

Przegląd Zachodni nr 3,2020

Marek Białokur

Keywords: The Greater Poland uprising of 1918-1919, Paris Peace Conference, The Second Polish Republic, methodology of history didactics, history school textbooks

In the opinion of the vast majority of historians, school history education is extremely important. They emphasize that it plays a key role not only from the point of view of shaping the knowledge of young people about the past, but also in defining the historical awareness of the whole society, because often what students learn at school determines their lifelong knowledge of many historical issues. Unfortunately, the awareness of these obvious statements does not go hand in hand with respect for the achievements of history didactics. As a scientific discipline, history didactics undertakes as one of its most important research areas the analysis of school history textbooks which are still the basic sources of students' knowledge about the past, besides the history teacher and the Internet.

Bearing the above conclusions in mind, the author of the article decided to analyze approximately a dozen of the most popular history textbooks for secondary and upper secondary schools, which Polish youth used at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, with a focus on how they present the political and military battle to incorporate Greater Poland into Poland in 1918-1919. The article uses mainly the philological and comparative methods. By isolating the main themes of the Greater Poland Uprising and selected themes of the Paris Peace Conference from the textbooks, it was shown that these issues received in the analyzed textbooks attention adequate to their importance and occupied as much space as required by the curriculum frameworks for history teaching in the 1990s and the core curricula in operation since the beginning of the present century. This is due to the fact that practically all the analyzed textbooks contain, along with a short commentary and sometimes also a didactic review, the basic facts about the circumstances of the outbreak, course and significance of the Greater Poland Uprising.

The analysis clearly shows that the history textbooks used by young people in the 1990s were definitely more accurate, but were also characterized by a more interesting narrative.

Unfortunately, in the case of all the analyzed textbooks, their didactic structure was a relatively weak point.

Dariusz Jeziorny

Keywords: British diplomacy, League of Nations, collective security

In the first months of 1936 Great Britain lost both its prestige in the international arena (unsuccessful measures undertaken in response to Italian aggression in Abyssinia) as well as real guarantees of security (remilitarization of the Rhineland, which was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Treaties). No wonder then that the government of Stanley Baldwin endeavored to take over initiative and in March 1936 declared willingness to reform the League of Nations and the entire system of collective security.

The article answers the following questions: Who in the British government presented London's proposals in this context? How did London intend to implement them? To what extent did British diplomacy plan to act as leader in the process of working out the reform of the League of Nations?

Anthony Eden's address at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations on 25th September 1936 supplied answers to the above questions. It communicated the attitude of British diplomacy to the League of Nations and the idea of collective security. However, many observers found the address bland and signaling British passivity.

The article explains why the head of British diplomacy presented such wishy-washy proposals. The basic research method was analysis of the documents of the British government and Foreign Office.

Juliusz Jędrzejczak

Keywords: Kazimierz Papée (1889-1979), Free City of Danzig, Hermann Rauschning (1887-1982), Polish diplomats, history of diplomacy

The aim of the article was to examine the diplomatic activity of the Polish diplomat Kazimierz Papée (1889-1979) in the Free City of Danzig in the years 1933-1934. The author focused on Papée's relations with Hermann Rauschning, the President of the Free City of

Danzig Senate, taking into account the accompanying circumstances. The historical sources utilised and analysed in this study are, in large part, unknown reports prepared by Papée, which he sent to Warsaw.

Papée was the General Commissioner of the Republic of Poland in the Free City of Danzig from 1932 to 1936. He sought to preserve the Polish rights in Danzig. His term in office coincided also with the presidency of Rauschning, who was the first politician associated with the Nazi Party at the post of President of the Danzig Senate. Both Papée and Rauschning fulfilled their duties in circumstances of subordination of the Polish-Danzig relations to relations between Warsaw and Berlin. Each of them had his own vision of how relations between Poland and the Free City should be shaped. Rauschning was remembered as a politician who sought to reach a settlement with Poland. That being so, the question arises how Papée managed to cope, given the then current conditions, and what particular courses of action were taken by him in contacts with the President of the Danzig Senate.

