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## PROCESS OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF POLAND IN SPATIAL DIMENSION, WITH FOCUS ON WESTERN AND NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND THE TRADITIONALLY POLISH TERRITORIES (1945–1989)

Literature dealt with the problem of integration of Poland after the 1939-1945 war either rarely or transitorily, both as regards its essence and its various demonstrations.<sup>1</sup> The reasons why it was so were manifold: The essence and scope of integration should be studied according to some methodologies, while there were many of its models and typologies available; integration is subject to constant verifications and redefinitions; moreover, its scope and aims have not been defined yet.<sup>2</sup> The economic strategy of development accepted in the post-war Poland was closely connected with spatial integration. This integration became particularly important in the process of merging the regained western and northern territories (further referred to as WNT) with the traditionally Polish territories (TTP), and it was much affected by political conditions. In subsequent stages of Poland's development, the approach to integration and its interpretation were closely dependent on the objectives set by the command-distributive system.

The regained western and northern territories comprise mainly the historical area of Lower and Opolskie Silesia, Western and Gdańsk Pomerania as well as Mazury and Warmia territory. As a result of administrative

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<sup>1</sup> J. Kociszewski, *Proces integracji gospodarczej ziem zachodnich i północnych z Polską* [Process of Economic Integration of the Western and Northern Territories with Poland]. Wrocław: AE Publishing House. 1999. p. 312 and annex I-LXIV, English and German trans.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Z. Kamecki, *Pojęcia i typy integracji gospodarczej* [Concepts and Types of Economic Integration], *Ekonomista* No. 1 (1967); M. Guzek, "Istota i cel integracji gospodarczej." [The Essence and Aims of Economic Integration]. *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* (1969). Fasc. 1.

divisions of 1950-1974 the whole area was divided into a few districts (so called voivodships): wrocławskie with the capital of Wrocław, opolskie, zielonogórskie, szczecińskie, koszalińskie, gdańskie, and olsztyńskie. Later, between 1975 and 1999, they were further subdivided into even smaller administrative units (their total number was 49). As a result, the area of the WNT increased. In consequence of those divisions, however, the progress of integration between the regained and traditional territories became more obscure. In general, in the period of Polish People's Republic the regained territories were treated as an area exhibiting many common features, while in fact they comprised regions which differed substantially from one another.<sup>3</sup> The next administrative division of 1999 overlapped with that of 1974, though with certain modifications. Therefore, for the purpose of conducting an analysis of the process of spatial integration of Poland, as the basis the administrative division of 1950-1974 was accepted. To have insight into integration after 1975, statistical data about the new voivodships were collected, which enabled comparison of changes in the territories of former voivodships and in those formed after 1999. The advantages of this method of analysis based in a sense on a compromise far outweigh any downsides and doubts. It turned out later that the new administrative division into 16 districts corroborated the validity of the accepted method (except the Mid-Pomerania Region).

## EVOLUTION OF VIEWS ON INTEGRATION OF POLAND

Scholars dealing with integration of Polish territories after World War II had to go back to the experience of integrating Polish territories with Poland throughout its history. The task was difficult as there was no universal knowledge about integration, based on a uniform methodological paradigm, which would present the process of integration as an element of historical development of Poland in its subsequent stages. The same applied also to the studies of social and political integration.<sup>4</sup> In historical literature, when the problem of integration was discussed, its objective was usually defined by using the criterion of a Polish nation: It was with reference to this criterion that the effects of the process of integrating Polish territories in

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<sup>3</sup> A. Piskozub, *Dziedzictwo polskiej przestrzeni* [The Heritage of the Polish Space]. Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> A. Kwilecki, *Proces integracji Ziemi Zachodnich z Macierzą. Przegląd problematyki* [The Process of Integration of the Western Territories with the Mother Country]. *Studia socjologiczne* 2 (1987), p. 4.

the 19th and 20th century were assessed.<sup>5</sup> In the 19th century the features identifying Polish territories included natural environment and geopolitical location.<sup>6</sup> When, however, Poland regained independence after WWI the borders of its territories were marked in such a way as to ensure unification of the nation as well as its economic development and military security. When marking the frontiers also the geopolitical location of the Jagiellonian dynasty was taken into account.<sup>7</sup> Hence, in the contemporary analysis the features identifying Polish territories focus more on their spatial structure: economic development, transportation infrastructure, and unequal development of its different regions.<sup>8</sup>

When marking the territories of the newly founded Polish People's Republic, which included new territories in the West and North, and identifying its geopolitical location, references were made to its Piast dynasty origin, to Slavic provenance defined according to ethnographical criteria as well as to the hydrogeographical unity of the basins of the Odra and Vistula rivers with the Baltic sea.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the spatial dimension of the country grew in importance, both in its past, present and desired form. Apart from the spatial integration, other important objectives set for by the new state included development of the so-called uniform Polish society and economic organism based on the system of the command-distribution economy and dominance of a centralized state.<sup>10</sup> In this context the issue of integration was mainly considered with reference to speedy integration of the regained western and northern territories with Poland, its fast population and economic development brought about by the "pioneer spirit."<sup>11</sup> These three criteria defined the methodological paradigm used in the following decades to assess social integration in these territories and their integration with Poland. With these criteria taken into account, some representatives of the

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<sup>5</sup> A. Galos *Tendencje integracyjne i dezintegracyjne na ziemiach polskich w dobie powstaniowej do 1914* [Integrational and Disintegrational Tendencies in the Polish Territories after the Unprisings of the 19th century till 1914]. *Drogi integracji społeczeństwa w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku*. Warsaw. 1976.

<sup>6</sup> K. Dziewoński, *Polska jako pojęcie geograficzne. Ewolucja koncepcji* [Poland as a Geographical Concept. Evolution of the Concept]. *Przegląd geograficzny* vol. 49 (1977). Fasc. 308.

<sup>7</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Procesy integracyjne w Polsce międzywojennej* [Integrational Processes in Poland between World Wars]. *Pamiętnik X Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Lublinie* (1968). pp. 96-110.

<sup>8</sup> E. Kwiatkowski, *Dysproporcje. Rzecz o Polsce przeszłej, o obecnej* [Disproportions. On the Historical and the Present Poland.]. Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1989.

<sup>9</sup> K. Dziewoński, *Polska jako pojęcie geograficzne*. op. cit. 308.

<sup>10</sup> A. Kwilecki, *Proces integracji Ziem Zachodnich z Macierzą* *Przegląd problematyki. Studia Socjologiczne* 2 (1987). p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> A. Kwilecki, *Migracje pionierskie na Ziemiach Zachodnich* [Pioneer Migration in the Western Territories]. *Studia Socjologiczne* No. 1 (1986).

government and Congress already in 1949 announced that the two territories were already integrated.<sup>12</sup> In the early 1960s the social integration of the regained territories with the rest of Poland was assessed, with the conclusion that the process had already been accomplished.<sup>13</sup> In a collective work titled *Ziemie Zachodnie w granicach Macierzy. Drogi integracji* [The Western Territories within the Borders of The Mother Country. Integration Paths] many authors claimed that the Regained Western and Northern Territories had been completely integrated with Poland.<sup>14</sup> Similar conclusions were drawn by some economists specializing in this problematics.<sup>15</sup> The same criteria served as basis for many important studies written at the time, which were devoted to the economic management and development of the territories during economic reconstruction,<sup>16</sup> changes in the social-economic structure,<sup>17</sup> demographic relations,<sup>18</sup> or industrial development.<sup>19</sup> The process of integrating these territories with Poland received a similar assessment in the 1970s,<sup>20</sup> though first symptoms of a slightly different approach to the studies on economic integration of the Regained Western and Northern territories with Poland already started to appear.

The new administrative division of 1975 unveiled the long existing disparity in the level of economic development between districts within these western territories and the rest of Poland as well as spatial diversification of the country and differences between the Northern and Western territories and the districts they encompassed. An initial concept of how to investigate economic integration of Poland was laid out, which among others postu-

<sup>12</sup> Congress proceedings.

<sup>13</sup> M. Orzechowski, *Proces integracji społecznej na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych po II wojnie światowej* [Process of Social Integration in the Regained Western and Northern Territories after WWII.] *Polska Ludowa*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne w granicach macierzy. Drogi integracji*. ed. G. Labuda, Poznań, 1966.

<sup>15</sup> K. Secomski, *Ziemie zachodnie w organizmie gospodarczym Polski* [Western Territories in the Economic Organism of Poland]. *Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne w granicach macierzy, op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Odbudowa Ziemi Zachodnich (1945-1955)* [Reconstruction of the Western Territories], ed. K. Piwowarski et al., Poznań, 1957.

<sup>17</sup> K. Smoliński, M. Przedpełski, B. Gruchman, *Struktura społeczno-gospodarcza Ziemi Zachodnich w latach 1933-1960* [Socio-economic structure of the Western Territories 1933-1960]. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1964.

<sup>18</sup> L. Kosiński, *Procesy ludnościowe na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945-1960* [Changes in the Population in the Regained Territories in 1945-1960]. Warsaw, 1963.

<sup>19</sup> K. Smoliński, Przedpełski, M., *Struktura przemysłu Ziemi Zachodnich w latach 1939-1959* [Industrial Structure of the Western Territories in 1939-1959]. Poznań, 1961.

