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CULTURAL COOPERATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS (1990-2010)

The cultural exchange and cooperation between Poland and Germany has for years been a kind of phenomenon in Polish-German relations because of its richness, scope, variety and intensity. Also in the last two decades it was realized on many levels including governmental, national, community, regional and institutional cooperation.

The political and ideological changes in Poland, and in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s resulted also in a change of the conditions for foreign cultural policy, as well as for the realia of cultural cooperation between Poland and other countries in Europe and in the world, including also the Federal Republic of Germany. This has significantly increased the possibility for Polish culture to enter a wider circulation of international exchange. Finally, the political and ideological barriers which were holding back the flow into Poland of the cultural values from other countries, as well as the creative output of Polish authors living in immigration, disappeared. The lifting of the regulations restricting the freedom of the development of cultural activity opened new possibilities for initiative pertaining to various entities including cultural institutions, local governments, private persons, etc. It was no longer important to meticulously calculate the balance of artistic exchange, which in the past was used to demonstrate the “injustice in cultural relations” as proof that we in Poland translate more German literary works, stage more theatre performances by German authors, or show more films produced in Germany than our partners across the river Oder do with reference to Poland¹. The change of external determinants at the threshold of the 1990s meant that the cultural cooperation between Poland and Germany (and other countries) started to develop on different terms.

¹ K. Krzysztofek, A few suggestions for the speech of Minister I. Cywińska at the conference of ministers for culture of the EEC countries; Ministry for Culture and National Heritage Archives [henceforth MKiDN], General materials, sign. 1511/21.

LEGAL REGULATIONS

Both, the Polish and the German side has always attached (and still attaches) a lot of importance to cultural matters, cooperation and cultural exchange with foreign countries. It has been appreciated that international exchange “facilitates the exchange of ideas and values, mitigates ethnic and religious conflicts, is conducive to political stability, political and economic partnership, and that it helps to implement human rights which form one of the cornerstones of the modern world”².

The cultural exchange between two countries is based, on the one hand, on official treaties and agreements made by the governments and, on the other hand, it is based on bottom-up initiatives, frequently spontaneous ones. It should be underlined that state agreements and treaties are indeed a kind of official declaration and an expression of good will of both states to establish and develop a cultural dialogue. Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that the provisions of a treaty have primarily a symbolic meaning; in themselves they can remain a lifeless wording which can be brought to life only by concrete people who by their concrete actions become the driving force behind the fulfilment of international agreements. The frequency of mutual contacts is to a large extent dependent on the resilience and personal involvement of the partners in a dialogue. However, governmental declarations are of utmost significance because they are proof that governments see the measure of the problem and grant it the status of national importance by official agreements in the form of the provisions of a treaty. These provisions however, mark out only a general frame of cultural cooperation and regulate its scope by giving a green light for taking specific steps towards maintaining the existing bilateral cultural relations and establishing new ones.

The first treaty which laid the foundations for the improvement of the relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany was the treaty between the Polish People’s Republic (PRL) and West Germany concerning the normalization of the relations between both countries signed by Józef Cyrankiewicz and Willy Brandt in Warsaw on 7 December 1970. Both sides then committed themselves, among others, to taking steps aimed at full normalization and comprehensive development of mutual economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other relations. Several years later, on 11 June 1976 the first official agreement concerning cultural cooperation was signed between Warsaw and Bonn³. It marked the beginnings of many bottom-up initiatives taken up on both sides at the level of institutions, cul-

² See “Foreign cultural policy and its priorities”, Archives of MKiDN, Department for International Cooperation [henceforth DFIC], Realization of cultural exchange (notes, reports) 2002-2006, BE 5, sign. 2242/5.

³ Agreement between the government of the Polish People’s Republic and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on cultural cooperation from 11 June 1976.

tural centres, as well as by private persons committed to building mutual understanding between both nations. The agreement provided legal grounds and widened the possibilities to work towards a dialogue between cultures.

However, a significant breakthrough in Polish-German relations, including the cultural ones took place as late as in 1989. In this respect the visit of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl in Poland on 8-14 November 1989 was of huge significance as it resulted in signing several agreements and documents important for the development of Polish-German relations. It was on the basis of the then accepted regulations by the Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl that, among others, “the executive programme for the years 1990-1992” was signed in Warsaw on 16 March 1990. The document was appended to the agreement on cultural cooperation from 1976 and signed by Bolesław Kulski (on behalf of the Polish government) and Barthold Witte (on behalf of the German government)⁴. It included a lot of detailed agreements concerning mutual cooperation regarding: science and higher education institutions, education, partner’s language, training and professional development, institutes of culture and scientific and technological information, culture (including music and theatre, museums, preservation of cultural heritage and the visual arts, books and publishing houses, libraries, artistic schools, amateur artistic movement, film, days and weeks of culture). The document also referred to cooperation between archives, the youth, the press, radio and television, sports exchange and other areas.

The executive programme not only contained a directive for the activities conducted by entities interested in bilateral exchange and cooperation in the area of culture, science and education but it also was later on reflected in the Treaty on Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany signed in Bonn on 17 June 1991, which opened a wider perspective for the development of Polish-German relations. However, the relevant provision concerning cooperation between both countries in the area of culture was very general and basically included only a declaration that both countries are willing to continue and develop bilateral cultural exchange based on the agreements made so far. In article 23 point 1 we read, “The parties to the Treaty in compliance with the existing agreements and programmes will intensify and develop cultural exchange in all areas and at all levels making in this way a contribution to European cultural identity”⁵. The above provision was thus of an intentional nature. In the latter part

⁴ See attachment nr 2. Executive programme for the years 1990-1992 appended to the Agreement between the government of the Polish People’s Republic and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on cultural cooperation from 11 June 1976 in: *Polska – Niemcy. Na drodze ku porozumieniu i pojednaniu [Poland-Germany on the way to mutual understanding and reconciliation]. A collection of documents connected with the visit of the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Poland 9-14 November 1989*, Introduction and editing prepared by Jan Barcz, Poznań 1990, doc. nr 17, pp. 77-88.

⁵ Treaty on Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany from 17 June 1991, art. 23, point 1, Journal of Laws [henceforth the Polish abbreviation: Dz. U.] 1992, nr 14, item 56.

a commitment was made to support cooperation between associations of artists and authors, between cultural institutions and organizations, as well as to support direct contacts between Polish and German authors and artists.

Recognizing the importance and significance of culture in the life of societies and nations, the governments of both countries “deeply convinced about the great importance of cultural and scientific cooperation for the mutual understanding and reconciliation between the Polish and German nations” signed a new “Agreement about cultural cooperation” in Bonn on 14 July 1997⁶. Both governments intending, among others, “to develop and broaden the relations which exist between both countries in the spirit of good neighbourship and friendly cooperation”, and conscious of “the mutual infiltration and enrichment of both cultures over many past centuries” while striving to “expand the cultural relations in all areas including science and education” made many detailed agreements regulating cooperation between both countries, among others, in the area of culture, education, science, the media, the youth and sport.

The agreement specified and particularized the articles of the Treaty from 1991. To illustrate, article 2 of the agreement closely defined the areas of cooperation aimed at “the popularization of better knowledge of the other nation’s culture”. Both sides made a commitment to implement projects devoted to this aim and to provide mutual support within their capacities, especially when organizing the visits of representatives of various domains of cultural life (writers, artists, composers, film makers, radio and television producers, etc.) aimed at exchanging ideas and experiences and at establishing further cooperation. The mutual support also included organizing events such as exhibitions, guest performances involving individual artists and theatre groups, musicians, dancers, etc. as well as organizing cultural events (also days of culture). The commitments concerned providing support in bookselling, publishing and libraries; encouraging cooperation between associations and unions of artists and publishers, writers and translators, museums and archives; support in translating literary, scientific and specialist works, in organizing meetings of specialists, exchange of materials, etc. Separate articles of the agreement referred to providing support for bilateral cooperation in the area of cinematography (art. 11) and mutual relations between cultural associations and societies (art. 12).

The realization of the provisions of the treaty is guarded by the special Polish-German Mixed Committee for Culture (and Science) whose aim and responsibilities were defined in article 23 point 2 of the treaty. The mixed committee was supposed to meet at least once a year to evaluate the state of cultural exchange in all areas and to coordinate further undertakings⁷. This provision was later changed in the agreement about cultural cooperation from 1997 in which it was decided that both sides will organize sessions of the Mixed Committee when the need arises and when applied for by one of the sides (but at least once in two years) alternating between Po-

⁶ Agreement between the government of the Republic of Poland and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on cultural cooperation, Bonn, 14 July 1997, (Dz. U. from 10 April 1999).

⁷ Treaty between the Republic of Poland..., 1991, op. cit.

land and Germany. Their aim is to sum up the course of cooperation so far, as well as to work out directives and programmes for further activities⁸. The Committee is headed by the directors of departments of culture in the German and Polish Foreign Office. It consists of delegates of the Foreign Office, Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, Ministry of Education (optionally representatives of Polish radio and TV Polonia)⁹. The Committee is an instrument supporting cooperation between both countries in the area of culture.

