

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.

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#### 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



formation of a new community. Mass postwar migrations, in consequence of which several millions of Poles have settled on the borders of Oder and the Baltic, resulted in abolishing the former cultural disparities imposed by the partitioning of Poland in the XVIIIth and XIXth century. The new communities of towns and villages on the Western Territories are stirred by dynamic processes of unification covering the realm of language, customs, ideas and beliefs, and favoured both by the democratic transformation of the social system characteristic of postwar Poland, and by the general developmental trends as well as by the newly-organized network of centers of mass communication media. Statistical records indicate that in respect to the number of these receivers, Western Territories have the highest indexes, frequently no lower than those in technically advanced countries. On the basis of the impressive scholarly and literary production of the indigenous population, settled for centuries on these territories, the demographically young and dynamic community sprung up in the country bordering upon the Oder and the Baltic Sea, displays a generous organizational activity. Throughout the twenty-year period, scientific, technical, artistic and educational centers have been organized and there have emerged new cultural regions with hopeful ambitions. As compared with the former civilization associated with century-long German colonization on these terrains there have taken place intentional processes of choice. Whatever represents — from the standpoint of the essential Polish civilizational standards — any real value, has been maintained, rebuilt, frequently at a high expenditure, and accepted as part of the European cultural production shared in common. Whatever reminds the times of German oppression and Nazi barbarity has been retained as a monument of warning.