THE WESTERN REVIEW

BIMONTHLY



CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	Page
Benthien Bruno, Some Problems of Topological Studies in Mecklenburg	86
Bernhard Hans Joachim, Franz Fühmann, German Poet and Prose Writer	253
Chęciński Michał, The Social and Economic Functions of "Just Price" for	
Foodstuffs in Nazi Germany	74
Honsza Norbert, Political Views and Writings of Thomas Mann	227
Nowak Zdzisław, Integrationist Conceptions of the Big Capitalist Powers	3
Rotfeld Adam Daniel, The Munich Agreement in International Law	38
Sługocka Ludmiła, Harry Thürk and His War Epics	276

MATERIALS

Banasiak Stefan, Organiz	zation of the	Repatriation	of German	Population	
in 1946—1950	the state of				102
Bojarska Barbara, The Cr	imes Commit	ted by Selbstsc	hutz in Łobż	enica	139
Finze Hansjoachim, The	West Gern	nan Heimatlyr	ik in the	Service of	
Revanchism					294
Magdziarek Marek, Some	Demographic	Problems in	the G.D.R.		115
Carmonlei Manian Cormon	Translations	from Dolich 1	I itanatura in	1045 1069	205

DOCUMENTS

Aide-Memoire of the Government of the German Democratic Republic	315
Statement by the G.D.R. Government in Connection with the Signing by the	
G.F.R. Government of the Moscow Nuclear Test Ban Treaty	314
Joint Statement on the Occasion of the Visit by the Party and Government	
Delegation of the G.D.R. in Poland	153

REVIEWS AND COMMENTS

Jaskowski Marian, The American-West German Relations in January-	
—June 1963	328
Krajczycki Tadeusz, The Current Problems of the West German Steel Industry Krajczycki Tadeusz, The 1964 National Economic Plan of the German Demo-	175
cratic Republic	340
Miedziński Florian, Ludwig Erhard Becomes Chancellor of the G.F.R.	165
Miedziński Florian, The Political Aspects of the Ideological Premises of the	
Programme of the Deutscher Gewerkschafts-Bund (G. F. R.)	317
Sobkowska Karina, The International Book Fair in Leipzig	347
Szternel-Lewek Alfreda, The Visit by the G.D.R. Party and Government	
Delegation in Poland	162
Wróblewski Tadeusz, The Centenary of Matice Slovenská Organization	182

CRITIQUES AND DISCUSSIONS

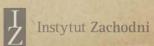
Broszat Martin, 200 Jahre deutsche Polenpolitik (by Jerzy Krasuski).	36
Flach Karl-Hermann, Erhards schwerer Weg (by Zbigniew Kulak).	35
Gajan Koloman, Německý imperialismus a československo-německé vztahy	
v letech 1918-1921 (by B. Piotrowski)	363

Michowicz Waldemar, The Struggle of Polish Diplomacy against the	
Minorities Treaty in the League of Nations in 1934 (by Jerzy Krasuski)	207
Neal Fred Warner, War and Peace and Germany (by Longin Pastusiak)	351
Regional Development in the European Economic Community (by Zdzisław	
Nowak)	187
Rogalski Aleksander, The German Federal Republic, Facts, Confrontations,	
Opinions (by Władysław Tomaszewski)	365
Schieder Theodor, Das Deutsche Kaiserreich von 1871 als Nationalstaat	
(by Jerzy Krasuski)	194
Szewczyk Wilhelm, German Literature in the 20th Century (by Hubert	
Orłowski)	368
Orłowski)	196
Tulchinski Moisey Rubimovich, Advokaty revanzha. Zapadnogermansky "Ost-	
forschung" na sluzhbye bonskoy rewanzhistkoy politiki (by Janusz	
	190
Sobczak)	202
Woslenskij M. S., Vneshnaya politika i partij F.R.G. (by Józef Muszyński)	354
robbitology in, or, vicebility a portuina i parting a robbit in a barry	
BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES	
Z Z A C I I M Z W M I Cormony 212	271
Z. K., A. SL., J. M., T. W., M. J., Germany	272
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	0.0
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE	0,0
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE	0,0
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kuczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kuczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great	218
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State	218
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State	218 221
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State . Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts . Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations .	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State	218 221
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State . Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts . Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations .	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State . Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts . Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations .	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations: Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts. Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations: Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts. Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations. Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at	218 221 380 387
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at IWA — Decorations — IWA's Scientific Secretariat	218 221 380
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts. Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations. Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at IWA — Decorations — IWA's Scientific Secretariat. Sitting of IWA's Supervisory Board — Sitting of IWa's Scientific Council —	218 221 380 387
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at IWA — Decorations — IWA's Scientific Secretariat Sitting of IWA's Supervisory Board — Sitting of IWa's Scientific Council — Sitting of the Coordination Committee of Western Territories Institutes	218 221 380 387
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at IWA — Decorations — IWA's Scientific Secretariat Sitting of IWA's Supervisory Board — Sitting of IWa's Scientific Council — Sitting of the Coordination Committee of Western Territories Institutes — Conferences of IWA Members — The "Odra" Award — Foreign Visi-	218 221 380 387
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICALE Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Celebrations to Mark the Foundation of the Great Moravia State. Kaczmarczyk Zdzisław, Conference Devoted to Monographs on Towns and Districts Piechowiak Halina, Prof. Roman Pollak's Contribution to Polish-Italian Relations Wróblewski Tadeusz, Vth International Congress of Slavonic Scholars in Sofia INSTITUTE'S CHRONICLE Prof. J. Pajewski's Lectures in Geneva — Prof. Z. Kaczmarczyk's Visit in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia — Scientific Session — Foreign Visitors at IWA — Decorations — IWA's Scientific Secretariat Sitting of IWA's Supervisory Board — Sitting of IWa's Scientific Council — Sitting of the Coordination Committee of Western Territories Institutes	218 221 380 387

