

RAPPORTS



Hanna Jędruszczak

RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF PEOPLE'S POLAND

Within the last ten years there has been a marked growth of interest in the history of People's Poland. Of course not all aspects of the twenty years since the Second World War have been studied with equal depth. Most work has been done on the early years of People's Poland from 1944 to 1948, and though to a much smaller extent, on the period after 1956. Like certain periods, certain subjects have attracted more attention than others, according to the availability of sources, the necessity of allowing sufficient time to elapse after the events and various political factors. The aspect of this period which has been the subject of greatest attention is its economic and social history, and for this reason these spheres are treated at greater length in this article. As far as political history is concerned, research has been limited to the fragmentary treatment of minor problems.

It should be said, however, that the quantity of research completed by Polish historians on post-war Poland is remarkably large considering the times and circumstances. An obvious feature of this work, however, is the unevenness with which different aspects of history have been treated. There have moreover been difficulties of various kinds, ranging from the insufficiency of source materials and the use of contemporary mass sources to the policy of publishers.

This review does not claim to be an exhaustive account of all the work that has been done. In particular, no mention is made of research into local history, where much has been achieved. This article is merely an attempt to describe in general terms the sources used in research on the social and economic history of People's Poland, and to indicate the main trends, hypotheses and discussions which are characteristic of work in this field. Finally, it contains some reflections on foreign publications devoted to the social and economic problems of People's Poland. The focus will be on the work of historians, followed by that of the economists and sociologists.

The problem of sources must naturally be of cardinal interest for historians.

Whenever there is a demand for increased research on People's Poland, the historians ask — "What sources can we use?" Obviously a large part of the archives cannot be made accessible to research workers because of political considerations, which inevitably limits the scope of research. If research is pursued despite incomplete access to the records, less confidence can be placed in the results, because they are mostly based on one-sided, not too reliable material. If research on modern history is to develop, however, it is important not to place too wide emphasis on State interests. All material, except what really must be regarded as involving State secrets, should be made available.

In Poland historians have fairly wide access to official records dating from the early years of People's Poland. This material is related to economic and social problems, and, to a certain extent, to political ones as well. The privileged position of the Polish historians in this respect is particularly clear by comparison with that of their colleagues in the other People's Democracies.

Apart from the question of the accessibility of the sources, there is also the question, which is very vital to historians, of the preservation and housing of recent or contemporary documents.

At one time there was wide discussion on this point. The question arose as to which documents should be preserved, and, in view of the great mass of material, which should be destroyed as being unimportant. This is a thorny question both of principle and practice. The historian, of course, would like to preserve as much material as possible. The records of firms could be given as an example. Practical considerations had to be recognised, and in the end it was decided that a list should be made of the most typical firms, about 1500, and that all their records and documents should be collected, but that the records and documents of all other firms should be destroyed.

Apart from these problems the historian of People's Poland encounters many which did not confront the historians of earlier periods, because we now have sources of a new kind, in the form of tape recordings, films, and radio and television scripts. These all provide new problems of preservation and utilization.

A lively discussion arose on the question of how far newspapers and periodicals published during the last twenty years could be used as historical sources. There were two diametrically opposed views, the one denying categorically the utility of this kind of material as a historical source, and the other wholeheartedly accepting its value. We know that during these two decades politics left their mark on the press at different periods. Thus the information derived from the press at different periods varies in scope and reliability. Some problems of life in Poland in these times moreover were reflected in the press more clearly than others. As long as we bear those reservations in mind, it is probable that the press not only can be used but obviously should be used as a histori-

cal source. If so, another problem arises: because newspapers are mass media, and the material in it is available in such vast quantity, we should ask ourselves whether can we confine ourselves to its use and elaboration by the traditional methods. In my opinion, use of the contemporary press by traditional methods is inadequate, and should be supplemented by modern statistical methods.¹

In speaking of the press as a historical source, it is worth examining the role of feature articles and discussions in the daily press and in the periodicals. Feature articles, in which various problems are discussed, are an integral part of modern historiography. At least, the historian cannot afford to ignore them. Discussions in the press on various important problems of life in Poland today are of importance. Apart from those that took place on economic affairs in 1956-1957, there have been discussions also in the press on lawfulness, on the functioning of the administrative machine, on morality, on birth control, the ideal family, the position of women, and other questions. Readers' letters, answers to questionnaires, reminiscences, and enquiries, are also of value, because they reflect to some extent public attitudes and current problems. This is a sphere which cannot be ignored in historical research.

