THE TREATY OF GOOD NEIGHBOURSHIP AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION OF 17 JUNE 1991 BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: ORIGIN, AIMS AND IMPLEMENTATION. SUCCESSES, FAILURES AND PROSPECTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE

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INTRODUCTION

In accordance with the conference topic, *The Republic of Poland's Treaties of Good Neighbourship after 1990: Good Neighbourship in the Face of Migration Challenges*, my paper discusses the *Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation of 17 June 1991*. Taking into consideration the conference subject matter and objectives, I present its origin, aims and significance for Polish-German relations, their present state and prospects in the context of the migration crisis in Europe and its security. Polish-German relations, as the history of Europe shows, have always gone beyond bilateral frameworks and have been extremely important for its security. For years, scientific publications have highlighted that there

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is a typical linkage between Polish-German relations and the international situation in Europe. This is also happening now. Polish-German relations, especially political ones, have considerably deteriorated over the last two years. The situation on our continent has become complicated too.

In 2015, European states, including Germany and Poland, faced one of the biggest challenges after the end of the Cold War in the form of a migration crisis connected with a massive influx of people from the states neighbouring the European Union, i.e. mainly from the Middle East and North Africa. It was one of the side effects of the so-called Arab Spring, which was initially expected to bring about democratic changes in the political, economic and social situation in those states. Unfortunately, in practice it contributed to the collapse of many states in North Africa and the Middle East and to the destabilisation of the whole region, which also has great geo-economic and geostrategic importance for the whole world. It resulted in domestic wars and many international conflicts. It triggered massive migration movements and caused a migration crisis in Europe, which divided the EU and had impact on the relations between its Member States, including Polish-German relations. At the same time, the migration crisis showed that the EU states favour national interests over the Union's, especially in crisis situations, and revealed the lack of common foreign, asylum and migration policy, which constitutes a serious threat to Europe's security (Dahl, and Dzudzik 2018: 18).

The migration crisis also revealed many international problems, human tragedies and suffering as well as intolerance and prejudice against people in need. It divided nations and stirred thing up in the EU. It also showed the lack of unity and unanimity of the EU states in solving difficult problems. When Western European states were confronted with a new situation, Central and Eastern European states demonstrated far-reaching separation from the problems connected with the massive migration. Growing differences between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe resulted in hasty and unconsidered decisions imposing specified quotas of immigrants for entry into all Member States, on the one hand, and strengthening isolationist tendencies and provoking allegations of a lack of European solidarity in the face of the immigration crisis, on the other hand. They had influence on bilateral relations, including Polish-German ones, which have been in deep crisis since 2015. According to Piotr Gajdziński, 'Germans (...), who are not much-loved in Polish high society, are slowly being pushed onto the historically assigned position of the enemies of the Republic of Poland. They used to have their ups but for a short time. In December 1970, when Poland signed a treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany, Jan Szydlak, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, worried about who the authorities would use to make Polish people frightened and to integrate the nation with the use of that fear' (Gajdziński 2018: 3).

Today, 73 years after World War II and 27 years after the adoption of The Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation of 17 June 1991 between the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, Polish authorities are trying to trigger aversion to Germans by demanding war reparations and accusing them of supporting the former Prime Minister Donald Tusk and the 'total opposition' in Poland. According to the German side, the issue of war reparations is closed from the legal and political point of view but it is not against experts' discussions of the issue. On the other hand, Polish experts are saying that Poland has not concluded any binding agreement solving this problem with Germany and that the government of the Polish People's Republic abandoned its demands for reparations in 1953 under the pressure from Moscow. German experts are trying to prove that there was a sovereign Polish State in the 1950s and its decisions are binding in terms of international law as well as that the PPR's representatives were consistent in their stand concerning abandonment of reparations. Inter alia, the then Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Józef Winiewicz, did it during the negotiations concerning the Treaty signed on 7 December 1970, in which the Federal Republic of Germany recognised the border on the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse as permanent and inviolable. German experts agree with the thesis formulated in Poland that no peace treaty or agreement regulating the issue of reparations has been signed with Germany but, in their opinion, after the 2+4 Treaty of 1990 providing legal grounds for the reunification of Germany, the chapter of the war and its consequences was closed (Jabłonowski, Janowski, and Sołtysiak 2018: 20, Sulowski 2002b). Moreover, they believe that the fact that Poland has not raised the issue of reparations for so many years, i.e. has silently approved the lack of them, gives evidence in favour of Germany, and that the case is subject to a limitation period. German politicians also argue that: 'As a result of the war, Germany lost one fifth of its territory with its natural resources and infrastructure for the benefit of Poland. The loss of these lands meant that Poland gained enormous property. We recognised the new borders although this aroused controversies in our country. In addition, the Federal Republic of Germany paid 2.6 billion euros worth of compensation to Polish victims of the Nazi crimes. The Federal Republic of Germany paid compensation worth 73.4 billion euros in total. The sum does not include the value of property left in the lost territories' (Wellmann 2017: 2, Schulz

2017: 11)¹. I do not fully agree with the opinions because the issue is more complex and the truth is usually somewhere in-between. In 1953, Poland's sovereignty was limited and its foreign policy was totally subordinated to Moscow. Apart from political and international-legal aspects concerning war reparations, there are moral aspects that the German party should also take into consideration (Fiszer 1990, Fiszer 1994). Polish demands for reparations are not understood in Germany today and are not conducive to future Polish-German joined projects (Jastrzębski 2017: 1–40, *Vőlkerrechtliche Grundlagen und grenzen kriegsbedingte Reparationen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Deutsch-polnischen Situation* 2017: 1–27, Nikel 2018: A12, Czapliński 2005: 79–109, Wieliński 2017: 5).

Immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, who seemingly spread dangerous diseases and are commonly associated with Muslims-terrorists, invited by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, are enemies used today to frighten Poles in order to unite them around the ruling party (Law and Justice) (Dahl 2016: 241-262). According to the German media, Poland let Germany down when it faced difficulties in 2015–2017 as a result of the influx of over one million immigrants. It is true that we did not provide assistance to our neighbour. Germans, as opinion polls show, felt disappointed and disillusioned with our attitude because, according to a well-known proverb, a friend in need is a friend indeed. In the face of the migration challenges, which exceeded the financial and organisational possibilities of Germany, Poland should have been equal to the task and offered help. However, we forgot that Germans had helped Polish immigrants after the November Uprising in 1830 and the introduction of martial law in December 1981. Many refugees from Poland found protection and support in Germany then. Not only treaty obligations or historical experiences teach us that it is necessary to respect neighbours and cooperate with them. I am not discussing the ethical and religious aspects, including the Christian principle of mercifulness and duty to help those in need. We disappointed the European Union and our Western neighbours and we lost an opportunity to improve our image on the international arena. The fact is that 'Solidarity' was born in Poland and a lot is said about the necessity of solidarity between nations and states of uniting Europe. On the other hand, it was the Federal Republic of Germany which supported us in our striving to join NATO and the European Union (Ziemer 2005: 48-65, Ciesielska-Klikowska 2015: 45-64).

¹ Wellmann, K.G. (CDU MP).

After the collapse of communism in 1989, Poland had to undertake steps to strengthen sovereignty and ensure its secure position on the international arena. The plan was to achieve it through strong linkage between Poland and the West, i.e. the accession to the European Communities and NATO. To do this, it was first of all necessary to reconcile with Germany, which after the reunification in 1990, became our direct neighbour and was already deeply rooted in the Euro-Atlantic structures. It increased our opportunity to 'return to Europe' and to be linked with the Western system of security. This new neighbour became the most important partner to Poland on the way to NATO and the EU membership. It must not be forgotten. Polish-German cooperation and friendship between our nations should be continually strengthened because there is no alternative to it.

1. Origin of the Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation of 17 June 1991

The Autumn of Nations of 1989 initiated by historic social and political changes in Poland quickly spread to other Central and Eastern European countries. Like in Poland, also in other Soviet bloc countries, a great system transformation started then and led from communism to capitalism, i.e. to social market economy and democracy. The processes resulted in the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the reunification of Germany and the collapse of the Soviet Union (Fiszer 1992, Fiszer 2016a: 1–6).

With the reunification of Germany, new chapters opened in the history of Polish-German relations as well as the history of entire Europe. The main foreign policy aim of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who became Polish Prime Minister on 24 August 1989, was to achieve a historic breakthrough in the relations with Germany. The task was entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, a renowned lawyer and expert in Polish-German relations. Polish foreign policy objectives concerning Polish-German relations were transparent: evaluate and close the past, lay strong foundations of the development of future relations and build united Europe in cooperation with Germany (Holzer 1998: 47, Holzer, and Fiszer 1996).

Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was the first in the states of the Warsaw Pact, which as early as 1989 was in favour of the German nation's rights to reunification and self-determination of its future provided that united Germany did not pose a threat to any other country. Taking a stand that the reunification of Germany may be conducive to Poland's national and state interests, the government announced readiness for Polish-German moral reconciliation. In his first address as Prime Minister on 12 September 1989, Tadeusz Mazowiecki emphasised, inter alia, that: 'We need a breakthrough in relations with the FRG. Both countries' communities went further than their governments. We are counting on clear development of economic relations and want real reconciliation similar to that which took place between German and French people'².

At the same time, the then German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, also recognised reconciliation with Poland as one of the main aims of Germany's foreign policy. On the other hand, in Poland's foreign policy after 1989, there were voices that it was necessary to build a Polish-German union of interests, the implementation of which was dependent on the definite recognition of Poland's western border by reunited Germany (Fiszer 1998: 25). The conclusion of such an agreement was especially urgent for the Polish party, which expected economic assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany in the forthcoming economic transformation processes (Jacobson, and Tomala 1992, Teltschik 1991).

The process of Polish-German reconciliation and development of a Polish-German union of interests started after Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland on 9–14 November 1989. In the joint announcement adopted on 14 November 1989 containing 78 points, both parties expressed their will to develop new grounds for mutual relations. It was emphasised that: 'The Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany are aware of their special responsibility for the policy of peace, agreement and cooperation in the interest of people and nations in Europe. (...) Remembering about the tragic and painful pages in history, they are determined to develop their relations taking into consideration the future and acting as models of good neighbourship' (Tomala 1996: 167, Koćwin 1992: 122–125).

Finally, the *Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland on the Confirmation of the Frontier between them* was signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Krzysztof Skubiszewski (Poland) and Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Germany) in Warsaw on 14 November 1990. The document, containing a Preamble and four Articles, definitely confirmed the Polish-German border on the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse, and closed the way to further speculations on that subject matter (Traktat 1991). In the Preamble, both parties emphasised that they would be striving for reconciliation between the two nations and expressed readiness to act for

² Gazeta Wyborcza 13 September 1989, p. 2.

the 'European peace order', in which borders shall not constitute reasons for dispute between states and shall guarantee permanent peace and freedom on the European continent.

The signing and implementation of the treaty confirming the border between Poland and Germany constituted a breakthrough in the process of the normalisation of mutual relations and building foundations of cooperation between Germany and Poland in all fields of life. After the conclusion of the Frontier Treaty, the work on another treaty that was to regulate the peaceful coexistence of the two states was accelerated. Negotiations took place in the period between 1990 and 1991 and were conducted successively in Bonn and Warsaw. The German side first of all wanted to regulate the issues concerning the German minority in Poland. The priority of the Polish side was to obtain international support for our aspirations for integration with the Euro-Atlantic structures and the reduction of Polish debts. Finally, the Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation was signed in Bonn on 17 June 1991. The Polish-German Reconciliation Foundation was founded in the same year. Thus, solid grounds were established for the development of cooperation in many areas, from political and cultural to social, economic and political ones. It was successively developed in the years to come (Traktat 1991, Cziomer 1998: 34, Barcz 2007: 151-152).

The Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation is preceded by a Preamble which refers not only to history but also common interests and the necessity of overcoming divisions in Europe and ensuring its security. Next, there are 38 articles. The initial ones refer to the necessity of cooperation and consultation at various levels. Article 8 lays down a very important statement for Poland that the FRG shall support Polish striving for membership of the European Communities. Successive articles emphasise the need to develop economic cooperation between the two countries, the issue of regional cooperation, environment protection, etc. Article 20 was especially important for the FRG because it awarded Polish citizens of German origin the national minority status. The issue was a priority for the German side from the beginning of the negotiations. The successive issues laid down in the document concern, inter alia, cultural cooperation and care for places of worship. Moreover, both parties committed themselves to strengthening cooperation in international organisations (Traktat 1992).