INTERMEDIARIES OF POLISH-GERMAN CULTURAL COOPERATION

The federal system of government in Germany with its division of powers concerning culture between the government (responsible for nationwide issues and foreign cultural policy) and the authorities in federal states – *Länder* (responsible for the development of culture and science on the territory of the given federal state) determines a direction for the Polish initiative aimed at establishing relations and promoting Polish culture in Germany. In this respect the activities undertaken by the Polish government and other bodies and institutions concerned with popularizing Polish culture in the Federal Republic of Germany are decentralized; they are not addressed to a single recipient but to many more. The majority of the Polish promotional activities take place not only on the governmental level but in direct cooperation with the constituent countries of the federation, towns and cities, local communities and cultural and educational institutions on the territory of the whole of Germany.

This situation determines the need to organize a much more extensive network of Polish diplomatic and cultural posts than it is the case in centralized countries. It also requires a different promotion strategy in view of the fact that the talks need to be held not only with one minister for culture but with 16 ministers for culture, science, research and education in constituent countries¹⁰, and since 1998 also with the Federal Republic's minister for culture and media who is responsible for matters of nationwide and international importance (Bernd Neumann has fulfilled that function since 2005)¹¹.

⁸ Agreement between the government of the Republic of Poland ..., 1997, op. cit.

⁹ See: „Polsko-niemiecka współpraca kulturalna i naukowa” [Polish-German cultural and scientific cooperation] (selected aspects in recent years), Department of Culture in the Polish Embassy in Cologne, August 1998, Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Department of International Cooperation and European Integration, Materials concerning the meeting of Minister A. Zakrzewski with Mminister M. Naumann, sign. 1908/ 40.

¹⁰ In different federal countries there is a different structure of ministries, e.g., minister for culture and minister for research and education can constitute two different institutions. In the so-called Permanent Conference of Ministers for Culture and the Federal Countries of Germany (Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der BRD) there are altogether 30 ministers.

¹¹ For a wider account see: M. Wagińska-Marzec, *Wokół federalizmu w sferze kultury w Republice Federalnej Niemiec* [Around the issue of federalism in the area of culture in the Federal Republic of

The network of intermediaries who realize the activities connected with promoting Polish culture in Germany and German culture in Poland is relatively dense. The first ones to enumerate include the diplomatic posts of both countries. On the Polish side they include: The Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin (Dr. Marek Prawda, ambassador since September 2006, Renata Eichert, expert for culture) and the Consulate General of Poland in Cologne (Jolanta Róża Kozłowska, Consul General since 10 October 2009, Jakub Wawrzyniak, in charge of cultural issues and promotion), the Consulate General of Poland in Leipzig (liquidated on 1 January 2009; from 27 October 2008 its consular duties from the area of Saxony and Thuringia were taken over by the consular department of Poland in Berlin), the Consulate General of Poland in Hamburg (Consul General Andrzej Osiak, cultural attaché Magdalena Erdman) and the Consulate General of Poland in Munich (Elżbieta Sobótka, Consul General since 16 May 2006, consul for culture Dr. Grażyna Strzelecka).

On the German side these functions are in the capacity of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Warsaw (Rüdiger Freiherr von Fritsch, ambassador since July 2010, Director of Cultural Department, Michaela Spaeth), the Consulate General of Germany in Gdańsk (Consul General since 2008, Joachim Bleicke, cultural issues are handled by a department for culture), the Consulate General of Germany in Wrocław (Consul General since August 2009 Bernhard Brasack, department for culture in the years 2008-2011 headed by consul Dr. Anette Bußmann), the Consulate General of Germany in Kraków (Consul General since July 2009 Dr. Heinz Peters, department for culture), the Consulate General of Germany in Opole (Consul General since 2010 Peter Eck).

MAIN CENTRES FOR POPULARIZING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT POLISH CULTURE IN GERMANY

In 1989 during the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland, among others, an agreement was signed concerning cultural institutes and scientific and technological information. In the agreement the governments of Poland and Germany decided to establish on mutual terms Institutes for Culture and Scientific and Technological Information being convinced that they will contribute to “a better mutual understanding” (art. 1)¹². It was decided that these Institutes will: organize cultural events and events referring to scientific and technological issues, to economy and knowledge about the country; gather collections of newspapers, journals, books, records, etc.

Germany], Zeszyty Instytutu Zachodniego, No. 37/2005, pp. 45; see also: idem, *Pełnomocnicy ds. kultury i mediów w Republice Federalnej Niemiec [Representatives for culture and the media in the Federal Republic of Germany]*, Zeszyty Instytutu Zachodniego, No. 39/ 2006, pp. 71.

¹² See: Agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany from 10 November 1989 on the mutual establishment and functioning of the institutes of culture and scientific and technological information, in: *Polska-Niemcy. Na drodze ku porozumieniu i pojednaniu...*

and make them available to people and institutions who are interested in them free of charge; offer general and specialist language courses, courses in didactics and methodology, etc. (art. 5). The provisions of this agreement were also reflected in the Treaty on Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation from 1991 (art. 24)¹³ and in the agreement on cultural cooperation from 1997, in which both sides confirmed that within the capacity of the current regulations they will facilitate in their own country the establishing and functioning of cultural posts of the other country (art. 17 point 1).

At present there are two (previously three) Polish Institutes in Germany: **The Polish Institute in Berlin** established in 1956 (Tomasz Dąbrowski is the acting Director), **The Polish Institute in Leipzig** which functioned independently in the years 1969-2009, and at present it is a branch of The Polish Institute in Berlin (Tomasz Dąbrowski is the acting Director and Agnieszka Surwiłło-Hahn is the vice-director), and **The Polish Institute in Düsseldorf** established in 1993 (Katarzyna Sokołowska is the acting Director).

In fact, the Polish Institutes in Germany play a much broader role than presenting and promoting Polish culture in the neighbour country. They operate smoothly and efficiently without limiting their scope only to the broadly understood domain of culture but they also implement the basic assumptions of Polish foreign policy. The overriding aim of their activity is presenting Poland as “an important country in the EU and a significant partner for Germany”¹⁴. Polish Institutes function as an important link in the workings of Polish diplomacy within the influential circles of German politicians and intellectuals constituting an instrument of lobbying for the benefit of Poland and Polish culture. Primarily, however they try to arouse interest in Polish culture, history and traditions and in the engagement of Poland towards European integration.

The institutes fulfill their duties and reach their objectives by organizing exhibitions, concerts, literary evenings, theatre performances, by showing films, organizing discussions and conferences on topics related with film, music, literature, theatre and the arts. The major focus of their activity is presenting current trends and the most recent achievements of Polish contemporary art and on promoting Polish artists and their works.

The Polish Institute in Berlin operates mainly within the capital city of Germany where it tries to ensure the permanent presence of Polish culture in Berlin’s cultural landscape and in the northern countries of the federation. Its branch in Leipzig operates mainly within Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.

The Polish Institute in Düsseldorf takes an active part in the cultural life of the North Rhine and Westphalia regions and in the neighbouring constituent countries

¹³ See: Treaty on Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland...

¹⁴ Activity of the Polish Institute in Berlin and its branch in Leipzig, <http://bip.msz.gov.pl/Dzialalnosc,IP,w,Berlinie,i,Lipsku,w,2011,r.,40856.html>.

of the federation, namely Hessen, Rhine Palatinate and the Saar region. Using attractive cultural projects it tries to change the image of Poland in the eyes of its western neighbours which however is still laden with many stereotypes.

The role of the Polish Institutes in Germany is well reflected in an appeal raised against the plans to liquidate the post in Leipzig which drew attention to the fact that the Institute is engaged in various political, historical and cultural projects not only on the territory of the region but also throughout the whole of Germany. The Institute propagates Polish culture in Germany and constitutes a unique platform for Polish-German relations. Therefore liquidating the Institute would mark the end of many valuable projects and the end of the forum for the Polish-German dialogue. Therefore the consequences of such a decision would be dramatic for the further development of cultural cooperation between Central Germany and Poland¹⁵. As it stands, the arguments raised by the advocates of maintaining the endangered post in Leipzig appealed to the decision-makers and eventually the Institute in Leipzig was not liquidated but it now operates as a branch of the Polish Institute in Berlin.

The German Institute of Polish Culture in Darmstadt (*Deutsches Polen-Institut*) was created in 1979 on the initiative of Karl Dedecius, a distinguished expert and translator of Polish literature into German (who was the acting director of the Institute for 20 years) and it was officially opened in March 1980. *Deutsches Polen-Institut* is financed by funds from the federal government and constituent countries including Hessen and Rhine Palatinate as well as by the city of Darmstadt; specific projects also receive support from the R. Bosch Foundation in Stuttgart. From the very beginning one of the fundamental objectives of the Institute was to popularize Polish literature and culture in Germany, as well as to deepen knowledge about the cultural, religious and social life of Poles and Germans¹⁶. The Institute fulfils the above tasks through conducting research, publishing activity, organizing exhibitions, literary and music evenings and other kinds of cultural events, as well as through interdisciplinary collaboration and cultivating contacts with persons and institutions in Germany, Poland and in other European countries¹⁷. In 1999 the function of the director of the *Deutsches Polen-Institut* was taken over from K. Dedecius by Dieter Bingen, a political analyst and historian. This had a substantial impact on the change of the Institute's profile with social topics coming to the fore together with the problems bordering the area of politics, culture, society and economy. Also new forms of dialogue in the cultural domain were initiated. *Deutsches Polen-Institut* is the most important institution in Germany of scientific-research, informational and publishing character in the domain of Polish culture and literature as well as in the area of politics, society and Polish-German relations in the European context.