The press, however, is not the only mass source. Other mass sources are questionnaires of various kinds, narrations, and official sources such as reports. These provide an immense amount of material, covering tens and hundreds of thousands of pages.

The historian of modern times cannot close his eyes to this problem. In particular, he must not satisfy himself with a mere fragmentary use of these sources, but must discover methods of putting them to the fullest possible use. But is it possible to read and make use of the vast amount of material available in various languages, material which in some topics amounts to several thousand books and articles? The solution is to apply the latest scientific techniques.² Computers, questionnaires, and statistical methods naturally do not

¹ An interesting example of the application of this kind of research technique is provided by the book *Analyses de presses*, by F. Batailler, A. Schifres and C. Tannery, Paris 1963, Presses Universitaires de France. In using these techniques, of course, it is necessary to take into consideration the role and social function of the press in the socialist countries. The historian may find use here M. Szulczewski's book *Prasa i społeczeństwo*, Warszawa 1964. It is perhaps also worth mentioning in passing that comments on the character of the press in People's Poland may be found in "Roczniki Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego," vol. III, No. 1, for instance, in an article by J. Myśliński on *Prasa polska w okresie działalności PKWN (23 lipiec - 31 grudzień 1944)*, as well as some other articles. These publications are a valuable background to research in the history of People's Poland. There are still no studies, however, on the specific character of the press as a source on the history of People's Poland.

² A book recently published in the Soviet Union, B. A. Ustinov's *Primenenie vychislitelnykh mošin v istoričeskoj nauke* (Moskva 1964) has several propositions to make on this question, that are, at least in the field of history, original. Computers may be an effective aid especially in clas-

lend themselves to every kind of subject. The fields which are most suitable to the use of these methods are economic and social history, though in some countries such methods are being used successfully in the study of political history as well.³

Statistical sources are a problem in themselves. At one time the statistical data published in Poland were very meagre, and their reliability questionable. In recent years, however, there has been a noticeable improvement, and data of the most diverse types and on the most diverse subjects are now being published. In order to make proper use of statistical sources, the historian must learn special skills. The statistical approach is a tempting one, however, because it offers the opportunity of making proper comparisons and precise quantitative measurement of social and economic processes.

The historian can himself play an active part in the accumulation of new sources, by himself conducting questionnaires and collecting eye-witness accounts of events from persons still living or by making use of the material of this kind in the press, radio, and television.⁴ At one of the meetings of the Committee of Historical Sciences attention was drawn to the need for the exchange of information on the collection of such sources between various organizations and institutions in Poland. It was decided that the centre of this information should be the Central Board of State Archives, NDAP. One sign of the progress being made in the collection and classification of sources is that the NDAP has published a new information bulletin in the series of the *Archiwalny Biuletyn Informacyjny*. This one is called *Materiały archiwalne do historii XX-lecia Polski Ludowej*, (Warszawa 1965). We do not of course mean to suggest that such sources should not be collected by other people. On the contrary, such activity is most desirable. But the historian must know that such sources are available, and where to turn for them.

Another question which arises is whether sources should appear in print. In Poland the most important Party documents, the decisions of the Central Committee and the Congresses of the Polish United Workers Party and allied parties, the speeches by leading politicians are published in printed form. The importance of publications of this kind speaks for itself. What is debatable, however, is the question of whether official documents should appear in print. There are two conflicting views on this question. One is that there is no point

sifying archival material and in finding statistical relationships between the collected data. Historians may also benefit from the experience of the sociologists, cf. *Metody badań socjologicznych. Wybór tekstów*, ed. by S. Nowak, Warszawa 1965.

³ J. de Launay, *Les grandes controverses de l'histoire contemporaine 1914 - 1945*, Lausanne 1964.

