War Two. This part starts with the German "Third Reich" invasion of West Poland, followed by the invasion of the Soviet Union from the East and discusses why this invasion affected the Republic of Poland. Many people died, most concentration camps were built in Poland and many Jewish people were killed. The outcomes of the Yalta Conference are outlined: borders were established, the forced movement of minorities from a foreign country back to their own country, the Lublin government was reorganised and the independence of the East and Central European countries was established.

The third sub-question of chapter one describes the main countries which affected Poland's past. The findings to this question are: during the 18th century the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire affected the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the most, because of the total take-over. During the 19th century the same three great powers including the French Republic were mainly affecting Poland, because of the wars conducted by Napoleon and the division of Poland among the three great powers as decided during the Congress of Vienna in 1815. During the 20th century Germany (Third Reich), the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain affected Poland the most, because of World War Two and the Yalta Conference after World War Two, in which the borders of Poland were finally established.

Chapter two focusses on three aspects: Poland in general, Silesia and the Polish-German relationship. Two sub-questions of this chapter, which can be answered at the same time, deal with respectively the decisions and treaties that have been made and about the persons who were involved in taking decisions and making treaties which affected Poland. The decision on the expulsion of the Germans from Poland was established during the Potsdam Agreement of 1945. After World War Two many German minorities had to move back to Germany. This was decided by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt. Three treaties have been signed between Poland and Germany after the war, mainly affecting Silesia: the Treaty of Zgorzelec in 1950 between the governments of East Germany and the People's Republic of Poland, in which the marking of the German-Polish state borders was agreed; the Normalisation Treaty in 1970, between the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland, in which the basics of normalisation between the mutual relations were established; the Border Treaty in 1990, between

the Federal Republic of Germany and the Third Polish Republic, in which the existing borders were confirmed and internationally recognised.

The third sub-question deals with how Poland got its independence. In chapter one is explained that Poland officially got independent in 1918 and reappeared on the map. But, although Poland was officially independent, the communist regime took over. Poland created a new coalition in 1989, which was non-communistic and meant the collapse of the communist regime. Because of this coalition, Poland now had to develop itself, since before the Soviet Union was ruling and took all the decisions.

Chapter two also shows proof of the Polish media as well as the German media nowadays. The media still write about each other in a very negative way. Many of these published sources are about happenings from former days. Obvious is that what happened in the past was not a positive boost to create a good relationship, but luckily, in chapter three I emphasised many encouraging initiatives.

Chapter three attempts to answer the sub-question to what is done to achieve a good relationship between Poland and Germany. I could say that all the 20 organisations which I outlined in this chapter are good initiatives to connect Poland and Germany. They try to create a better mutual understanding and co-operation on several levels, such as: economy, politics and culture, by organising projects, events and other activities. Sub-question two deals with the most successful projects. This question will be answered by looking at the three analysed organisations of my case study. The House of Peace Foundation had the most successful project “Stories told”. The House of Polish-German Co-operation had a successful project to create a historical database “www.e-historie.pl”. The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa has a successful long-term project, which started in 2009 and will finish in 2012, with as a goal to create close relationships between the Euroregion area in Poland and in Germany by organising mutual projects. The last sub-question is about the relationship between Poland and Germany and how it changed over the years. According to the research I conducted, the relationship between Poland and Germany grew stronger. Because of the many organisations which are putting effort in making the two countries work together, Poland and Germany are connected in the positive sphere.

Included in chapter three are my three case studies. I have assessed them individually and evaluated them later. My conclusions were that they do not differ too much from each other, since they share a common goal of creating a better relationship and co-operation with each other. Only the ways in which they want to achieve this goal differs. Most organisations organise events, projects and conferences, but the House of Peace Foundation even managed to create their own educational source by writing books and putting information online. The way they pay for these initiatives is different. Only the Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa receives governmental funding and

the other two only have sponsors. Personally I think extra value is added when goals are achieved with only the support of sponsors. The House of Peace Foundation even managed to win a prize because of their high valued achievements.

My personal opinion is that Germany was indecent when mentioning in 2006 that many German citizens died during the expulsion and that Poland was to blame. Logical is that this comment by Germany was not received well by Poland. Poland did not make the decision to change the borders and move the ethnic minorities. Germany was quite late (2006) to start about this issue; this should have been addressed at the time of the expulsion. In my opinion it is reasonable of Poland to react to German's comment by saying that Germany started the war by invading Poland and that Poland was nothing more than a big mess when the war was over. Germany killed many Polish people. Poland suffered a lot because of World War Two. The Germans, who lived in the territories of Poland, only suffered when they had to leave their homes.

