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From the Editor

The appearance of the neocons at the center of American political life in the 1990s has had worldwide repercussions. One of them is the confusion of designating who is and is not a conservative. The neocons are all-out for the free market and privatization: in that regard, they stand to the right of socialists and statist communists. It is largely the neocons that advised the post-Soviet countries on how to exit communist economy and create a "free" one. But in the area of values they are more than liberal: "anything goes" as long as it does not interfere with economic activity or does not touch upon shibboleths that currently pass for society's values.

The repercussion in Poland has been confusion in labeling the political parties. Platforma *Obywatelska* is a party that in many ways resembles American neocons. It won the 4 July 2010 presidential election and is labeled "centerright" by commentators sympathetic to it. It stands for free market and privatization (although in practice it is often the former nomenklatura that grabs the cash squeezed out of former state enterprises). In the area of values PO is as flexible as the neocons.

The opposition party, *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* is more inclined toward the welfare state. Like Barack Obama, its leader Jarosław Kaczyński has repeatedly defended universal and free health care. PiS's

attitude to social welfare borders on socialism. In the area of values, however, PiS resembles the German CDU in that it is openly Christian and defensive of Polish national interests. Jarosław Kaczyński is no more xenophobic than Angela Merkel or Nicholas Sarkozy. He captured nearly half of the Polish vote in July 2010. Whence comes his negative image in the West?

Part of the answer lies with the media. Gazeta Wyborcza, the daily with the second-largest circulation, generally follows in the footsteps of the American neocon establishment and it supports PO. Rzeczpospolita, the most-cited daily in Poland, is sympathetic to PiS and it can be compared to the conservative German papers. The political life of Poland is circumscribed by these two dailies: they offer strikingly different interpretations of reality. An example is the attitude toward the vetting of those individuals in economic and academic life whose activities in communist times might have made them easy targets for blackmail. The PiS government tried to institute the vetting of nomenklatura when it was in power, but PO opposed it, and in that it was vigorously seconded by GW. As a result, the vetting never took place.

So why is PiS called xenophobic and far-right in American and British media? Because these media use virtually exclusively their contacts and stringers in the circles of Gazeta Wyborcza, but never Rzeczpospolita. Before the presidential elections Adam Easton, BBC's Polish correspondent, wrote a highly ideologized article about Polish politics. He quoted GW, and balanced it off with a quote from a journalist named Jacek Žakowski. What's wrong with quoting two sources? Easton failed to mention that Žakowski is GW's leading columnist.