⁴ Some of the problems connected with sources were brought up at the IX Congress of Polish Historians in 1963. Vide C. Madajczyk and H. Zieliński, *Stan badań i potrzeby w zakresie historii PRL*, in: *IX Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich, Polska Ludowa*, Warszawa 1964.

in printing official documents for academic purposes. The other view is that suitably selected collections of sources should be printed and published for general information and purposes of teaching. At the present time the second view prevails, and the Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences and other institutes besides are now engaged in preparing documents for printing and publication.

When one considers the availability of sources and the methods for using them, one is led inevitably to the conclusion that there is an urgent and growing need for a special body to deal with modern historical sources.

As has already been said, historians of People's Poland have concentrated their attention mainly on social and economic problems. Research is most advanced in these fields not only because the material was easiest to collect, but also because it was in this sphere that the revolution in Poland was the most far reaching, the most obvious in its results, and easiest to analyse. Historians' interest was, moreover, directed to this sphere by practical needs. The main questions that have excited interest are land reform, the nationalization of industry, demographic problems, changes in the social structure, industrialization of the country, and the kind of socialist economy adopted in Poland.

It would be impossible to mention here all the books and papers written on these subjects. I shall therefore confine myself to indicating those which have been of the greatest importance in particular fields.⁵

A large number of books and papers have been written on the land reform.⁶ A dissertation by W. Góra, for example, led to wide discussion in the third volume of the review "Polska Ludowa." It was pointed out that a better idea of the regional fluctuations in the tempo of implementing the law on land reform, and of the changes in the agrarian structure, would provide us with a more adequate picture of the land reform in Poland. It was also suggested that international comparisons might be useful and that it would be profitable to take into consideration the situation in other countries, especially other People's Democracies, in assessing the changes taking place in Poland. Here it may be said in passing that a general weakness of many studies of contemporary Poland is that they take no account of what has been happening in the rest of the world, and in particular in the geographical zone to which Poland belongs.⁷

⁵ K. Kersten discusses some of the problems of Poland's economic situation during the period July - December, 1944, in her book *Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*, Lublin 1965.

⁶ One of the earliest studies of this problem, A. Szemberg's book *Reforma Rolna PKWN*, Warszawa 1953, is worth noting, also H. Słabek's *O niektórych zagadnieniach reformy rolnej PKWN*, Warszawa 1958, and W. Góra's *PPR w walce o podział ziemi obszarnej 1944 - 1945*, Warszawa 1962. Social relations in agriculture are also the subject of many sociological studies by B. Gałęski, M. Dziewicka, and others.

⁷ To be precise, there have been some attempts at a comparative analysis of certain social of economic problems against an international background. For instance see B. Szulc, *Różnice*

Much less work has been done on the history of industry in People's Poland than on the changes in agriculture. J. W. Gołębiowski's work on the nationalization of industry may be regarded as the first step, and therefore a very valuable one, in research on the history of industry in People's Poland.⁸ The period covered by this book ends on January 3, 1946, the date when the National People's Council passed a law nationalizing the principal sectors of the national economy. This law not only marked, as the author seemed to think, the formal, legal consolidation and acceptance of processes which up to then had been taking place spontaneously, without direction or co-ordination by the authorities, processes by which the means of production in many branches of industry were taken into public ownership. The nationalization law of January 3, 1946 was one element in a complicated process of complicated and conflicting tendencies, one towards the restoration of private ownership, and the other towards the realization of a wider conception of nationalization. In the economic model of the Three Year Plan, which constituted the framework for the development of the Polish economy during its period of operation the three sectors of production, covered by state, co-operative, and private enterprise, were to remain stable. But the rejection of this model even before 1949, when the Three Year Plan was due to end, and the speeding-up of conversion to a centralised model of socialist economy, marked the turning point in the economic and also the political development of the country. This period still awaits the attention of historians.