Another issue related to the research is an assessment of the consequences of these contacts. Such an appraisal had to be made in the light of the paramount principle of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was the maintenance of good Polish-German relations.

Magdalena Karolak-Michalska

Keywords: ethnopolitical management, socioeconomic structure, Eastern Europe, the post-Soviet area, ethno-politics

The aim of this article is to analyze the diverse socio-economic structure in the Eastern European countries and its impact on ethnopolitical management. The thematic-ethical scope of the research concerns the territorial-temporal space comprising an independent Belarus, Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

The author investigates this issue by seeking to answer two main research questions: 1) What are the main conditions for the presence and participation of minorities in the socio-economic structure of Eastern European countries? 2) How does the diverse socio-economic structure in multi-ethnic societies translate into ethnopolitical governance?

The realization of the above objective is based on the application of a catalogue of research methods, including mainly the following: system analysis, a comparative method, the

historical method; the behavioural method, the ethnodemographic method. In the concluding remarks the author states that the possible "omission" by the governments in the subregion of the determinants of ethnopolitical management, i.e. the diverse socioeconomic structure of multi-ethnic societies, is conducive to the ineffectiveness of ethno-politics and facilitates the emergence of ethnic tensions and conflicts, thus threatening the security of individual states and, consequently, the subregion as a whole.

Jadwiga Kiwerska

Keywords: Th.W. Wilson, Paris Peace Conference, Versailles Order, American mission, League of Nations, disarmament, reintegration of Germany, sovereignty of nations

The article discusses the participation of the United States and personally President Th.W. Wilson in the shaping of the new order in Europe after World War I.

By analyzing the source material and referring to the literature of the subject the author attempted to answer the question: Which elements of the then current American conception of international relations were implemented in the hammering out of the Versailles Order and which were rejected and why?

Assuming that some of the conceptions survived, even those which were not realized at the time, the forms of their continuation are described. The author attempts to demonstrate that being active on the international arena and performing the role of a world leader, the US has repeatedly drawn on the idea of Wilsonism, often treating it as a justification of controversial actions motivated by America's particular interest. On the other hand, much of President Wilson's vision permanently entered international relations becoming a valuable legacy of his involvement with the peace conference.

Tomasz Klin

Keywords: Central and Eastern Europe; global international order; Western Europe; USA; China; Russia

This paper considers Central and Eastern Europe's (CEE) situation as a region in the future global order. The article has been inspired by the declarations of the political leaders of

the Three Seas Initiative to improve their member states' international position. The purpose of the article is to scrutinize conditions and opportunities of improving CEE's position. Internal variables analyzed in the paper include CEE's regional integration, demographic and economic factors and the problematic of nationalism.

External variables are related to four global centers of power: the USA, China, Russia, and Western Europe considered as a relatively well-integrated part of the European Union. The influence of those four centers on CEE results from their relative development, rivalry/cooperation between the centers, as well as ideological factors such as perception of globalisation.

The paper identifies long-term demographic and economic trends, uses methods of historical analogies and interregional comparisons, and considers the consequences of global polarity on CEE.

Wawrzyniec Konarski

Keywords: Irish Republican Army, fight for independence, Great Britain, nationalism, republicanism

The name *the Irish Republican Army* (IRA) first appeared in the news on August the 30th, 1919. This is when the sworn armed groups fighting in the Irish War of Independence 1919-1921, first, with the British police forces, and then with the regular army, were given that name. The organisation of the IRA of that time can be described, as seen from the perspective of the experiences of the 20th century, as an armed partisan structure, and oriented towards the national independence aspect, practically the first such organization in 20th century Europe.

However, a considerable number of British, but also Irish, academics, journalists, and especially politicians, considered the IRA as a terrorist organisation. This statement, however, practically ends any discussion. It means disregarding the individual motivations of the armed Republicans, but, especially, ignoring the political-legal context of the acts of violence. Indeed, it is very difficult to distinguish terror, based on the ideological and political criteria, from the struggle for national liberation *par excellence*. This distinction has no chance of receiving a fully objective interpretation, especially by the politicians. However, the supporters, and/or performers of these actions, always use the ideological arguments, overusing them intentionally.