<sup>20</sup> E. Basiński, *W jednym organizmie. Podstawy i przebieg procesu integracyjnego nad Odrą i Bałtykiem* [In One Organism. The Principles and Stages of the Integration Process by the Odra River and the Baltic Sea]. Warsaw, 1977; *Gospodarka Ziemi Zachodnich w 40 leciu Polski Ludowej, Przegląd Zachodni* nr 102.

lated to take into account formation of regional bonds through people's migration, distribution of economic investments and transfer of goods between regions.<sup>21</sup> However, these concepts were never exemplified. Nonetheless, some of the crucial questions formulated in the 1960s still called for explanation. For example: Were the Regained Territories a donor and receiver? What was the type of relationship between the Western and Northern Territories and the Traditionally Polish Territories and what functions did they fulfill with respect to each other?<sup>22</sup> One of the few attempts to answer these questions was undertaken in studies based on the existing typologies of integration, including quasi-market mechanisms. These studies focused on the analysis of the intensification and motivation of migration between the WNT and TPT, as well as on finding the reason for and the type of bond that was created between them. Unfortunately, the studies were not continued.<sup>23</sup>

The socio-economic crisis and generational transformations of the 1980s prompted a different look on the effects of integration of the two territories. As a result, it was found out that our knowledge about Poland's post-war integration was still in embryo.<sup>24</sup> These were economists who first stressed the need for a comprehensive interpretation of the development of the WNT in the whole context of Poland's economic and social transformations and of its marine economy, as well as to investigate the relations between the WNT and the rest of the country.<sup>25</sup> The need was dictated by a discovery of a big gap between the real effects of integration of the WNT with Poland and the way they were interpreted.<sup>26</sup> The previously raised questions became pertinent again: What are the Western and Northern territories for Poland? Do they form a uniform territory or are they rather a cluster of a few regions functioning within one regained area?<sup>27</sup> What was the effect of the territories on Poland's industrialization, urbanization, the level of eco-

<sup>21</sup> S. Zawadzki, *Polska. Przestrzeń. Społeczeństwo* [Poland. Space. Society]. Warsaw, 1973, pp. 17 onwards.

<sup>22</sup> G. Labuda, *Udział Wielkopolski w zagospodarowywaniu ZZP* [Contribution of the Wielkopolska Region in the Development of the Western and Northern Territories] *Polska myśl zachodnia na Pomorzu i w Wielkopolsce*. ed. Kwilecki A. Warsaw-Poznań, 1980.

<sup>23</sup> S. Borowski, *Migracje ludności na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych 1945-1966* [People's Migrations in the Western and Northern Territories] *Problemy demograficzne Ziemi Zachodnich i Północnych w PRL*. GUS, Warsaw, 1969.

<sup>24</sup> H. Szczegóło, *Stan badań historycznych nad procesem integracji społecznej na ZZiP* [State of the Art in Historical Studies on the Social Integration Process in the Western and Northern Territories]. A paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of Polish Historians. Poznań, 1984.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Ekonomista* No. 5 (1984).

<sup>26</sup> W. Markiewicz, *Spraw polskich splątanie* [Employment of Polish Problems]. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1986.

<sup>27</sup> K. Kwaśniewski, *Regionalizm* [Regionalism]. Poznań, 1986.

conomic development, solution of overpopulation problem in the Traditionally Polish Territories?<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, some views were expressed about the development in this area of regional communities resembling "small motherlands"<sup>29</sup> as well as about the features characterizing the regions.<sup>30</sup> When studying integration between the Regained and Traditionally Polish territories, some scholars postulated to focus on the need to interpret the process as a factor shaping spatial economic network, which is caused by migration between the two zones, the policies of investment allotment or some effects of spatial and regional integration. Unfortunately, such were the times that politics dominated over economy; that is why the regained western and northern territories were treated as one entity composed of different administrative units. The degree of integration between the two zones was assessed on the basis of national criteria and features, industrialization, urbanization, or a degree of unification of national culture,<sup>31</sup> yet these criteria already then ceased to be relevant. The current postulate had it that the specific character of the social and economic development of regions, including the Regained territories, was described by a rule that development of each region was driven by its specific character set against the whole, while the development of the whole by differentiation of regional development.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the overt dominance of politics over economy, some attempts were made to describe the process of spatial integration of Poland using methodologies applied in corresponding studies in the West. Hence, some institutions set up programs to study spatial and regional integration of Poland; among the organizations there were the following: Committee of Spatial Development of Poland (further KPZK PAN), Geographical Institute of PAN in Warsaw (IG PAN) and other scientific centers dealing with this problematic; this time the studies were exemplified,<sup>33</sup> for example, the study about Upper Silesia.<sup>34</sup> In most cases, however literature devoted to this subject did not deal with revitalization of this great economic region of

<sup>28</sup> B. Gruchman, *Ziemie Zachodnie w życiu gospodarczym Polski* [Western Territories in Poland's Economic Life]. *Przegląd Zachodni* No. 3. (1985).

<sup>29</sup> S. Ossowski, *Zagadnienie więzi narodowej na Śląsku Opolskim* [The Issue of National Ties in Opole Silesia]. *Przegląd Socjologiczny* Vol. 2. (1947).

<sup>30</sup> B. Gruchman, *Ziemie Zachodnie w życiu gospodarczym Polski* [Western Territories in the Economic Life in Poland]. *Przegląd Zachodni* No. 3 (1985).

<sup>31</sup> A. Kwilecki, *Proces integracji Ziemi Zachodnich*, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> S. Zawadzki, *Polska przestrzeń*, *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> A. Klasik, *Integracja układów w różnych mechanizmach gospodarczych* [Integration of Systems in Different Economic Mechanisms], *Studia KPZK PAN* Vol. 70 (1979).

<sup>34</sup> A. Barteczek, *Integracyjna funkcja infrastruktury gospodarczej w świetle badań nad GOP* [Integrational Function of Economic Structure in View of the Studies on GOP]. *Studia KPZK PAN* Vol. 59 (1977).

Poland, i.e. Silesia, its specificity and economic function in Poland. Lower and Opole Silesia, which prior to the 1939-45 war had a very well developed socio-economic structure, once added to the Polish organism, they underwent a very deep restructuralization,<sup>35</sup> yet papers published till then did not mention it, as they were based on the previous assumptions.

Moreover, subject to evolution was also the indicator of the process of integration or unification of the Western and Northern Territories with the Traditional Territories, expressed by a growing contribution of the former to the economic and social development of the whole country.<sup>36</sup> This indicator ignored the specific features of the Regained Territories which distinguish them in the Polish cultural landscape. In short, the indicator showed how the WNT benefited the general level of development of the whole country.<sup>37</sup> Another manifestation of integration was also suppression of any signs of political discrimination in the divided regions, as it was postulated by J. Kokot who followed the thesis of the "double unity of Silesia."<sup>38</sup> Already in the historical and economic literature of the 1980s a postulate was put forward on the basis of the analysis of the recovered pre-war-level industrial potential, that integration of the Regained Territories and Poland was already completed in 1950.<sup>39</sup>

In most cases, however, the axiological basis for any evaluation of integration of the Regained Territories was the following: the government raises questions, and science provides answers to them in accordance with the government's will. Such a maxim predominated in sociological, economic, historic and economic, or geographic and economic literature, which praised the successful development of the Regained Territories and avoided any critical analysis. Sociological studies stressed the advanced development of uniform Polish society, while economic literature was teeming with praises about industrial and agricultural development, such as establishment of state farms, and emphasised the contribution of the WNT to economic development of Poland. There were some papers which claimed something to the contrary, but they started appearing in late 1970s and early 1980s, and only in the 1992 along with the change of political and economic

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<sup>35</sup> Atlas Śląska Dolnego i Opolskiego [Atlas of the Lower and Opolskie Silesia], ed. W. Pawlak, map ed. Wrocław 1997, Wrocław: Pracownia Atlasu Dolnego Śląska UWr and PAN in Wrocław.

<sup>36</sup> K. Secomski, *Ziemie zachodnie w organizmie gospodarczym Polski*. op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> A. Kwilecki, *Proces integracji Ziemi Zachodnich z Macierzą*. op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> J. Kokot, *Jedność gospodarcza Śląska i Polski* [Economic Unity of Silesia and Poland]. Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1961.

<sup>39</sup> A. Jezierski, *Problemy rozwoju gospodarczego ziem polskich w XIX* [Problems of Economic Development of the Polish Territories in the 19th Century] Warsaw: KIW, 1984.

system a range of opinions was manifested, which revealed the existing differences in economic development and the social-economic specific character of the WNT.

Transformation of Polish economy into capital economy in the 1990s compelled examination of the effects of economic integration of the regained territories with the traditional territories in new socio-economic conditions according to new methodological assumptions. That the problematics of the Regained Territories was then topical in the field of social studies was indicated by a discussion held in the journal *Przegląd Zachodni* on the occasion of its 50th anniversary as well as by the interest expressed by scholars dealing with this field. Topicality of this issue is further indicated by real economic problems appearing in the wake of the process of integration of Poland with the European Union, such as the directions and effects of restructuralization of economy of the Regained Territories, privatization processes, including estate claims of the displaced Germans, function of the German capital in the Regained Territories, as well as specific character of and compatibility in regional development etc.

After 1989 it became imperative to revise the problem of integration of these regions with Poland, its function in the process of Poland's integration with the European Union, and particularly – in order to keep good neighbor relations with Germans – to revise their common history before 1945, after the war and the recent history.<sup>40</sup> While in the period of the Polish People's Republic, the Western and Northern territories were a closed region, in the period of transformation to market economy they have become open because the regions it contained have become economic subjects forced to compete with other regions in Poland as well as in Europe, particularly with German regions. Hence, on the one hand, these regions became autonomous, but on the other integrated within the regional Europe. The Western and Northern Territories have become a testing ground for regional cooperation in Europe, and for Polish-German reconciliation. as well as for cooperation of border regions.<sup>41</sup> Due to the long-term effects of the process of integration of the Western and Northern Territories in the Polish People's Republic and a failure to work out a strategy of their development by the Polish government at the time of integration with other regions of the European Union, these territories are visibly backward in comparison to the

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<sup>40</sup> J. Ziółkowski, *Contribution to a discussion: Czy i jak badać ziemie zachodnie i północne Polski* [If and how to study the Western and northern Territories of Poland]. *Przegląd Zachodni* No. 3 (1997).