Both the above-discussed treaties were ratified by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the Bundestag of the FRG in October 1991 and entered into force on the same day after the Presidents of both countries signed them on 16 January 1992. The Frontier Treaty of 1990 closed the painful chapter of the Polish-German history and the Treaty of Good Neighbourship of 1991 opened a new chapter of relations between the two states based on the union of aims concerning the development of a peaceful order in Europe, on the common system of values, i.e. the rights, freedom, democracy and the idea of the state ruled by law, on the union of interests and responsibilities, on common desire for agreement and reconciliation between Poles and Germans. The ideological foundations of this treaty were accompanied by actual solutions to many matters of previous contention and long-term programme of cooperation with emphasis placed on economic, financial, youth-related, cultural and regional fields. In 1990-2016, 200 various agreements, contracts, treaties or joint announcements were signed. Both states entered the road to reconciliation and development the of Polish-German union of interests (Stolarczyk 1997: 14-16, Fiszer 1996: 15-17, Malinowski 1997). Therefore, Rolf Nikel, a German ambassador in Warsaw, is right to recall that: 'Reconciliation has been a basis for our relations with Poland for decades. We are grateful to Polish people who outstretched their hands to us, starting from the Polish bishops' letter of 1965' (Nikel 2018).

2. IMPLEMENTATION, SUCCESSES AND FAILURES ON THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND GERMANY

Democratic Poland and reunited Germany became sovereign states and, at the same time, direct neighbours. The political system differences and ideological barriers in Polish-German relations disappeared. The problem of borders and national minorities lost former significance, especially after Poland's accession to the European Union, which was backed by the FRG. Obviously, to tell the truth, it is necessary to mention that Poland failed to negotiate the national minority status for over one million Poles living in Germany at the time although the German government had managed to negotiate one for half a million Germans living in Poland.

However, we have to remember that signing the Frontier Treaty and the Treaty of Good Neighbourship Relations required that both states arrive at a difficult compromise for more important reasons. Summing up, regardless of certain shortages in the second treaty, signing them was a milestone in the history of Polish-German relations. Thanks to them, the relations entered a new phase covering other spheres in the years to come, and cooperation in economic, cross-border, scientific, cultural and military fields, and on the international arena developed especially dynamically. Regular consultations of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and meetings of the heads of all more important ministries were very important as they served to determine cooperation details in all the fields by signing successive agreements and contracts. Parliamentary cooperation also developed and backed the governmental contacts. On the other hand, contacts of political parties played a less important role because of the differences in the party systems existing in the two countries. German parties did not have direct partners in Poland. The niche was filled to some extent by foundations associated with the main political parties in Germany, which opened their offices in Poland: the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (CDU), the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (SPD), the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FDP) and the Hanns Seidel Foundation (CSU), maintaining regular contacts with particular formations and parties, and opinion-forming circles in Poland (Cziomer 98: 27–45, Dobraczyński 1996, Tomala 1996a: 77–104, Pflüger, and Lipscher 1994).

After the Frontier Treaty and the Treaty of Good Neighbourship had been signed, regional and cross-border cooperation between Poland and Germany developed dynamically although political contacts between federal states and Polish voivodeships were not too intensive for many reasons, for example, the different character of political and administrative structures in the two countries as well as diverse competences of the executive and the legislative of the two states.

Analysing the political results of Polish-German relations at the turn of the twenty first century, it is necessary to mention the extension of bilateral cooperation towards multilateral cooperation within Polish-German-Danish military contingent or with France within the Weimar Triangle, which accelerated Poland's membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the European Union. The Weimar Triangle became an important instrument serving to include Poland in the stream of European politics and integration of the Third Polish Republic into the Euro-Atlantic structures. It is necessary to draw attention to the Euro-Atlantic direction of Polish-German cooperation especially in the context of Poland's aspirations and striving for accession. Without the support from Germany, which in fact acted as Poland's advocate in accession negotiations with NATO and the European Union, our efforts might have taken more time and our membership might have been obtained on less favourable conditions (Michałowski 2002: 145–147, Sulowski 2002a).

Analysing the effects of Polish-German relations after 1989 and the conclusion of the Treaty of Good Neighbourship, it is necessary to emphasise

their evident intensification in all branches of life. Thanks to that, in 1995 the relations were said to be excellent both in Poland and the FRG. The Polish and German press reported that they aroused hope and served both states and the entire post-communist Europe well. Nothing indicated that they could change when Helmut Kohl left the political scene in Germany and the Social Democratic-Green coalition led by Gerhard Schröder (SPD) formed the government in 1998. It was believed that Schröder would find a common language with the post-communists (Democratic Left Alliance) ruling in Poland at the time and would continue the multilevel Polish-German cooperation. However, it did not happen.

The first programme documents and announcements made by G. Schröder's government did not indicate a change in Germany's foreign policy towards Poland, the United States or Russia, which Polish politicians were afraid of. Everything suggested that Chancellor Helmut Kohl's policy would be continued. A broad coalition agreement of 20 October 1998 mainly focused on social and economic issues and did not pay much attention to foreign policy. The part entitled Good Neighbourhood and Historic Responsibility first of all made reference to the relations with France and then Poland, the Czech Republic and Israel, and Russia was mentioned together with Ukraine: 'The new Federal Government shall continue to develop (...) good relations with Russia and Ukraine. It shall aim to ensure stability in the area by supporting democratic, social and economic reforms' (Aufbruch, and Erneuerung 1998, Tomczak 2006: 15-30). On the other hand, in the government declaration presented in the Bundestag on 10 November 1998, Chancellor G. Schröder focused on relations with the United States, also spoke about relations with France, the UK and Poland, but did not mention Russia at all³.

