

Edited by
Małgorzata Mizerska-Wrotkowska
José Luis Orella Martínez

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Poland and Spain in Contemporary World



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Małgorzata Mizerska-Wrotkowska

José Luis Orella Martínez

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Preface

Preface

ÁLVARO FERRARY

If the aim of comparative history is to achieve a better understanding of historical institutions or ideas by seeing how they differ between different countries and societies across time, we should conclude that with “Poland and Spain in Contemporary World” the main objectives and the justification involved in this kind of historical approach are fully reached.

Through ten contributions from twelve Polish and Spanish specialists in contemporary history the study encompasses a large number of key questions concerning the recent history of both countries.

In “Poland's Foreign Policy in the Years 1945-1980”, a chapter centred on the so-called ‘lost’ period of a Poland dominated by the USSR, **Józef Tymanowski** stresses the relevant steps taken by Władysław Gomułka during his time of government in order to endow Poland with an active stance within the communist system in external issues, which unquestionably meant a progress in comparison to the previous Stalinist era. The 1956 Hungarian Uprising nevertheless, Tymanowski points out, cleared up where the limits were laid by Moscow, demonstrating that for Poland during those years a real independent foreign policy was not possible. The 60’s and 70’s, despite Edward’s and Gomułka’s illusions about a distinctive Polish foreign policy coming into being, functioned virtually as a confirmation of the aforementioned fact.

Passing from Poland to Spain, it could be said that a notably fine balance between calculation and pragmatism defined Francisco Franco’s political behaviour in external, as well as in internal, matters. The chapter dedicated to Spain’s Foreign Policy by **Małgorzata Mizerska-Wrotkowska** is a good, and certainly brilliant, example of the aforementioned Franco’s personal political features. Because of its close ties with the Axis Powers, isolation and an international embargo was imposed to the Spanish regimen in 1945. Franco’s response was twofold:

to exploit Spain's anticommunism stance and to proceed to a political reshuffle, in a successful effort of readapting Spanish regime's image to an international context soon split by the outbreak of Cold War. As Mizerska-Wrotkowska rightly concludes, although Spain was always obliged to pay a fee because of its non democratic nature, Madrid's increasing cooperation with the Western governments certainly paved the way for Spain's total integration in the Western Security System, quickly accomplished few years after Franco's death.

Once regained its strategic independence after the events of 1989, it came the time for the Polish Republic to redefine its security policy from a new basis. As **Jacek Czaputowicz** points out, NATO and European Union membership was the Polish response to the need of basing strategic culture on national interest. As a result of its new international status, and in the face of the political and social volatility installed beyond its Eastern borders following the Soviet collapse, Poland, concludes de author, became a firm advocator of the creation of a Collective Security System through the reinforcement of NATO's military structures or strengthening the ESDP.

Returning to Spanish affairs, **Juan Carlos Jiménez Redondo** explores how the balance of power which the Fracoist regime was based on started to change in the fifties as a result of Spain's integration in the Western Defence System. A final outcome of that process consisted in an increasing contrast between the regime and the State, concludes the author.

Meanwhile, in "Danubian and Polish Exile in Contemporary Spain", **José Luis Orella** lights up a unexplored terrain: the action implemented since 1946 by the Obra Católica de Asistencia Universitaria in order to help academics and university students prosecuted because of its religious faith with economic assistance and accommodation facilities in Spain for the implementation of their respective careers. Along his grounded text, Orella stresses the point of the not in the least irrelevant contribution due to these conspicuous exiles from East and Balkan Europe to the Spanish cultural and social panorama.

From a reversed angle, **Cristina Barreiro** penetrates into the subject of Spanish exile to Poland following the end of Spanish Civil War. As Barreiro illustrates, the tiny Spanish community in Poland was to be increased at the beginning of the fifties because of the political measures taken against the communists in France and in other Western countries, starting up henceforth a second exile, more political, and affecting mainly to communist militants.

Based on a consistent empirical analysis and a set of well defined theoretical assumptions, **Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk** poses the question -or questions, the author remarks- of Polish identity in the context of European integration. According to Wojtaszczyk, the patterns and models of Western democracy represent a challenge to Polish national identity, formed historically around language and religion as key factors.

In his stimulating contribution, **José Díaz Nieva** deals with the sometimes too thorny subjects of the meaning of Spain and the endless debate around its political and historical identity. Under the cover of the disproportionate Europeanism felt by a large number of Spaniards, Díaz Nieva states, lies a disturbing loss of identity, even to the point of one being tempted to reformulate Europeanism as a useful and convenient artefact for filling the void left by a slow and permanent identity loss.