I hope that in the near future also the governments will not feel prejudiced towards each other and that they will talk about each other in a positive, friendly and stimulating way. The citizens of Poland and Germany showed that they are willing to co-operate with each other; the governments should show the same attitude!

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Appendices

1. The view on Germany by the Polish media, images from the Photo Gallery of Spiegel Online
2. Interview questions and guidance letter sent to the Polish-German organisations (in Polish)
3. Interview questions and guidance letter sent to the Polish-German organisations (in English)
4. Interview Edward Skubisz, House of Peace Foundation (in Dutch)
5. Interview Beata Wozniak, House for the Polish-German Co-operation

Appendix 1: The view on Germany by the Polish media, images from the Photo Gallery of Spiegel Online



This is an illustration on the cover of the German magazine *Der Spiegel*.

The title is: “the unloved neighbours, how the Polish annoy Europe”.

You see the President of Germany, Angela Merkel having the Polish Kaczyński brothers on her back.

(Source: “Spiegel Online Photo Gallery”, Web site:

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,druck-489510,00.html>)



This is the Polish magazine *Wprost*. The title is: “The German Trojan Horse”. You see Erica Steinbach of the German Federation of Expellees in a Nazi suit sitting and former Chancellor of Germany, Gerhard Schröder, posing as a horse.

(Source: “Spiegel Online Photo Gallery”, Web site:

<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke-22547.html>)



This is a cover of the Polish magazine *Czas!*. The picture shows Angela Merkel, President of Germany with a Hitler mustache.

(Source: “Spiegel Online Photo Gallery”, Web site:

<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke-22547-3.html>)



This is the Polish magazine *Wprost*. On the cover you see the former Russian President Putin and former Chancellor of Germany, Gerhard Schröder. This is about the agreement Russia and Germany made on the gas pipe line in 2005.

(Source: “Spiegel Online Photo Gallery”, Web site:

<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke-22547-2.html>)

Appendix 2: Interview questions and guidance letter sent to the Polish-German organisations (in Polish)

Szanowny Panie/Pani,

Nazywam się Lisa Westoby i jestem studentką kierunku Europeistyka na Uniwersytecie w Hadze w Holandii.

Obecnie jestem w trakcie realizacji mojego stażu w konsulacie holenderskim we Wrocławiu. W międzyczasie piszę moją pracę licencjacką na temat stosunków polsko-niemieckich na przestrzeni czasu od XVIII wieku do teraz. Aby sfinalizować mój temat, analizuję trzy polsko-niemieckie organizacje na Śląsku. Dlatego ułożyłam 10 pytań (zawarte w załączniku) i byłabym wdzięczna, jeśli Pan/Pani zechciałby na nie odpowiedzieć.

Z góry dziękuję,

Z poważaniem

Lisa Westoby

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Kwestionariusz

Imię i nazwisko osoby odpowiadającej :

Pełniona funkcja :

- 1. Który projekt stworzony przez Państwa organizacji był najbardziej udany?**
- 2. Dlaczego był to udany projekt i co Państwo osiągneliście dzięki niemu?**
- 3. Czy mogą Państwo powiedzieć coś o tym projekcie, jak został zorganizowany, jak zdołaliście osiągnąć zmierzone cele projektu?**
- 4. Jak Państwo myślą, jak ten projekt wpłynął na stosunki polsko-niemieckie?**
- 5. Jaki jest zakres działania Państwa projektów? (Edukacja, polityka, ekonomia,**

itd.)

6. Jaki jest ogólny wkład Państwa organizacji w stosunki polsko-niemieckie?
7. Jak moglibyście Państwo ocenić współpracę polsko-niemiecką od czasu po II wojnie światowej do teraz? Czy myślicie Państwo, że jest lepiej teraz niż 65 lat temu? Jeśli tak, to dlaczego?
8. Czy są pewne aspekty w stosunkach między Polską a Niemcami (Edukacja, polityka, ekonomia, itd.), które chcielibyście Państwo, aby zostały zmienione w przyszłości?
9. Czy macie Państwo plany lub projekty, które chcielibyście wykreować, aby ustalić lepszą współpracę pomiędzy Polską i Niemcami?
10. Jak widzą Państwo Waszą organizację za 50 lat?