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BRUNO BENTHIEN

SOME PROBLEMS OF TOPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF MECKLENBURG

The author discusses the current state of research in this field and graphically presents settlement in Mecklenburg before and after World War II. He demonstrates the relationship between the methods of production and the character of settlement in former manorial and demesnial parts of Meklenburg. Against this background he outlines "the basis pattern of the development of settlements in Mecklenburg", taking into account not only geographical factors but also social and historico-economic questions. He devotes much space to the problem of Buschrämel ("bushy balks"), which have largely disappeared in the 18th century when big feudal estates swallowed peasant farmsteads.

In conclusion he discusses projects for further long-term studies in this region and points to the necessity of close collaboration between representatives of various disciplines, particularly historians, archivists and ethnographers.

HANS JOACHIM BERNHARD

FRANZ FUHMANN, GERMAN POET AND PROSE WRITER

The author discusses Franz Fühmann, a German poet and prose writer, now living in the German Democratic Republic. Fühmann belongs to the so-called middle generation of writers and his work is dominated by his war-time experiences.

On the example of Fühmann's poem Stalingrad, the author shows that Fühmann belongs to a small group of German writers who have successfully dealt with the problem of the "unsurmountable past" and sees in this the great importance of his work for the whole German nation. Of Fühmann's lyrical poems, highly accomplished formally and permeated by a deep spirit of humanism, the following deserve special mention: Altes Glas, Die Seefahrer, Die Weisheit der Märchen.

The prose works discused include Kameraden, a novel composed in accordance with classical canons, a novelette Gottesgericht, and a volume of short stories, Das Judenauto. Mention is also made of Kabelkran and Blauer Peter, a novel depicting the contemporary scene in the German Democratic Republic, and of Böhmen am Meer, a short story which is probably Fühmann's best achievement in recent years.

Fühmann is undoubtedly a great poetic talent and his works link back to the best traditions of German humanist literature.

MICHAŁ CHĘCIŃSKI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF "JUST PRICE" FOR FOODSTUFFS IN NAZI GERMANY

The agricultural prices policy in the Third Reich can be divided into two stages. In 1933/35 it was designed to create conditions facilitating the disposal of agricultural surpluses in those fields which were of essential importance for Germany's self-sufficiency. After 1935, when the German economy started direct preparations for war, stabilization of agricultural prices was to protect the consumer market against inflation.

In accordance with N.S.D.A.P. phraseology agricultural prices were to be "just prices". The concept of the "just price" had never been, however, properly formulated and the actual agricultural prices did not conform to the national socialists' declarations. The discrepancy between theory and practice sprang from the fact that price as a market category was bound to express the contradictions of the market, with its clash of interests. Moreover, engaged in a policy of armaments, the N.S.D.A.P. subordinated its agricultural policies to this objective. This was contrary to the interests of the peasants, as prices stabilized at a low level enabled the drainage of accumulated stocks from the countryside.

In order to adapt Germany's agricultural structure to the needs of autarkical economy other means, too, were used to influence the decisions of agricultural producers.