Initially, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's government outright ostentatiously emphasised that it was going to continue Helmut Kohl's bilateral and multilateral foreign policy. At the same time, it opted for bigger pragmatism in Germany's foreign policy aimed at strengthening the position and sovereign role of the FRG on the global political arena. However, the situation changed in 2002 with the US attack on Iraq. A new debate on the principles and directions of Germany's foreign policy started in the FRG. The debate became one of the main elements of the Bundestag electoral campaign scheduled for 22 September 2002. The SPD/Green coalition objections and Chancellor Schröder's anti-American rhetoric activated the debate over the

³ Regierungserklärung des Bundeskanzlers vor dem Deutschen Bundestag. *Bulletin, Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung 1998* 74.

continuation and changes in Germany's foreign policy. It was considered whether, in the face of clearly colder relations with the United States, one could already speak of abandoning the Atlantic political direction adopted by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in the 1950s. There was also a rise of concern about the fact that Schröder decided to focus on the development of relations with France and Russia, which disturbed well developing relations with many European Union Member States, especially those that decided to back the American intervention in Iraq, including Poland (Malinowski 2004: 10–14, Kosman 2013: 398–402, Miszczak 2005: 79–109).

It should be remembered that for Poland the period 1998–2003 was the time of the accession dialogue determining the EU membership conditions and the first years of our NATO membership (since 12 March 1999). Our membership of NATO, obtained thanks to the support from the FRG, contributed to the increase in Poland's security and the perception of it as a stable country. On the other hand, the conditions of Poland's membership of the EU were laid down in the accession treaty concluded on 16 April 2003. After the accession referendum on 7–8 June 2003, on 1 May 2004 Poland became a EU member. This way, thanks to Germany's active support, the main objective of Poland's foreign policy after regaining sovereignty in 1989, i.e. joining the Euro-Atlantic institutions: NATO and the European Union, was fulfilled (Ciesielska-Klikowska 2015: 25, Miszczak 2005: 79–109).

From the period of 2002–2003, there was a clear turn in the FRG's foreign policy and, thus, its continuity was brought to a halt in comparison to the period of 1990–1998. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder justified it saying that the FRG was a normal state, i.e. a state, which finished the stage of evaluating the past and, as a result, should implement an independent policy following the German *raison d'être*. He often repeated that, similarly to the neighbours, Germany had its 'reasonably understood national interests' and that 'Germany's policy should be a policy of its own recognised interests', and that 'one's own interests should not be denied, they should be articulated' (Miszczak 2005: 87–88).

Schröder's turn in international policy triggered anxiety in Germany and all over the world, also in Poland. There were concerns that reunified Germany was ready to negate the post-war policy and again become a threat to Europe's peace and security (Kiwerska, and Tomczak 2011: 24–25, Miszczak 2012: 117–291, Erler 2009). The Federation of Expellees (*Bund der Vertriebenen* »BdV«) representatives and its new leader, Erika Steinbach, heated the atmosphere making statements demanding compensation for German nationals forcibly expelled from the territory of Pomerania, East Prussia, Silesia and the Sudetes, as well as awarding them the right to return to their former real estates (Ciesielska-Klikowska 2015: 54–56, Wolff-Powęska 2004: 5–12).

The change in the FRG's foreign policy under the leadership of Chancellor G. Schröeder did not remain without influence on Polish-German relations in the period 2003–2005, when their continuity was also interrupted compared to those at the time of Helmut Kohl's chancellorship. Apart from the international situation, the situation in both countries undoubtedly had impact on Polish-German relations. Poland's attempts to fulfil the conditions laid down by the European Union and the transformation and adjustment of Eastern Germany (the former GDR) to Western Germany certainly did not facilitate mutual contacts. The prospects for Poland's accession and then membership of NATO and the European Union were undoubtedly conducive to mutual relations but dissonance was not avoided here either, and the FRG was responsible for that (Koszel 2008, Holzer, and Fiszer 2001).

The 60th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II was one of the most important events in Polish-German relations during Schröder's chancellorship. The FRG's President and Chancellor paid a visit to Poland in 1999 to take part in the celebrations. This was the first time in history when this type of event was celebrated together. A year later, we celebrated the millennium of Polish-German neighbourhood. During inter-governmental consultations in April 2000, both governments kept saying that Polish-German relations were as good as never before. The 10th anniversary of signing the Frontier Treaty of 14 November 1990 and the 30th anniversary of the Frontier Treaty between the FRG and Poland of 7 December 1970 took place in 2000. Visiting Poland on this occasion, Gerhard Schröder guaranteed that during the approaching summit in Nice, Germany would approve of such solutions that would facilitate Poland's accession to the European Union (Brőssler 2003: 43, Stolarczyk 2010: 13-15). It was a significant promise to Poland because in the course of the accession negotiations in the period from 1998 to 13 December 2002, the Polish party faced many difficulties, which often originated from the FRG's uncompromising stand. For example, as far as the issue of free movement of people was concerned, Schröder's government wanted to protect the domestic labour market and was for the introduction of the longest possible transition period for Polish workers, which was finally agreed to last seven years. Agriculture was another controversial area in Poland's accession negotiations, on which Germany had big influence. At the beginning of the negotiations concerning this area, the FRG was against awarding whatever subsidies to farmers from the new Member States. Eventually, during the last phase of the accession negotiations in Copenhagen in December 2002, an agreement was reached that there would be rising funds for subsidies for Polish farmers from the European Union common budget. At the beginning it was 25 to 35% of resources that farmers from the pre-2004 Member States were entitled to. But the level could be raised to 65% (Lorkowski, and Ostrzyniewska 2004: 282–285, Stolarczyk 2010a: 522).

The agreement between the governments of Poland and the FRG on compensation for workers forced to work for the Third Reich during World War II was a very important issue solved at that time. Unlike Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government, Gerhard Schröder's government distanced itself from German expellees' restitution claims addressed to Poland and agreed to definitely solve the painful problem. In mid-2000 the German Bundestag established the Foundation 'Remembrance, Responsibility and Future' (EVZ), which was to distribute funds provided by the German government to partner organisations. The two governments agreed what sums would be paid to the victims and people forced to work, not only those from Poland but also from other states. The total fund accounted for DM 10 billion, of which Poland was awarded DM 1,812 billion (Stolarczyk 2010: 522).