Serdecznie dziękuję za odpowiedź na moje pytania.

Appendix 3: Interview questions and guidance letter sent to the Polish-German organisations (in English)

Questions Interview

Name:

Function:

- 1. Which project in the past was the most successful?**
- 2. Why? What was achieved?**
- 3. Can you say something about this project; how you arranged it and how you managed to achieve your goals? How did the process go?**
- 4. How did this project influence the relationship between Poland and Germany?**
- 5. What kind of field are your projects based on? (Education, Politics, Economy, etc.)**
- 6. What is the added value of your organisation for the Polish-German relationship?**
- 7. How would you evaluate the co-operation between Poland and Germany from after World War Two until now? (Is this positive?)**
- 8. Are there any aspects of the relation between Poland and Germany, of any level, that you would like to see changed/different?**
- 9. Are there any future plans or projects that you would like to arrange or establish to create a better co-operation between Poland and Germany?**
- 10. How do you see your organisation in 50 years time?**

Appendix 4: Interview Edward Skubisz, House of Peace Foundation (in Dutch)

Interview Dom Pokoju, Wrocław, Polen

Naam: Edward Skubisz
Functie: Directeur van de Stichting Huis van de Vrede
Datum: 15 maart 2010

Stichting Huis van de Vrede heb ik in 2005 in Wrocław opgericht. Vanuit deze stichting worden vredeseducatieve en interculturele projecten georganiseerd met het oog op een betere relatie tussen de burgers van de verschillende landen en tussen de verschillende culturen die na 1945 in Centraal Europa ontstonden c.q. hun weg vonden. We hebben projecten gerealiseerd met o.a. Nederlandse, Duitse, Poolse, Oekraïense jongeren ook vanuit verschillende culturele herkomst uit de genoemde landen.

1. Welk project is het meest succesvol gebleken?

Het project Verhalen Verteld (2007) is tot nog toe het meest succesvol gebleken, volgens mij.

2. a)Waarom? b)Welke doelen zijn bereikt?

Omdat we daarmee ook veel jongeren hebben bereikt. Het bestond eruit dat drie Oekraïense, drie Duitse en vier Poolse jongeren in groepjes van twee hun grootouders bezochten, dat wil zeggen een Duitse en een Poolse jongere bezochten samen hun grootouders. Het betrof grootouders die na 1945 verdreven waren van hun geboortegrond naar de landen met nieuwe grenzen als gevolg van het Verdrag van Jalta, zoals de Sovjet-Unie (Oekraïner, Lemki), naar Polen (etnische Polen), naar Duitsland (etnische Duitsers). Met deze verhalen gaan we sinds 2007 naar scholen, organiseren we tentoonstellingen en workshops, komen we op tv.

3. a) Kunt u iets meer uitleggen over het project: hoe het georganiseerd was en hoe de doelen bereikt zijn? b) Hoe verliep het project?

We bereiken daarmee de educatieve doelen, gericht op verzoening, Europese bewustwording en verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel voor mensenrechten (antidiscriminatie, opkomen voor rechten van anderen en jezelf). Maar ook geven we op deze manier „eer” aan de slachtoffers van eertijds (het Huis van de Vrede als een „monument” voor de slachtoffers).

4. Hoe heeft dit project de relatie tussen Polen en Duitsland beïnvloed?

Dat is een grote vraag. We willen met ons Huis van de Vrede van onderop een bijdrage leveren aan betere relaties tussen, met name, Duitse en Poolse burgers tegen anti-Duitse en anti-Poolse en tegen de revanchistische stromen (Erika Steinbach) in. We willen dat structureel doen, samen met andere organisaties (Krzyżowa, Edith Stein-Huis, Anne Frank Stichting) en dat werk als geheel heeft zeker een positieve invloed. We hebben aan ongeveer 2000 scholieren laten weten dat de Polen mensen waren die aan de waanzin van Hitler, Stalin maar ook Jalta waren opgeofferd, dat Duitse kinderen indertijd ook de dupe waren van de oorlog, dat ook Polen verdreven zijn etc.