<sup>41</sup> W. Misiak, *Europa Regionalna. Proces autonomizacji i integracji* [Europe of Regions. The Processes of Autonomization and Integration]. Wrocław: Publishing House of the University of Wrocław, 1995.



neighboring regions in the eastern part of Germany.<sup>42</sup> On the one hand, the process of consolidation and diversification of these regions within the Polish state has been continuing; on the other hand, however, integration of these regions with the European Union makes the communities living there willing to make use of their rights as the citizens of the European Union. Therefore, it is of utmost importance of the state's regional policies to strengthen the responsibility of the regional governments, because of the revival of attachment of the former German residents to these regions and the temporality of Polish regional community.

### CONCEPT OF THE INTERPRETATION OF INTEGRATION PROCESS

On the basis of a thorough examination of the methodology of studies on integration,<sup>43</sup> including integration of countries in their spatial and regional dimension, and the already obtained results of studies on economic integration of the Western and Northern Territories with Poland,<sup>44</sup> it was possible to develop a specific method of studying the process of regional integration, which would be applicable to the integration of the WNT with Poland. The method assumed that economic integration is a component of economic development and it manifests itself as a process in which regions and territories differing from each other in historical background, economic structure and the socio-economic level become compatible and complementary. When in the process of economic development, different economic functions are taking shape and regions begin to specialize, at different stages of this development regions become economically interwoven and interdependent, at divergent degrees and forms; consequently, the relations between them, bred by institutional and material agencies, become stronger.

The factor which either fosters or hampers establishment of mutual relations between regions is the economic policy of a state, including spatial and regional policies. It determines the objectives of economic development of a country and material development as well as supervises their fulfillment by increasing or eliminating differences in the level of economic development and life of regional communities. Its function is to create social and economic conditions conducive to integration, by, for example, increasing the infrastructure level, fostering social and economic transformation, or eliminating the historically conditioned disparity in the level of re-

<sup>42</sup> M. Guz-Vetr, *Polsko-niemieckie pogranicze*. [Polish German Frontier]. Warsaw, 2002.

<sup>43</sup> F. Machub, *Integracja gospodarcza-narodziny i rozwój idei* [Economic Integration-Conception and Development of an Idea]. Warsaw: PWN, 1986.

<sup>44</sup> J. Kociszewski, *Proces integracji*, op. cit.

gional development. Integration is manifested by strengthening and giving different forms to institutional and material ties between regions and areas as a result of investment allocation, interregional migration of population, and transfer of goods and services. The ultimate goal of integration is seen as increasing the level of development and well being of the communities in the integrating regions.

Integration understood in the above way is a long-term process and totally different from the idea of regional uniformization propagated by the authorities of the People's Polish Republic, whose goal was elimination of any differences in the natural and social environment as well as in spatial management of a state.<sup>45</sup> Analysis of the process performed according to the above methodological assumptions allowed looking for the first time at economic development of Poland after World War II as a process of creating a uniform organism, in a new spatial and regional system conditioned by the command-distributive economy. The process of binding the Regained Territories with the Traditionally Polish Territories was described by using such data as the magnitude and intensification of the process of people's migration, distribution of investments, and transfer of goods. Its effects were defined by synthetic indices such as the level of development (national income per capita) and a synthetic measure of the level of life of the citizens of the country in both territories. Regional communities of the Northern and Western Territories and the Traditional Territories, characterized by a different level of life and development, were subject to processes whose purpose was to eliminate not only those differences but also the historically dependent disparity. The processes appeared to be long-term ones.<sup>46</sup>

#### STAGES OF INTEGRATION OF THE REGAINED POLISH TERRITORIES AND POLAND

The process of integration of Poland can be interpreted on the one hand as a natural element of historical social and economic development; however, on the other hand, it can be divided into diverse types and forms. So, we can consider the historical process of integration of Polish territories in the 19th century and early 20th as an element of social and economic development in its subsequent stages determined by changing political and economic systems, which took place in different territories and regions of Poland:

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<sup>45</sup> A. Kukliński, *Gospodarka przestrzenna, studia regionalne* [Spatial Management, Regional Studies], *Biuletyn KPZK PAN* fasc. 118 (1980).

<sup>46</sup> *Polska przestrzeń w okresie długiego trwania* [Polish Dimension in the Long-Term Process]. Collective work, ed. A. Kukliński. *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*. Fasc. 178 (1997).

– Phase I: integration in the 19th and at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries took place in the conditions of market economy, when Poland had no state identity and hence no institutions to supervise it. This process was influenced by the decisions of the institutions of states which partitioned Poland. It contributed to the weakening of trade connections between Polish territories and to the strengthening of economic ties with the partitioning countries. A consequence of the process was a growing disparity in the level of life and development among the three partitioned territories Poland was divided into.

– Phase II: in the conditions of pulling the previously partitioned Polish territories together into one independent state based on market economy. This process was subdivided into two more stages: During the first one, this process was triggered by institutional actions determined by the constitution and principles of parliamentary democracy. During the second stage the state intervened in economic life, limiting the influence of mechanisms of market economy, and after a great political crisis it even intensified its institutional interventions by setting up strategic goals, and trying to decrease differences in the level of economic development and quality of life of the citizens between Polish regions A, B, and C.

– Phase III: after WWII when Polish borders were changed, to encompass the western territories. The conditions of this integration included limited sovereignty of the Polish state, political system discriminating market mechanisms, which was based on dominance of the state, central planning and management, and the strategy of development based on forced industrialization and nationalization of agriculture. It was significantly influenced by unregulated German-Polish relations, especially due to the division of Germany into two states and international provisions concerning acknowledgement of the border between Germany and Poland and of the presence of Soviet garrisons in this area.

#### CONDITIONS FOR INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN TERRITORIES AND TRADITIONALLY POLISH TERRITORIES

The formerly eastern German territories called Ostgebiete which were given to Poland before WWII, were regions of a great economic diversity, while with reference to the Traditionally Polish Territories they were clearly economically superior. With a markedly lower employment and agricultural structure based on big farms, these territories had a more advanced socio-economic structure dominated by services. They also featured ad-

vanced technical and social infrastructure; the most highly developed area was Silesia. In the wake of war, though to a different degree, the level of development of particular regions of these territories was considerably blighted by war destruction as well as by removal of machines and equipment by the German army. After-the-war exploitation of property assets and estates by the Soviet army considerably contributed to decapitalization and devastation of the properties. The latter was also caused by Poles who took care of this property, in a different way and degree, both on the institutional and individual level. The policy of merging small and medium firms produced the following consequences: most craftsmen's and servicing workshops were closed down, machines and industrial equipment was taken by companies to the TPT, scores of companies were closed down, or left idle, others underwent decapitalization or devastation. It is quite difficult to assess the losses induced by the aging of the property or the indifference exhibited by public institutions and individuals to any public property. Such indifference was particularly displayed by the displaced settlers. Some of the public property left was also looted by Polish citizens who took it for trading to the TPT.

In an attempt to merge the two areas, different concepts were put forward. In the program of economic reconstruction and a long-term economic development, integration of the two areas was considered a priority, and it was assumed that the existing differences would disappear gradually. Once the strategy of development laid out in the 3-year plan was dropped, a six-year strategy plan was adopted following the Soviet model; in the latter strategy, industrialization and collectivization of agriculture as well as developmental problems came to the forefront, while the problems of the Western and Northern Territories were put on the back burner.

The element which particularly hampered the process of integration of the WNT with the rest of Poland was the stationing of Soviet troops. Their presence strengthened the division of the previously unified socio-economic organism into the German Democratic Republic and Poland, with artificially marked regions, districts, cities, and towns, which were sentenced to live in isolation, deprived of the many opportunities which might have been brought out by mutual cooperation. Citizens and local governments on both sides of the border took on a passive stance. However, advancement of integration was dependent not only on local factors but also on political systems and resolutions as well as the system of local administration, whose aim was to favor unification. The freedom and self-governance of the latter was limited to minimum, however, because the local councils were elected by political parties and social organizations, both subservient to central authorities and indifferent to the local needs.

Moreover, one could easily notice some signs indicating that collective economy was being constructed: state property was preferred, private property was slowly forced out, and a specific property right known as hereditary tenure was introduced. Such steps only deepened the gap between the aims of state policies and requirements of rational management in the existing economic and settlement structure. Under such conditions the adjustment of the displaced settlers was expanding in time, as the newcomers—raised in a traditional rural economy—could not get used to the new material culture and overcome the civilization barriers. One of them was a slow process of establishing political relations between the Federal German Republic and Poland, as a result of which the displaced persons found it difficult to take roots and develop relations with Poles living there, rather having a feeling of temporary existence.<sup>47</sup>

The new Polish territory was clearly asymmetrical as regards the structure of its spatial development, as each region evolved differently within the structure of the country it used to belong to. The division of the country from before the war, into Poland A, B, and C, depending on its level of economic advancement, was considerably modified. So the area of Poland, after its least developed region C was lost in favor of the Soviet Union, comprised regions A and B and much better economically developed territories of the eastern part of the former Germany, the so-called regained territories, later referred to as western and northern territories of Poland. As a result, 76% of the industrial potential was distributed in regions forming a letter T upside down, starting from Gdansk at the top to the southern regions. In other words, after the war four southern districts: Wrocław, Opole, Katowice and Kraków, generated 56% of industrial output of the whole country. Historically determined disparity between the Western and Northern Territories and the TPT was most visible in such areas as industrialization, technical infrastructure, urbanization, level of agricultural development, and in the first place, in the living and civilizational conditions of the settlers.

#### STAGES AND EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION OF WNT WITH TPT 1945-1989

The integration process taking place in the post-war period till 1989 can be divided into three stages: first from 1945 till 1949, second from 1950 till 1982, and third from 1983 to 1989.

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<sup>47</sup> L. Koćwin, *Polsko wschodniemieckie stosunki przygraniczne 1949-1900* [Polish-East German Cross-Border Relations]. Wrocław: Wyd. Un. Wr., 1993.; *Rola granicy i współpracy transgranicznej w rozwoju regionalnym i lokalnym* [The Role of Border and Trans-Border Cooperation in the Regional and Local Development], ed. R. Szul, Warsaw 1999, Europ. Inst. Rozwoju Reg. i Lok. Un. War.