¹⁵ Appeal against liquidating the Polish Institute in Leipzig, <http://www.kas.de/polen/pl/publications/15682/>.

¹⁶ For information about the establishment of the Institute see: B. Kwilecka, M. Wagińska-Marzec, *Deutsches Polen-Institut in Darmstadt*, „Przegląd Zachodni” 1981 No. 1/2, p. 188-191.

¹⁷ Wider about the present tasks and the activity of DPI see: *Deutsches Polen-Institut in a dialogue with Poland*, „Przegląd Zachodni” 2007 No. 4, pp. 11-25.

Polish Cultural Centre (*Polnisches Kulturzentrum*) was established in Munich in 2001. It does not have the status of an Institute of Culture like the Polish Institutes in Berlin, Leipzig and Düsseldorf but it is the cultural department of the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland, and it has its own gallery. The Centre organizes many cultural events in the area of music, art, literature and education. Most of the time they are held in the German language (with some exceptions). The head of the Polish Cultural Centre is the consul for culture elected for the period of 4 years; in 2011 it was Dr. Grażyna Strzelecka who fulfilled this function¹⁸.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute (IAM) (earlier: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, The Centre for International Cooperation) in Warsaw is an important state institution for culture established on 1 March 2000 by the Minister for Culture and National Heritage in cooperation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 2005 the Adam Mickiewicz Institute merged with The National Centre for Culture and Maciej Domański was elected the head of IAM on 5 June 2005¹⁹. The merger of both institutions caused a lot of controversies²⁰. Since 2 June 2008 Paweł Potoroczyn²¹ has been the head of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute and Joanna Kiliszek, an art historian and the former director of the Polish Institute in Berlin became the deputy head of the Institute²².

¹⁸ Polnisches Kulturzentrum in München, <http://www.polnisches-kulturzentrum.de/>.

¹⁹ „Maciej Domański nowym dyrektorem Instytutu im. Adama Mickiewicza” [Maciej Domański the new director of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute], 7 Jun 2005, <http://www.ksiazka.net.pl/?id=archiwum09&uid=4688>, see also: *Domański do Instytutu [Domański to the Institute]* daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 6 Jun 2005.

²⁰ For more information about the competition for the new director of the Institute and the conflict around the Institute see, among others: *Kto do Instytutu Mickiewicza? [Who for the Mickiewicz Institute?]*, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 26 May 2005, see also K. Kowalewicz, *Instytut im. Mickiewicza rozreklamuje polską kulturę na świecie [The Adam Mickiewicz Institute will promote Polish culture in the world]*, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 15 Jul 2005, see also R. Pawłowski: *Konflikt wokół IAM” [Conflict around the IAM]*, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 8 Dec 2005, see also a very critical article about the functioning of the IAM by M. Sawicka, M. Nadzieja, *Wydmuszka im. Adama Mickiewicza [Empty egg-shell of the IAM]*, weekly „Wprost” 4 Dec 2005; see also: *Odwolanie Domańskiego: Poszło o słowo? [Domański recalled: Was it all about a word?]*, interview with M. Domański by R. Pawłowski, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 16 Feb 2006.

²¹ Paweł Potoroczyn (b. 1961): cultural manager, journalist, publicist, entrepreneur, diplomat. From 1995 he was the consul for culture in the Consulate General in Los Angeles; in 2000 he was appointed the director of the Institute of Polish Culture in New York; in 2005 he became the director of the Polish Institute in London. He was the initiator of many concerts and performances by outstanding Polish artists and music groups in famous concert halls abroad.

²² Wider about the changes in the IAM see: *Potoroczyn dyrektorem Instytutu Adama Mickiewicza [Potoroczyn the director of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute]*, daily „Rzeczpospolita” 2 Jun 2008; see also: Paweł Potoroczyn nowym dyrektorem Instytutu Adama Mickiewicza [Paweł Potoroczyn the new director of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute], <http://ksiazki.wp.pl/tytul,Pawel-Potoroczyn-nowym-dyrektorem-Instytutu-Adama-Mickiewicza,wid,11750,wiadomosc.html>; about his vision of promoting Polish culture abroad see: *Autostradą do opery [Highway to the opera]*. An interview with Paweł Potoroczyn, weekly „Polityka” 29 Sept 2009.

Currently the functions and the responsibilities of the Institute are defined by a new statute granted by the Minister for Culture and National Heritage, Bogdan Zdrojewski with directive No. 19 from 1 June 2008²³. The basic duties of the Institute include, among others, popularizing knowledge about Polish history and its pluralist cultural heritage; preparing and coordinating the implementation of projects promoting Polish culture, updating the integrated system of information about Polish culture, Polish heritage and language; preparing informational and promotional materials, etc. The Institute also fulfills its duties by funding scholarships abroad for Polish artists and specialists in the area of culture and scholarships in Poland for foreign artists, etc. The Institute is also responsible for preparing and implementing the Polish cultural offer during international cultural events abroad, as well as for coordinating projects connected with the celebrations of important anniversaries and other events of significant importance for Polish culture organized in Poland and abroad, etc. The Adam Mickiewicz Institute cooperates with other institutions (including national cultural institutions) in order to provide support for their initiatives of international importance. To ensure sufficient financial resources for the realization of its tasks the Institute takes steps to attract funds from outside the budget²⁴.

Bogdan Zdrojewski, the Minister for Culture and National Heritage recognizing the importance of culture in international relations announced some modifications concerning the principles of the Institute's operations. In his opinion a long-term policy is needed concerning promoting Poland through its culture with the use of experience and output of Polish artists, and the Institute should deal with something more than facilitating the performances of Polish artists abroad²⁵.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute was the organizer (or co-organizer) and coordinator of the majority of events which took place in Germany in the last decade, and in particular of the entire programme of cultural projects within the Polish-German Year of 2005/2006. The Institute was also involved in promoting the celebration of the Year of Chopin, "Chopin 2010" in Germany, and in popularizing the knowledge about Chopin and his compositions. Apart from that it participated in the realization of many other projects and artistic events popularizing Poland's cultural and artistic heritage in Germany.

²³ Statute of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, directive of the Minister for Culture and National Heritage, Bogdan Zdrojewski, nr 19 from 1 Jun 2008, (based on art. 13 item 1 of the act from 25 Oct 1991 about organizing and conducting cultural activity, Journal of Laws from 2001, No. 13, item 123, with later changes).

²⁴ Wider about the tasks and the scope of activity of the IAM, about its organization and management, about the Institute Council and financial policy see: Statute of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute ...

²⁵ *Minister Zdrojewski powola nowych ambasadorów kultury polskiej za granicą*, z ministrem kultury Bogdanem Zdrojewskim rozmawiał R. Pawłowski [*Minister Zdrojewski will appoint new ambassadors of Polish culture abroad*], Interview with Minister for Culture Bogdan Zdrojewski by R. Pawłowski, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 17 Apr 2008.

Many other entities have also participated in the development of the Polish-German social dialogue, and they include organizations, societies and associations. In this respect many **Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaften**²⁶ operating in Germany play an extremely important role.

To intensify the cooperation in the area of the conservation of monuments and cultural heritage the governments of both countries established in 2007 the Polish-German Foundation for the Preservation of Culture and Cultural Heritage (*Deutsch-Polnische Stiftung Kulturpflege und Denkmalschutz*). Also the Polonia organizations and associations are actively involved in efforts aiming at a cultural dialogue between Poland and Germany. They include, for example, The “Polonica” Cultural Society in Bonn (*Deutsch-Polnische Kulturgesellschaft Polonica e.V.*), The Association of Polish Artists in Germany based in Essen, “Polonia arte”, a Polonia organization in Munich which supports the promotion of Polish projects in the Bavaria region²⁷, The German Chopin Societies in Darmstadt and Oberhausen, The German-Polish Cultural Society “Polonica” in Cologne, and many others.

