

THE WESTERN REVIEW

BIMONTHLY



CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	Page
<i>Zygmunt Dulczewski</i> : The Organization of Sociographic Investigations in the Western Territories	225
<i>Bohdan Gruchman</i> : The Actual Problems of Vitalizing the Economy in the Western Territories	233
<i>Czesław Madajczyk</i> : The Nazi Leaders and the Polish Problem from October 1939 to September 1940	1
<i>Kazimierz Nowak</i> : The Legal Doctrine of the Social Democracy in the German Federal Republic	260
<i>Wacław Petsch</i> : The Problem of Poland's Access to the Sea and the Principle of Ethnographic Boundaries at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919	47
<i>Aleksander Rogalski</i> : The Conditions of Development of the Present German Literature	288
<i>Zbigniew Rotocki</i> : The Model of Occupation in Austria	58
<i>Janusz Tomaszewski</i> : Some Investigations on Social Integration in the Western Territories	241

MATERIALS

<i>Tadeusz Cyprian</i> : Latest Changes in the Penal Code of the German Democratic Republic	342
<i>Henryk Edel-Kryński</i> : The Malbork County	129
<i>Henryk Edel-Kryński</i> : The Sztum County	302
<i>Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk</i> : The Activities of the Polish Historical Society in the Western Territories	336
<i>Jerzy Krasuski</i> and <i>Bolesław Wiewióra</i> : The Problem of the Polish-German Frontier in the Correspondence between the Chiefs of Governments of the USSR, Great Britain and the United States	99
<i>K. J.</i> : Some Remarks about Polish National Consciousness in the Lubusza Region	329
<i>Florian Miedziński</i> : The Relations between the Israel and the G. F. R	104
<i>Florian Miedziński</i> : Repatriation to the GFR within the Framework of „Re-Uniting Families“	311
<i>Karol Marian Pospieszalski</i> : The Protest of Dr. William Hagen against the Proposed Extermination of a Part of Population in the Zamość District in 1942/43	117
<i>Karol Marian Pospieszalski</i> : The Nazi Policy from the „Generalplan Ost“ of the Reichsführer SS.	346
<i>Wacław Radkiewicz</i> : The Significance of Agricultural Products Import for the Economy of the G. F. R.	112
<i>Zygmunt Rutkowski</i> : The Zielona Góra State Archive and Its Collections	330
<i>Franciszek Szymiczek</i> : Publishing Activities in the German Federal Republic	369

NOTES

a: The Rapacki Plan as One of the Greatest Political Events of 1957; *a*: The Rapacki Plan and the directly interested States: Czechoslovakia, G. D. R. and G. F. R.; *a*: The Rapacki Plan and the Four Great Powers; *a*: Yugoslavia and Belgium give their support to the Rapacki Plan; *a*: The New Peace-

Initiative of the USSR; *a*: Władysław Gomułka's Utterances on Polish-German Relations; *a*: N. Chruszczow speaks about solving the German Problem; *w*: French Publicists and the Odra-Lusatian Nyssa Frontier; *T. Cyprian*: "The Economist" writes about the Odra-Nyssa Frontier; *a*: Efficient Struggle with German Revisionists in Polish Territory; *ES*: The Inaugural Session of the Scientific Council of the Society for the Development of the Western Territories; *a*: The Utterances of Prof. Leszczycki, Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Society for the Development of the Western Territories (TRZZ); *a*: Poland — GDR; *a*: GFR — Poland; *B. W.*: The Effects of the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations between GFR and Yugoslavia; *a*: The Paris NATO Session and the GFR Problems; *Z. Nowak*: Economic Stabilization and Foreign Trade in the G.F.R.; *T. Krajczycki*: The First Deficit of the GFR in the European Accounts Union; *T. K.*: The Report of the German Federal Bank of November 1957; *T. K.*: The Subvention Policy of the GFR; *T. K.*: The Problem of the Rise in Steel Prices in the GFR; *T. K.*: The Price of Bread rises in the GFR; *a*: Useful Publications of the „Słowo Powszechne”; *a*: The Death of the Vice-Prime Minister — Otto Nuschke 139—165