In the context of continuity and changes in Polish-German relations, the dispute concerning the war in Iraq at the turn of 2003 played the most important role. From the very beginning of the crisis concerning Iraq, the German government's stand was totally different from the Polish stand. France, Russia and China supported Germany (Varwick 2003: 257, Szabo 2006).

In the meantime, on 31 January 2003, Prime Minister Leszek Miller signed the famous letter of the eight, which in some sense was a Polish declaration of solidarity with the United States in the Iraqi conflict. Poland, the member of NATO since 1999, wanted to show the world and the American ally in particular that it was a responsible and loyal partner. Apart from Poland, also the UK, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Hungary, Spain and the Czech Republic signed the letter. It caused consternation in the states that were against the United States' war in Iraq. The German press reported that it divided the European Union and led to the isolation of Germany on the international arena (Szubert 2003: 156–158). Miller's government made a gaffe, failing to inform the German party about its decision, to which it was obliged in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of 17 June 1991, which envisaged 'consultations in order to agree on their stand in international matters' (Tomala 2004b: 123–124, Michałowski 2004a: 132–135).

The fact that Poland and Germany found themselves on two sides of the conflict between Iraq and the United States had a negative impact on Polish-German relations. Germany believed that Poland showed ingratitude to its Western neighbour and strived to play a superpower role. In Poland, on the other hand, Germany's stand on the intervention in Iraq was assessed as a betrayal of Trans-Atlantic interests. The FRG was accused of having superpower ambitions and returning to the so-called 'special German way' on the international arena. None of the parties was able to understand its neighbour's attitude. The political dialogue deteriorated and this influenced Polish-German relations in the European Union. Poland could not rely on Germany's support in many areas. It was especially evident during the talks on the constitutional Treaty on the European Union. Mainly because of Germany's stand, the Treaty contains many provisions that are disadvantageous for Poland, especially in comparison to the Treaty of Nice signed on 26 February 2001 (Chyliński 2012: 204–205, Stolarczyk 2010a: 500–501).

Until the end of Gerhard Schröder's chancellorship, the German party did not change the policy towards Poland, which resulted in far-reaching stagnation in Polish-German political relations. The Polish side was irritated by the disrespectful attitude of Chancellor Schröder's government to Polish concerns about close cooperation between the FRG and Russia. On the other hand, the German side seemed to completely misunderstand Polish concerns and often expressed malicious counter-arguments. Maybe, the Polish party treated German-Russian rapprochement too emotionally. Undoubtedly, history and the syndrome of German-Russian cooperation without Poland's knowledge, which used to have a tragic end for our country, i.e. resulted in partitions of Poland, was also a reason (Cziomer 2005a: 256–257, Guział 2006: 31–47, Fiszer 2016b: 11–34).

In the period 1998–2005, however, economic and trade cooperation between Poland and Germany developed successfully. Two stages of it can be distinguished: 1998–2003 and 2004–2005, i.e. before and after Poland's accession to the European Union, which Chancellor Schröder's government supported, as I mentioned earlier. With respect to this, we observed continuity in Polish-German relations. At that time, trade exchange between our countries was systematically growing exceeding USD 40 billion in the year of Poland's accession to the EU (2004). German direct investments were growing year by year, which proved that Poland was an attractive country for German investors. Cross-border regions and Euroregions established there, inter alia, the Spree-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion and the Pro Europa Viadrina Euroregion, played an important role in Polish-German trade exchange. The development of cross-border cooperation considerably accelerated Polish economy integration into the European Union economy (Brocka-Palacz 2006: 16–19, Kasperska-Sporek 2004: 253).

In Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's era, cultural relations and military cooperation between Poland and Germany developed quite well. As far as this is concerned, it was continued rather than changed. Chancellor Schröder founded the Willy Brandt Centre at the University of Wrocław in Poland, which is still operating. The 2005 Polish-German Year was undoubtedly one of the most important cultural events at the time of Schröder's government. The event was a nice feature finishing mutual relations in the period of Schröder's chancellorship.

Many researchers and experts believe that the period 1998-2005 was a very difficult time for Polish-German relations and that the era of Gerhard Schröder's chancellorship brought the process of building the 'Polish-German union of interests' to a halt. I believe that the opinions are too far-reaching. In my opinion, many significant differences in the aims and tasks of the two states' foreign policy and the ways chosen to achieve them were only revealed in the period. But, in spite of everything, in the discussed period the political dialogue continued between the two states, also within the Weimar Triangle. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's government supported Poland's striving for membership of NATO and the European Union, without which it would be very difficult for Poland to achieve those objectives so strategic for our foreign policy. The differences, in my opinion, mainly concerned Poland's and the FRG's interests and aims pursued within the Euro-Atlantic system and principles of its functioning (Cziomer 2005a: 252–260, Lipowicz 2005). Despite these differences, it was at the time of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's government when Poland joined NATO and the EU. This strengthened our position in Europe and in the world. At the same time, for the first time in the history of Poland and Germany, we became allies and were on the same side of the barricade, i.e. in the same block of democratic and sovereign states.

After the successive snap election to the Bundestag in 2005, which Gerhard Schröder lost, Angela Merkel, who comes from East Germany and knows the taste of life in the communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, became Chancellor of the FRG (Stępin 2014). Jadwiga Kiwerska emphasises that: 'Angela Merkel was a new type of a political leader in Germany. She represented the third post-war generation that was not emotionally bound up with pro-Americanism of the 50s and 60s like Kohl's generation and was not shaped by emotions of 1968, including strong anti-Americanism as in the case of Schröder and Fischer. (...) Convinced that the improvement of relations

with the USA lies in the interest of Germany, she was ready to act to improve it. She understood that it would serve to strengthen the Trans-Atlantic system, which is a key element of the international order. But first of all she wanted to contribute to a change of anti-American moods in Germany' (Kiwerska 2001: 242). One of her biographers writes that she has some features of the Sphinx. She is impenetrable, she says very little about her past and she does it reluctantly. Her grandfather's Polish roots were her long hidden secret: he changed his surname Kaźmierczak to Kasner in the 1930s. Angela Merkel triggers opposing emotions among Germans and European politicians, and in Poland, where she was voted the most popular foreign politician in 2012 for the fifth time, following the former victories in 2006, 2007, 2010 and 2011 (Kiwerska 2001: 9, Wieliński 2013a: 11–17).