The substantive coverage of the considerations presented here is characterized by two deliberately selected approaches, namely the chronological and the factual ones. Thus the last one hundred years' epoch remains a background for the proposed narration regarding the facts and events which remain the objects for reflections put forward in the article.

The narration focuses on research issues which refer to the analysis of, successively: 1/ interdependencies of Nationalism and Republicanism in the Irish tradition, 2/ the violence perceived as partisan or terrorist activeness in historical, contemporary, and spatial contexts, 3/ the Irish nation's alterations in chronological perspective, 4/ the author's typology of premises for military resistance and its exemplification.

Mirosław Lakomy, Miron Lakomy

Keywords: RT.com, Russia Today, information warfare, Russia, Donald Trump, presidential elections 2016

This article attempts to understand how the Russia-funded RT television website (RT.com) framed the candidacy of Donald Trump during the U.S. presidential campaign in 2015 and 2016. It aims to find out whether it was really involved in creating an artificial pro-Trump image and supported his cause against Hillary Clinton, as some reports suggest. Its secondary objective is to understand what kind of agenda (including the topics and issues discussed) was adopted by this webpage when referring to this Republican candidate. In order to reach these goals, the study was founded on the concept of agenda-setting and exploited content analysis of the textual layer of RT.com.

This manuscript argues that while the attitude of this website evolved in time, it cannot be confirmed that it was overly biased in favour of Donald Trump. At the same time, however, RT.com was heavily interested in defending his argumentation on the inexistence of the Trump-Putin "bromance" and the lack of the "Russian factor" in the American elections. Moreover, it featured multiple pieces of news which provided a negative image of the U.S. democratic processes through the association of the 2016 presidential campaign with scandals, violence, extremism and crimes.

Magdalena Lorenc

Keywords: Joseph Stalin Museum, Stalinist museum, Gori, commemorative museum, politicality of the museum, political topography method

The aim of the paper is to critically reflect on the Joseph Stalin Museum in Gori. The basic question is: what non-spatial values does the Museum evoke? Or, reversing the perspective: how do certain spatial values construct and perpetuate the non-spatial values of this ideologized commemorative premise? In order to answer them, the author prepared in situ photographic documentation during her field study and then compared it with the photos available on the Internet.

In order to research the collected empirical material, the author attempted to create her own qualitative method, which she called the political topography method (TPM). The research procedure in which it is used involves four steps and, after the selection of the empirical material, includes: acquisition, analysis and interpretation of data from unwritten sources.

The theoretical framework of the study consisted of three conceptions: Michel Foucault's power/knowledge, Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic violence and Yi-Fu Tuan's relations in space. Combining them, it was possible to demonstrate that the spatial solutions used in the museum in Gori serve the apotheosis of Stalin as the winner of the Great Patriotic War. It is a synthesis of practices typical for a museum, funeral and commemoration. The paramount example of this approach is to be found on the upper floor of the museum which constitutes the most important part of the exposition, namely a hall-mausoleum with a posthumous mask of the dictator.

It imparts a sacred character to the entire museum complex. This is a reality petrified from times preceding the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at which Khrushchev denounced the disastrous effects of the cult of the individual.

Pawel Malendowicz

Keywords: state phobia, radicalism, political thought, anarchism

State phobia is aversion to the state, stemming from fear of the state. In the article, aversion to the state is analyzed in two dimensions: substantialist and accidentalist.

Substantialist criticism relies on perceiving essential evil in the criticized phenomenon, which is embedded in the nature of the phenomenon as such. Accidental aversion refers to accidental and unnecessary defects; it has an occasional nature.

The subject matter of the paper is substantialist state phobia in contemporary political thought. The following concepts were analyzed: anarcho-capitalism, national anarchism, tribalism, primitivism and anarcho-transhumanism. The purpose of the paper is to identify arguments addressed against the state, as well as to analyze determinants of state phobia in selected currents of political thought. The hypothesis is an assumption that substantialist state phobia is determined by the process of maximizing the idea of freedom in political thought, which generates aversion or hostility towards the state.