a: The Rapacki Plan — A Diplomatic Act of a World Wide Range; *a*: Memorandum of the Polish Government of February 14th, 1958 concerning Nuclear-Free Zone in Europe; *a*: Notes of the Polish Government to Ten States; *a*: Polish Memorandum handed to the Secretary General of the U. N.; *a*: The USSR gives its full support to the Polish Plan of Creating a Nuclear-Free Zone; *a*: The First Symptoms of the Western Powers Reaction to the Polish Memorandum; *a*: Czechoslovakia and the Rapacki Plan; *a*: The German Democratic Republic and the Rapacki Plan; *a*: The German Federal Republic and the Rapacki Plan; *a*: Military Arguments in the Problem of the Rapacki Plan; *a*: The Problem of Polish Dioceses in "Annuario Pontificio" 1958 378—389

a: The Great Powers and the German Problem; *a*: N. Chruszczow on the Peace Treaty with Germany; *a*: The GDR once more makes the Proposal of Uniting Germany; *A. W. W.*: The Controversy concerning the Foreign Policy of the GFR.; *a*: The GFR against the Proposals of Re-Uniting Germany; *B. W.*: Ius tractatum of the GFR Lands; *A. J. K.*: „Revisionism Instead of Politics"; *a*: "The Hohenzollerns want to receive Reparations from Poland"; *K. M. P.*: Two Opinions concerning the Nazi Crimes in GFR; *a*: Prof. W. Grewe — Ambassador of the GFR in Washington; *a*: How many Germans perished in the Second World War? 389—400

w: The Commercial Representation of the GDR in Rome; *T. Krajczycki*: Forecasts for the further Economic Development in GFR; *T. K.*: The Abundance of money paralyses competition in GFR. 400—403

M. M.: The Fundamental Problems of Cultural Policy in the GDR; *M. M.*: The Balance of Cultural Achievements in the GDR in 1957; *M. S.*: Some Problems of the Cultural Policy in the GFR. 403—409

CORRESPONDENCE

<i>Zdzisław Borzycki</i> (Gryfice): The Repatriated from the USSR in Gryfice County	179
<i>Stefan Golachowski</i> (Wrocław): Sociographic Investigations in Opole Silesia	166
<i>Władysław Kowalenko</i> (Poznań): The Szczecin Scientific Society and Its Environment	422
<i>Józef Podgóreczny</i> (Bydgoszcz): The Scientific Session at Bydgoszcz	180
<i>Józef Podgóreczny</i> (Bydgoszcz): The Prize Winners of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship and Bydgoszcz City	426
<i>Wojciech Staszewski</i> (Szkłarska Poręba): The Industrial Development in Jelenia Góra District	167
<i>Alfons Szyperski</i> (Wałbrzych): Vocational Schools at Wałbrzych from 1945—1957	410
<i>Lili Maria Szwengrub</i> (Warszawa): Sociographic Investigations undertaken in Warmia (Ermeland) and Masuria	176
<i>Stanisława Zajchowska</i> : Congress of Scientific and Cultural Workers at Zielona Góra	417

ESTIMATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Page

<i>Bohdan Gruchman</i> : The Source of Knowledge concerning the German Democratic Republic (the discussion about the book „Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik“)	182
<i>Zbigniew Kulak</i> and <i>Marian Wojciechowski</i> , West-German Replications to E. Wiskemann's Book (discussed books: Herbert Kraus-Karl O. Kurth, Deutschlands Ostproblem, Eine Untersuchung der Beziehungen des deutschen Volkes zu seinen östlichen Nachbarn. Hilmar Toppe. Elizabeth Wiskemann und Deutschlands Nachbar Polen)	428
(W. A. <i>Borkenhagen</i>): The Outline of History of the Polish-Lutheran Church of Missouri Synod (disc. by Władysław Chojnacki)	208
<i>Inis L. Claude Jr.</i> : National Minorities (disc. by B. Wiewióra)	435
„Deutsch-Slavische Wechselseitigkeit in sieben Jahrhunderten“ Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Slavistik (disc. by Gerard Labuda)	191
<i>Thomas Ellwein</i> : Klerikalismus in der deutschen Politik (disc. by Rev. Mieczysław Żywczyński)	453
<i>Heinrich Heffter</i> : Die deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der Ideen und Institutionen (disc. by Jerzy Krasuski)	201
<i>Armin Mohler</i> : Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918—1932. Grundriss ihrer Weltanschauung. <i>Otto Ernst Schudekopf</i> : Die deutsche Innenpolitik im letzten Jahrhundert und der konservative Gedanke (disc. by Jerzy Krasuski)	524
A. M. <i>Niekricz</i> : Politika anglijskogo imperializma w Jewropie (disc. by Bernard Trela)	441
“Folk Poetry of Ermeland and Masuria” — Antology. Choosen and prepared by T. <i>Oracki</i> (disc. by Zygmunt Lietz)	211
<i>Paul Rohrbach</i> : Um des Teufels Handschrift (disc. by Andrzej Józef Kamiński)	193
<i>Walter Schlesinger</i> : Die Geschichtliche Stellung der mittelalterlichen deutschen Ostbewegung (disc. by Gerard Labuda)	186
<i>Otto Ernst Schudekopf</i> : see Armin Mohler	
<i>Heinrich Uhlendahl</i> : Vorgeschichte und erste Entwicklung der Deutschen Bücherei (disc. by Władysław Chojnacki)	205
<i>Henry C. Wallich</i> : Mainsprings of German Revival (disc. by Zdzisław Nowak)	445
<i>Rudolf Wildenmann</i> : Partei und Fraktion. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse der politischen Willensbildung und des Parteiensystems in der Bundesrepublik (disc. by Kazimierz Nowak)	449
“Hand-Book for Tourists and Businessmen—Zielona Góra District” (disc. by Adam Chómicz)	212
„Oświęcim Files”, 1. Oświęcim 1957 (disc. by Wanda Kiedrzyńska)	212

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

<i>Jerzy Krasuski</i> and <i>Zbigniew Kulak</i> : Germany in the Epoch of Imperialism	214
---	-----

THE CHRONICLE OF THE WESTERN INSTITUTE

K. A. J.: Scientific Conference in Leipzig	221
P. K.: Debates of the Polish-German Historical Commission in Leipzig	216
The Conference concerning Millenium	223
Miscellanea	223, 462

Committee of Editors:

Kazimierz Piwarski - Chairman, Tadeusz Cyprian, Witold Jakóbczyk, Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk, Alfons Klafkowski, Gerard Labuda, Janusz Pajewski, Michał Pollak, Mieczysław Suchocki, Jan Waścicki.

Scientific proof-readers: Maria Morkowska, Marian Pachucki

ZYGMUNT DULCZEWSKI

THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATIONS IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

One of the principal problems in sociographic investigations in the Western Territories is the formation of social links and the transplantation to this area of forms of cultural life brought by the representatives of various settlement groups. The Author differentiates the social link, being social integration of the population, from the local link, being an expression of the individual's relation to the new social and geographic environment. The identification of those two kinds of links causes false interpretation of several phenomena connected with the social process of settlement in the Western Territories.

The article is concerned with the criteria of choice of places being the subject of sociographic investigations, discusses the possibilities of intensive and extensive investigations in the Western Territories, and gives as example the organization of investigations in the voivodeship of Zielona Góra, the latter being carried on by the Sociographic Section of the Western Territories Department in the Western Institute in Poznań.