STAGE I – 1945–1949: DOMINANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL FORMS OF MERGING,  
SETTLING AND DEVELOPING THE WNT AS WELL AS RECONSTRUCTING  
THE COUNTRY

For the WNT to merge quickly with the TPT it was imperative to displace the German population first, then bring in Polish settlers who would develop the territories. This need triggered massive migrations of Polish population both from the TPT and from the former Polish eastern territories, which had been given to the Soviet Union. Many initiatives were taken to coordinate the movements of Poles eastward as well as to supervise and manage the estates and property assets of the WNT taken over by Poland. (The cataloguing made in 1959–1961 showed that the property assets and estates accounted for 36.5% of all the capital assets of Poland). Also, to fulfill the tasks almost all social and economic as well as political forces were involved: the state, social institutions, political parties, army, scientific institutions, private enterprises as well as entrepreneurs. Then the initiatives both met with much enthusiasm among people who wanted to get involved, and received support of church organizations. The forces and means mobilized to this effect were included in the short- and long-term strategy of development laid out by the Central Planning Office in the “Program of Economic Recovery 1947–1949” and in long-term financial provisions aimed at developing the WNT. Hence a preliminary conception of spatial development of the country was put forward in “Study of Poland’s Plan I and II” by Chief Spatial Planning Office in 1945. This study defined conditions and directions of development of particular regions in the WNT, outward and inward directions of migrations of people between the WNT and TPT, and the possibilities of settling them. Given limited resources and other productive factors, like lack of qualified people, the destination points of development for industry, agriculture, the country and sea trade were determined. From the very beginning, however, the most difficult element of the integration process to achieve was to create conditions favorable to adaptation of the newly arrived people – who clung to their tradition and culture – to a new material culture and civilization.

The fact of making the settlement and development of the WNT a strategic aim brought forth beneficial effects. Helpful in pursuing this goal were also discussions both about the best strategies of merging the areas and about systemic and political solutions. Thanks to the discussions the objective received a priority in the long-term development planning, and it was conceived imperative to gradually eliminate the asymmetry in the level of development and life quality in both regions to be integrated.

The task of heading and supervising settlement and development of the WNT was vested in especially established for that purpose in 1945 the Department of the Regained Territories (MZO) as well as in the Scientific Council responsible for the Development of the Regained Territories (RNdZZO). These two bodies formulated the conceptions of settling and developing these territories. The task of supervising the displacement was vested in the State Repatriation Bureau (PUR) founded in 1945 and active till 1950. The latter task was pursued by some other institutions: Displacement Committees, army institutions, Polski Związek Zachodni. That there had to be a lot of institutions and means engaged in this enterprise is best proven by numbers: in 1945-1959 Poland received ca. 6,073 thousand migrants, of which 61.4% were inner migrants, while 38.6% were immigrants from abroad. Most people from both groups headed for the WNT – 73%. In all, the regained territories received ca. 4.4 ml people, which made 72% of all migrants, and 62.1 came from the TPT, and 37.9% from abroad. Of the 4.4 ml, 2.8 ml people came from the TPT, 1.5 ml from the Soviet Union, while 150 thousand from the West. As regards the TPT most people headed for the WNT from three districts: warszawskie and the city of Warsaw, poznańskie and the city of Poznań, and from bydgoskie, and they made 42.4% and the core of inner migrants in the WNT, later referred to as the “migrants of the paved ways.” In the beginning many people came also from the overpopulated regions of southeastern Poland, which was a part of a policy of decreasing overpopulation in this area. Those migrants preferred Lower and Opolskie Silesia as a destination point (42.4%). Fulfilling the task of a dense settling of the WNT proved difficult, and the level of population of this area from 1939 (8.5 ml) was reached only in 1965.

The greatest recovery effort in the WNT was made in the field of heavy industry: the outlay of 26% in 1946 rose to 30% in 1948 of the whole investment outlay in Poland. Consequently, the share of industrial production of the WNT in 1945–48 increased from 8.1% to 22% of the whole Polish industrial production. An effort was also made to restore and develop sea trade, this initiative being planned and headed by Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski till 1947. In the conditions of autarkical economy, industry recovery was based on the rule of business self-financing and the funds were drawn from a newly founded Investment-Saving Fund for Industry of Regained Territories (FIOPZO). Some difficulties were reported in developing agriculture: for example, in 1948 fallow land constituted 11% of the cultivated area; as a result of a thorough restructurization of agriculture (in 1960) the index of agricultural production reached the level of production from before the war only in 1960.

STATE II OF INTEGRATION: 1950-82 IN THE CONDITIONS  
OF COMMAND-DISTRIBUTIVE ECONOMY

At this stage the integration process was taking place in the framework of a command-distributive system based on state property, nationalization, dominant role of the state, central planning and administering. Strategic aims of the systems included economic growth, forced industrialization and nationalization of farms. These aims were endorsed by institutions responsible for economic policies: they made investment decisions and supervised redistribution of national income among different regions in a new spatial arrangement. This stage can be divided into three periods: 1950-1958, 1959-1970, and 1971-1982.

**Period 1950-1957**

The year 1949 marks the beginning of a new concept of economic growth and economic policy of how to spatially develop the country and how to use its property assets. Also, the diversity and intensity of activity of some social and local institutions were limited in favor of state institutions. Under the 6-year plan for Poland, resettlement and management of the WNT became just one of many goals of the country's development, and the area of WNT lost its previous priority. Not only the community and private initiatives but also the initiatives of institutions responsible for the WNT were curbed: MZO and RNdZZO were dissolved. In 1950 a new administrative division of the country was introduced: new districts, i.e. Koszalin and Opole, were established. Dissolved were also regional planning institutions such as RDPP and regional branches of Central Planning Office. In effect, the regions of WNT were treated as western districts of Poland, subject to hierarchical planning and management as other Polish districts. The fundamental principles of spatial development of Poland *included uniform distribution of manufacturing forces and elimination of disproportions in spatial development as well as equalization of the level of development and of people's life in different regions.*

Economic recovery and expansion as well as management of companies were designed in such way as to increase the share of the WNT in total industrial production, though the existing property assets of this area were not effectively used. Transformation of agriculture and Polish country was accelerated by forced collectivization, which led to setting up collective farms and state farms (PGR). Investment in agriculture increased, though funds were allocated mainly to collective sector, thus discriminating the private sector--Polish peasants. Division of labor between the two areas depended on the strategic aims of the country, which limited any advantages which could follow from the compatibility of the two regions.