5. Binnen welke sectoren behoren de projecten die uw organisatie heeft? (Educatie, politiek, economie, etc.)

Educatie, cultuur.

6. Wat is de toegevoegde waarde van uw organisatie voor de Pools-Duitse relatie?

Onze organisatie is een grass-root organisatie, van jongeren voor jongeren, geen staatsorganisatie, niet leunend tegen een partijpolitieke stroming. En, in Polen ook belangrijk, ontstaan vanuit Nederland en met steun van de Nederlandse kerk, maar juist niet als „kerkelijke” organisatie.

7. a) Hoe zou u de samenwerking tussen Polen en Duitsland evalueren, van na de Tweede Wereldoorlog tot nu? b) Denkt u dat de samenwerking nu beter is dan 65 jaar geleden?

De samenwerking tussen Warschau en Berlijn is zeker beter, nu met de huidige Poolse regering en na het ontstaan van een vrij Polen en na de Duitse eenwording. Erg belangrijk is ook de samenwerking op overheidsniveau binnen de EU en de NAVO. Maar op provinciaal niveau en gemeentelijk niveau, ook in de Oder- en Neisse-steden, blijft de samenwerking oppervlakkig, is het geen samenwerking tussen burgers en ook niet tussen bijv. politie.

8. Zijn er enige toekomstige plannen of projecten welke u zou willen realiseren om de samenwerking tussen Polen en Duitsland te bevorderen?

Zeker. Projecten als “Verhalen Verteld” willen we herhalen, zeker als het gaat om de medewerking van Joodse jongeren. We werken ook aan vakantieweken met Poolse en Duitse jongeren, zoals we vorig jaar hebben gerealiseerd, met de Duits-Poolse Jeugdwerken en enkele locale Duitse organisaties. En we werken aan een project met Duitse en Poolse en Nederlandse jongeren betreffende de activiteiten van Poolse legers in 1944-1947 in Nederland en Duitsland.

9. Hoe ziet u uw organisatie over 50 jaar?

Ik hoop dat het dan niet meer nodig is, dat Polen en Duitsland dan twee deelstaten van Europa zijn, al zal antidiscrimiatiewerk altijd wel nodig blijven.

10. Zijn er enkele aspecten in de relatie tussen Polen en Duitsland die u anders zou willen zien?

Aangaande ons werk denk ik dat de “vrouwen-verhalen” nog niet verteld zijn en dat dat wel erg nodig is. En verder, wat ik al schreef, het werken aan burgercontacten. Ik denk ook aan samenwerking op meer economisch gebied, zoals een stadsherstelproject, waar we als Huis van de Vrede nu ook aan wreken, of het opzetten van een gezamenlijk (Duits-Pools) bedrijfje, om ook de lethargie die er bij veel burgers heerst aan te pakken.

Appendix 5: Interview Beata Woźniak, House for Polish-German Co-operation

Kwestionariusz

Imię i nazwisko osoby odpowiadającej : Beata Woźniak

Pełniona funkcja : Project Manager, Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej w Opolu

1. Który projekt stworzony przez Państwa organizacji był najbardziej udany?

trudno wymienić jeden najbardziej udany projekt, przez 11 lat działalności naszej instytucji wiele projektów należy uznać za bardzo udane i realnie wpływające na polepszenie stosunków polsko-niemieckich, jak choćby Seminaria Śląski, czy Kuźnia Młodych Liderów przeznaczony specjalnie dla młodzieży mniejszości niemieckiej. Ważnym projektem realizowanym przez DWPN od 2009 jest "Archiwum Historii Mówionej: www.e-historie.pl"

2. Dlaczego był to udany projekt i co Państwo osiągneliście dzięki niemu?

U źródeł projektu „Archiwum Historii Mówionej: www.e-historie.pl” leżały aspekty nurtujące społeczeństwo mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce. Pierwszy z nich to znikoma znajomość historii mniejszości niemieckiej wśród młodszego pokolenia a drugi to odchodzenie starszego pokolenia a wraz z nim pamięci o najbardziej przełomowych i najważniejszych chwilach w historii swojej grupy narodowej, jaką jest mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce.

Celem projektu „Archiwum Historii Mówionej” było podniesienie świadomości historycznej wśród młodzieży mniejszości niemieckiej a także utworzenie archiwum historii mówionej w postaci strony internetowej: www.e-historie.pl.