BOHDAN GRUCHMAN

ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF VITALIZING ECONOMICALLY THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

The proper economic development of counties and voivodeships requires programmes for some years in advance, those determining the directions of progress for the given area. The elaboration of such plans is necessary particularly for the Western Territories. National Councils in those territories are faced by the principal problem: whether vitalizing the Western Territories means the restoration of the state existing in this area prior to the war, or whether new development trends must be determined.

The role, played by those regions in Poland's economy, necessitates the conclusion that the restoration of the pre-war state is quite insufficient. The task of further industrialization of the whole country faces to a great extent the Western Territories. To accomplish this task it is necessary to build new industrial establishments in this area. Besides, the actual situation of the country requires full exploitation of all existing technical and material resources in the Recovered Territories. This is specially true as regards minor industry which was highly developed here before the war. The industry of building materials, in the first place, deserves the greatest attention of economic authorities in the Western Territories, since this industry ought to

supply articles necessary for the development of towns and villages. Further domains of economy requiring speedy progress are: industries producing articles for agriculture, and food stuffs industries based on agricultural products. Those branches will help to improve the inadequate agricultural production of the Western Territories.

CZESŁAW MADAJCZYK

THE NAZI LEADERS AND THE POLISH PROBLEM FROM OCTOBER 1939 TO SEPTEMBER 1940

The annexation of Poland's western and north-western territories was decided by the Nazi leaders from the first days of occupation. Up to October 1940 the boundaries between the annexed area and the Generalgouvernement were still discussed, while the proposals of further changes to the detriment of GG were made in the second half of 1940. In spite of the assurances of Nazi leaders, the boundaries of those areas were not determined according to the state of 1914. The removal of Poles and Jews from the incorporated territories was carried through in a brutal manner. The number of Poles to be removed was estimated at 4 to 5,5 millions. According to the conference held in Stuttgart on March 14th, 1940, concerned with the action of re-settlement from the Reich to the annexed area, the settling in Poznań, Ciechanów and Suwałki districts had to be completed three years after the war. The directions of the Germanizing action are given by the "Instructions of Himmler" which were actually a concised "Nationality Programme" of the Rassenpolitisches Amt of November 25th, 1939. The fact that in September 1940, only in the so-called Wartegau, Nazi authorities were seeking 19 000 persons who fled to avoid removal, proves how strong was the Poles resistance and their love of motherland. It is not quite clear how Frank's attitude of the middle of 1940 can be explained when he demonstrated reluctance in accepting removed Poles to GG, although he was loyally realizing Himmler's policy.

The Nazi moves towards GG were of a much more complicated character than those towards the annexed territories, since the former could have been an object of political compromise in case of German plans attaining a new "München" proved successful. The analysis of events shows that in October 1939 the Nazi leaders of the Reich, counting on the development of pacific tendencies in England and France and on the new political surrender of those countries, accepted the possibility of creating a "fragmentary" Polish State, after robbing economically the territories which had to constitute it.

Several utterances of those leaders illustrate their intentions to make this State regardless of its form, greatly dependent on the Reich and its sovereignty fictitious. Some of those leaders, i. e. Frank, since October 1939, postulated the colonial character of this State.

England's und France's rejection of Hitler's proposal in October 1939, was followed by Germany's decision of leaving GG. by the Reich, within the framework of the great German Empire. The precise determination of this problem was undergoing the process of crystallization in the plans of Hitler and

his attendants entangled by the vision of a colonial empire and racial dominance. This process was interrupted but for a short period by the visit of Welles and the talks with him about ceasing war activities. The Polish problem was one of those in question. The failure of those talks was followed by undertaking war activities in the West and coming to the final decision about GG. remaining by the Reich as (eventually with the Czech Protectorate) the first European colony of the German Empire. The change in the name of GG. in July 1940, was regarded as the first step on the route of incorporating this part of Poland to the Reich, as demonstrated by the words of Hitler quoted by Frank and by the interpretation of an official publication of a German scientific institute. The practice of occupying authorities quite distinctly confirmed the colonization tendencies.