The development of industry was closely connected with financial policy in People's Poland. The earliest stage of the policy carried out by the PKWN (Polish Committee of National Liberation) has already been the subject of a study by a historian, who points out the complete fluidity of that policy, and the temporary, transitional character of the decisions reached.⁹ Later phases of the State's financial policy have been studied by economists.¹⁰

The question of manpower is one which occurs both in industry and in the changes in agriculture. It is a question in which particularly the economists and sociologists have been interested. It has been studied from diverse aspects —

w strukturze spożycia między Polską a Niemiecką Republiką Federalną oraz wzajemny związek tych różnic, "Przegląd Statystyczny," 1959, No. 2; A. Zwass, *Ceny i spożycie w Polsce i w innych krajach demokracji ludowej*, "Gospodarka Planowa," 1959, No. 10; H. Jędruszcza, *Reforma rolna a rozwój gospodarczy w europejskich krajach demokracji ludowej*, "Polska Ludowa, Materiały i Studia," vol. III, 1964. *Vide* also A. Karpiński, *Dwudziestolecie 1944 - 1964 w rozwoju gospodarczym Polski i świata*, Warszawa 1964 and *idem*, *Gospodarka polska na tle gospodarki świata na przełomie lat 1963 - 1964* in: *Problemy rozwoju gospodarczego Polski Ludowej 1944 - 1964*, Warszawa 1965.

⁸ J. W. Gołębiowski, *Walka PPR o nacjonalizację przemysłu*, Warszawa 1961, and *idem*, *Nacjonalizacja przemysłu w Polsce*, 2nd ed., Warszawa 1965.

⁹ Z. Landau, *Polityka finansowa PKWN (lipiec - grudzień 1944)*, Warszawa 1965.

¹⁰ Z. Fedorowicz, *Zagadnienia równowagi monetarnej w gospodarce socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1959, and *idem*, *Pieniądz w gospodarce socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1962.

with regard to the whole national economy,¹¹ or in connection with other economic processes,¹² or regional problems,¹³ or certain groups of workers.¹⁴

The most important result reached in this field was the demonstration of a connection between the emigration of about three million people from the rural areas after the war, and the intensification of investment which during the same period determined the economic development of the country. Another important conclusion was that there was a connection between changes in the social structure and increased social mobility, as well as a connection between the growth of some kinds of social egalitarianism and the emergence of new social strata.

Observation of a connection between these social changes and changes in the living conditions of people during these twenty years is at present perhaps a matter of speculation. This does not mean, however, that the assertion of an improvement in the standard of living of the population is any less true, especially it has been proved by closely reasoned monographs. According to these studies five stages can be perceived in the development of personal consumption of the population: stage I, 1944 - 1945, when the value of real wages fell to about 50% below the 1938 level; stage II, 1946 - 1951, when consumption rose by approximately 70% over the 1946 level; stage III, 1952 - 1955, an increase of 10 - 15%; stage IV, 1956 - 1959, an increase of 25%; and stage V, 1960 - 1962, an increase of 5%.¹⁵ The economic position of the population is an absorbing problem both from the academic and the social point of view. It must be said at once that this problem has given rise to much controversy, which has been taken up both by the ordinary press and by academic journals. From the academic point of view the situation is fundamentally unsatisfactory, because many basic problems remain unsolved. A question which is often asked is how

¹¹ A. Rajkiewicz, *Zatrudnienie w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1950 - 1970. Dynamika i struktura*, Warszawa 1965, M. Kabaj, *Polityka racjonalnego zatrudnienia*, in: *Polityka gospodarcza Polski Ludowej*, vol. I, Warszawa 1962.

¹² J. Pajestka, *Zatrudnienie i inwestycje a wzrost gospodarczy — Studium teoretyczne zależności rozwojowych i analiza statystyczno-ekonomiczna dla Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa 1961, K. Secomski, *Dynamika wzrostu gospodarczego Polski Ludowej*, in: *Problemy rozwoju gospodarczego...*; W. Krencik *Badania polityki zatrudnienia i płac w gospodarce socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1962.