In comparison with the period of prosperity, 1927/28—1928/29, agricultural prices before the second world war amounted barely to 79 points, i. e., 3 points below the crisis level. Consequently they ceased to reflect the market situation, disorganized production, consumption, and damaged agricultural processing industries.

It may be said in conclusion that since 1935 agricultural prices in the Third Reich have not favoured the development of agricultural production and caused disturbances on the market; they were contrary to the fundamental interests of the majority of German peasants.

NORBERT HONSZA

POLITICAL VIEWS AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS MANN

Thomas Mann's political activity although of considerable interest, has not received sufficient attention so far. Mann has always very seriously regarded his political writing, seeing in it an important means of influencing public opinion. His views have to be considered, for their proper appreciation, in the context of the numerous polemics which they provoked with W. Muschg, G. Lukacs, H. Eichner, J. Lesser, P. Sagave, W. v. Molo, F. Thiess, etc.

In Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen Mann developed his ideas on democratic and, in his opinion, progressive forms of state in a contemporary civilized country. He did not advocate, however, a concrete political structure, but was concerned with more general principles. In the period 1920—1933 Mann's The Magic Mountain (Der Zauberberg) aroused much political discussion. He perceived a great danger to Germany in those years, opposed all cheap and popular "philosophies of life", and warned against demagogic politicians. Political and social views he regarded as part of the great humanist idea.

After the outbreak of the Second World War Mann's ideological attitude changed considerably: a conservative liberal of the years 1914—1935 he became a liberal in the broader meaning of this term. This period in his political activity and writing has been sharply criticised.

Apart from his inspiring speeches against the Nazi regime, delivered over the BBC during the war, his post-war statements concerning socialism and communism deserve no less respect. Many of the views which he considered of positive value he regarded more as theoretical assumptions than guiding principles for practical political activity. Consequently, many of his political writings lack detailed analyses of existing situations followed by concrete proposals.

Despite difficult personal experiences, personal attacks and insinuations, Thomas Mann persisted in his humanist approach and made his voice heard on all the crucial issues of the times.

ZDZISŁAW NOWAK

INTEGRATIONIST CONCEPTIONS OF THE BIG CAPITALIST POWERS

The processes of integration in western Europe compel the countries concerned to cede some of their sovereign rights to supra-national institutions. However, the expected economic and political advantages and the importance of the rights renounced are not the same in all cases. Hence all countries want to influence the integrationist processes in a manner designed to promote their national interests. As a result there are a great many conceptions,

The American attitude to European integration stems from this country's economic position in the world and its political ideas after 1945, mainly its anti--communism. In the economic bolstering and political unification of Europe the U.S. saw an important element of the strength of the western bloc. For a considerable period the U.S. were ready to pay for Europe's integration by accepting discrimination of its own exports. In time, however, political unification increasingly proved to be an illusion while economic discrimination was ever more acutely felt by America. This forced the U.S. fundamentally to revise its economic policies and to take radical measures to counteract the results of this discrimination, as Europe's integration developed in a direction which, should the U.S. continue its support, would present a growing risk to American economic interests.

Great Britain's attitude to integration was chiefly determined by its close ties with the countries of the British Commonwealth. These ties reinforced Great Britain's position with regard to the continent of Europe, but at the same time deprived her of economic benefits accruing from trade with its highly industrialized countries. For this reason Great Britain wanted to take part in the integrationist processes and shape them on the model of the Commonwealth association. Consequently, it strove to prevent political integration of continental Europe. However, when this policy failed Great Britain made a dramatic bid to join the European Economic Community. This ended in a failure and at the beginning of 1963 the British integrationist policy found itself in a cul-de-sac.

In the broad picture of the dualism of economic and political efforts at integration France stands for the primacy of the political conception. Believing in its pelitical strength on the Continent and fearing economic competition on the part of other European powers, mainly the German Federal Republic, she aims at subordinating the processes of economic integration to political bodies in which she would play a leading role. For a number of years this conception found its expression in the idea of regional integration. When this did not find ready support, she firmly declared herself for the setting up of the European Economic Community, opposing, however, the conferring on this organizations of supra-national political powers. Europe de patries has become the formula of the French integrationist policy

At the same time, the support of West Germany for the idea of integration sprang from her confidence in her economic potential which was to become a means of securing a dominant political position in Europe. This was, of course, the result of political, not economic, calculations. An active participation in the processes of integration was to help West Germany to throw off economic and political restrictions. The bid for the restitution of Germany's position as a big power, with its primary objects of the unification of the whole country and a revision of the Oder and Neisse frontier, required support of the part of Western Powers, a leading position in the western bloc, and a weakening of the socialist countries. Since integrationist conceptions had from the start an anti-socialist character, they suited well G.F.R.'s political interests.