The analysis of material leads to the conclusion that the problem of Germanizing GG. was a weighty one in the discussed matters. Himmler and Frank several times spoke about plans in this field, sometimes referring to talks with Hitler. The utterances of the Governor General also contain denials as to the existence of such tendencies. Those denials occurred at the time of negotiations with Welles, therefore they seemed to be either a link in German tactical moves, or being concerned not with the action of Germanizing GG. generally but with the problem whether to start that activity immediately, what was strongly urged by certain German circles. Germanization should not be carried on at once — declared Frank — but at the second stage, after creating strong German positions in the annexed territories. In the following years, the difference in opinions between Himmler and Frank lay in their attitude towards the initial time of this stage, whether it should take place already in war-time, as the leader of SS did in the Zamość district. In accord, however, Frank and Himmler undertook such steps to prepare Germanization as: the attempts at the destruction of Polish national feeling, nationality policy, registering Poles as Volksdeutsche, transferring Polish population to Germany for compulsory work, breaking up families and restricting reproductivity of the Polish population, extermination policy, economic policy, non-acknowledgement *de facto* of Polish individual property, its transfer or preparation for transfer over to German hold, etc.

Thus, already the period from October 1939 to August 1940, illustrated the plans of some Nazi authorities to incorporate GG. into the Reich at a proper moment and to Germanize that area in the future. The fate of the Generalgovernment was politically prejudged by the Nazi regime — that territory was to become a German colony.

KAZIMIERZ NOWAK

THE LEGAL DOCTRINE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

In its theoretical formulations the doctrine of SPD clearly and openly abandons socialism. The leaders and theorists of this party attack the idea of proletarian dictatorship as being presumably in disaccord with socialism. The theo-

rists of social democracy speak only about the evolutionary way to socialism, renouncing revolutionary means of struggle. At present, the leaders of SPD desire to remove from the social-democratic movement anything that could even slightly remind the necessity of class struggle of the workers against capitalists. The renunciation of class struggle is accompanied by simultaneous tendency of theorists and leaders of social democracy to reject the existence of class conception, to detach that conception from its economic basis, and chiefly from the problems connected with the ownership of production means. The leaders of SPD distinctly tend to transform that party into so-called folk party (*Volkspartei*). The theorists of the right wing of social democracy treat democracy in a formal manner, without considering its social aspects. That thesis is attacked by the left wing social democrats, e.g. Agartz and Abendroth. SPD openly advocates parliamentary democracy, therefore promoting a bourgeois regime. The SPD Congress, held in Nuremberg in July 1947, passed a resolution, being to a certain degree a project of Germany's Constitution, which declared support for that form of government. Parliamentary democracy, with some supplements, is for the SPD the only suitable form of governing a State, as well in the period of the workers class struggle for power, as after its seizure, — in the time of building socialist regime, and even for the socialism itself.

WACŁAW PETSCH

THE PROBLEM OF POLAND'S ACCESS TO THE SEA AND THE PRINCIPLE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE IN 1919

The principle of ethnographic boundaries was supposed to be an obligatory basis for determining State frontiers at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. That principle, according to the creators of the new international deal after the Second World War, was a natural consequence of the recognition of the principle of self-determination of nations.

That principle, however, was not enough exactly defined at the 1919 Peace Conference. The exchange of diplomatic notes between the Government of the USA and that of Germany led to the recognition of the official utterances of President Wilson as binding the parties concluding armistice. Therefore the Author gives an extract of those declarations which formulate the principle of self-determination of nations.