¹³ Cf. J. Mahl, *Problemy zatrudnienia i rynku pracy w województwie wrocławskim w latach 1956 - 1960*, Wrocław 1965, in the series *Monografie Śląskie*. Regional differences in industrial employment are discussed in publications dealing with the territorial distribution of the forces of production, e.g. see K. Secomski, W. Kawalec, T. Mrzygłód.

¹⁴ J. Waluk, *Płaca i praca kobiet w Polsce*, Warszawa 1965.

¹⁵ H. Jędruszczak, *Płace realne w 1939 i 1944 roku. Próba porównania*, "Polska Ludowa," vol. IV, 1965; Z. Żekoński, *Kształtowanie się warunków życiowych ludności pracującej*, in: *Problemy rozwoju gospodarczego...*, and M. Kalecki, *Porównanie dochodów robotników i pracowników umysłowych z okresem przedwojennym*, in: *Z zagadnień gospodarczo-społecznych Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa 1964; E. Vielrose, *Rozkład dochodów według wielkości PWG*, Warszawa 1960.

the economic situation of the population in People's Poland compares with that of the population in Poland before the war. But it is very difficult to answer this question precisely, because we have no common measurements for many factors of such a complicated phenomenon as the economic situation of the population.¹⁶ Despite the existence of these difficulties, one of our economists has already undertaken a comparison of this kind.¹⁷ In his book the author shows that the rise in the standard of living which took place between 1937 and 1960 is the outcome of a rise of more than double the real value of the income of manual workers and of a drop in the real income of white collar workers.

Analysis of the long-term changes in prices and in the national income forms an important part in the studies on the standard of living of the population and on the history of economic growth in Poland.¹⁸

Special studies of industrial plants come into a somewhat different category of the literature. The number of publications is very large, and the authors are mostly sociologists. This is a trend which is worth remembering, because of the diverse methodological conceptions found there.¹⁹ In studying industrial plants, the authors give prominence to the social composition and demographic characteristics of the personnel,²⁰ or they prefer an ideographical description of social relations as a whole within the plant,²¹ or they have the ambitious aim of constructing or verifying a sociological theory on publicly-owned firms.²²

¹⁶ In a lecture on *Strukturalizm w badaniach historycznych*, given before the methodological commission at the Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences on 25 XI 1965, Dr. H. Madurowicz-Urbańska had some convincing things to say about this problem and held out some hopes that it could be solved.

¹⁷ Kalecki, op. cit.

¹⁸ H. Fiszal, *Zagadnienia cen i rachunku ekonomicznego w gospodarce socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1958; *Spór o ceny*, by W. Brus, M. Kalecki, S. Polaczek, Z. Augustowski, J. Rzendowski, H. Fiszal, B. Minc, B. Warcecha, J. G. Zieliński, B. Pryziński, K. Łaski, A. Chlebowczyk, E. Matyja, S. Stopiński, J. Gordon, Z. J. Wyrozemski, and J. Lisikiewicz, Warszawa 1958; M. Pohorille, *Wstęp do regulowania cen rolnych w okresie przejściowym do socjalizmu*, Warszawa 1960; K. Sokołowski, *Ceny rolne*, Warszawa 1960; L. Beskid, *System cen detalicznych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1962; S. Wyrobisz, *Polityka cen w Polsce*, Wrocław 1965; L. Zienkowski, *Dochód narodowy Polski 1937 - 1960*, Warszawa 1963.

¹⁹ See J. Szczepański, K. Doktor, *Metodologiczne problemy badań socjologicznych przedsiębiorstw i zakładów przemysłowych*, paper submitted at a conference held in Warsaw on 25 - 26 January, 1965, on the history of industrial firms and industrial works.

²⁰ See S. Szostakiewicz, *Przemiany w strukturze załogi Fabryki Samochodów Osobowych w latach 1956 - 1961*, Łódź 1964.

²¹ See W. Markiewicz, *Spoleczne procesy uprzemysłowienia*, Warszawa 1962 and also a symposium published by the Central Institute of Labour Relations — *Struktura robotniczej załogi w jednej z warszawskich fabryk*, Warszawa 1962; A. Stojak, *Górnicy kopalni "Janina" w Libiążu Małym*, Warszawa 1964, may be cited as an example of the historical-descriptive method in the investigation of an industrial works.