Even though the crisis in the EU has been generally felt in considerably much broader terms, and more intense and deeper than predicted, its direct influence in the Polish economy has been lesser in comparative terms. This is the main argument developed by **Jan Misiuna** and **Kamil Zajączkowski** in their important contribution. As the authors show throughout their remarkably consistent research, during the last two decades the Polish economic development has been faster when comparing to the rest of the Euro Area and the EU as a whole, meanwhile for the next two years a GDP growth and a low inflation are expected, albeit the unemployment rate seems to remain stagnant at around 10%.

Despite the common bonds shared between Poland and Spain in terms of cultural backgrounds, demographic as well as other geo-economics aspects, their respective economies exhibited a remarkable different behaviour facing the international monetary crisis or in order to overcome its effects. This formula could be the main conclusion drawn by **Juan Manuel Cansino** and **Manuel Ordóñez** in the last chapter. According to Cansino and Ordóñez, in the role played for the foreign sectors, both in the Spanish and Polish economy, could be found the key elements for providing a convincing explanation of the different, and even contrasting, ways in which these two economies reacted to the great recession.

Introduction

Introduction

MAŁGORZATA MIZERSKA-WROTKOWSKA
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Relationships between Spain and Poland have always been scarce and distant. However, when the sun never set in Spain, there was an initial relationship between both countries, whose Golden Age years clashed. Later, both the periods of the War of Independence and the cruel Spanish Civil War would become the most frequent fields of study about Spain in Poland as well as serving as basis for further comparison.

The first precedent would be in the 19th century with Joachim Lelewel, heir to a romantic 11th century, who prepared a comparative standpoint as the method of historical knowledge with his work *Historyczna paralela Hiszpanii z Polską w XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*¹ Some decades later, the presence of Spanish communists in communist Poland and Polish exiles in Franco's Spain would spread new horizons both in the historic and literary fields despite their very different points of view. It will not be long until the arrival in Spain of Jan Kieniewicz, Head Professor of History and first ambassador of Democratic Poland, who used the Study Centre on Ancient Traditions in Poland, Central and Eastern Europe of Warsaw University (OBTA²), also named "*Corpus Diplomaticum hispano-polaco*", to encourage the academic relationships between both countries, write numerous works and establish a school of Spanish history lovers³.

1 W. Stefański, Poznań 1845 or Wydawnictwo DiG, OBTA UW, Warszawa 2006.

2 OBTA – Ośrodek Badań nad Tradycją Antyczną w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.

3 For example: *La obra de Joachim Lelewel, 'Paralelo histórico entre España y Polonia en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII' (1831)*, "Hispania. Revista Española de Historia", LI/1991: 695-734; *Dantisco: diálogo y futuro de las relaciones hispano-polacas*, "Estudios Hispánicos" 6/1997: 29-40; *Polonia y España desde la perspectiva histórica*, "Estudios Hispánicos. Hispano-Polonica: Homenaje a Piotr Sawicki", 15/2007: 193-199.

As a result, Jerzy Axer and Antonio Fontán's (eds.) *Españoles y polacos en la corte de Carlos V*⁴ would be released to study the abundant correspondence by Juan Dantisco in the Imperial Spain. Another institution which has joined this approach is the History Institute of the Science Polish Academy (IH PAN) of Warsaw, which has also collaborated with the History Institute of CSIC⁵ on research on the phenomenon of migratory movements. One of these results can be found in Elda González Martínez and Małgorzata Nalewajko's *España y Polonia: los encuentros*⁶. Another fruitful collaboration will be that of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) with La Rioja University, after the initial approach by Cezary Taracha's (coord.), *We wspólnej Europie. Polska-Hiszpania XVI-XX wiek*⁷. Professor Taracha had already published the names of those Poles who had consulted the Spanish funds in the 19th century in *Źródła do dziejów Polski i polonika w archiwach hiszpańskich*⁸.

In Wrocław, with Piotr Sawicki and the "Estudios Hispánicos" journal, and at Jagellónica University of Krakow, with Teresa Eminowicz and the "Studia Iberystyczne" journal interesting works have been fostered. An example is *Olivares, Wazowie i Bałtyk: Polska w polityce zagranicznej Hiszpanii w latach 1620-1632*⁹ by Ryszard Skowron, focusing on a modern history which still hides interesting chapters between both countries. Other relationships are increasing like that of Poznań University with the Basque Country University or that of Copernicus University in Toruń with Navarra University.