MAJOR INTERMEDIARIES IN POPULARIZING GERMAN CULTURE IN POLAND

The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs having recognized that one of the most important tasks is giving shape and taking responsibility for German foreign policy concerning culture and education established close cooperation with intermediary institutions which promote German culture, science and education abroad. These include, among others, the *Goethe-Institut*, The German Head-Office for Academic Exchange (*Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, DAAD*), The Foreign Relations Institute (*Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen, IFA*), etc. They are financed mainly by *Auswärtiges Amt*. The aim of their activity is to convey the current and diverse

²⁶ See the Register of German-Polish Societies (ca. 80) operating in Germany (together with addresses and telephones, etc.): „Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaften in Deutschland. http://www.deutsch-polnische-mv.de/dpg_sliste.htm, The example of the Polish-German Society in Poznań illustrates how vibrant their activity has been for years; it has maintained close contacts with the Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft in Hannover, for a wider account see: Ł. Owczarek, *Towarzystwo Polsko-Niemieckie w Poznaniu, [Polish-German Society in Poznań]* „Przegląd Zachodni” 2007 No. 4, pp. 87-106; see also: H. Katenkamp, *Różnorodne przedsięwzięcia Bremy i Gdańska. Towarzystwo Niemiecko-Polskie jako motor współpracy [Various projects of Bremen and Gdańsk. The German-Polish Society as an engine of cooperation]*, „Dialog” 1997 No. 1, pp. 64-67; see also: P. Adamowicz, *Kontakty między Gdańskiem i województwem gdańskim a miastami i landami północnych Niemiec po 1989 [Contacts between Gdańsk and Gdańsk Voivodeship and the cities and federal states of Northern Germany after 1989]*, „Dialog” 1997 No. 1, p. 66; see: H. Koschnick about the partnership between towns/cities, „Dialog” 1997 No. 1, p. 63; see also: I. Heinisch, *Stosunki Polska-Hamburg: gospodarka: bardzo dobry, kultura: dobry, zachowanie: zmienne [Poland-Hamburg relations: economy: very good, culture: good, conduct: changeable]*, „Dialog” 1998 No. 1, pp. 92-94.

²⁷ On other organizations see: J. Lewandowski, *Polskie organizacje w Bawarii [Polish organizations in Bavaria]*, „Dialog” 1996 No. 1, p. 116-117.

image of Germany and German culture to the inhabitants of a given country. In the 2009 election programme of the Green Party there was a separate point in which the need to intensify international cultural exchange was underlined, as well as the need for a closer integration of a foreign and interior cultural policy. With reference to that it was advocated that more support should be given to intermediary institutions such as the *Goethe Institutes* and *DAAD*²⁸.

The *Goethe-Institut* was established in 1951 as an institution which would continue the activity of the *Deutsche Akademie (DA)*. The Institute's head office is in Munich and Prof. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann (born in Wrocław) is the president (*Präsident*). In 2009 there were altogether 135 institutes in 91 countries and a network of 905 language centres in 128 countries. In 1997 the budget of the *Goethe-Institut* amounted to 3.23 billion DM (which constitutes 0.25% of the federal budget)²⁹. The Goethe Institute has three fundamental objectives: 1) to support the knowledge of the German language abroad; 2) to cultivate international cultural cooperation; 3) to popularize an all-embracing image of Germany in the world through conveying information about its cultural, social and political life³⁰.

In Poland the Goethe Institute started its activity in 1990 and opened its first centre in Warsaw by virtue of the Polish-German agreement from 10 November 1989³¹. The Institute through its activity intends to facilitate access to German culture and to intensify contacts between the Polish and German cultural and educational institutions, as well as artists and intellectuals³². In the work of the Institute priority is given also to difficult issues connected with the mutual perception of both nations in the past and at present, as well as to organizing cultural events.

Dr. Martin Wälde is the president of the *Goethe-Institut* in Warsaw. Patrycja Tajer is responsible for the cultural programme and for coordinating the activity of German cultural societies in Poland. Renata Prokurat is the coordinator of cultural

²⁸ Der Grüne neue Gesellschaftsvertrag. Klima. Arbeit. Gerechtigkeit. Freiheit. Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen. Beschluss der 30. Ordentlichen Bundesdelegiertenkonferenz von Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, 8-10 May 2009, Berlin.

²⁹ See: Polsko-niemiecka współpraca kulturalna i naukowa (wybrane aspekty w ostatnich kilku latach) [Polish-German cultural and scientific cooperation (selected aspects in recent years), Department of Culture of the Polish Embassy in Cologne, August 1998., Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Dep. for International Cooperation and European Integration, Materials concerning the meeting of Minister A. Zakrzewski with Minister M. Naumann sign. 1908/ 40.

³⁰ Goethe-Institut, <http://www.goethe.de/uun/org/deindex.htm>.

³¹ See: Agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany from 10 Nov 1989 on mutual establishment and functioning of institutes of culture and scientific and technological information (art. 3. point 2). The agreement contains detailed regulations (art. 1-16) concerning the statute, role and activity of the Polish Institutes of Culture in Germany and German ones in Poland, see: *Polska – Niemcy. Na drodze ku porozumieniu i pojednaniu*..., Document No. 17, pp. 69-72.

³² Goethe-Institut Warschau, <http://www.goethe.de/ins/pl/war/uun/plindex.htm>.

projects in the area of film, media, dance, conferences and seminars, and Dorota Swinarska is the coordinator of cultural projects in the area of the visual arts, theatre, music and literature³³.

Apart from Warsaw the *Goethe Institute* operates also in Kraków (*Goethe-Institut Krakau*). It was established in 1990 and since March 2009 it has been headed by Dr. Roland Goll; the issues of the cultural programme are in the hands of Dorota Krakowska and Izabela Szaszkiewicz. Besides there are also several German reading rooms in Katowice, Poznań, Szczecin and Wrocław. There is also the *Goethe-Zentrum* in Lublin and other examination centres (altogether 19) some of which function jointly with Foreign Language Centres. The *Goethe-Institut* remains in contact with all the interested cultural and educational institutions in Poland; it perceives itself as a partner for everybody who is actively involved with Germany and German language and culture³⁴.

Institute for Foreign Relations (*Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, IFA*), is one of the oldest intermediary organizations and it was established in 1917. Its activity with the head office in Stuttgart is mainly focused on supporting the German language and culture abroad by German language media, exchange programmes, organizing German language courses and many other projects. The Institute is also actively involved in organizing cultural exchange in the area of the arts; it grants scholarships, prepares and organizes exhibitions of German artwork, as well as exchange programmes and international conferences. Since 18 May 2006 Ursula Seiler-Albring has been its president. The Institute is also involved in supporting activities concerning culture, the youth and education of German minorities within the scope of programmes realized in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe including Poland³⁵.

The Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation (*FWPN*) (*Stiftung für Deutsch-Polnische Zusammenarbeit*) has been in existence since 1991. The aim of its activity is primarily to provide financial support for projects which are of common interest to Poland and Germany in various domains. Its role, especially in supporting all kinds of smaller and larger Polish-German initiatives and cultural projects is very much appreciated. The Foundation is providing finances, among others, for various kinds of activity towards partnership and cooperation between local governments and other institutions, as well as financing projects to popularize the German language and culture in Poland and the Polish language and culture in Germany, knowledge competitions, cultural and scientific exchange, literary and artistic activity concerning Poland, Germany and the European Union, and projects connected with the preservation of a common cultural heritage, etc³⁶.

³³ See: Institutsleitung, Kulturprogramme, <http://www.goethe.de/ins/pl/war/uun/mit/kul/deindex.htm>.

³⁴ See: Goethe-Institut Warschau, www.goethe.de/warschau.

³⁵ See: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, <http://cms.ifa.de>.

³⁶ See: Statute of the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation from 30 Jul 2002, www.fwpn.org.pl.

To illustrate, in 2001 as many as 174 joint scientific and cultural projects received grants to the total amount of 10 million PLN (which constituted 27.7% of the entire financial support of the Foundation), 48 projects concerning the dissemination of the German language and culture in Poland received financial support to the total amount of 3 million PLN (7.52%); in 2002 as many as 276 projects were financed to the total amount of 8 million PLN (56.7%); in 2003 there was a substantial drop in the financed projects (148) and the amount of money for supporting them was decreased by half (about 4,830,000 PLN), but the number of financed projects which popularize the German language and culture in Poland and the Polish language and culture in Germany was increased (59 projects financed by a total amount of over 5,804,000 PLN)³⁷. That year received the highest financial support devoted to the area of culture from the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation. Also in 2009 the financial support remained high (273 projects for the total amount of 7,730,000 PLN) and in 2008 (271 projects for the amount of over 5,020,000 PLN). The lowest financial support was provided in 2004 (only 134 projects in the area of culture)³⁸. In 2010 the Foundation supported 161 cultural projects to the total amount of over 4,600,000 PLN³⁹.

The financial support provided by the Foundation included smaller and larger projects (music events, exhibitions, involving museums, film and workshop events, etc.) submitted by both Polish and German applicants, by cultural institutions (for example opera theatres, museums), as well as by associations of students, artistic societies, school teams, cultural centres, local governments, and by other entities. For example, in 2008 the following projects received financing from The Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation: the project “Meetings of Gdańsk and Dresden”, the choir a cappella concert (The University Choir from Dresden), The Polish Film Week in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, the preparation of E.T.A. Hoffmann’s opera by the Grand Theatre in Poznań, the project “Polish and German school goes make a film about Lake Turawskie” (High School nr 2 in Opole), the Polish-German jazz meetings in Gliwice, and many others⁴⁰.