However, individual western countries were not inclined to facilitate West Germany's renewed penetration of eastern Europe and the East-West conflict was



slowly losing its sharp edge. As this conflict remained the cornerstone of the West German political conception, the G.F.R.'s policies became increasingly chaotic. Efforts were made to exacerbate the East-West conflict, on the one hand, and to establish closer political ties of an anti-socialist character with other partners, on the other. The West German political line noticeably began to differ from the British conceptions and oscillated between the American and the French policy.

ADAM DANIEL ROTFELD

THE MUNICH AGREEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Munich Agreement, which has aroused so much interest among historians, merits also an analysis and examination from the legal point of view. The need for such an analysis is the more obvious when it is realized that government officials, political leaders, revisionist groupings, and international jurists in the German Federal Republic maintain that the agreement is still binding.

In considering this view three questions must be answered:

(I) whether prior to September 29, 1938 Czechoslovakia was a party to international agreements which were supposed effectively to guarantee her security?

(2) whether at the time of its signing the Munich Agreement created international legal obligations for Czechoslovakia?

(3) whether the Munich Agreement is still binding on Czechoslovakia?

A detailed analysis of these queries leads to the following conclusions:

(1) Prior to September 29, 1938 Czechoslovakia was a party to international agreements which could effectively guarantee her security. However, the advocates of "appeasement" saw a better guarantee of maintaining peace in concessions to the aggressor than in discharging their duty of protecting the sovereignty and integrality of an allied state;

(2) Since the moment of its conclusion the Munich Agreement has not created

for Czechoslovakia any obligations in international law;

(3) The formal annulment of the Munich Agreement has finally put an end

to any possibility of invoking its provisions;

- (4) The regulation in the Potsdam Argeement of the question of the Sudeten region and the consequent resettlement of the population reaffirmed the existing legal situation, thus making it impossible to plead in future the principle on national self-determination;
- (5) Art. 10 of the Soviet draft peace treaty with Germany ("The frontiers of Germany are to remain what they were on January 1, 1959") has, from the legal point of view, a declaratory character. Its political significance lies in the fact that it makes a complex legal basis as simple and unambiguous as possible - to prevent revisionist demands.

LUDMIŁA SŁUGOCKA

HARRY THÜRK AND HIS WAR EPICS

Writers in the German Democratic Republic occupy themselves chiefly with analyzing the sources, course and results of World War II and with describing the life of their country as it is at present.

Among them there is a group of worker-writers which comprises, apart from

Summary

Hans Marchwitza, Willi Bredel, Ludwik Turk, Otton Gotsche, Erwin Strittmatter, also Harry Thürk. Thürk, born in Biała in Upper Silesia in 1927, was in turn manual worker (at first in his native Silesia and after the war in Weimar), press photographer, correspondent, journalist and finally writer. The G. D. R. Government sent him for longer stays to the Federal Republic, Hungary (1952), and China (1957/8). These experiences and observations of life in Silesia and the G. D. R. gave rise to several novels, stories and reportages, written in the epic manner. Particular mention is due here to the short story Nacht und Morgen (1950) and the novels Die Stunde der toten Augen and Das Tal der sieben Monde (1960), all treating of the last war.

War writing is attentively followed by literary critics in the G.D.R., who enjoin writers not to repeat the mistakes of pacifist novelists of the inter-war period and encurage them to go beyond autobiographical experiences and show the second world war as, above all, the struggle between the socialist and the capi-

talist system.

Thürk's first two war stories, Anfang und Ende and Nacht und Morgen, are valuable not only because they show the horrors of war (a few days' military service of a 16-year-old volunteer) but also the means of combating them (the international resistance movement); Die Stunde der toten Augen became a bestseller, although it had a varied reception from the critics; Das Tal der sieben Monde is an important item of the so-called Polen-literatur; in telling the story of the collaboration of a few Germans with the Polish underground movement it presents a realistic picture of the situation in Silesia.

In his war prose Harry Thürk passes his judgement on the events of World War II and comes on the side of peace; he also unequivocally declares himself for strengthening the friendship between the Polish and the German people.