Młodzi ludzie przygotowując się do przeprowadzenia wywiadów poznali w zarysie najnowszą historię związaną z mniejszością niemiecką. Zostały zorganizowane trzy dwudniowe szkolenia: w czerwcu, w lipcu i w wrześniu. W trakcie seminarium przygotowującym uczestnicy mieli możliwość poznania najważniejszych wydarzeń i dat w historii swojej społeczności. Projekt „Archiwum Historii Mówionej” stał się nową, cenną formułą poznania historii mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce, dla młodego pokolenia, co pomogło tej grupie w lepszym zrozumieniu swojej tożsamości i w przyszłości, bardziej efektywnym angażowaniu się w życie mniejszości niemieckiej. Nasz projekt jest nowym sposobem wzbudzania młodego pokolenia tożsamości niemieckiej oraz sposobem porozumienia się, „budowania mostów” między starszym pokoleniem mniejszości a młodą generacją, od której zależy przyszłość mniejszości niemieckiej. Kontakt starszego pokolenia z młodym zapewni ciągłość przekazu języka i tradycji swojej grupy narodowej.

Projekt „Archiwum Historii Mówionej”- nie ma być jednorazowym wydarzeniem. Utworzona strona internetowa jest zaczątkiem platformy zbierania wywiadów z członkami mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce. Archiwum wywiadów będzie także tworzyło platformę do badań o najnowszej historii Górnego Śląska widzianej z perspektywy mniejszości niemieckiej, jako że dotychczasowa literatura na ten temat jest bardzo uboga.

3. Czy mogą Państwo powiedzieć coś o tym projekcie, jak został zoorganizowany, jak zdołaliście osiągnąć zmierzone cele projektu?

Projekt przebiegał w terminie: marzec-grudzień 2009 r., i polegał na rekrutacji młodych ludzi z szeregów mniejszości niemieckiej, którzy wyposażeni w sprzęt do rejestracji audio i video przeprowadzili wywiady z członkami starszego pokolenia mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce. Te wywiady, jako świadectwa historii mówionej, zostały odpowiednio opracowane przez samych uczestników pod okiem profesjonalnych dziennikarzy i umieszczone na stronie internetowej wraz z wprowadzeniem historycznym, opracowanym przez opiekuna naukowego projektu: socjologa, pracownika naukowego UO, doświadczonego w zbieraniu materiałów metodą oral history- dr Danuty Berlińskiej. Strona internetowa z wywiadami jest swego rodzaju muzeum historii mówionej, historii mniejszości niemieckiej.

Projekt składał się z 3 elementów: rekrutacji i szkolenia uczestników, rejestracji wywiadów ze świadkami historii oraz z opracowaniu portalu internetowego z nagraniami uczestników. Po zakończeniu etapu przeprowadzania wywiadów ze świadkami historii oraz obróbki technicznej nagranych materiałów, jak również umieszczenia wywiadów na portalu internetowym poświęconym temu projektowi, w dniach 20-22 listopada 2009 r., została zorganizowana 3 dniowa podróż studyjna do Berlina, w trakcie, której młodzi ludzie zwiedzili najważniejsze berlińskie muzea, jak również spotkali się z dr Christophem Bergnerem, Pełnomocnikiem Rządu RFN ds. Wysiedleńców i Mniejszości Narodowych. Podróż studyjna do Berlina, jako stolicy Niemiec, była również elementem kształtującym tożsamość młodych Niemców w Polsce.

W ramach projektu zostały nagrane również wywiady telewizyjne. Były to osoby, których wiedza i wspomnienia są niezwykle cenne dla mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce. Tych 11 wywiadów zostało wydanych w formie płyty DVD, będącej swoistym podsumowaniem I edycji cyklu projektu: „Archiwum Historii Mówionej” Domu Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej.

Oprócz rejestracji wydarzeń ważnych dla historii mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce równie ważnym jest aspekt edukacyjny młodych ludzi, którzy przeprowadzali wywiady poprzez to chociażby przyczyniali się do redagowania strony internetowej.