In 2009 the Foundation granted financial support, among others, for the following projects: “Partners from across the Oder in joint undertakings” (Barlin) – 25,000 PLN, the exhibition “Bauhaus 20th-21st century. Legacy still alive” (Kraków) – 40,000 PLN, the project “Polen anders – Germans in a different way”, a documentary about the activity of the *Deutsches Polen-Institut* in Darmstadt – 58,750 PLN,

³⁷ See: Report from the activity of the Foundation for 2003, <http://www.fwpm.org.pl/?module=articles&id=70>

³⁸ See: Report from the activity of the Foundation for 2004, <http://www.fwpm.org.pl/?module=articles&id=69>

³⁹ See: Report from the activity of the Foundation for 2010, <http://www.fwpm.org.pl/?module=articles&id=736>

⁴⁰ For a wider account see the list of projects supported by the Foundation, Report from the activity of the Foundation for 2008, http://www.fwpm.org.pl/etc/_gfi/literatura_i_kultura.pdf

the Feliks Nowowiejski Festival (Berlin) – 47,000 PLN, 3rd exhibition of contemporary art, “Poland – Germany 4:6” (Katowice - 14,000 PLN, the project “Euro-city 2030 – a festival of the twin towns Gubin-Guben” – 15,000 PLN, A German Cinema Week in Poland – 28,200 PLN, the concert “Polish musicians in Berlin”, a photo exhibition “Polonia in photographs by Stefan Dybowski” organized within the project “We Berliners – Wir Berliner” (Berlin) – 35,250 PLN, and many other projects⁴¹. The above examples demonstrate how diverse projects (submitted by various entities) received financial support from the Foundation. Most probably many projects within the Polish-German cultural cooperation would not have been realized if it was not for the substantial financial support of The Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation.

FORMS AND LEVELS OF CULTURAL COOPERATION

Cultural cooperation with foreign countries including Germany is executed on various levels including: 1) the level of the state (international agreements on cultural cooperation and the executive programmes and directives appended to the agreements); 2) regional and local level (agreements made between regions, voivodeships, local governments, towns and cities); 3) the level of institutions (agreements between particular institutions, cultural centres, etc.); 4) the level of particular branches (through direct contacts between societies, unions and associations of artists); 5) the level of individual contacts between artists and authors); 6) on commercial grounds (this form has developed mainly thanks to the legal and political transformations and is dependent on the inventiveness and resilience of the interested entities).

Transborder cooperation between regions and towns

The agreement on cultural cooperation from 1997 included a provision concerning mutual cooperation at the level of regions and local governments in various areas. Article 16 says, “The parties to the agreement will facilitate and encourage all-embracing cooperation and partnership at the regional and local level with special importance attached to cooperation in the borderland regions”⁴². The cooperation and cultural exchange between both countries gained momentum especially after Poland’s accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004. Since then joint initiatives and projects were undertaken on a much larger scale than before. The projects realized within the scope of partnership between towns were the most visible and the best financed. The example of mutual contacts between Słubice and Frankfurt on the Oder provide some evidence for the lively cooperation in various areas of life including first of all the domain of culture⁴³.

⁴¹ For a wider account see the list of projects supported by the Foundation, Report from the activity of the Foundation for 2009, http://www.fwpn.org.pl/etc/_gfi/listaWWW_pl.pdf

⁴² Agreement between the government of the Republic of Poland ... 1997, art. 16.

⁴³ The initiative “Słubfurt” is one of the more interesting cultural projects by both towns for more information see: M. Kurzwelly, *Słubfurt – miasto na granicy dwóch krajów [Słubfurt a town on the border of two countries]*, „Przegląd Zachodni” 2007 No. 4, pp. 60-68.

Interesting initiatives were also undertaken by two twin towns divided by the border, Zgorzelec and Görlitz. The authorities of both towns convinced that they can play an important role in the process of European integration decided to grant a special significance to the region and on 5 May 1998 made a Declaration of creating the Europe-Town of Zgorzelec/Görlitz⁴⁴. On the 5th anniversary of signing the Declaration (5 May 2003) the Town Council in Zgorzelec and the Town Council in Görlitz confirmed the mutual partnership of both towns established on 14 March 1980⁴⁵. During a session on 5 May 2003 they issued a “joint statement concerning the preparation and realization of the project entitled “Park of Bridges” as “a commonly shared centre of one divided town of two nations”⁴⁶. The idea was to create a meeting area accessible to all the inhabitants. The project “Park of Bridges” is an artistic vision and also the first joint infrastructural undertaking by a Polish and German town of an urban character⁴⁷. The aim of the project was to give the town a new quality of life and to make “a spiritual bond” between both nations possible. The Park of Bridges is hoped in future to constitute “a German gateway to Polish culture and a Polish gateway to German culture”⁴⁸.

A new agreement on partnership and cooperation between both towns was signed on 29 April 2004. The agreement underlined the fact that the broadening of the cooperation aims at closer relations between the inhabitants of both towns, and by the same token at supporting the process of European integration⁴⁹. In the annex to the agreement both sides decided, among others, to make efforts to support the candidacy of Görlitz together with the twin town of Zgorzelec for the title of the European Capital of Culture in 2010, as well as to further the development of the joint town centre, “The Park of Bridges” and raise the necessary financial resources on both sides of the river Neisse.

The architectural vision of the Park of Bridges was prepared and presented at the beginning of 2004 by a special international team headed by Thomas Sprengel. It included renown creators of culture, among others Milada Ślizińska (international art curator in the Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw), Max Hollein (Director of *Schirn Kunsthalle* in Frankfurt on the Main), and also architects: Josef Peter Meier-Scupin (Munich), Frank Geppert (Görlitz) and Piotr Pawłowicz (Zgorzelec) and a landscape architect Prof. Udo Weilacher from Hannover.

⁴⁴ Declaration of creating the Europe-Town of Zgorzelec/Görlitz, <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>

⁴⁵ Joint statement concerning the modification of the partnership agreement, Zgorzelec, 5 May 2003, <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>

⁴⁶ Joint statement of the towns of Zgorzelec and Görlitz concerning the preparation and realization of the project “Park of Bridges”, <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>

⁴⁷ Görlitz-Zgorzelec European Capital of Culture. “Park of Bridges”, Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Department for International Cooperation, realization of cultural exchange 2002-2006, BE 5, sign. 2242/5.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Agreement on partnership cooperation between the towns of Zgorzelec (Poland) and Görlitz (Germany), <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>

The project included, among others plans for establishing an Art and Media Forum, creating a modern Centre for Communication and Culture on the eastern bank of the border crossing, reconstructing the *Stadthalle* in Görlitz and creating there a multifunctional concert hall of supra-regional importance, renovating the Town Cultural Centre in Zgorzelec⁵⁰, renovating the former synagogue in Görlitz and transforming it into an international Cultural Centre, and many other undertakings in the area of communication and education.

The Art and Media Forum is supposed to be not only a centre for modern art but also a place of creative work for artists. The project, among others, includes plans for making use of new media, interdisciplinary artistic processes, development of new forms of constructional art and giving an artistic shape to public space. The Park of Bridges has also plans for creating a Literary House (Literaturhaus Arno Schmidt – Miron Białoszewski), a meeting centre for Polish and German literature with the aim to support contacts and collaboration between writers, scientists, translators, critics and publishers on both sides of the border. The fundamental assumption of the large-scale Park of Bridges project is that all the institutions, that is the Polish Centre for Communication and Culture, the German *Stadthalle*, the Polish Cultural Centre, as well as the former synagogue would function as communal institutions of joint utility.

There are also many other initiatives undertaken jointly by theatres and philharmonics on both sides of the border (concerts, opera performances, operettas, musicals, ballet, etc.), as well as discussion forums (“The Görlitz-Zgorzelec Wednesday”, “The Polish-German Salon”) which are meant to serve the purpose of integrating the communities of both towns. Since 1995 every summer Görlitz in cooperation with Zgorzelec and Jelenia Góra have organized a street theatre festival *Via Thea*, as well as many other festivals, e.g. Görlitz Jazz Days, National Festival of Greek Song in Zgorzelec, *Schlesische Musikfeste*, the festival of three countries Triad (*Dreiklang*), The Week of Bach (*Bachwoche*), the Old Town Festival (*Altstadtfest*), The Görlitz Organ Night (*Orgelnacht*), A Day of Open Monuments (*Tag des offenen Denkmals*), *Folklorum – Festival der Kulturen*, and many others⁵¹.

Despite the fact that the efforts of both towns to obtain the title “European Capital of Culture” did not succeed⁵², the inhabitants of the Europe-Towns of Zgorzelec/Görlitz have not given up their plans⁵³. Soon afterwards, on 16 May 2006 the coun-

⁵⁰ The building of the present Municipal Cultural Centre in Zgorzelec was erected in the years 1898-1902; it was designed by Hugo Behr. It was meant to be a memorial to the glory of the emperors Wilhelm I and Frederick III who died in 1888. The building called Górnoluzycza Hala Chwały [Hihg-Lusatian Hall of Glory] was financed by the inhabitants of Górne Łuzyce. The ceremonial opening was performed by Emperor Wilhelm II on 28 November 1902. Two years later, on 1 June 1904 a Museum was opened there (*Kaiser-Friedrich Museum*).

⁵¹ For a wider account see: “Görlitz-Zgorzelec, European...”

⁵² The European Commission Jury granted the title of “the European Capital of Culture 2010” to the cities of: Essen, Istanbul and Pecs.