²² K. Doktor, *Przedsiębiorstwo przemysłowe. Studium socjologiczne Zakładów Przemysłu*

Although the historians have achieved some interesting results in their investigations of the economic and social changes which have taken place in People's Poland, they have clearly been outdistanced in this field by the economists and sociologists. This is perhaps a sign of a common feature, revealing how, in research on the contemporary scene, history is being outpaced by other branches of the social sciences.

In 1956 the economists undertook a discussion on the model of the socialist economy in People's Poland. This discussion has been a fruitful one, both academically and for practical purposes, and is still going on today, though less intensely.²³ It aroused great interest both in Poland and abroad.

Economic literature in Poland concentrates on current economic policy. Theory also takes up much space in its literature. Books and articles on economics have relatively little data that can give a quantitative and firmly based idea of the economic state of the country in this main outlines. The extent to which concrete data were included in general theoretical studies varies from one period to another. For example, there was a relatively large amount of statistical data on both books and articles appearing between 1945 and 1949. The same is true of publications that appeared after 1956. Between these two periods was an interval of five years during which the theoretical study was particularly unproductive, owing to the general situation in the social sciences at that time. In economics at that time, the *a priori* acceptance of theses formulated by Stalin on the political economy of socialism, without any attempt to discover the objective economic situation, was particularly perceptible. This led to stagnation in research. The lack of statistical data deprived economics of one of its main methods, apart from mathematics, for proving its general theses on the functioning of the socialist system. On the other hand it is important to realise that the historico-economic development of People's Poland cannot be understood without a mastery of the theses underlying the political economy of socialism, theses which cover in general terms conditions specific to Poland. It is necessary fully to comprehend both those theses that have "been devalued" and those that have stood the test of time. Even the simplest description of economic phenomena or the arrangement of the facts calls for the use of criteria of classifications and evaluation which can only be given by theory. A number

Metalowego H. Cegielski, Warszawa 1964; S. Kowalewska, *Psychospoleczne warunki pracy w przedsiębiorstwie przemysłowym*, Wrocław 1962.

²³ For a discussion by economists on the law of value see W. Brus, M. Pohorille, S. J. Kurowski, J. Mujżel, B. Gliński, J. Pajestka and E. Lipiński, in: *Dyskusja o prawie wartości*, Warszawa 1956; *Dyskusja o prawie wartości, ciąg dalszy*, by M. Dobb, J. K. Sargent, J. Popkiewicz, A. Brzeski, S. J. Kurowski, G. Tiemkin, J. Zawadzki, W. Wilczyński, J. Mujżel and G. S. Strumilin, Warszawa 1956; *Dyskusja o polskim modelu gospodarczym* by O. Lange, E. Lipiński, M. Kallecki, N. Fabierkiewicz, J. Pajestka, S. Kurowski, M. Mieszczankowski, W. Brus, M. Bieda, M. Borowska, L. Gilejkow, Z. Mikołajczyk, C. Bobrowski, F. Młynarski, B. Mniszewski and S. Jędrychowski, Warszawa 1957; this subject is dealt with comprehensively by W. Brus in his book *Ogólne problemy funkcjonowania gospodarki socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1961.

of dissertations on general economic problems have undoubtedly made valuable contributions here.

These observations are not intended to be a review of the study of economics in Poland, but are designed to emphasize the necessity for co-operation between historians and economists in studying the economy of People's Poland. It is desired also to draw attention to the useful theoretical stimulus which the economic historian derives from political economy.