While recognizing the right of every nation to its own political organization (State), it was necessary to determine the conception of a nation as precisely as possible. That task was not accomplished in a binding manner and such terms as "nation" and "people" (*peuple*) were used. The difficulty arose when the necessity of a clear determination of the range of national territory occurred. Several objective criteria (language, religion, race) and the subjective one of national consciousness — (plebiscites) were applied. This practice encountered justified criticism since the objective data, constituting the basis of national

territory, were given by the administration of the States — oppressors and were falsified, while the manner of carrying out plebiscites was not in accord with international principles, which they were supposed to serve.

It is worth stressing that in the Conference negotiations such terms were mostly used which indicated the principle of ethnographic or ethnic boundaries, since rather the term "people" than "nation" was applied.

The Author discusses further those factors which, in the course of history, influenced the determination of State frontiers, i. e. such aspects as: defensibility, history, economic and geographic situation and their influence — besides the ethnographic criterion — on the formation of the frontiers of States which rose after the First World War. As regards the projects of the Polish-German frontier in Pomerania, the following classification can be made, according to the Author's opinion:

a) projects based on the principle of ethnographic boundaries which attempt to consider on behalf of Poland — although in a narrow range — the requirements of defensibility and the geographic, economic and historical aspects;

b) projects which, in determining frontiers, formally retain a certain small share of non-ethnographic factors but, in reality, they greatly reduce the influence of the latter;

c) projects which desire to establish the political frontier on the extent of national population, eliminating all other aspects as meaningless in the epoch of the League of Nations. Those projects base the documents concerning nationality statistics on data of the official German 1910 census;

d) projects which do not consider at all the area of Polish nationality in Pomerania (even according to German sources) and intend to leave the whole of Pomerania to Germany, for geographic, economic and defense reasons.

Proceeding to the criticism of the final decision of the Paris Conference, the Author of the work states that it is quite evident, even for those creators of the Versailles Treaty who were most apt to submit to illusions, that the boundaries of national population in Eastern Europe constitute such a cartographic mosaic that the frontiers of newly created States, based upon those boundaries, would inevitably lead to absurdity. The political frontiers had, therefore, to be determined with consideration for the necessities following the principle of self-determination of nations, accepted as "idée directrice", i. e. in such a manner as to guarantee the independence and defensibility of the newly — created States. "The principle of ethnographic boundaries" should have been but a basis of the work of determining frontiers. The problem would have been quite different if the principle of compulsory re-settlement of population had been accepted, and particularly, in the case of Germany's eastern frontier — the most important one for European peace.

According to those theoretical assumptions it was necessary to divide the frontiers in Europe into such which could be based on the extent of national population and those which could not be settled in such a manner. Germany's eastern frontiers — the most important ones for European peace — should have been subject to the same proceedings.

The frontiers of Poland's access to the sea were the most drastic example of the latter type of frontiers. Poland's access to the sea, as determined by the

Versailles Treaty, as far as it was constantly threatened and dependent only on Germany's weakness and the fictitious guarantees (art. 10 of the League of Nations Pact) of an inadequate security system, created the temptation of aggression and the source of permanent tension in Europe.

Those consequence of unjust decisions could not have been unnoticed in 1919. They were quite clearly presented in writing by the Polish Delegation for the Peace Conference. The fact that they had not been taken under consideration was due to political reasons which influenced Lloyd George at the time of the Conference talks.

ALEKSANDER ROGALSKI

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT GERMAN LITERATURE

Considering that our knowledge of present trends and cultural occurrences in Germany, and particularly in West Germany, is very scanty, the Author desires to present the situation in the literature of the German Federal Republic. He is specially interested in two problems: 1) the influence of general conditions on the development of the present German literature, and 2) the artistic value of the contemporary West German literature and the ideas it expresses. The Author is chiefly concerned with the first problem, leaving the second one to further discussion. It can be generally said that — according to the results of an inquiry among the leading West German publishers and to the utterances of the representatives of German literature themselves — the works of young West German writers are suffering of numerous formal inadequacies. The same occurs also among the young authors of the German Democratic Republic.