⁵³ We are building together a town of European Culture, Zgorzelec/Görlitz, <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>; see also: M. Kokot, *Görlitz and Zgorzelec will not be the European Capital of Culture in 2010*, daily “Gazeta Wyborcza” (Toruń) No. 87, 12 Apr 2006.

cillors of both towns issued a special statement which, among others, reads, “Here in Zgorzelec/Görlitz a town of two languages, two nations and two cultures is coming into being, it is a model of European integration”⁵⁴. The Project Park of Bridges with an estimated cost of 40 million Euros is to be financed mainly by the German side.

Even if not all the plans will be fully realized, or their implementation will stretch over time and their effects are, at least at the moment, relatively little visible, they nevertheless deserve attention at least because they are an expression of the intention on both sides of the border to create a common space in the towns friendly for the inhabitants on both, the right and the left bank of the Neisse river.

Cooperation within the partnership of towns

Partnership between twin cities/towns is one of the lively and vibrant forms of bilateral cooperation. The first partnership agreements between Polish and German cities/towns were signed at the end of the 1970s. With the passage of time, it was noticed that it is a very beneficial and effective form of collaboration for both sides on many levels, and especially with reference to the cultural domain. In 1999 there were about 250 active partnerships established between large cities and small towns⁵⁵. Some of them function in a better or worse way. The agreement signed between Poznań and Hannover on 29 October 1979 is one of the oldest partnerships⁵⁶. Ever since, it has been renewed every year and supplemented with an annex including specific tasks for the current year.

The “active” partnership between Kraków and Nuremberg established on 2 October 1979 can also be given as an example of successfully developing cooperation with a model quality in terms of versatility and intensity of relations⁵⁷. Over ten years later, on 9 December 1991 both cities signed an agreement on cooperation based on the principles of twin cities. It embraces almost all areas of life including cooperation between institutions of higher education and cultural institutions⁵⁸. A festive celebration of 25 years of the partnership took place in 2004 and it was combined with the mutual presentations of both cities. Five years later there were joint celebrations of 30 years of the partnership. In May 2009 a conference was held in Nuremberg entitled “The significance of partnership between local governments for Polish-Ger-

⁵⁴ Statement given by the councillors of the Zgorzelec Town Council and of the Görlitz Town Council at the joint session on 16 May 2006; <http://www.bip.zgorzelec.iap.pl>

⁵⁵ See: *Polsko-niemiecka współpraca kulturalna i naukowa (wybrane aspekty w ostatnich kilku latach)* [Polish-German cultural and scientific cooperation] (selected aspects in recent years), Department of Culture in the Polish Embassy in Cologne, August 1998, Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Department of International Cooperation and European Integration, Materials concerning the meeting of Minister A. Zakrzewski with Minister M. Naumann, sign. 1908/ 40, p. 10.

⁵⁶ For a wider account see: A. Soboń, *Partnerzy od lat: Poznań-Hanower [Partners for years: Poznań-Hannover]*, in: *Wielkopolska – niemieckie kraje związkowe. Czas współpracy*, vol. 1: *Konteksty. Kontakty*, ed. by S. Piontek, Poznań 2009, pp. 77-82; see also: M. Wagińska-Marzec, *Polsko-niemieckie kontakty kulturalne w latach 1990-2008. Poznań – RFN – Hanower [Polish-German cultural contacts in the years 1990-2008. Poznań – Federal Republic of Germany – Hannover]*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 97-117.

⁵⁷ What should one know about Nuremberg and the cooperation between both cities? http://www.krakow.pl/get_pdf.php?dok_id=3999.

⁵⁸ P. Schremser, *Eine aktive Partnerschaft. Active partnership*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 1, pp. 78-79.

man relations". The participants of the conference included the President of Kraków, Mayor of Nuremberg, the chair of the Kraków City Council and Kraków's councilors. The cultural programme of the conference included a performance by "Motion Trio" from Kraków and "ensemble KONTRASTE" from Nuremberg. Apart from that there was an exhibition by young graphic artists from Kraków and an exhibition of photographs by Jutta Missbach entitled "Jelly sweets and Mercedes cars. Polish associations with Germany". Additionally, in the Langwasser Cultural Centre there was an exhibition prepared by the Cultural Centre from Nowa Huta entitled "Contemporary paintings from Kraków"⁵⁹.

The functioning of two exceptional centres is a distinctive expression of the realization of partnership ideals, namely the Kraków House in Nuremberg and the Nuremberg House in Kraków. Both centres organize every year many exhibitions, concerts, literary meetings and film events. In the Kraków House there is also an information centre about Kraków and a restaurant, as well as the head office of the Polish-German Society in Franconia and of the "Kraków Tower" Association. The Nuremberg House in Kraków organizes various cultural projects and periodic events, like for example the German Film Festival, or the Bavarian Film Festival⁶⁰.

It is impossible to enumerate all expressions of the bilateral cooperation between both cities but a close cooperation between music groups from Nuremberg and the Jagiellonian University Academic Choir and the Ballet of Modern Forms of the University of Science and Technology can be mentioned, as well as the effect of the cooperation in the form of the "Nuremberg Concerts" in Kraków (July 2009). Since 1987 there has been a regular exchange programme concerning work practice and student training practice between the Fine Arts Academy in Kraków and in Nuremberg. Some of the projects were implemented thanks to the merits of the great "friend of Kraków", Dizzy Nürnberger, the owner of one of Nuremberg's galleries.

Another visible sign of the friendship between Nuremberg and Kraków was the help of the Nuremberg City Council and many other institutions and Nuremberg music lovers in the restoration of the organ in the Kraków Philharmonics following a fire in 1991. The partnership between Kraków and Nuremberg has for years been supported (also financially) by the *Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft in Franken* which was established in 1997. In the opinion of the Consul General of Germany, Heinz Peters "Minor Poland has good cooperation with Thuringia and Kraków with Nuremberg"⁶¹.

⁵⁹ „Kraków – Nuremberg – 30 years of partnership”, http://www.dom-norymberski.com/dama/krakow_norymberga.html ; see also: "Celebrations of 30 years of partnership between the cities: http://www.po-prostu.eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2048&Itemid=1.

⁶⁰ As a curiosity it can be mentioned that the so called "Nuremberg trams" are a noticeable symbol of partnership between both cities. They are still running in Kraków. Since 1988 about 130 tram carriages have been given to the Kraków Municipal Transport Company by Nuremberg (mostly free of charge). In recent years two-way tram carriages were bought at preferential prices in Nuremberg.

⁶¹ *Diplomatic Exchange of DJs*, Interview with Dr. Heinz Peters, the new Consul General of Germany in Kraków, daily „Gazeta Wyborcza” 19 Jul 2009.

Cooperation within partnership between schools

There is also extensive partnership between schools including music schools, which is mainly due to the engagement of private persons, including among others, teachers in music schools in Germany and in Poland⁶². A good example is the successful school exchange programme undertaken in 2000 at the initiative of Gerard Hartwig, a teacher from the German Musikschule in Tettngang and Grzegorz Walaszczyk from the J. Paderewski State Music School of first degree in Tarnowskie Góry. The first visit of the Tarnowskie Góry music school in Germany took place in September/October 2000. The return visit of the German students took place in May 2001 and since then the school exchange has been a regular event; the school from Tarnowskie Góry has hosted the students and teachers from Tettngang, and the same number of times the school from Tarnowskie Góry has been to Germany⁶³. Each time the cultural exchange was subsidized by the *Deutsch-Polnisches Jugendwerk* in Potsdam.

On the occasion of 5 years of cooperation between both schools, which coincided with the jubilee of 30 years of the Musikschule in Tettngang a joint CD was recorded with performances of students from both schools with chamber music and orchestra compositions. Both schools are aware of how much they gain thanks to the exchange: the opportunity to perform in the neighbouring country and mutually present achievements of the students. Thanks to the joint music sessions with time a lasting bond of friendship between the Polish and German youth has frequently been created. Also the exchange of the teaching experience and didactics between the teachers from both schools is beneficial for both sides. However, the most important success of the exchange is undoubtedly the fact that through joint concerts it contributes to the popularization of Polish and German music in both countries⁶⁴.

As a consequence of the close contacts the students and the teachers have a chance to get to know the other country as well as the culture and traditions of both countries. The exchange programmes purposefully combined artistic performances with the sightseeing of historical monuments and attractive places of a given region. For example, Polish students could become familiar with the charming places in Baden-Württemberg and the guests from Tettngang got to know the surrounding area of Tarnowskie Góry⁶⁵. It is worth emphasizing that the music school in Tarnowskie Góry was on the list of as many as eight schools in the Silesian

⁶² More about the partnership between schools see: Th. Mechtenberg, *Polsko-niemieckie partnerstwa szkół [Polish-German school partnerships]*, „Dialog” 1004, No. 1-4, pp. 82-83.

⁶³ I. J. Paderewski State Music School in Tarnowskie Góry, www.szkolamuz.tgory.nei.pl/wymiana.php.

⁶⁴ Zob. Program wymiany szkół muzycznych z Tarnowskich Gór i Tettngang, 2-6. 10. 2008, www.szkolamuz.tgory.nei.pl/wymiana.php.