Demographic problems and changes in the social structure of Poland's population after the last war were already being studied in the second half of the 1940's. The loss of population suffered by Poland during the war gave the impulse to several investigations, still being continued today, on the demographic consequences of war, on changes of the State frontiers, and on the post-war mass migrations of population.²⁴ Demographers continue to be interested in changes in the size and distribution of the population, in its demographic structure, in the birth rate in the demographic outlook, and in the feasibility, of planned population control.²⁵ Discussion on changes in the social structure began with studies of the genealogy and the new function of the Polish intelligentsia.²⁶ This discussion was abandoned in the 1950's but has now been revived. The emergence of a new intelligentsia derived from the proletarian class and the peasants, and the formation of ideological and moral attitudes characteristic of this new element provide wide scope for research. Another subject of interest to the sociologists is that the intelligentsia as a stratum is dissolving into narrower, socio-occupational categories, consisting of intellectuals, artists, or office workers. These groupings have been the subject of separate studies.²⁷

Research on the industrial working class forms another, wider current in the investigation of the structure of Polish society. This has revealed a quantitative connection between industrialization and urbanization, and the formation of the

²⁴ There have been a number of studies by the Bureau for the Study of Settlement and Resettlement Problems, the Scientific Council for the Problems of the Recovered Territories, the Western Institute, and the Institute of Public Management. See also the work done by Z. Glinka and T. Toeplitz in the Central Office for Regional Planning and by A. Andrzejewski and W. Litterer in the Housing Institute. There have been many publications on post-war migration and settlement by both historians and sociologists, e.g. S. Banasiak, Z. Dulczewski, K. Golczewski, S. Kaczkowski, K. Kersten, S. Nowakowski, M. Orzechowski and K. Żygułski.

²⁵ A comprehensive work on this subject is the latest book by E. Rosset, *Oblicze demograficzne Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa 1965. The studies by J. Holzer, A. Jakubowicz, and L. Kosiński should also be noted.

²⁶ See J. Chałasiński, *Spoleczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej*, Warszawa 1946, and also his article, *Inteligencja a naród*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo," 1958, No. 1. Likewise J. Szczepański, *Struktura inteligencji w Polsce*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo," 1960, Nos. 1 - 2; and idem, *O inteligencji polskiej. Rodowód i współczesność*, "Polska," 1964, No. 2. See also W. Wiczcerek, *Rzecz o inteligencji*, "Więź," No. 6, 1964.

²⁷ A. Kwilecki, *Rola społeczna nauczyciela na Ziemiach Zachodnich w świetle pamiętników nauczycieli osadników*, Poznań 1960.

industrial working class.²⁸ Moreover, detailed sociological studies of industrial plants, workers' housing estates, workers' hostels, and other institutions have shown the social, political and cultural characteristics of this class, including that part of it which has not yet severed connection altogether with the countryside.²⁹ Other studies have been more general in character. They have been concerned with the dynamics of working-class development in Poland against the background of the industrialization of the country, or with the structure of working-class employment, or with territorial, social and political mobility.³⁰ In studies of this kind great difficulties have been encountered, such as linking micro- with macro-social analysis, or using empirical, descriptive material as a basis for general conclusions for example on the prospects of the working class in the new technological revolution.

One of the items in this series of studies on contemporary Poland is *Przemiany społeczne w Polsce Ludowej*, a collection of papers by different authors. This is the first book in our country to give a cross-section and synthesis of the social changes in People's Poland.³¹ The authors view the changes that have taken place in the social structure in Poland in their historical perspective, describe the role and boundaries of the various social classes and strata that have emerged as a result of industrialization and discuss the changes in the agrarian structure, the alterations in the attitudes of some sections of the population, and deal with the process of social integration in the western and northern parts of Poland.

This last problem is one element of the research being done on the history of the Western Territories joined to Poland after the last war. This research has both regional and a national importance. There is already a large volume of literature on this subject in Poland. Research was begun in the early post-war years, when the first sociological studies were undertaken on a whole complex of phenomena connected with the post-war resettlement and mass migration of the population. The main centre of this research, involving many different

²⁸ K. Dziewoński, *Procesy urbanizacyjne we współczesnej Polsce. Próba syntezy*. Paper given at a UNO seminarium in Warsaw, September 19 - 29, 1962; J. Ziółkowski, *Urbanizacja, miasto, osiedle*, Warszawa 1962.

²⁹ Apart from the monographs on industrial works already mentioned, we must also draw attention to two publications, running to many volumes, edited by J. Szczepański, namely *Studia nad rozwojem klasy robotniczej* and *Z badań klasy robotniczej i inteligencji*, as well as to R. Turski, *Między miastem a wsią. Struktura społeczno-zawodowa chłopów-robotników w Polsce*, Warszawa 1965.

