

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



which Germany should be united on the territory of the former zones) on the part of: the Supervisory Body *Unteilbares Deutschland* (Indivisible Germany), National Movement for Unification and the *Ministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen* (Ministry for all-German Affairs).

ANDRZEJ KWILECKI

### FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION ON THE SO-CALLED LITTLE EUROPE AND GERMANY

The article discusses views, prevailing in the French community, on the European union (including 6 countries of the so-called Little Europe) and on one of the partners of this union, namely the German Federal Republic.

For several years a majority of about 60 per cent of the French public supports the union idea. It would however be misleading to think that France agrees with any kind of means of uniting western Europe. In general the French society follows the accepted views, yet as regards the details and methods of organizing the union, the convictions vary. The "European idea" is given a broad meaning. According to a major part of the French public supporting the idea of understanding and cooperation between various nations, future united Europe should include other countries of the continent, among others countries of eastern Europe. In matters of political views and national sovereignty, French opinion favours the idea of a "Europe of states" rather than an "integrated Europe".

In spite of a conformity with the general principles of the union, it evokes no great enthusiasm in the French community. French people do not regard the accomplishment of the union as an important or pressing task. The degree of engagement is highest in the socially most privileged groups, whose judgment identifies the union with their class interests.

French-German relations are to remain in the sphere of economic and cultural activities; there is to be no military cooperation. French thinking is still haunted by a lack of confidence in Germans and an apprehension of a powerful and armed eastern neighbour. This attitude stems from experience born during the three French-German wars of the past 75 years.

Nevertheless, old memories fade and new experience takes hold the thoughts. The French community yearns for friendship and cooperation with the German neighbour. And yet, west-Germany's attitude towards war and peace remains the most important criterion of appraisal. Behaviour of Germans themselves and policy of the G. F. R. government therefore mould the public opinion in France and likewise the opinion of several other countries.