4. Jak Państwo myślą, jak ten projekt wpłynął na stosunki polsko-niemieckie?

Projekt dał młodzieży mniejszości niemieckiej możliwość faktycznego poznawania historii Górnego Śląska a przez to poznania i odkrycia swoich korzeni i tożsamości. Pośredni wpływ naszego projektu na stosunki polsko-niemieckie poprzez właśnie wspieranie rozwoju mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce

5. Jaki jest zakres działania Państwa projektów? (Edukacja, polityka, ekonomia, itd.)

Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej jest polskim stowarzyszeniem skupiającym polskie i niemieckie organizacje i instytucje. Uroczyste otwarcie DWPN z udziałem Prezydenta Republiki Federalnej Niemiec prof. dr Romana Herzoga oraz - w imieniu Prezydenta RP Aleksandra Kwaśniewskiego - prof. Danuty Hübner, ówczeszniej szefowej Kancelarii

Prezydenta RP, odbyło się 17 lutego 1998 r.

Działalność Domu Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej ma na celu wzmacnianie społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, rozwijanie dobrych stosunków polsko-niemieckich w oparciu o postanowienia Traktatu o dobrym sąsiedztwie i przyjaznej współpracy z 17 czerwca 1991 r. między Rzeczypospolitą Polską a Republiką Federalną Niemiec oraz wspieranie integracji Polski z Unią Europejską. Kooperacja partnerów polskich i niemieckich w ramach Domu Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej bierze swój początek z pięcioletniej działalności w regionie Fundacji im. Friedricha Eberta.

DWPN realizuje projekty edukacyjne i informacyjne typu: konferencje, seminaria, szkolenia, warsztaty, wyjazdy informacyjne, publikacje, konkursy itp. w następujących dziedzinach: budowanie społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, rozwijanie stosunków polsko-niemieckich w oparciu o wiedzę i pamięć o trudnych rozdziałach wspólnej przeszłości, współpraca z mniejszością niemiecką, propagowanie międzynarodowych standardów ochrony praw mniejszości narodowych, dialog interkulturowy między mniejszością a większością dialog o znaczeniu i roli niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego dla rozwoju regionalnego, decentralizacja i rozwój samorządności. Adresatami i partnerami tych działań są samorządy terytorialne, organizacje pozarządowe, młodzież, mniejszość niemiecka, dziennikarze, środowiska nauki, polityki, kultury. Przedsięwzięcia adresowane do i realizowane we współpracy z młodzieżą zajmują priorytetowe miejsce w naszej działalności.

6. Jaki jest ogólny wkład Państwa organizacji w stosunki polsko-niemieckie?

Bez działalności Domu Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej i naszych projektów, edukacja społeczna an Górnym Śląsku byłaby znacznie uboższa. Można by wymieniać wiele pozytywnych wpływów działalności DWPN na polepszenie stosunków polsko-niemieckich

7. Jak moglibyście Państwo ocenić współpracę polsko-niemiecką od czasu po II wojnie światowej do teraz? Czy myślicie Państwo, że jest lepiej teraz niż 65 lat temu? Jeśli tak, to dlaczego?

W ostatnich 20 latach stosunki polsko-niemieckie uległy znacznej poprawie. Od przełomu 1989 roku i demokratyzacji Polski jak i zjednoczenia Niemiec wiele kwestii znalazło swoje rozwiązanie poprzez dialog i wypracowanie kompromisu. Jest jeszcze wiele spraw kontrowersyjnych do wspólnego wypracowania, jednak widoczna wola i Niemców i Polaków daje nadzieję, na przyszłość, iż ten konstruktywny dialog będzie kontynuowany.

8. Czy są pewne aspekty w stosunkach między Polską a Niemcami (Edukacja, polityka, ekonomia, itd.), które chcielibyście Państwo, aby zostały zmienione w przyszłości?

Jest wiele takich kwestii, a do najważniejszej zaliczyć należy: wypracowanie wspólnego stanowiska wobec wypędzonych po II wojnie światowej z terenów byłych Niemiec.

9. Czy macie Państwo plany lub projekty, które chcielibyście wykreować, aby ustalić lepszą współpracę pomiędzy Polską i Niemcami?

DWPN jest instytucją która reaguje na dialog polsko-niemiecki od momentu swojego powstania. Wiele naszych projektów dąży do wykreowania lepszej współpracy między Niemcami a Polakami.

10. Jak widzą Państwo Waszą organizację za 50 lat?

Za 50 lat Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej będzie w dalszym ciągu dbać o dobre stosunki polsko-niemieckie, będzie jedną z najprężniej działających takich organizacji w Polsce