The government that Angela Merkel formed in 2005, the so-called great coalition of CDU/CSU–SPD, made a successful attempt to readopt Adenauer's principles in Germany's foreign policy: the Atlantic orientation and abandonment of choice between Washington and Paris. Angela Merkel's chancellorship was also conducive to the depersonalisation of Moscow-Berlin relations, which resulted from Gerhard Schröder's relations with Putin, which went beyond official contacts and have been maintained up to now. It was during Schröder's chancellorship that the relations between Berlin and Moscow were described as strategic ones (Guział 2006: 31–47).

In general, Angela Merkel managed to overcome the most painful effects of moves of Schröder's government, inter alia to re-establish allies' trust in Germany and to stop the European policy crisis. Germany regained its position of a reliable and loyal partner of the United States and an active member of the European Union. It became a strong link in the Euro-Atlantic system being a guarantee of Europe's, including Poland's, security (Kiwerska 2001: 230–255, Bowers 2009).

Angela Merkel's government also proclaimed continuity and intensification of cooperation with neighbours, especially Poland. At the same time in Poland, after the parliamentary election won by Law and Justice (PiS) and a failure to form a government with Civic Platform (PO), PiS, the League of Polish Families (LPR) and Self-Defence (Samoobrona) formed a coalition in 2005, which symbolised hard conservative turn in Polish policy. The election of Lech Kaczyński for President of the Republic of Poland consolidated the situation. The German party greeted the new government led by Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz and then Jarosław Kaczyński with clear dislike and disapproval accusing it of radical nationalism, provincialism, contentiousness and egoism not only in contacts with the German neighbour but also with the whole European Union. Misunderstanding, controversies and distrust occurred in both countries. According to Bogdan Koszel: 'Politicians and journalists started speaking about a crisis, regression and "kitsch" in relation to Polish-German reconciliation. The common attainment of neighbourhood worked out with a lot of effort starting in 1989 was more and more often questioned. The right side of the Polish political scene accused Germany of relative treatment of the historical process and crimes committed by national socialists, and "expellees", Erika Steinbach and the Prussian Trust became frequently used catchwords' (Koszel 2008: 5–6).

No sooner had Angela Merkel found a common language with a Polish Prime Minister than Donald Tusk formed a coalition government composed of Civic Platform (PO) and Polish People's Party (PSL) in 2007. The normalisation of seriously impaired relations with Berlin was one of the main aims of Donald Tusk's government. Referring to the relations between Poland and the FRG in his first address, Prime Minister Donald Tusk confirmed the willingness and determination to strengthen strategic partnership with Berlin and said: 'I guarantee that these relations will bring satisfaction to the entire European Union and both partners' (*Expose Premiera* [*Prime Minister's First Speech*] 2007, Koszel 2009: 193–206, Cichocki 2006: 23–25).

Prime Minister Donald Tusk's first address in the Sejm was a signal to Angela Merkel that with the change of power on the Polish political scene, there was also a positive reorientation in Poland's policy towards the FRG. Thanks to that, the moment PO-PLS coalition formed a government, which was in power in Poland in the period 2007–2015, the relations between Berlin and Warsaw returned to the right track with advantages for both states and their nations and the security in entire Europe. Their character was based on partnership and neighbourhood. The situation changed after the presidential and parliamentary elections in Poland in 2015, when PiS won and came to power. Beata Szydło's and Mateusz Morawiecki's governments have returned to the practice of 2005–2007, which hinders good neighbourhood relations between the two states, which have considerably deteriorated over the last two years.

3. PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND GERMANY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE

The present state of Polish-German relations, especially political ones, arouses anxiety on the two banks of the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse, as evidenced by the latest visit of Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki in Berlin on 16 February 2018 and his talks to Chancellor Angela Merkel (Wieliński 2018: 3). Polish and German diplomats straightforwardly say that discussion on many bilateral issues must be started from the beginning. As I wrote in the Introduction, the subjects heavily burdening the present Polish-German relations concern the violation of the rule of law in Poland, of which Germany accuses us, and war reparations, to which Poland returns, the new Baltic Sea gas pipe Nord Stream 2 being prepared by Gazprom, the building of which Germany supports against Poland's stand, and relocation of immigrants, which Germany advocates and the present Polish government is decidedly against (Kublik 2018: 3, Górny 2017).

The stream of immigrants growing continually since the middle of 2015 resulted in a serious migration crisis in the European Union, which the European Commission tried to solve by their relocation (distribution) between the European Union Member States. Polish government decided in July 2015 to receive 5,000 refugees within the EU relocation system. The new Beata Szydło's government withdrew from the agreement and, at the beginning of April 2016 the Sejm adopted a resolution on the state's migration policy, which stipulated that: 'The Sejm of the Republic of Poland expresses a decisive protest against whatever attempts to establish the EU constant mechanisms of allocation of refugees or immigrants. The elements of refuge and immigration policy should remain the competence of the Polish State. It is especially important from the point of view of growing social tensions resulting from excessive waves of migration from the Middle East to Europe'4. At the end of 2016 the Sejm adopted two more detailed resolutions concerning the issue. In the first one adopted at the end of October 2016 MPs recognised the obligation to receive refugees from the EU countries that are under migration pressure, under the threat of financial penalty for each

⁴ Uchwała Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 1 kwietnia 2016 r. w sprawie polityki imigracyjnej Polski. [Resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 1 April 2016 on the immigration policy of Poland.], Monitor Polski 2016, item 370.

refugee refused entry, as violating the principle of subsidiarity (Article 5 [3] Treaty on the European Union)⁵. In the second resolution adopted at the beginning of December 2016, the Sejm maintained its stand as of April 2016 and emphasised that the adoption of a constant mechanism of automatic allocation of refugees constitutes 'the violation of Member States' competence in the field of social security, internal security policy and integration policy, which is laid down in the Treaties'⁶.