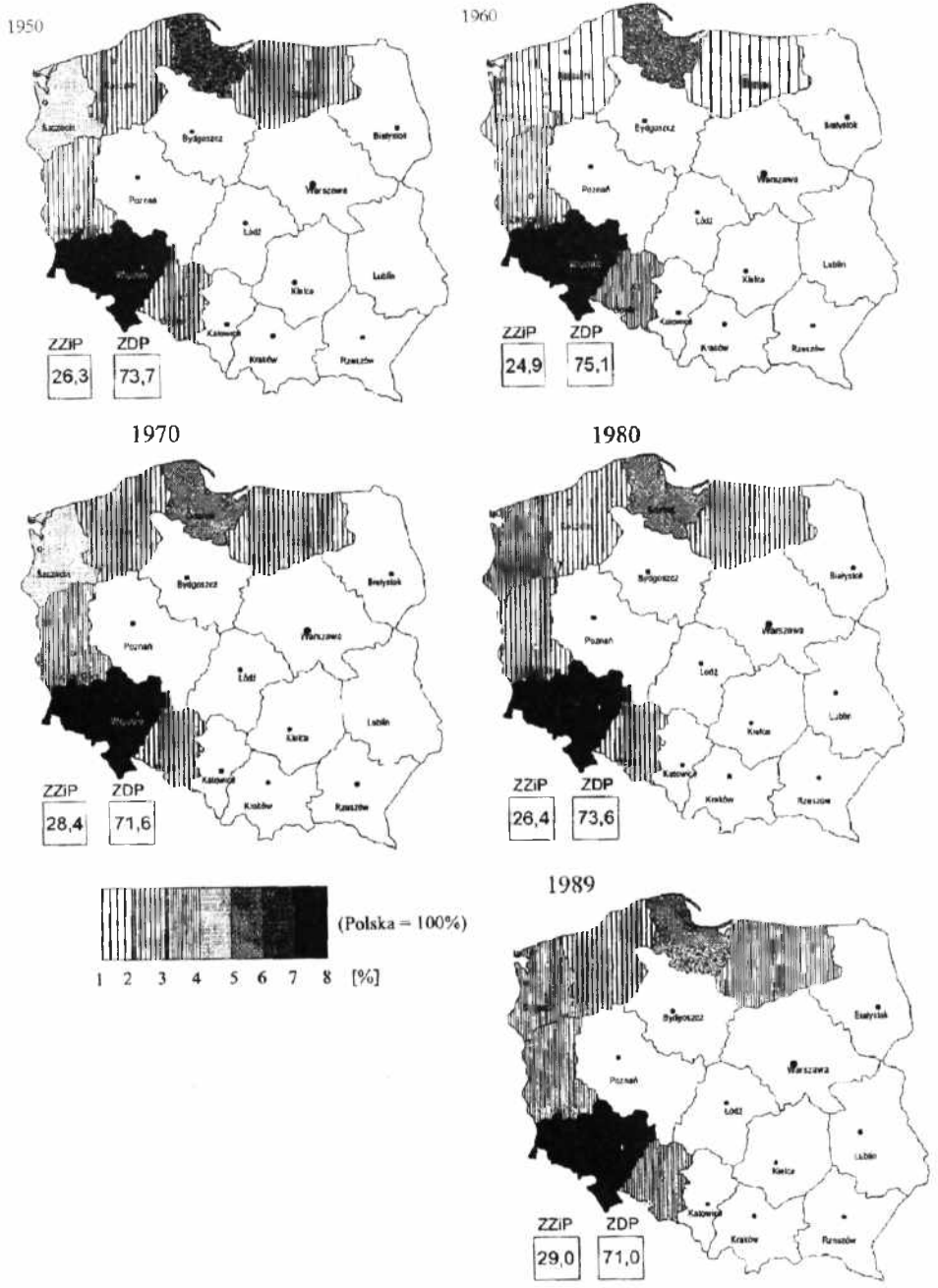


Fig. 1. Changes in distribution of investment outlay in WNT and TPT

The beginning of the 1950s saw a new strategy of allocation of investment funds: less money was earmarked for WNT, which incurred cuts of funds for recovery of medium-scale industry and resettlement infrastructure, and more funds were awarded for investment in TPT.<sup>48</sup> As before, industrial factories were merged, large-scale plants employing more people were privileged for recovery, while small-scale companies were neglected, especially those which were traditional in this areas and linked to nearby natural resources or local markets. This discrimination mostly hurt food and building industry. Consequences of such a policy at the end of this period were many: deindustrialization, progressing decapitalization, property devastation, degradation of services, stagnation in small towns, as well as difficulties in settling villages, the last mostly in the northern territories. Because of the above initiatives and policies some bonds were established between the two areas, i.e. WNT and TPT. Yet the strategy of equalizing the level of economic development of different regions by diversifying funds allocated to them eliminated the existing asymmetry only to a limited degree: the funds were proportional to the number of citizens, yet drastically inadequate to meet the needs to manage the property assets in the WNT, particularly in Silesia (Fig. 1) (p. 105).

One of the manifestations of the appearing bonds was migration of people along the so-called "paved ways," which led primarily to the regions in the TPT: Mazovia region with Warsaw, Wielkopolska region with Poznań and the bydgoskie district. By the same token, the bonds were loose with other regions, where the paths did not lead, i.e. the overpopulated regions of southeastern Poland. In this period, all regions of the WNT showed active balance of migrations, its high intensity and effectiveness, in particular Silesia (Fig. 2) (p. 107).<sup>49</sup>

Selective ways of restructuring and applying fixed assets of the WNT led to formation of special cooperative bonds with the TPT, which were reflected by intensive removal and transport of goods between the two areas. In this period of integration with the rest of the country, the WNT yielded more goods than they accepted (the total production of coal, other resources, energy products and building manufacture). The dominant suppliers were Lower and Opole Silesia, while the northern territories participated the least, only in transfer of resources from katowickie and krakowskie district (Fig. 3) (p. 108).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> J. Kociszewski, *Rozwój, cechy i struktura inwestycji w scentralizowanym modelu gospodarki w Polsce* [Development, Features, and Structure of Investment in Centralized Economy Model in Poland], *Ekonomia i Międzynarodowe Stosunki Gospodarcze*. No. 5 (1995). Wrocław: Wyd. AE. pp. 100-114

<sup>49</sup> J. Kociszewski, *Migracje ponadregionalne w procesie integracji Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych z Polską* [Migrations beyond Regions in the Process of Integration of the Western and Northern Territories with Poland]. *Przegląd Zachodni* (1998/3). p. 61-81.

<sup>50</sup> J. Kociszewski, *Procesy integracji...*, *op. cit.*

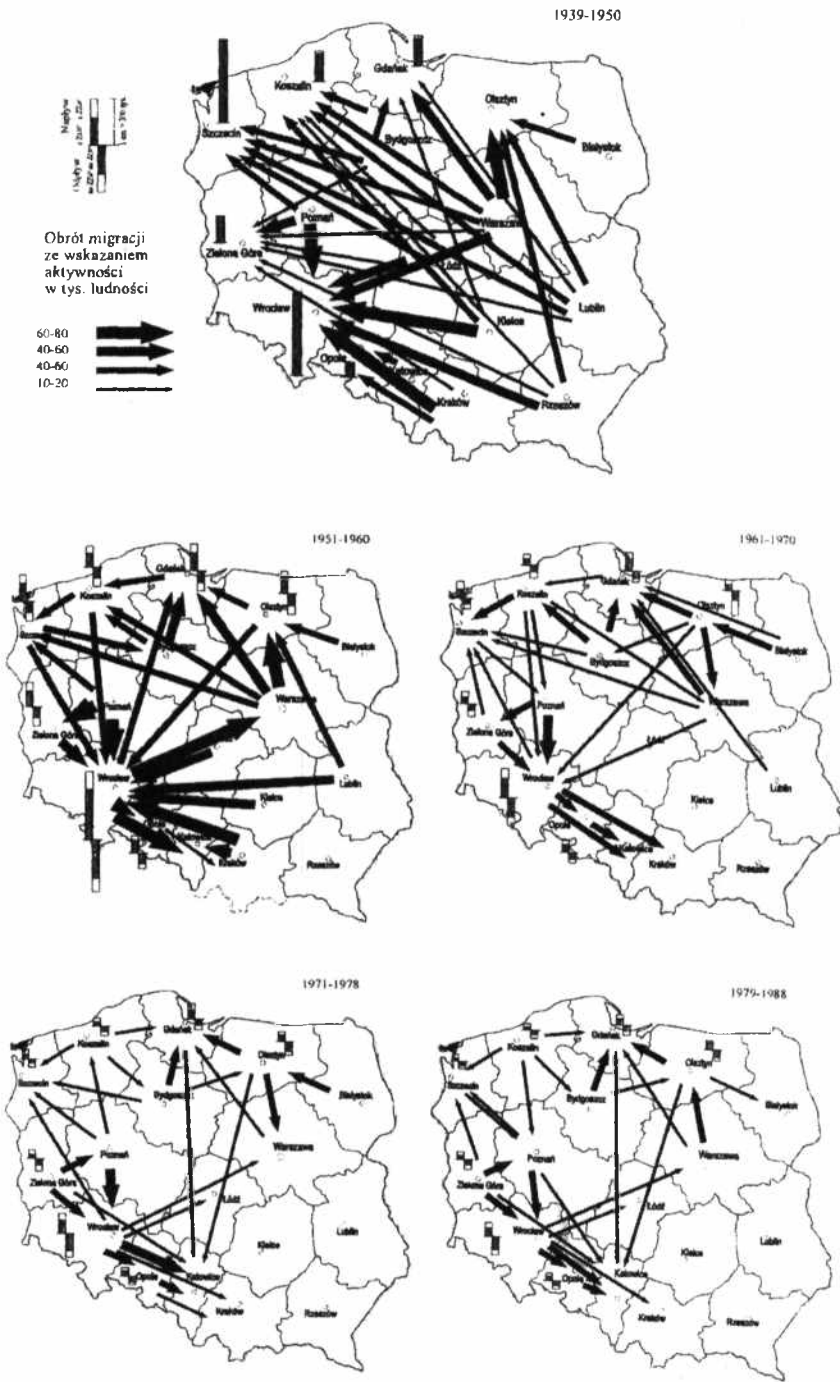


Fig. 2. Migration paths between WNT and TPT

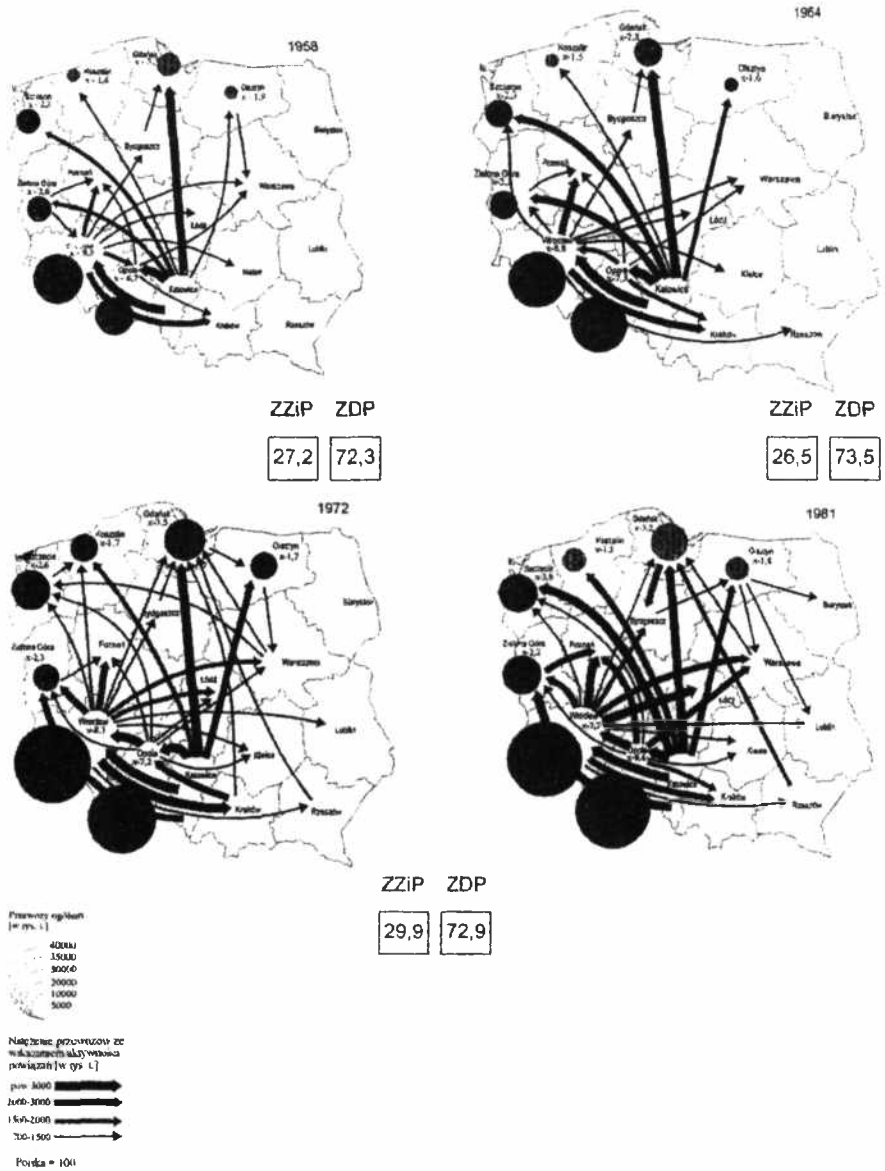


Fig. 3. Transport of goods via PKP railway standard-gauge tracks between WNT and TPT

Of all the regions in the WNT, the one which exerted the biggest influence on the integration process was well developed Silesia, in particular its property assets, which lured the biggest wave of immigrants and domi-

ated in goods turnover with other regions. This region triggered demographic and social processes as well as changes in the social and working structure. It also fostered industrialization and urbanization and contributed to the increase in the level of life of Polish citizens.