In order to verify the research hypothesis, the author analyzed source texts (ideological, program, propaganda and journalistic texts) of the above-listed political movements, their leaders and acolytes. The political thought under discussion may perform both constructive and destructive functions with respect to a democratic state. As a result of the analysis, the hypothesis was partially confirmed.

Andrzej Podraza

Keywords: foreign policy, the United States, Wilsonianism, democracy promotion, multilateralism

The main goal of the article is to analyse continuity and change in American foreign policy with a particular emphasis on the concept of President Woodrow Wilson and its impact on the international strategy of the United States during World War II, the beginning of the Cold War and after it. The article puts forward the thesis that the concept of Woodrow Wilson was not created in a vacuum and although it brought to an end the era based on the Farewell Address of President George Washington's from 1796, it fits very well in the tradition of thinking about the American nation and its mission, as well as with other elements that form the basis of the U.S. international activities.

Wilsonianism, understood as liberal internationalism, has been a very influential concept in the development of American foreign policy for decades and contributed during World War II to the rise of the American era in international politics. Due to the transformation

of the global order after the end of the Cold War and in view of the presidency of Donald Trump, the question of the end of the American century may be considered.

In analysing the U.S. foreign policy, the author takes into account both the liberal theory, referred to by Woodrow Wilson, as well as realism that can be associated with Wilson's predecessor, President Theodor Roosevelt.

Marek Rewizorski

Keywords: The League of Nations, international trade order, the most favored nation clause, protectionism, historical institutionalism

The purpose of this article as a contribution to the narrative of search for sectoral legacy of the League of Nations, is to trace change and continuity of the international trade order from the perspective of historical institutionalism.

The starting point of the study is a rejection of a widely accepted assumption, according to which this order was shaped after World War II in the aftermath of the so-called critical moment, i.e. an exogenous decision or event, that interrupts relatively long periods of stability and sets institutions on a specific path of development. Instead of looking for "critical moments" the author of the article suggests an alternative explanation of institutional change.

Referring to the events and decisions of 1925-1929, including the provisions of the international economic conference in Geneva (1927), and taking into account the agency of the League of Nations, he argues that the foundations of the post-war trade order and the pattern of institutional development resulted from gradual institutional changes (incrementalism) determined by endogenous phenomena and factors.

Kinga Smoleń

Keywords: Kurds, hybrid war in Syria, Middle East, status of the Kurds in the Middle East

The aim of this article is to analyze the impact of hybrid war in Syria on the status of the Kurds in the Middle East. To begin with, the Syrian War constitutes an independent variable of the Kurds' position within the scope of this analysis. The ongoing warfare is considered as a

determining variable due to several factors, including the changing approach of Bashar al-Assad's regime towards the Kurdish minority, the role of third parties implicated in the conflict, in particular Iran, Turkey and the US, as well as the geopolitical influence of the Islamic State's aggression in Syria. Secondly, the article attempts to "gauge" or determine the status of the Kurds in the Middle East resulting from the abovementioned phenomena. Thirdly, in the context of the previous point, it is relevant to demonstrate the actions taken by the Kurds themselves in terms of their plans and objectives, their success against jihadists, and their relations with important local players and with the US.

The following research questions are formulated in the course of the presented considerations: has the status of the Kurds in the region improved as a result of the ongoing warfare in Syria and have they eventually become a noteworthy actor in the conflict, or rather, have they been marginalized, with the problem of Kurdish autonomy in Syria deemed no longer relevant? Does the war in Syria imply the position of the Kurds in the Middle East, and is it significantly influenced by the rivalry of regional and extra-regional powers?

The article investigates two research hypotheses. 1) The international position of the Kurds is significantly influenced by the involvement of regional powers as well as the United States and Russia in a hybrid war in Syria, which should be considered a manifestation of their geopolitical rivalry in the Middle East. 2) The involvement of the Kurds in combat against fighters from the so-called Islamic State caused a short-term increase in the international position of this minority. In the long term, the fight between Kurds and jihadists was instrumentally treated by the main "players" in the region as well as the United States and Russia and related to the implementation of their geopolitical interests.