However, contemporary history, particularly in the 20th century, has nourished a bigger mutual interest as it has been shown by Lidia Mularska-Andziak's works, *Franco*¹⁰ and *Dyktatura generała Prima de Rivery a hiszpańskie tradycje imperialne 1923-1930*¹¹. Also, Paweł Skibinski's *Państwo generała Franco. Ustrój Hiszpanii w latach 1936-1967*¹² whose author has contributed to "Arbil" journal with several articles on some Poles' lives such as Cardinal Wyszyński and St. Maximilian Kolbe. Besides, Franciszek Ryszka's *W kregu zbiorowych złudzeń. Z dziejów hiszpańskiego anarchizmu*

4 Alianza Editorial, Madrid 1994.

5 CSIC - Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

6 CSIC, Madrid 2005.

7 Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 2001.

8 „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 103/1996, z. 2: 45-46.

9 „Historia Jagellonica”, Kraków 2002 (Spanish version: Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2008).

10 Wydawnictwo Puls, London 1994.

11 Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Pułtusk - Instytut Historyczny UW, Pułtusk-Warszawa 1999.

12 Arcana, Kraków 2004.

1868-1939¹³ deals with purely Spanish phenomena such as the study of Hispanic anarchism.

As for the relationship between both countries during the Second World War, Jan Ciechanowski has recovered a period of intrigue and secrecy reminding us of detective stories with a historical background¹⁴. Transition to democratic regimes in both countries from formerly different experiences required an enriching comparison whose first results came from Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska's *Hiszpania i Polska: elity polityczne w okresie przejścia do demokracji. Analiza porównawcza*¹⁵ and Eugeniusz Górski's *España y Polonia: sus identidades democráticas*¹⁶.

But, as it can be seen at this stage of the introduction, this comparative study is assymetrical in favour of Poles, who are usually bilingual, unlike Spaniards' lack of fluency in such a difficult language like Polish. However, Felipe Ruíz Martín, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Rafael Ródenas Vilar and José Alcalá Zamora discussed the existing connections between both countries in their works. At present, we cannot help quoting Fernando Presa and Tania Dimitrova Láleva's (eds.) *España y el mundo eslavo. Relaciones culturales, literarias y lingüísticas*¹⁷; Matilde Eiroa y Dolores Ferrero's *Las relaciones de España con Europa centro oriental (1939-1975)*¹⁸ and Gregorio Bak, a Pole living in Spain, who discovers Josef Lobodovski's poetic work and the Hispanic literary world around him.

On leading this new way by philologists, sociologists and historians. We expect to broaden the comparative enrichment of our nations in the 20th and 21st century.

* * * * *

This monograph is a product of an international research project conducted by the Institute of European Studies at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science, Warsaw University, and the History Studies Institute of the University of San Pablo CEU (Madrid).

13 Ośrodek Badań Społecznych, Warszawa 1991.

14 For example: *Azyl dyplomatyczny w poselstwie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w czasie hiszpańskiej wojny domowej (1936-1939)*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, t. XCI, 4/2000: 551-584; *Działalność wywiadu polskiego w Portugalii i Hiszpanii w czasie II wojny światowej* [in:] *Wkład polskiego wywiadu w zwycięstwo aliantów w II wojnie światowej*, ed. by Z.J. Kapera, Wydawnictwo PAU, Kraków 2004: 83-114.

15 Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1996.

16 [in:] *Identidades: etnias, culturas, naciones*, ed. by M. Nalewajko, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich, Warszawa 2004: 51-65.

17 Gram, Madrid 2002.

18 „Ayer” 67 (3)/2007.

The aim of the authors is to place Poland and Spain in a modern historical perspective. The authors focus on five main themes. The first two chapters deal with Polish and Spanish foreign policy from World War II until its democratic transition. The following two chapters are devoted to the security policy of both countries in the same period. Throughout this book, the authors analyse the causes of migration and activities of Poles in Spain and Spaniards in Poland and the problems of identity the two countries have faced in the context of European integration. The final two chapters address the contemporary economic crisis and methods of combating it.

The book's structure is that of a mirror image, each of the main themes being addressed in the context of both Poland and Spain. The authors sought to answer the following questions: (1) What were the circumstances surrounding Polish foreign policy and manifestations of that policy during communism? (2) How was Spain's foreign characterized in the "Franco era"? (3) How did Polish security policy evolve after World War II and what new challenges does it face? (4) How did an authoritarian system of government influence the security policy of Spain? (5) How has Polish national identity evolved, starting from the beginning of Poland's statehood? (6) How has Europeanization influenced Spanish national identity? (7) What has been the scale of Polish emigration to Spain and what have those immigrants done? (8) How did Poland adopt its Spanish refugees after the loss of the civil war? (9) What means has Poland used in its fight against the economic crisis? (10) What has Spain achieved in this respect?

In addition to articles by academics from Warsaw University and the University of San Pablo CEU, to this book contains contributions from eminent experts from the University of Seville, Warsaw School of Economics and Santo Tomás University in Santiago de Chile.