According to research findings, from the very beginning Poles have been against the relocation and the tendency has been observed up to now. 53% of the respondents expressed such an opinion in May 2015; the number fell a bit in September as it was 48%; and at the end of 2015, the percentage was higher again and accounted for 64% in December. Such an attitude remained unchanged practically throughout the whole 2016 to reach 67% at the end of the year. In April 2017, almost three quarters of the respondents (74%) were against the relocation and the tendency remained unchanged until autumn 2017. Polish respondents justified their attitude mainly speaking about their concerns about financial costs and a decreased level of security (Górny 2017: 84–87).

What is interesting is the fact that, at the same time (spring 2017), public support for Poland's membership of the European Union was the highest since March 2014 and it reached 88% (only 8% of the respondents were against our country's membership of the European Union). At the same time, the respondents perceived the European integration mainly through

⁵ Uchwała Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 21 października 2016 r. w sprawie uznania projektu rozporządzenia Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady w sprawie ustanowienia kryteriów i mechanizmów ustalania państwa członkowskiego odpowiedzialnego za rozpatrzenie wniosku o udzielenia ochrony międzynarodowej złożonego w jednym z państw członkowskich przez obywatela państwa trzeciego lub bezpaństwowca za niezgodny z zasadą pomocniczości. [Resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 21 October 2016 on the recognition of a draft Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person as incompatible with the principle of subsidiarity.] .Monitor Polski 2016, item 1070.

⁶ Uchwala Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 grudnia 2016 r. w sprawie propozycji ustanowienia unijnego korekcyjnego mechanizmu alokacji uchodźców oraz mechanizmu solidarności finansowej. [Resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 2 December 2016 on the proposal to establish an EU corrective mechanism for the allocation of refugees and the mechanism of financial solidarity.] Monitor Polski 2016, item 1183.

the prism of ensuring security to the Member States by way of combating terrorism, protecting borders and defence policy (CBOS 2015: 2, 14–15).

At present, European media reports are very critical about the Polish government. Most Germans do not perceive the present Polish government as a reliable partner in the European Union. Answering the question whether the present Polish government is still a reliable partner to the European Union if one takes into consideration the growing differences in the opinions about the admission of refugees, the future of Europe or the European values, as many as 56% of the respondents say NO, and only 27% say YES. As far as Poles' opinions are concerned, only 44% of the respondents say YES, and 32% say NO. Statistically, most often managerial staff and company owners are convinced that the present Polish government is still a reliable partner to Germany. In Germany, the differences between particular groups do not play an important role, however, young people relatively often do not know the answer to this question. Germans who visit Poland, especially regularly, are more often convinced that the present Polish government is a reliable partner to Germany. Similarly, people whose assessment of the situation in Poland or Polish features of character is higher assess Polish government better, too. Poles as well as Germans who recognise the present Polish government as a reliable partner to the European Union more often than others assess the state of Polish-German relations as good and less often treat the abovediscussed problems as serious in Polish-German relations. Poles and Germans agree that developing relations with a neighbouring state, their state should focus on cooperation and compromise rather than the protection of its own interests. In both countries most of the respondents think so. Polish society is divided in the assessment of which party's economy benefited more from Polish-German relations. The biggest group believes that both countries benefited equally (36%). Only a slightly smaller number of respondents (32%) believe that Germany benefited more. Poles are divided in their opinions on whether Germany treats Poland as an equal partner in the EU. Similarly to former years, the group of people who believe that Germany does it rarely or never (47%) outweighs the group of respondents who believe that it always or often happens (39%). Similarly, many groups of respondents believe that Germany contributes to overcoming the immigration crisis (44%) as well as to its aggravation (39%). Two thirds of Poles do not notice a military threat from Germany. Similarly, there is an opinion that Germany constitutes a political threat to Poland although the percentage of people who share this opinion decreased by 4% (from 61% in 2015 to 57% in 2017) (Łada 2016: 5-6, Łada 2017: 5-6).

However, everything indicates that the migration crisis will have an enormous impact on the international situation in Europe and Polish-German relations. The resulting growing populism and nationalism in Europe as well as in Germany and Poland constitute a threat to the EU and further integration and security in Europe. The leaders of the EU and particular states and European societies will have to struggle with the consequences for many years to come. Far-reaching cooperation and solidarity of all European states, including Poland and Germany, based on friendship and reconciliation may play an important role in overcoming them.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the theory of international relations called the English School, Poland is a perfect example of a peripheral state, i.e. one the position of which is outside the core of the international community. Today, Poland also appears to be a culturally ambivalent country, the identity of which is based on Eastern as well as Western threads. At the same time, culturally, politically and economically, the state declares for the West and assesses its own achievements in comparison to it. Having the features of the Western culture, with the use of rhetoric, Poland is trying to show that it is its part and that the West needs it. Defining itself in comparison to 'the worse others', whose role in relation to Poland is played by Russia and other eastern neighbours: Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine, serves this positive attitude. Russia is used mainly to present our own achievements in a positive light, to prove that Poland is a Western European state. Other Eastern neighbours serve as a specific camouflage: Poland adopts a paternalistic attitude towards them, which is typical of a former colonial empire, and persuades them to follow the same way of development and get closer to the West. At the same time, on the European Union or NATO arena, the East serves Poland to show its important role of a Western ambassador to the East and an Eastern ambassador to the West. Because of its unclear (Eastern-Western) cultural situation, Poland tries to play the role of an intermediary necessary to both sides to create and maintain relations with each other. Sociological research conducted in Poland and in the West confirms this type of objective diagnosis. It shows that Poland demonstrates attitudes that are not understood in Western cultures, e.g. attachment to tradition, cultivation of history, patriotism interpreted as nationalism, resentment and devotion to family values and Christian religion, and in recent years also rejection of liberal

values and migrants by the government formed by Law and Justice. These features compose the representation of Poland in the West, which classifies it as a peripheral state (Grzymski 2016, Wierzbicki 2009, Lewandowski 2008).