As regards the ideas expressed in the West German literature — in the initial post-war period nihilism was its characteristic feature, while lately such ideas appeared as: mercantilism, unwillingness to deal with the most urgent social problems, servility or a passive attitude towards State authorities, disappearance of criticism, lack of links with literary traditions of the country, and finally — priority of success and money.

ZBIGNIEW ROTOCKI

THE MODEL OF AUSTRIA'S OCCUPATION

Well known events of March 1938 brought to an end the inter-war existence of Austria, and the outbreak of the Second World War did not influence its legal international position. Only at the Moscow Conference, in 1943, this problem was brought out from forgetness. In "The Declaration of Three concerning Austria" the annexation of that country was declared void and non-existing, but at the same time Austria was charged with responsibility for her share in

the war on the side of Nazi Germany. Therefore the future Austria had to be a *sui generis* State which was to be treated neither as an ex-enemy nor as a liberated allied territory. Moreover, the European Advisory Commission, created at the same time, while elaborating the Austrian problem, came to the conclusion that the re-established State ought to undergo political and economic democratization, and the Pan-German and Nazi influences should be eliminated.

The first stage of Austria's occupation, from the beginning of April to May 8th 1945, besides general declarations about independence, did not bring the solution of those problems. That occupation followed the laws of the IV Hague Convention but, of course, interpreted in a wider sense, according to the social and military requirements resulting from modern war conditions. At that time Austria constituted an occupied territory differing from Germany only in that respect that occupants charged themselves with the obligation of restoring her independence. It was the unconditional surrender of Germany that placed Austria's question on a new platform. First of all, the separation from the Reich within her pre-1938 frontiers received its legal sanction in the very act of unconditional surrender and the war occupation passed into its peace stage.

That stage was of a completely new character, unknown till then to the laws of nations, and being the result of the intention of the victors to control Austria's political and economic conditions. Since all the participants of the anti-Nazi Coalition recognized the principle that only a democratic government could guarantee a peaceful policy of the country according to the interests of all States, the change in Austria's regime in that direction was an action on behalf of and for the good of the commonwealth of democratic nations. It was in the name of that commonwealth that the Great Powers were to carry through the democratization of Austria, eliminate the spirit of militarism and organize peaceful economy in that country. Thus acting they assumed the role of law-maker and created a new form of control and international administration. Therefore, their decisions intended at achieving the above mentioned aims, cannot be made void even after the end of occupation.

In order to realize those tasks the Great Powers created in Austria their representation — "The Allied Council" — which acted directly, at first through its military authorities, and later through the Austrian government, in the period of the I Control Agreement (July 4th 1945 — June 28th 1945), and afterwards indirectly through the Austrian Government, in the period of the II Control Agreement (June 28th 1946 — July 27th 1955).

In the period of the I Control Agreement the Austrian government was only an executive department of the Allied Council which was obliged to act unanimously to give binding force to its decisions. Lack of that unanimity led to the danger of paralysis of that institution and to the formation of four separate political and legal areas. That state of affairs underwent a change when following art. 14 of the I Control Agreement the Powers, after the formation of Austrian government, introduced the II Control Agreement. The latter gave the Austrian government complete liberty in regulating internal affairs and a considerable independence in the foreign affairs, due to the possibility of applying art. 6 a — the so-called „opposite veto“. The Allied Council, however,

could further control Austria's democratization and counteract against all attempts of opposing it, since in case of unanimity of the Council's members, what was a rule in such situations, the Austrian government was further obliged to execute its commands. That state of affairs, which was supposed to exist but 6 months, lasted till 1955, as a result of the political situation from 1946 to 1953.