⁶⁵ See: Report from the exchange, www.szkolamuz.tgory.nei.pl/wymiana.php.

Voivodeship which have had cultural exchange programmes with music schools in Baden-Württemberg. This shows that the number of schools which cultivate this form of bilateral collaboration is not at all small.

THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS (1990-2010)

The interest in our country concerning cultural contacts with Poland has significantly increased since 1989. It included initiatives submitted at the central level as well as those passed on directly to regional governments, institutions and cultural centres in Poland, or to the associations of authors and individual artists⁶⁶. It is virtually impossible to count all of the cultural events which have taken place in Germany and in Poland within the cooperation between both countries since 1990 until the present moment. They were taking place in large cities as well as in small towns. The events were organized not only as a way of realizing the provisions of the treaty and fulfilling international agreements. The initiators of continuing the existing mutual contacts as well as of establishing new ones included institutions and state authorities as well as regional and local governments, numerous organizations, associations, artistic societies, schools as well as, and perhaps primarily, private persons. Especially the cooperation at the local level was very vibrant. Perhaps it did not receive a lot of publicity but it was extremely important for local communities. Analyzing the examples of Polish projects realized in Germany and German projects in Poland in the last twenty years it is noticeable that there is still a disproportion between the numbers of organized events, namely decisively more Polish artists presented their achievements and output in Germany than the other way round.

Apart from many individual exhibitions and concerts, the performances of bands and theatre groups as well as theatrical performances, film showings, literary meetings, etc. organized in both countries on mutual terms, the Polish artists and cultural institutions (opera theatres, classical theatres and ballets) took part in music, theatre and film festivals in Germany and German artists did the same in Poland (although to a significantly lesser degree). Another event which should be noticed is the participation of Polish authors and publishing houses in the International Book Fair in Leipzig and in Frankfurt on the Main⁶⁷, and Germany's participation in the International Book Fair in Warsaw. Besides, the trilateral cultural cooperation between Poland, Germany and France within the Weimar Triangle needs to be remembered.

Undoubtedly the most noticed, effective and versatile undertakings were the all-embracing events like the Polish Days (Polish Weeks) organized on a wider scale

⁶⁶ See: Cultural cooperation with Western Europe and the USA, May 1990 r., Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, General draft, sign. 1511 nr 21/3.

⁶⁷ For a wider account, among others, see: J. Skibińska, *Pelna gotowość do Frankfurtu 2000? [Full readiness for Frankfurt 2000?]*, „Dialog” 1999, autumn/winter, pp. 100-101.

in various cities and towns on the territory of both, the old and the new constituent countries of the Federal Republic of Germany, for example Days of Polish Culture in Lübeck⁶⁸, Polish Week in Berlin⁶⁹, Polish Cultural Weeks in Aachen⁷⁰, Days of Polish Culture in Brunswick⁷¹ and similar German events which took place in Poland, for example Days of Bavarian Culture in Kraków⁷², Days of Saxony in Wrocław⁷³, Thuringia Days in Kraków⁷⁴.

More publicity because of the scope (regional) and the time (almost the whole year) was attracted by the project in the region Baden-Württemberg under the title "Poland Baden-Württemberg Cultural Meetings 1997/1998" ("Kulturbegegnungen Polen/Baden-Württemberg 1997/1998"⁷⁵). The decisions concerning the theme and the organization of the event were conducted at the governmental level between the Polish government and the government of Baden-Württemberg. The event was one of the largest presentations of Polish art and culture in the last twenty years in that country. The Polish-Baden-Württemberg Meetings were accompanied by a Festival by Lake Constance (*Bodensee-Festival*) in which artists and symphonic orchestras from Poland took part.

Unquestionably however, it was the Polish-German Year 2005/2006 which was the most important and the most spectacular event of recent years. It aimed, among others, at strengthening the cooperation between institutions and citizens of Poland and Germany in the enlarged European Union. The cultural programme of the Polish-German year included about 160 various events (concerning music, theatre, literature, film, exhibitions of paintings and graphic art, multimedia projects, etc.) and meetings, conferences, etc. on topics related to culture, art and history. They were held, among others, in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Hamburg, Bremen and Frankfurt on the Main over the period of time from April 2005 to the autumn of 2006⁷⁶.

⁶⁸ For a wider account see: R. Reche, *Polnische Kulturtage Lübeck. Days of Polish Culture in Lübeck*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 107.

⁶⁹ For a wider account see: W. Pomianowski, *Polska – cóż leży bliżej? [Poland – well, what is closer? Polish Week in Berlin]* *Polen – was liegt näher? Polnische Woche in Berlin*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, pp. 105-106.

⁷⁰ O. Müller, *Akwizgran uczcił Bronisława Geremka [Aachen honoured Bronisław Geremek]. Dialogue and Fete – Polish Weeks of Culture, Aachen feierte Bronisław Geremek. Dialog und Fest – Polnische Kulturwochen*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 104.

⁷¹ For a wider account see: D. Bonkowski, *Days of Polish Culture in Braunschweig, Polnische Kulturtage in Braunschweig*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 109.

⁷² For a wider account see: R. Kopyto, *Bavarian Culture Days*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 1, p. 73.

⁷³ For a wider account see: *Saksonia we Wrocławiu. [Saxony in Wrocław] Sachsen in Breslau*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 105.

⁷⁴ For a wider account see: A. Bugajska, *Thuringia Days in Kraków. Thüringer Kulturtage in Krakau*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 108.

⁷⁵ For a wider account see: M. Wagińska-Marzec, *Rozwój polsko-niemieckich stosunków kulturalnych w latach 1990-2010 [Development of Polish-German cultural relations in the years 1990-2010]*, in: *Polsko-niemieckie stosunki społeczne i kulturalne*, (ed.) A. Sakson (in preparation).

⁷⁶ A wider account of the Polish-German Year see: *ibidem*.

It is also impossible to forget about the numerous events connected with the celebrations of the Year of Chopin, “Chopin 2010” in Germany. They included first of all concerts with the participation of Polish and foreign pianists as well as exhibitions, lectures and talks about the composer and his creative output. An example of an interesting German-Polish initiative is the idea of a joint edition (in Poland and in Germany) of a postal stamp showing the image of Queen Richeza⁷⁷. The Project was successfully completed in 1988. In May 1999 the Polish School at the Embassy in Cologne received the name of Queen Richeza.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE TREATY’S ANNIVERSARY – THE CULTURAL PROGRAMME

The year 2011 was marked by two important events: 20 years since the signing of the Polish-German Treaty on Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation (17 June 1991) and the Polish presidency in the EU Council (second half of 2011). The celebrations of 20 years since the signing of the Treaty both, in Germany and in Poland included many meetings, discussions and conferences as well as artistic events including, among others, the Polish-German Festival of Modern Neighbourship under the title “**Neighbours 2.0**”. It took place from 6 May to 17 June 2011. It was a nationwide event with the central events organized in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań and Gdańsk. The programme included about 30 projects reflecting “the authentic, vibrant and multilateral cooperation between Poles and Germans”; it was supposed to encourage “further dialogue, participation and collaboration in creating together with Germany a future model of neighbourship in Europe”⁷⁸. The projects showed mainly the technological progress in the world of digitalization and cultural programmes prepared with the use of new media. Many institutions were involved in the completion of the project, among others: The New Theatre in Warsaw, The Old Theatre in Kraków, *Theater Hebbel am Ufer* in Berlin, The Nuremberg House in Kraków, The National Audio-Visual Institute, The Polish Institute in Berlin, *Planete Doc Film Festival*, The Monte Video Photo Foundation, The German Council for Music, The Contemporary Art Centre “Łaźnia” in Gdańsk, The German Fashion Film Award, The Heinrich Böll Foundation, The Copernicus Science Centre and the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ Queen Richeza (died in 1063) – Princess from the North Rhine area, daughter of the Rhine Palatine Eriemfried, niece to Otton III, wife of Mieszko II, mother of Casimir the Renewer; for a wider account see: „Rycheza, królowa Polska [Richesa the Queen of Poland], http://historia_kobiet.w.interia.pl/teksty/rycheza.html; see also: A. Schweiger, Rycheza z Nadrenii, królową na polskim tronie – symbol jedności Europy? [Richesa from North Rhine, queen on the Polish throne – symbol of European unity], http://v1.polenia-viva.eu/index.php?option=com_content&id=6%3Arycheza-z-nadrenii-krolow-na-polskim-tronie-symbol-jednoci-europy&Itemid=5.

⁷⁸ „Neighbours 2.0”, http://www.warschau.diplo.de/Vertretung/warschau/pl/AKTUELLES/Nachbarn_202.0/Projekt.html.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

EVALUATION ATTEMPT

The external conditions have changed in the integrating Europe and in the face of the new challenges there was no room for the sole “export” of national culture. A cooperation based on different principles became a must; it was more about collaboration and “intellectual osmosis”⁸⁰. The transition to a new form of cooperation for both sides consisted in the commonly shared promotion of national culture in the neighbouring country as well as in the presentation of interesting phenomena, events and cultural transformations in both countries. It was noticed that this kind of cooperation will be both, more effective as well as less expensive when compared with the (frequently insufficiently considered) “export” of national culture.

