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THE PACT OF FOUR — HOW THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT WAS FORMED IN THE YEARS 1931 - 1932

The question of how the Pact of Four was arrived at has been treated in historical literature in a controversial way. Some historians treat Mussolini's project to establish a European directorship from March 1933 as original and only occasionally similar British or German suggestions from the middle of 1932 are mentioned. In the light of a more thorough analysis of diplomatic documents it seems undisputable that Germany was the first country which started to vigorously endorse concepts closely related to those proposed later by Mussolini. Germany drew attention to this concept first in 1931 and then in mid 1932, this time with active support from Great Britain.

The article contains an analysis of the projects, the circumstances in which they were conceived, the evaluation of the attitude of France, Great Britain and Italy to successive suggestions and the idea of rebuilding European relations together with its function, with reference to the statements of the Versailles treaty included in the concept of the Pact of Four.

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THE CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTEGRATION OF SCANDINAVIA IN THE YEARS 1948 - 1949

The analysis of the plans for the integration of Scandinavian countries in the years 1948 - 1949, their origin and development, is preceded by a discussion of three basic political orientations existing among the peoples and governments of those countries: a) the pro-Western attitude (Denmark, Iceland, Norway), b) the attitude of an active neutrality (Sweden), c) the attitude based on friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union (Finland). The main part of the article gives an account of the dialogue concerning the "Scandinavian defence union". The breaking of the plans for integration was to a considerable degree connected with the attitude of the social democratic government of Norway and partly also the government of Denmark. The economic, political and military pressure from the USA finally caused three Scandinavian countries — neutral until then — to join the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO). In spite of substantial differences noticeable in many fields among the North Atlantic countries this attempt to create a "defence union" can — in the author's opinion — be evaluated as proof of an increasing integrative consciousness in those nations and governments.