

WŁADYSŁAW MARKIEWICZ

INSTITUTE FOR WESTERN AFFAIRS ON THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF PEOPLE'S POLAND

Considering the twenty years' activity of the Institute for Western Affairs, a research center at Poznań, an answer should be provided to the question how far the Institute succeeded in fulfilling the task of advancing Polish science in the selected fields, and what are its merits in the realm of social politics. It is a matter of appraising the role of the Institute during the past twenty years on the background of the Polish scientific level and its organizational structure.

The Institute's activities have then been influenced by the leading ideas which had determined the state's policy in various domains of life. Hence, three development stages during the twenty years of its existence.

During the first period (1945—1950) of reestablishing centers of organized scientific activities in Poland, the Institute offered to respond immediately to the urgent demands in many fields and thus replace the missing link between science and practice. The Institute consolidated the dissipated research work of university centers and individual scientists into a defined programme. Its coordinative and inspiring functions found their expression chiefly in the field of publications.

In consequence of changes introduced in the organization system of Polish tuition and academic centers (years 1949—1950) the extension of the Institute's influence became limited. Nevertheless, several publications on the history of Polish-German relationships, of the Western Territories of the Nazi occupation, have been published under the auspices of the Institute; since 1945 the periodical "Western Review" ("Przegląd Zachodni") has been issued continually.

The Institute for Western Affairs entered its third period in 1956, a year of establishing new organizational grounds and of enacting a new research programme. Since then it became an independent branch (institute) of the Polish Academy of Sciences, whose scientific aims have been combined with those of the Institute for Western Affairs. During the following three years specialized sections of the Institute have been organized. These subdivisions started to study up-to-date problems of both German states and of the Polish Western Territories, employing for the purpose an academic staff. At this time the Institute gained permanent pecuniary resources for its activities.

ZDZISŁAW NOWAK

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF WESTERN EUROPE

European integration is propagated in the West as a new form of economic and political relationships between capitalist countries. It is assumed, among others, that a union of west-European countries will liquidate the continual danger from the part of the German system of social and political infiltration, and from the extreme German nationalism and militarism. In view of the revival, in G. F. R., of the ideas of revenge it is essential to answer the question

whether west-European integration strengthens European security. Reasons for which G. F. R. has become an enthusiastic adherent of the idea of uniting western Europe require to be determined.

During the past century, the concept of a common market played three times in German history a prominent role as a form of realization of German imperialist tendencies. Following are the three forms: German Customs Union (Zollverein), Mitteleuropa and the Nazi "new order".

After the year 1945, west-Germany's interest in the common market idea took a new aspect. Initiatives of creating economic and political communities were now forwarded by other western countries, while Germans viewed them as a way to retrieve the lost ranks of an imperialist country. It soon became evident that the policy of integration not only failed to prevent the revival of German hegemony in western Europe, but — on the contrary — fostered this trend: G. F. R. gained a leading economic position and started to play the most important role in the European Economic Community.

In the field of politics, west-Germany's aim of topmost importance was included in the pursuit of breaking-down the communist system in eastern Europe; a customs union was the chief means. Within the actual balance of world forces, recovery of territories belonging in the past to the German Reich is the most unerring way for Germany to regain the imperialistic status. The German Federal Republic regards the west European union as an effective instrument for anticommunist struggle.

A historic and economic analysis of contemporain integration concepts of G. F. R. permits to apprehend that a European union is treated as a new form of accomplishing the former European ideas of the German Reich.

ANTONI WŁADYSŁAW WALCZAK

SO-CALLED *GESAMTDEUTSCHE POLITIK* IN THE PROGRAMMES OF ALL-GERMAN INSTITUTIONS IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

The author provides an outlook on the basic political assumptions of the contemporary west-German *gesamtdeutsche Politik*, the so-called "all-German policy", in its reactionary trends. These tendencies have been backed after 1949 by the *Sozialistische Reichs-Partei (SRP)*, later by *Deutsche Reichs-Partei (DRP)*, *Gesamtdeutscher Block-BHE (GB/BHE)*, All-German Block merged later with *Deutsch Partei (DP)* in the *Gesamtdeutsche Partei (GDP)* as well as by organizations of the *Landsmannschaft* type. Their chief aim lies in a *Gesamtdeutschland*, a total Germany, covering — in the programmes of these organizations — more than territories of the prior four zones of occupation. *Gesamtdeutsche Politik* looks back on the Reich of 1937 or the Pan-Germanic Reich. Unification of Germany is identified with a programme of gradual recovery of the former territories of the Reich, first by organizing so-called "Essential Germany" (*Kerndeutschland*) later by establishing the all-German Reich (*Gesamtdeutschland-Reich*).

The author's analysis of the parties in question indicates direct relationships with the so-called *Heimatpolitik* oriented towards the "native country", the multilingual concept *Heimat* concentrating a large emotional potential of national subjects.

The author further reports on the support of tendencies of territorial recovery hidden in slogans of the *gesamtdeutsche Politik* (standing in G. F. R., as the G. D. R., for a unification in the spirit of the Potsdam Convention acc. to