Poland occupies an important place in German cultural and scientific cooperation with other countries, and Polish-German cultural cooperation “fits very well into (...) the new European paradigm”⁸¹. The interest in Germany in bilateral cultural cooperation, on the one hand opens new perspectives for a permanent place of Polish culture and science in the Federal Republic of Germany but, on the other hand, it faces us with huge requirements and challenges. The factors which are favourable for promoting Polish culture in Germany include the rich cultural infrastructure resulting from the federal system of government and the relatively high public expenditure on culture. Although, in the period of the economic crisis in recent years severe financial cuts were imposed on various sectors including culture.

On the break of 1999/2000 the Ministry of Culture and the Arts positively assessed Polish-German cooperation in the area of culture both, at the level of the state (between the Polish and German government) and at the ministerial level (between the Polish Ministry of Culture and the Arts and the relevant institutions in the government of the constituent countries of the federation)⁸². The presence of both countries in the Pan-European forums (e.g. the Council of Europe) and regional ones (e.g., ARS-Baltica) was evaluated as “satisfactory”. The Silesian Cultural Award (*Kulturpreis Schlesien*) granted since 1991 to distinguished persons of culture and science from Poland and Germany in recognition of their services for Silesia was quoted as an example of a successful “friendly” cooperation in the area of culture. This award

⁸⁰ See: Polsko-niemiecka współpraca kulturalna i naukowa [Polish-German cultural and scientific cooperation (selected aspects in recent years), Department of Culture of the Polish Embassy in Cologne, August 1998., Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Dep. for International Cooperation and European Integration, Materials concerning the meeting of Minister A. Zakrzewski with Minister M. Naumann sign. 1908/40.

⁸¹ Ibidem.

⁸² See: A. Niewiadomska, Tezy do rozmów z Ministrem Michaeliem Naumannem, [Theses for talks with Minister Michael Naumann]. Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Dep. for International Cooperation and European Integration, sign. 1908/40.

has become “an element of cultural neighbourship of Poles and Germans”⁸³. The laureates in the past included, among others, the poet, Tadeusz Różewicz (1994), Prof. Fritz Stern (1996), a composer Henryk Mikołaj Górecki (1997), and others⁸⁴.

In the estimation of the Ministry for Culture and the Arts by the end of the 1990s the signing of the agreement on cultural cooperation between Poland and Germany in Bonn in 1997 “did not cause any significant changes in Polish-German cultural relations”⁸⁵. This means that the cultural cooperation and exchange was continued and took its own course. The difficult topics in the mutual cultural relations included: 1) the return of the robbed and displaced cultural goods during the wartime; 2) the support for the cultural activity of national minorities in Poland and in Germany (the main issue was increasing support for the Polish minority in Germany and making it less bureaucratic); 3) problems related with the illegal trade of works of art (casus of the Jagiellonian Library)⁸⁶.

The negative image of Poland and Poles shaped by the German media which exists in the consciousness of German society was regarded as the most difficult social problem. Another set of controversial issues included the social and historical problems concerning, among others, national memorials and commemorating World War II⁸⁷.

In the scope of fulfilling the provisions of the Treaty the case of renovation of the J.I. Kraszewski Museum in Dresden was one of the most arduous matters⁸⁸. The problem was that the building of the Museum after 30 years of having been in use was in a disastrous technical state and needed a thorough renovation, which eventually was carried out as late as in 2000-2001⁸⁹. The official ceremonial opening of the new exhibition took place on 17 June 2001 within the celebration events on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of signing the Treaty on Good Neighbourship and

⁸³ For a wider account see: R. Reche, *Nagroda Kulturalna Śląska 1997 [Silesian Cultural Award 1997]*, „Dialog” 1997 No. 3-4, p. 67.

⁸⁴ See: R. Reche, *Nagroda Kulturalna Śląska landu Dolna Saksonia za rok 1998 [Silesian Cultural Award from Lower Saxony for 1998]*, „Dialog” 1998, No. 3-4, p. 69.

⁸⁵ See: *Tezy do rozmów z zakresu problematyki bilateralnej – współpraca kulturalna [Theses for talks on bilateral problems – cultural cooperation]*, Archives of the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, Dep. for International Cooperation and European Integration, sign. 1908/40.

⁸⁶ See A. Niewiadomska, op.cit.

⁸⁷ The problem concerned a memorial in the cemetery in Braunschweig, where the bodies of newborn babies of Polish forced labourers were buried, as well as difficulties encountered by the Polish side in their attempts to place a Polish exhibition in the former concentration camp in Dachau.

⁸⁸ The museum is located in the building in Nordstrasse in Neustadt district, where the writer lived during his stay in this town. The building in terms of administration is a branch of the Dresden City Museum (*Stadtmuseum Dresden*) and its exhibits come from the collection of the A. Mickiewicz Literature Museum in Warsaw. The Museum organizes various periodic exhibitions devoted to various current cultural events, as well as discussions and chamber music concerts., see, among others, P. Chemnitz, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in Dresden*, „Dialog” 1996 No. 1, p. 2.

⁸⁹ E. Szymańska, *Muzemu Literatury im. Adam Mickiewicza w Warszawie [A. Mickiewicz Literature Museum in Warsaw]*, Warsaw 2005, see: J. I. Kraszewski Museum in Dresden, www.culture.pl.

Friendly Cooperation between Germany and Poland. During a flood in 2002 the museum suffered serious damage and after the damage was repaired it resumed its activity in 2003.

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A considerable impact on the favourable development of cultural relations between both countries was made by the change of the political and social climate, and external conditions following the 1990 breakthrough, and especially after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the largest partners of Poland in the area of culture and it decisively dominates over other countries with respect to the intensity and the quality of cultural contacts. When it comes to fulfilling the commitments of the Treaty and provisions of the agreements on cultural cooperation and exchange by both sides, the most important is the conviction about the purposefulness and reasonableness of realizing them as well as the good will to cooperate in this respect. There are many examples which demonstrate that this conviction is certainly present on the Polish and on the German side. Both sides are aware of the role of culture in shaping the social identity and the image of one's own country and nation in the country of the neighbour. They perceive culture as an instrument serving international dialogue and contributing to soothing political and social tension.

Although not all the planned cultural projects were realized it was rather a result of problems of a financial nature (especially on the Polish side the lack of financial means was frequently a significant constraint). However, the ideological and political barriers disappeared, as well as the phenomenon of imposed "friendship" as it was the case with relations with the former East Germany. Yet, what remains is the question of the mutual attractiveness of both cultures. Certainly Polish artists and authors are more attracted to the culture of the West than the other way round, and Poles are more interested in the opportunity to enter the German market than German artists are with reference to Poland. This may be one of the reasons for a kind of asymmetry in the presence of Polish culture in Germany and German culture in Poland (a reverse phenomenon can be, for example observed in literature, although the reasons for this are most likely complex). It is difficult to give a straightforward answer to the question concerning the interest in the Polish culture in the country of its western neighbour because such research has not been conducted. The answer can also differ depending on the viewpoint and expectations of the interlocutor.

Recently, especially after Poland's accession to the EU structures, there has been a noticeable change in the forms of cooperation and in the nature of the events. Large-scale joint projects embracing various areas of culture and the arts started to be realized more frequently. This however did not result in resigning from, or ousting the individual exchange of artists and authors. Another characteristic feature was aiming at a search for new, original forms of cooperation, realization of multimedia projects and organizing artistic events with the use of modern technology and means of expression. A tendency to promote young little known authors and avant-garde

experimental artists was also noticeable. The number of Polish-German undertakings on the local level has substantially increased (in comparison with the time before 1990) which although were unable to get through to the common consciousness they nevertheless played an important part in local communities. In order to realize how many of them there were and how versatile they were it is enough to look at the list of projects supported by the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation in the last decade (2001-2009).

Undoubtedly, a significant role in popularizing the Polish culture in Germany has been played by: the Polish Institute in Berlin and its branch in Leipzig, by the Polish Institute in Düsseldorf, as well as by the Polish Embassy in Berlin and the Consulate General in Cologne, Munich and Hamburg. Their activity translated itself clearly into the number and the quality of the projects and cultural events organized within the radius of the area where they operate. This had a substantial importance for the shaping of the image of Poland and Polish culture in Germany. A similar assessment should go for the efforts made by the German Embassy in Warsaw and the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Wrocław, Gdańsk and Kraków towards cultural exchange and shaping a positive image of Germany in Poland, as well as for the vibrant centres of the *Goethe-Institut* in Warsaw and Kraków. Also the role of the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation deserves to be underlined as well as its substantial financial support which made it possible to complete many Polish-German ventures and artistic projects. Undoubtedly, without the initiative and commitment of many entities and people for the cause of cooperation and cultural exchange the provisions of the Treaty and of various agreements would remain only empty declarations.

The opening of the borders, free flow of information and the possibility to communicate, the development of technology facilitating the transfer of ideas and values, and finally a change of approach to the way cultural exchange can be realized, altogether influenced the growing intensity of the cooperation and cultural exchange between Poland and Germany in the last twenty years.

