

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE "WESTERN REVIEW"

The "Western Review" has been published by the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznań since 1945. It has grown from the great social needs which arose in consequence of return of the Western Territories to the Mother Country. Representatives of various scientific branches have published their articles in the columns of the "Western Review". These papers chiefly concerned historical and up-to-date problems on the regained territories and Polish-German as well as Slavic-Teutonic relations. In the years 1948—1954, "Western Review" was the representative organ of the Polish historical science, involved in studying the questions associated with the western territories and Polish-German mutual dependencies.

Since 1955, the "Western Review" has been increasingly concerned with contemporaneous problems. As the years went on there have been established three main topics regularly discussed in the "Western Review": a) both German states (GDR and GFR); b) Polish-German relations; c) west European integration.

ALFONS KLAFKOWSKI

PRESENT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT

I. The Potsdam Agreement has been valid *sine die* since the 2nd of August, 1945, that is from the day of its signing. Its present-day meaning is evident in that the Potsdam Agreement is part of termless international law. None of the signatories has put forward a proposal of its undoing and the agreement has not made any provision for its dissolution.

II. For this reason the Potsdam Agreement is valid, though not carried out by all countries. Nevertheless, encroachment of a treaty cannot be regarded as its denouncement. As all treaties it is an entirety and as such should be observed *in extenso*. Optional choice of enactments to be observed and a breaking or ignoring of other terms of the treaty is out of question. Portioning out of so-called "basic principles" from the original wording of this agreement lacks legal strength.

III. Assertions on an "extinction" of the Potsdam Agreement have no legal justification. If an international treaty is to expire, a special legal procedure is required. No such has been undertaken as regards the Potsdam Agreement. Its present-day significance is evident in that it is constantly being referred to on the legal and diplomatic platform. A practice recognized in political relations likewise contradicts the alleged annulment of this treaty, none of the coparticipants having declared it invalid or having provided grounds for this procedure.

IV. It has been more than once suggested, in respect to the Potsdam Agreement, that the proviso: *rebus sic stantibus* holds true; and on this basis its alleged "historical" significance is emphasized. As yet however no signatory has formally appealed to this clause.

V. For regulating the relationships with enemy states the Potsdam Agreement represents the chief legal ground. Neither the UN nor any other international body is entitled to carry out legal action against the enemy countries of World War II. The world powers are the only ones to deal in these matters.

VI. According to views held in the German Federal Republic, the Potsdam Agreement holds no enactments issued for the German nation — hence the government is in no obligation towards the treaty. Here it should be emphasized that "German approbation" in whatever form is in this case unnecessary. The Potsdam Agreement being an international legal bill holds true for both German states.

JERZY KRASUSKI

ON PRUSSIA

West German historiography has a tendency to rehabilitate Prussia and to annul the bill of the Allied Control Council for Germany, issued on 25 Feb. 1947, and liquidating the Prussian state as such. Consequences of this attitude should necessarily be apprehended. Most of the territory of former Prussia now belongs to Poland, to the GDR and to the GFR. Were Prussia to be reestablished, not only Poland and the GDR would have to be partitioned; the present federal system of Western Germany would likewise have to be overthrown. In the first years after the war, British and American authorities totally altered the political and territorial model of Western Germany, incorporating individual Prussian provinces into the newly-organized federal countries.

All the eastern provinces of Prussia have been established on foreign land. The western provinces, too, have been an outcome of conquests or treaties carried out against the will of communities. Nevertheless, it must be born in mind that the Prussian danger has been recognized not before the union of Germany, under the aegis of the Prussian military power, in 1871. On the other hand, since the XVIth century both Poland and France have been mainly concerned with the hazard on the part of the Habsburg dynasty. In those early days there was more dread from this side than from Prussia. It would be obviously naïve to think that Polish kings of the XVIth and XVIIth century could be aware of the future Prussian danger. This problem was by no means "neglected" because of Poland's involvement in the eastern policies. On the contrary, the extent of the danger was fully apprehended by the Polish nobility; Poland pursued a vehement northern policy of waging war against the Swedes. The Swedish power was overthrown at Fehrbelín (1675) by the very elector of Brandenburg. Hence the whole problem needs to be viewed in its historical aspect — the role of Prussia not being overestimated. Present danger should be appreciated by Poland, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic (sic) — were there to be made inconsistent attempts to reestablish Prussia.

KAZIMIERZ ŻYGULSKI

WESTERN TERRITORIES IN THE CULTURAL LIFE OF POLAND

The article points out the contribution of the western and northern territories to Poland's cultural activities after World War II. The author frames a theory that the civilization and development of these territories has shaped an entirely new cultural model accepted by the whole country. Providing a review of the ever-changing civilizational proceedings of the period between 1944 and 1964, the author starts with portraying the situation in the Western Territories which prevailed at the time of their return to Poland; he then outlines the processes of