At the same time, the history of Poland shows that we have always had problems with establishing our relations with the West and the East, especially our direct neighbours, i.e. Russia and Germany. For Russia, in its international policy, we have always been the 'far' West, and for Germany, the 'far' East. Poland was a too weak peripheral country in Europe and that is why it was exposed to the loss of independence and sovereignty, which it actually lost after the third partition for 123 years and after World War II for 45 years. Only the collapse of communism in Poland in 1989, the reunification of Germany in 1990 and the collapse of the USSR in 1991 opened the way to the normalisation of sovereign Poland's relations with its neighbours, including Russia and Germany. Only then, Poland was able to decide about its foreign policy, national and international security and find a place in the post-communist and democratic Europe on its own. Polish road to freedom and Europe was long and tortuous because, regardless of some promises, the West imposed many difficult conditions, the fulfilment of which was a requirement for our membership of the Euro-Atlantic structures, i.e. NATO and the European Union. The Russian Federation also opposed it because Poland was to remain within the domain of its influence. For Poland, Russia was the most important partner and a threat existing in the East. However, at the same time, for the Russian Federation, Poland was not a priority in its foreign policy. In Russia, there was a dominant tendency to omit or disregard the importance of Poland's position in Europe (Szkop 2012: 30-33, Przybyła 2013: 67-89, Jakimowicz 2000, Kozhemiakin, and Kanet 1997: 35-36).

Poland's admission to NATO and the European Union, against some forecasts, has not resulted in better relations with Russia. Despite hopes for a reset and opening of a new stage, there has been no 'farewell to distrust' in Polish-Russian relation. Polish-Russian relations are still in a deep crisis. Therefore, Poland should take care of its good neighbourhood relations with Germany, which is its ally in NATO, and a partner in the European Union. This is the only way to avoid the new Rapallo and Russian-German treaty similar to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 1939, which led to World War II.

One can imagine what would happen with Poland and its security if we did not belong to NATO and the European Union, the most important links in the Euro-Atlantic system, which today, regardless of many difficulties, is still a guarantee of security in Europe and in the world. It also constitutes a foundation of development of versatile cooperation between Poland and Germany. The European Union and NATO, in order to increase efficiency of functioning of the the Euro-Atlantic system, as well as Poland and Germany must intensify their cooperation and as quickly as possible overcome a series of internal and international problems which impair their mutual relations and endanger our security and peace in Europe. It is necessary to climb to a higher level of mutual relations, i.e. to develop a mature and pragmatic state of partnership between Poland and Germany will more than ever before take into consideration interests and needs of Poles, especially within the European Union and NATO, and those in Poland will consistently continue to implement the message and system of values of the Treaty of Good Neighbourship.

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THE TREATY OF GOOD NEIGHBOURSHIP

AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION OF 17 JUNE 1991 BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: ORIGIN, AIMS AND IMPLEMENTATION. SUCCESSES, FAILURES AND PROSPECTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE

Summary

The aim of the article is to present the origin of the Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation of 17 June 1991 and its significance for the process of reconciliation and development of versatile cooperation between Poland and Germany in the context of the present migration crisis in Europe. The author formulates a few interesting theses and tries to answer many questions concerning Polish-German relations in the period 1989–2018 and their conditions and prospects. Over the last two years, Polish-German relations, especially political ones, have considerably deteriorated. The international situation in Europe has also become more complicated. One of the reasons of the situation is the immigration crisis resulting from a massive influx of people from the Middle East and North Africa. The immigration crisis has divided the European Union and has affected relations between its Member States, including Polish-German relations.

Key words: Treaties, Poland, Germany, reconciliation, cooperation

TRAKTAT O DOBRYM SĄSIEDZTWIE I PRZYJAZNEJ WSPÓŁPRACY Z 17 CZERWCA 1991 R. MIĘDZY RZECZĄPOSPOLITĄ POLSKĄ A REPUBLIKĄ FEDERALNĄ NIEMIEC: GENEZA, CELE I REALIZACJA. SUKCESY, PORAŻKI I PERSPEKTYWY W KONTEKŚCIE KRYZYSU MIGRACYJNEGO W EUROPIE

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie genezy polsko-niemieckiego Traktatu o dobrym sąsiedztwie i przyjaznej współpracy z 17 czerwca 1991 r. oraz jego znaczenia dla procesu pojednania i rozwoju wszechstronnej współpracy między Polską a Niemcami w kontekście obecnego kryzysu migracyjnego w Europie. Autor formułuje kilka interesujących tez i próbuje odpowiedzieć na wiele pytań dotyczących stosunków polsko-niemieckich w okresie 1989–2018 oraz ich uwarunkowań i perspektyw. W ciągu ostatnich dwóch lat stosunki polskoniemieckie, zwłaszcza polityczne, uległy znacznemu pogorszeniu. Sytuacja międzynarodowa w Europie stała się również bardziej skomplikowana. Jednym z powodów tej sytuacji jest kryzys imigracyjny spowodowany masowym napływem ludności z krajów Bliskiego Wschodu i Afryki Północnej. Kryzys imigracyjny podzielił Unię Europejską i wpłynął na stosunki między jej państwami członkowskimi, w tym stosunki polsko-niemieckie.

Słowa kluczowe: Traktaty, Polska, Niemcy, pojednanie, współpraca

Договор о добрососедстве и дружественном сотрудничестве от 17 июня 1991 г. между Республикой Польша и Федеративной Республикой Германии: генезис, цели и реализация. Успехи, неудачи и перспективы в контексте миграционного кризиса в Европе

Резюме

Целью статьи является представление генезиса польско-германского договора о добрососедстве и дружественном сотрудничестве от 17 июня 1991 года и его значение для процесса примирения и развития всестороннего сотрудничества между Польшей и Германией в контексте нынешнего миграционного кризиса в Европе. Авторы сформулировали несколько любо-

пытных тезисов и предпринял попытку найти ответы на многие вопросы, касающиеся польско-германских отношений в 1989–2018 годах, а также их условий и перспектив. На протяжении последних двух лет польско-германские отношения, прежде всего в области политики, значительно ухудшились. Осложнилась и международная ситуация в Европе. Одной из причин сложившейся ситуации является миграционный кризис, вызванный массовым притоком людей из стран Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки. Миграционный кризис поделил Европейский союз и повлиял на взаимоотношения ее государств-членов, в том числе на польско-германские отношения.

Ключевые слова: Договоры, Польша, Германия, примирение, сотрудничество

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