462

PERSPECTIVES OF THE SO CALLED VERSÖHNUNG (RECONCILIATION)
BETWEEN GERMANS AND POLES

On Oct. 25, 1965, the Protestant Church Counsel in Germany published a memorandum, Die Lage der Vertriebenen und das Verhältnis des deutschen Volkes zu seinen östlichen Nachbarn. According to the author, this document includes nothing new; whatever is mentioned had already been refered to previously. Significance of the memorandum lies in its form of a program-declaration issued in the name of several million of adherents by an institution playing a role of importance in GFR. Reaction of the GFR public opinion to the Protestant Church memorial has revealed how distant the time is when the West-German community has disencumbered itself from the burden of nationalistic and chauvinistic complexes.

The five chapters of the author's treatise exhibit his critical views on the ideas comprehended in the Protestant Church document and in the correspondence exchanged between the Polish and German Catholic bishops. In the first place he polemizes with the views of the West-German Church on the following problems: the social status of the resettlers, situation in the Polish Western Territories, international affairs, the theological and ethical interpretation of the so called legal title to a fatherland and the settlement of eastern boundaries of Germany, and on the problem of the German eastern frontier regarded as a political question.

Finally the article discusses the attitude of GFR authorities to the Protestant Church memorandum. Presumable the government of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland have decided to alter their diplomacy in the eastern policy. From now onwards the latter is expected to be conformed to the far-sighted strategy pursued by the contemporain imperialism against the socialist countries and known under the term: "communism softening". The government of the Federal Republic of Germany intends to postpone the frontier problem on behalf of the unification of Germany in order to isolate the German Democratic Republic from other Sovietable nations thus preparing grounds for its absorption.

## ZBIGNIEW JANOWICZ

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM AND ITS ROLE IN THE UNIFICATION OF GFR

Development of the federation administration plays an important role in the complex process of unification of the German Federal Republic. The country management is expanded by way of making use of the ambiguous regulations of the fundamental bill (constitution), or else by evading its restrictions.

The author characterizes the development of the federal administration system, especially of the central bodies (ministries and so called selbständige Bundesoberbehörden). Forming of new, federal administration authorities as well as of other subdivisions increases its influence on the countries (among others by the intensification of control); or even signifies an "extraction" of some branch of administration so far belonging to the competence of the member-countries. Hence: "in the play of forces between the federation and the countries it shifts the weight to the advantage of the federation" (H. Ehard). Development of the federal administration system is opposed by adherents of the idea of a confederation, among others by

the Federal Council, *Bundesrat*, yet its competence is rather limited in this case. The author polemizes with some of the officially accepted arguments in favour of a continual development of the federal system, chiefly od ministries. He points out the disadvantageous effects it bears on a harmonious organization (excessive specialization, overlapping of competences resulting in a lack of clearness).

Presumably, unification of Western Germany is partly affected, too, by the far-reaching dislocation of the federal administration system.

### KAZIMIERZ ZABIELSKI

# ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT IN GFR ON THE BACKGROUND OF PROCESSES OF ACCUMULATION

Processes of factual and financial accumulation belong to the main agencies accounting for the rapid economic development of the German Federal Republic which qualified it to rank first among capitalistic countries in respect to the industrial progress; for the dynamics in the rising of the national income; for its holding, since 1959, the second place in the world export. Beside the export expansion, large investments have been and still are the main sources of the country wealth. These investments were mainly based on "compulsory saving" on the part of enterprises, in the form of undivided gains and savings of public institutions, as well as on "voluntary savings" of households. In the years 1950—1964 the compulsory savings amounted to 71.5% of the total. Undivided gains of enterprises were the source of self-financing of the investments, while the savings of public institutions and households supplied the "capital market".

After a detailed analysis of the institutional and open capital market in the years 1950—1964, the author arrives at a following conclusion: the market is dominated by an oligopol of banks, by savings offices of the building industry and by insurance companies. These oligopols stiffen the structure of the capital market and establish the price (percentage) of the loan capital. The capital market in GFR is regulated institutionally as regards the mechanism of transferring the savings to the investors. It lacks the ability of consolidation and of returning to the disturbed balance which existed in the traditional model of financing investments applied in the XIXth century or during the period between the wars.

The author's analysis shows it does not seem possible to dispose of the dominant role of the state and monopolistic capital and to change radically the present methods of financing the economic development in GFR. Under conditions of the so called "social market economy" these methods have proved an efficient tool in acquiring a strong economical position in western Europe.

### EUGENIUSZ ŁYCZKOWSKI

### ON THE GENESIS OF THE FREE CITY OF GDANSK

The Peace Conference of 1919, using the nationality principle as a pretext, established in the interest of the western powers chiefly of Great Britain, the Free City of Gdańsk placed under the protectorship of the League of Nations. This step took place in consequence of Great Britain's eastern expansion. Owing to a parti-

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