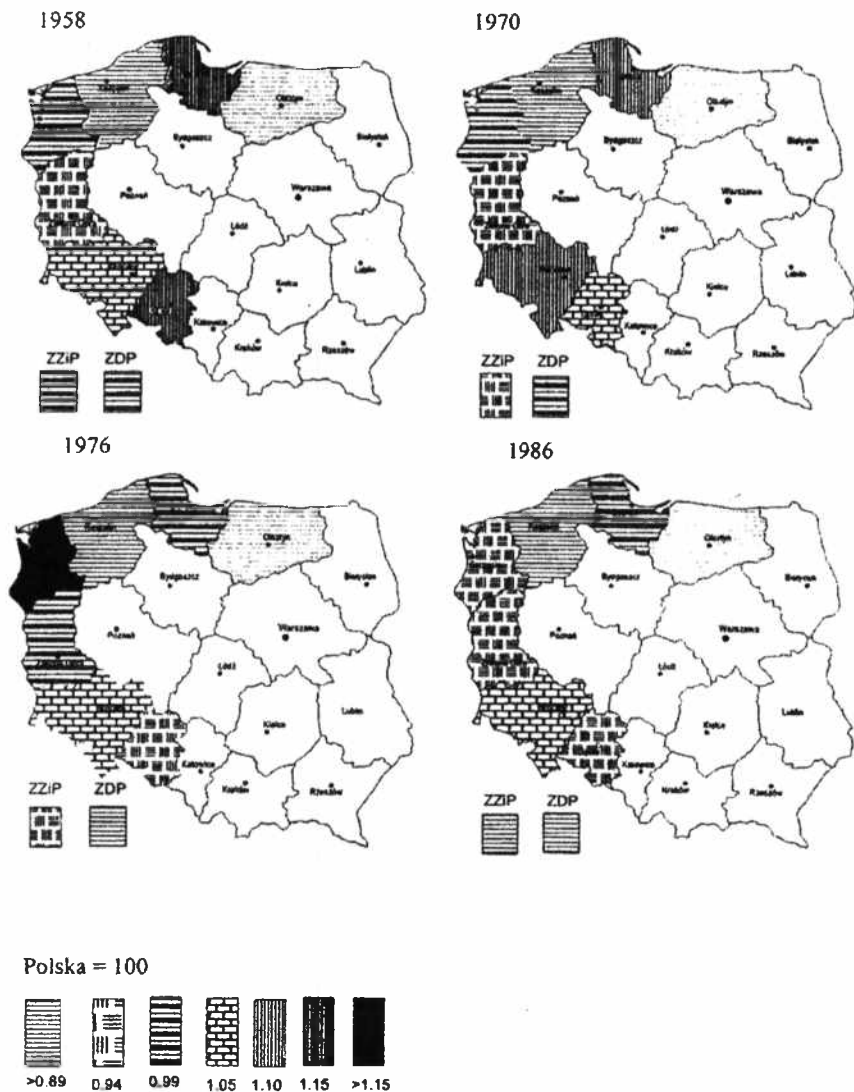


Fig. 4. Level of economic development in the WNT and TPT (national income per one inhabitant)

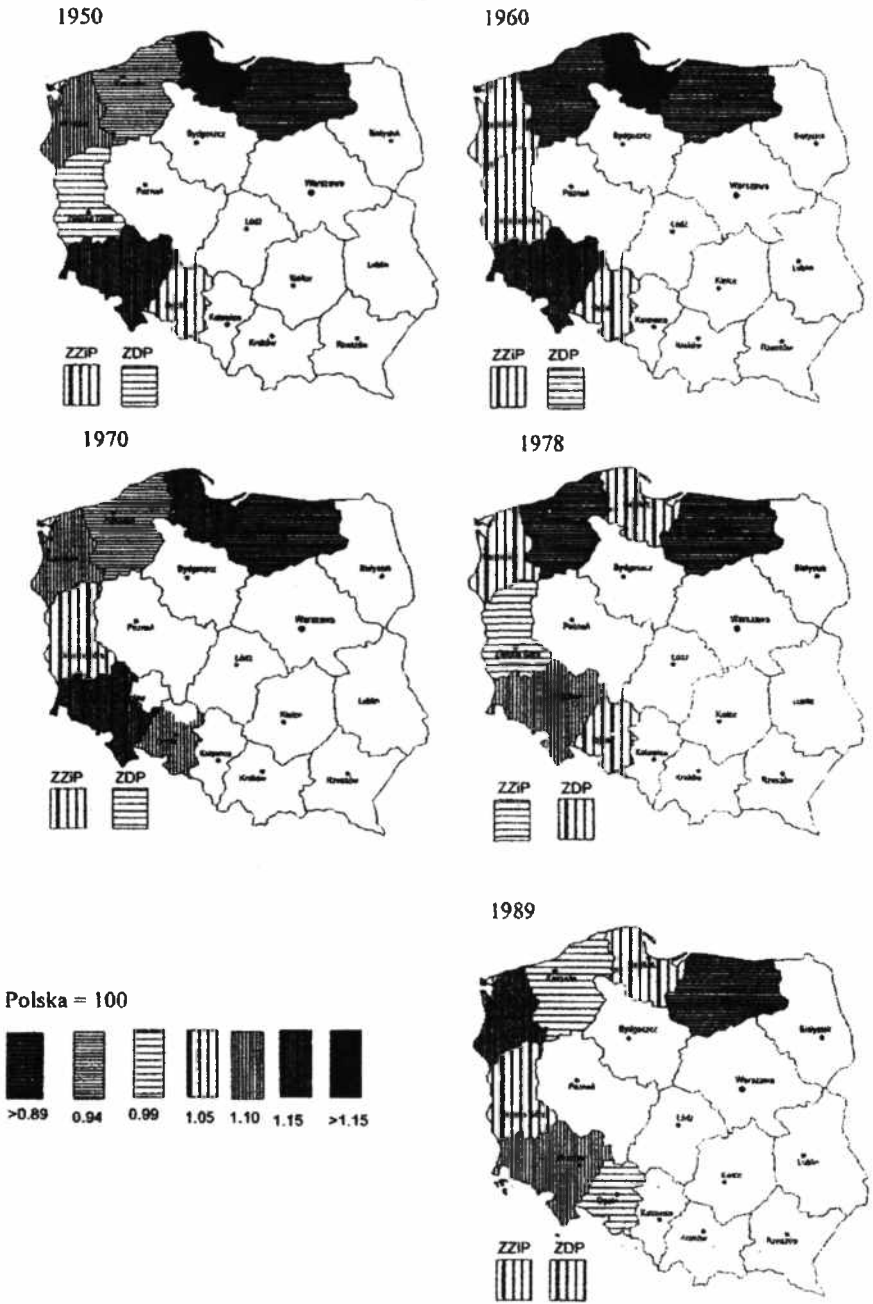


Fig. 5. Changes in the level of living in WNT and TPT

Other factors, which affected integration of both territories, included the policy of nationalization of agriculture and the strategy of industrialization. In this period intensive collectivization led to a division of Polish agriculture into two types: individual, predominant in the TPT and collective and national, dominant in the WNT. Because of the latter way of "managing" agriculture in the WNT it never reached the level of productivity it had before the war. Incorporation of the industrial WNT territories into Poland favored industrialization and modernization of production in Poland in general, yet restructurization of the industry brought also many negative effects. In the first period, the level of industrialization in some regions dropped, while other regions experienced deindustrialization, hence their industrial level decreased to reach that of TPT.

Clearly visible manifestations of integration in this period included not only unification of the state and a multitude of institutional initiatives but also a disparity in the level of development and life in the two areas. This asymmetry is clearly indicated by an index expressing national income per capita that was obtained in 1958 by the two regions, which was much higher for the WNT (Fig. 4) (p. 109). The index expressing living conditions in the WNT was even higher (it was a weighted average of saturation indices: housing, network of railways and roads, trade, schooling, health care, culture). The asymmetry was slowly shrinking under the influence of the policy of investment distribution, population, and site management, which affected the level of living throughout the whole country. As a result, the level of living in the TPT was rising, while that in the WNT was undergoing stabilization. It must be mentioned though that the WNT were divided into a strong region—both Silesias and Gdańsk Pomerania—and weak ones, which required further settlement and management—Warmia-Mazury and Middle Pomerania (Fig. 5) (p. 110).

#### PERIOD I 1958-1970, CONTINUATION OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND STABILIZATION OF WNT INTEGRATION WITH THE REST OF POLAND

Political changes which took place in Poland at that time imparted dynamism into the process of WNT integration with the rest of Poland: Institutional initiatives were undertaken both on the social, government and parliamentary levels. Among others, in 1956 The Western and Northern Territories Governmental Commission was set up and in 1957 a Special Commission of the Western Territories was established in Congress. These two discussed how to encourage further migration to the WNT from the

TPT, how to regulate property rights (including those of the indigenous population), as well as how to stimulate regional activity. Apart from that, local initiatives appeared how to intensify development of the backward areas, e.g., the mountainous regions, as well as regional planning was modified so the government would be more involved in the development of regions.