³⁰ S. Widorszpil, *Skład polskiej klasy robotniczej, Tendencje zmian w okresie industrializacji socjalistycznej*, Warszawa 1965.

³¹ *Przemiany społeczne w Polsce Ludowej*, ed. by A. Sarapata, Warszawa 1965, is particularly worth noting, as well as A. Sarapata's book *Studia nad uwarstwieniem i ruchliwością społeczną*, Warszawa 1965.

disciplines is the Western Institute in Poznań.³² In much of this work, extremely complicated modern methods of processing data (involving the comparison of the pre-war German and post-war Polish census data and industrial statistics) are used to show the demographic and economic development of the Western Territories in the period 1945-1958, as well as in analysis of the structure of industry in the Western Territories in the years 1939-1959, and analysis of the socio-economics structure, 1933-1960. The wealth of material collected in these studies proves the thesis that the reconstruction of the Western Territories has taken place at a rapid pace, and that the most important pre-war demographic and economic indices for these territories have been surpassed in the post-war years. Detailed historical studies of the Western Territories have been devoted mostly to the settlement of the Polish population here, the history of the autochthonous population, the migration of the Germans, and the creation of a Polish administrative machine.

For a number of years scholars in other countries, too, have been studying the economic and social problems of People's Poland. The list of their works is a long one, and to do it justice a separate paper would be required. I shall therefore confine myself here to a few brief remarks. Foreign publications differ in value and in attitude. In the socialist countries allied to Poland they are friendly in tone. The only appeal I should be inclined to make would be for somewhat greater accuracy and adequacy in the data published about our country. With regard to Western publications which have an unfriendly attitude towards People's Poland, and especially with the publications which appear as part of the *Ostforschung* in Western Germany, we refute of their assertions. In a number of other countries in the West, a fair number of books and articles have appeared, whose authors endeavour to give a fair account of the situation in People's Poland. This is particularly true of those dealing with the economic development of the country.³³ While appreciating the efforts made by some authors in the West, we must at the same time point out that they frequently display a deep-rooted misunderstanding of Poland's history during the last twenty years. We should

³² This work is reported in the series *Studia nad Zagadnieniami Gospodarczymi i Społecznymi Ziemi Zachodnich*, of which the following volumes have already appeared: vol. 1, *Problemy rozwoju gospodarkowego i demograficznego Ziemi Zachodnich w latach 1945 - 1958*, ed by B. Gruchman and J. Ziółkowski, Poznań 1960; vols. 2 and 3; S. Smoliński, M. Przedpełski, B. Gruchman, *Struktura przemysłu Ziemi Zachodnich w latach 1939 - 1959*, Poznań 1961; vol. 4, *Rozwój gospodarczy Ziemi Zachodnich w dwudziestolecu Polski Ludowej i jego perspektywy*, ed. by W. Kawalec, Poznań 1964; vol. 5, *Struktura społeczno-gospodarcza Ziemi Zachodnich w latach 1933 - 1960*, Poznań 1964.

³³ E.g. T. P. Alton *Polish Post-war Economy*, Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, 1955; J. M. Montias, *Central Planning in Poland*, Yale University Press, 1st ed. 1962, 2nd ed. 1963; A. Zaubermann, *Industrial Progress in Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany 1937 - 1962*, Oxford University Press, 1964.

like to advise Western authors anxious to find out the truth about our country to make objective, unbiased use of the conclusions of Polish research.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that many of our scholars underestimate the West European and American publications on People's Poland, although many of them are worth objective study and are indeed worthy of our serious consideration.

At the beginning of this review, we said that research on the history of People's Poland was developing satisfactorily. This optimistic view does not mean that the present state of research is sufficient to satisfy all public demands for studies of this problem, or that it exhausts all the ambitions and possibilities of Polish scholars. If these criteria are to be applied, one may express the conviction that the achievement of most of our aims in this field is still a matter for the future.

(Translated by Krystyna Kozłowska)