In that period the relationship between the Allied Council and the Austrian government had three distinct stages. The first stage, lasting to 1948, was marked by gradual releasing the remaining control regulations and the reduction in the Commission's staff; the second stage lasted until 1953 and was marked by a complete stagnation, while the third and the last one to the conclusion of the 1955 Treaty, was marked by the fact that the Allies, and mostly the USSR (except for the first half of 1954, after the Berlin Conference) made final concessions nullifying all the restrictions of the II Control Agreement. Over all that period the Allied Council was functioning without any interval and the Austrian government could also perform normally its activities, due to art. 6 a of the II Control Agreement applied in case of lack of unanimity of the former.

Thus, the tasks imposed upon the occupying States by the international commonwealth of nations were accomplished between 1950 and 1955. The Treaty concluded with Austria (May 15th, 1955), named State Treaty not Peace Treaty to stress the attitude towards that country as a liberated one and only temporarily occupied, was solely a final expression. In order to maintain that state unchanged, as foreseen by prof. Trajnin in 1947, that treaty "had to contain guaranties securing the existence of a democratic regime in Austria". Those are: the regulations guaranteeing the observance of the development line determined by the Allied Council, as well as the existence of an organ in the form of "Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions" which is as if a remnant of the Council itself.

The treaty did not limit itself to incorporating all the laws of the Austrian government and the Allied Council, it guaranteed once more the effectiveness of principles which had directed the activities of the Allied Council in the time of the occupation. The change was only in the addressee who was obliged to control the execution of those principles. Since then, the Allied Council, has been replaced by each Austrian government which, in some cases, could be controlled by the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions — the remnant of the Allied Council.

It can be generally said that Austria was that place where the mechanism of the Allied authorities was functioning rather in accord and has achieved the intended aim without loss of prestige of any of the Great Powers.

JANUSZ TOMASZEWSKI

SOME INVESTIGATIONS ON THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

The Author discusses a part of the material gathered in the initial sociographic investigations, carried through in one of the small towns marked with the letter M. in the voivodeship of Zielona Góra.

50% of the population of that small town, which has slightly over 2,000 inhabitants, arrived after the war from the district beyond the Bug river. The other 50% constitute the aborigines (15%), the re-settlers from Poznań district and Pomerania (15%) and those from central Poland (20%).

Each of the mentioned regional groups has a different psychical and sociological structure, caused by many geographic and historical factors, by a different character of environment in which it had been shaped through many generations and even centuries.

That difference between the particular groups and the conditions of the post-war period have determined the peculiar character of the new community, being in the course of formation.

The post-war years were conducive to the rising of isolation attitudes or those of antagonism in the town. Those attitudes were a result of an alleged feeling in certain groups that their economic, cultural, customary and even linguistic (regional) values were threatened by the remaining groups.

The most drastic cultural differences occurred between the autochtones and the re-settlers from the east. In the course of time those differences have undergone a certain moderation and are much milder at present than they used to be in the initial period. That initial form, however, has greatly influenced the mutual relations among the groups and social distance, thus formed. Over ten years of mutual contacts among the inhabitants, on the ground of different institutions of the village, was conducive to changes often fundamental in the relationships among the groups, in personal culture and in mentality of the members of particular groups.

The adoption of cultural examples from neighbours is one the most important factors joining particular groups into one whole. The place of work, the school, the church, the sports club, the community hall are an important factor speeding up the processes of integration and adaptation.

Those processes are much slower in the elderly generation whose conceptions are linked with the old social and cultural structure and whose mental features exhibit more adherence to tradition. The people from beyond the Bug river have a special capacity for assimilation. By accepting with ease certain models of culture, whether material or spiritual, the style and way of living of other groups that population is of great help in speeding up the social integration of the town.

The most intense and consequent is, however, the integration among the youngsters of all groups. The youths have been living at M. since childhood and here their attitude as members of a certain determined post-war community has been shaped. Those from immigrant families are not really linked with the environment and area from which they were brought by their parents, while everything links them with their present abode.

The factors integrating the youths are strong enough to form the social bond necessary to tighten the inter-group relations in all fields of environment life.