Following the *Assumptions of a long term spatial development of the country till 1985*, laid out by the Planning Committee of the Bureau of the Cabinet, the problem of overpopulation of the south-eastern part was proposed to be resolved by resettling its population to the western districts. These solutions were clearly at variance with expansion of the property rights of the state farms and with so-far preferred model of industrialization. At the same time propaganda was aired that the process of integration of the WNT with the TPT had been completed. Consequently, stimulation of initiatives in the WNT was again put on the back burner. Though investment outlay in this area was increased, yet it was directed only at expanding resource excavation and shipbuilding industry, i.e. construction of the Lubińsko-Głogowski Industrial Center or Turowski Industrial Center, and others. The outlay in these places was well aimed as regards population, yet too low with regards to the existing fixed assets and progressing decapitalization (Fig. 1).

As regards transfer of goods, export from the WNT dropped, while import increased: such a proportion held true for most areas in these territories. Also the structure of the goods transferred changed: there was a decrease in construction materials, and an increase in manufacturing merchandise. In the WNT a dominant role in the transfer was played again by the two Silesian regions, which by offering a diversity of services and industries had well developed mutual connections with other regions, especially with the industrial neighboring regions in the south. Yet some revival in transfer of goods was also reported for the northern territories (Fig. 3).

The factor which should be credited with fostering stabilization of the relations between the WNT and TPT was migration of people, though its intensity tended to decline, in particular in the WNT. Even Lower Silesia ceased to be more attractive than other places in the WNT, which was reflected by a considerable drop in the flow of people to the Silesian villages. Those who migrated followed primarily the "paved ways." Therefore the two regions were becoming less and less compatible. As fewer people were resettling in the WNT and more headed for TPT, the balance of migration reached a record low, and in many regions of the WNT it became passive, as for example in Silesia. That the overall balance was still active was due



to continuing migrations in the Gdańsk and Western Pomerania regions and in Opole Silesia (Fig. 2).

In the 1960s stabilization of the intensity and activity of various bonds between these regions was due not only to the weakening of the above factors, but also to neglect and different obstacles, e.g. unregulated property rights and claims to German farms, tensions in Polish-German relations, and occupation of these territories by Soviet army. In this period, the dynamism of development in the WNT was still higher than in the TPT, and it triggered settlement; also the process of urbanization was more intensive, though the number of people living in the cities exceeded the number of village dwellers only in the early 1960s, which was mainly caused by population growth in big cities. Moreover, the communities in the WNT underwent a more rapid modernization in the field of education: more people received primary education and vocational training, also illiteracy was eliminated. These communities showed features characteristic of post-migration communities: high mobility and weak rootedness. In general, however, in the WNT industrialization and urbanization induced more rapid changes in the social-professional and economic structure, there territories had a better developed industry and services, and differed considerably from the TPT, which then still were classified as an agricultural and industrial region. Collectivization and nationalization of agriculture was more advanced in the WNT. Also, because of the way industry was reconstructed in the country, apart from Silesia, the degree of industrialization measured by the number of people employed in industry and craftsmanship per 1000 inhabitants reached the level from before the war only at the end of this period. The first signs of underpopulation of some parts of the WNT appeared because of a lower birth rate, passive balance of migration from the TPT, including big cities, and preference of the TPT as a place of migration. As a result, neither the country (barely populated in some border villages) nor the city in the WNT reached the level of population from before the war.

Because of a decreasing involvement of the state government in the WNT, the asymmetry in the level of development and life of people in both regions was disappearing slowly. In the 1960s the share of the WNT in the national income was more or less the same or even tended to decline. As regards the quality of life of people in the WNT, it was no longer markedly better than in the TPT, because of the differences between a highly developed Silesia and Gdańsk and Western Pomerania regions and the weakly developed Middle Pomerania and Warmia and Mazury (Fig. 4, 5).

PERIOD II 1971-1982, THE EFFECTS OF ACCELERATED ECONOMIC GROWTH  
ON INTEGRATION PERIOD

The social-economic situation in the late 1960s enforced another modification of the strategy of development for the country. The conception of selective development accepted at the end of W. Gomułka's term was rejected. Instead, under the banner of "The Second Poland" a new strategy was formulated, this time of dynamic and harmonious growth. With the help of loans from the West an attempt was made to modernize the country using a new technology. Building housing projects was considered one of the driving wheels of this development. Moreover, it was also assumed that real wages would increase proportionally to the increase of agricultural production. Industrialization of the country rapidly accelerated. The difference between the strategy of the 1971-1975 period and the preceding ones was that from the beginning the increase in the accumulation rate was accompanied by an increase in real wages and consumption; only the growing macroeconomic disproportions brought some disturbances in the new policy. 1978-1982 saw a total collapse of the national income and real wages, which exacerbated the social and economic crisis, affecting spatial and regional economy. An agreement about normalization of relations between the German Federal Republic and Poland was signed, revealing unresolved national problems in the WNT. As a result of the agreement, migration of indigenous and German population from Poland intensified and cooperation between the Democratic Republic of Germany and Poland was strengthened.

Institutional actions aimed at solving acute problems of the WNT had a more propaganda effect: they emphasized the facts that this region had already been settled and developed and its future was dependent on natural biological laws. Official initiatives taken to improve the situation in the WNT were hampered, though economists suggested otherwise. A plan of spatial development of Poland drawn up in the 1970s included a few initiatives of activating some of the regions within the WNT, e.g. in 1972 *A Development Program for the Mountainous Region of the Wrocławskie District 1970-1985* was written, and it was followed by similar comprehensive development programs for the Szczecin district and the city of Wrocław. Besides, first steps were taken to develop the area around the Odra River. Nonetheless, the fact that the central government activities for the benefit of the WNT had stagnated was confirmed by analyses conducted by research teams of the Society for the Development of The Western Territories [TRZZ].

The premise for the new Polish central development program for 1972–1974 was a more balanced and rational distribution of productive forces. In 1975 it was followed by a new territorial division of the country into 49 districts and subsequently into macro-regions whose purpose was to centralize decisions concerning spatial management of the country. The new divisions masked stagnation and sluggishness of some regions in the WNT, but in the first place they covered tensions between preferences of the new generation and the deteriorating conditions of living of people in this area.

The beginning of the period saw many investments: in fact in the WNT their number was higher than in the TPT. Yet, due to the collapse of the investment strategy in the second half of this decade the number of investments decreased to reach the level of 1970. As to the placement of the investments, they appeared in the regions of already high industrial, energy and resources concentration, in sea transport and state agriculture. Modernization outlay in the so-far underinvested settlement infrastructure remained low. The results of the investment changes for the WNT were such that more of them were directed at the northern territories at the cost of both Silesian regions. Besides expenditure on fixed assets decreased, leading to its decapitalization (Fig. 1).

Transport of goods between the WNT and TPT only slightly intensified: it was higher in the WNT, yet it did not achieve the level of the first period. As regards the structure of transport in the former, export was on the descendance and import on the ascendance, which implied that in subsequent stages the WNT transformed from the “supplier” in the first phase to a “recipient;” passive balance of transport from the TPT increased, mainly because of a twice as high import of manufacturing goods. This change can be explained by the fact that in spite of an active balance in the transport of other types of goods, the economic function of the WNT was to supply resources and intermediate products. As such a supplier the WNT expanded its relations with other regions in the country; this particularly applied to the two Silesian regions, which had a highest share in transport (Fig. 3).

The main reason why the integration process became sluggish in 1971–1982 was a radical decrease in migration and a change in its directions (Fig. 2). Inflow of settlers into the WNT equaled only 1/3 of the whole of the country; it dropped the most in Lower Silesia. Then dominant became migrations between neighboring regions in the WNT as well as migrations from the village to the city; migrants included mostly urban population. Among the population migrating “over the regions” the largest group (half of the people coming from the TPT) included migrants of the “paved ways.” When the conditions of living in the WNT became stable, more and more people (rural population) tended to migrate from the WNT, mainly to the

cities and towns of the TPT. In consequence, for the first time the migration balance between the two territories became passive, and as more and more of the indigenous and German population left for Germany, the whole area of the WNT turned into an emigration zone. Active balance of migration was still observed in the Gdańsk and Western Pomerania and Opole Silesia due to active balance of migration of cities. The above reason coupled with a decreasing birth rate led to a decline in the dynamism of population growth in the WNT.

Because of stabilization of demographic and social-economic relations in most regions of the WN territories, more time was needed to achieve the same level of life and development here as it was before the war (except for the zielonogórskie-gorzowskie district): the same level was achieved at the end of this period, while in the country the same level was never obtained. The problem of populating villages became very burning: in fact many villages became depopulated: in particular in the mountainous regions and in most of Pomerania and Warmia and Mazury; this concerned both the densely and scarcely populated areas. Other reasons led to difficulties in populating towns, in particular small ones which remained permanently stagnant. The first to recover and obtain the state before the war were Lower and Opole Silesia and Gdańsk Pomerania; other regions managed to attain this state in the late 1970s. The city of Wrocław joined only in 1983, and some small towns only at the end of the decade. These tendencies led to a total collapse of the age structure of the population; one of the factors responsible for that fact was increase in the number of retired people. Population of the WNT underwent the process of modernization more quickly than people in the TPT mainly thanks to education: more people received vocational training and high school education. More people felt they had taken roots, though the feeling was more pronounced in regions with a higher number of indigenous population: in the Opolskie and Gdańskie region.

Acceleration of industrialization and urbanization of the whole country only slightly affected the differences in economic structures of both territories, hence it did not make them more compatible than before. The WNT still had a more developed industrial infrastructure and services. The economic situation was also strengthened by agriculture cultivated in huge state farms (PGR), which encompassed more than half of the cultivated area in the territories. As a result, the disparity in agriculture between the territories grew further. In spite of acceleration of investments and forced development of heavy industry in the WNT, the general level of industrialization was higher in the TPT (except for Silesia), which can be explicated by a slower development of fixed assets and their decapitalization.

The strategy of social and economic development did not bring expected changes in the level of life, which in general was slightly higher in the WNT. Also the degree of economic development was higher in the WNT than in the TPT. The economic policy favoring development in the TPT at the cost of the WNT did not eliminate the differences till 1982. Much credit for sustaining the dominance of the WNT should go to Lower Silesia, which in spite of economic stagnation, maintained its strong position in Poland, as did the Western Pomerania. On the other hand, Gdańsk Pomerania and Opole Silesia were classified among the less economically developed regions (Fig. 4, 5).

PERIOD III 1983-1989; IN THE CONDITIONS OF STAGNATION AS WELL  
AS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SYSTEMIC CRISIS

In the 1980s disproportion in the social, economic, spatial and regional development between the territories became an obstacle which hit the whole socio-economic system. Such a widespread crisis revealed deficiencies in most of the regions of the WNT, or even existence of the so-called problem areas. Any institutional activity of the state in the WNT ceased to exist; no new way of looking at either the economy of the WNT or any concept of its development appeared instead. Because of generational changes and declining economic activity of this region, the stance and demands of the regional communities became more radical. The communities exhibited higher mobility and low tendency to take roots; moreover, more people were leaving for the TPT or Germany. In consequence, passive balance of migration was maintained, and most areas of the WNT resembled an emigration zone. Villages were losing population and some were getting completely depopulated. Given the inconsistency in implementing the policy of full settlement and development of this area and passiveness of regional governments, in most of the regions of the WNT the scale of unresolved problems appeared to be very wide.

Investment disproportions created in the previous period, in this one forced some changes: less money was appropriated to the production sector, while more to the non-production sector. In general investments in different regions of the WNT increased more than in the TPT, and the regions which received more of them were again Lower Silesia and Gdańsk Pomerania. For the first time the ratio of investment grew with respect to both population and fixed assets, the result of which was increase in fixed assets in northern regions, in particular in regions of high land concentration (state farms) with respect to the average for the country. In general, however, the

level of investments met neither needs nor expectations; neither was the progressing decapitalization stopped (Fig. 1).

That the importance of the WNT economy in the period of economic crisis decreased was reflected also in a decreased intensity of goods transfer between the two territories; the fall in the WNT was much bigger than in the TPT, and the balance of transfer proved less and less favorable for this region (in main part, as the previous time, this was due to overbalance of transfer of manufactured goods). The only regions with an active balance in transfer with the TPT were both Silesian regions. As a matter of fact, both the structure and balance of transfer within the WNT, created already in the period of economic recovery, remained unchanged, mainly thanks to the Silesian regions (Fig. 3).

Migrations of people over the territories came down to a trickle: dominant were resettlements within a region and in the neighborhood. Downfall in the flow of people to the WNT continued; the heaviest fall was experienced by the two Silesian regions, which clearly gave way to the northern regions which attracted newcomers, primarily to the villages, because of scarce provisions in the whole country and rapid development of state farms. In contrast, cities of the WNT ceased to be attractive, mostly the ones situated in the urban Lower Silesia, including Wrocław; the newcomers were mainly villages. As regards migrations over the territories to the WNT, the most surprising was the fact that still migrations along the "paved ways" dominated. The slight difference was that migrants would usually head for regions lying at a closer distance: people from the Wielkopolska region to Lower Silesia, people from the Mazowsze region to Warmia and Mazury, while inhabitants of Kujawy region to Gdańsk Pomerania. A decreasing role of migration in the integration process between the WNT and TPT was also a consequence of an intensifying outflow of people from the former, mainly urban population, to capital cities of the new districts in the TPT. The result was a passive balance of migration between the WNT and TPT to the disadvantage of the former; the downfall was observed both in the villages of all regions and in the cities, except Opole Silesia and Gdańsk and Western Pomerania, which maintained active balance of migration in general. The most significant in the whole process of migration between the WNT and TPT was a systematically decreasing role of Lower Silesia, the region which in the beginning enjoyed the highest migration balance, and which now as a result of intensive outflow suffered passive balance.

On the basis of analysis of migration in the three periods of integration it is possible to define the stability of bonds between the regions of the WNT and TPT: Silesia was most strongly bonded with the Wielkopolska, Małopolska and Katowice districts; the Opole region with the Katowice and

lower Silesia regions; Zielona Góra-Gorzów with the Wielkopolska and Kujawy region; Western and Middle Pomerania developed bonds with the Wielkopolska and Kujawy regions; Gdańsk Pomerania with Mazowsze and Kujawy; Warmia-Mazury region with Mazowsze region and Gdańsk Pomerania (Fig. 2).

## CONSEQUENCES AND EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION

At the end of the integration period, increase of population in the two territories became stabilized, which was due to a growing passive balance of migration in the WNT, primarily in Lower Silesia; urbanization of this region continued. Demographic structure of the two regions became alike (including ageing of population). An intensive wave of immigration to West Germany as a result of joining families or work migration, either seasonal or illegal, as well as outflow of people to the TPT led to a situation in which the WNT turned into an emigration and outflow zone. The task of diminishing the asymmetry between the territories was not fulfilled. This territory was still characterized by high mobility and lower rootedness of local communities. In comparison with TPT the two features were similar only in Gdańsk Pomerania and Opole Silesia.

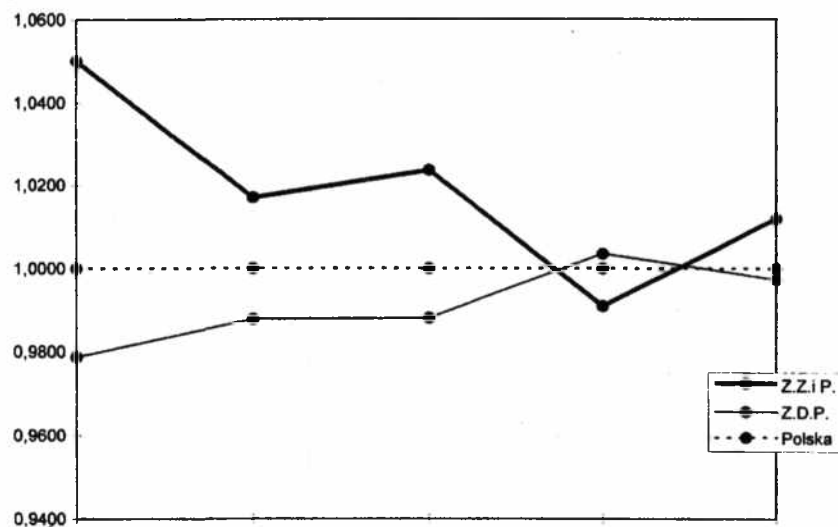


Fig. 6 Synthetic index of economic integration in 1950-1989

Source: my own on the basis of Tab. 1 Poland's average - 100

Table 1 Synthetic index of living conditions in the WNT and TPT (changes in 1950-1989)

Areas/regions	Index ratio (Poland (100))				
	50	60	70	78	89
Lower Silesia	1.2451	1.1411	1.1145	1.0905	1.0904
Opole Silesia	1.0390	1.0510	1.0765	1.0090	0.9867
Zielona Góra-Gorzów	0.9849	1.0507	1.0171	0.9904	0.9994
Western Pomerania	1.1010	1.0122	1.0105	1.0394	1.1135
Middle Pomerania	0.9162	0.8794	0.8973	0.8339	0.9559
Gdańsk Pomerania	1.1881	1.1601	1.1278	1.0511	1.0481
Warmia and Mazury	0.9060	0.8584	0.8799	0.8722	0.9297
WNT	1.0501	1.0171	1.0237	0.9909	1.0119
TPT	0.9788	0.9878	0.9881	1.0037	0.9973

Without – TV subscribers per 1000 inhabitants

The potential of the economy of WNT was not fully used; its well developed economic structure based on industry and services in comparison with the economy of the TPT based on agriculture, industry and services, did not induce structural changes in the overall economy. The attempt at reforming agriculture through nationalization did not bring expected results, because its capital-absorptive commodity production involved extensive cultivation. Nationalization of the country and agriculture brought to a halt the development of local markets and small towns. As regards industrialization, though at the initial stage it benefited Poland a lot, in the long run it became selective and stagnant in the 1980s, so the end of the period witnessed deindustrialization and physical and moral disintegration of the industrial assets in some areas of the WNT.

Due to the above phenomena some areas of the WNT became "problematic" or even "source of discontent," which was manifested by depopulation of villages, continuing decapitalization of assets, in Lower Silesia in particular, low efficiency of agriculture in state farms, aberration of social behavior, ecological threats and many others.

The effect of economic integration between the WNT and TPT was a diminishing asymmetry in the level of development and of life between the two territories, yet still the WNT had an advantage, mostly in the living conditions. At the same time the effects of integration were also determined by internal factors of each region (Fig. 5, 6): so the discrepancy between the better developed Silesian regions and Gdańsk Pomerania and the economically weak regions in the north was maintained, though it was modified and less acute than in the beginning period of integration. Merging of the two territories by raising the level of development and life in the TPT and stabilizing it in the TPT in the last period of integration under communism



was a manifestation of convergence, which however was not continued and additionally hampered by the realization of tasks imposed by the command-distributive economy of Polish People's Republic.

Table 2. National income per 1 inhabitant in the WNT and TPT (the country's average=100)

Areas/regions	1958	1970	1976		1986
Lower Silesia	103	108	103	104	103
Opole Silesia	113	100	93	94	91
Zielona Górska-Gorzów	92	91	94	95	93
Western Pomerania	99	95	113	119	93
Middle Pomerania	80	69	71	72	75
Gdańsk Pomerania	113	108	96	97	96
Warmia and Mazury	80	67	74	75	70
WNT	97	91	91	92	89
TPT	96	96	88	88	86
Poland	100	100	100	100	100

\* for 1958-1976: net NI; for 1976-1980: gross NI (for 1974 calculated twice) Source: my own calculations on the basis [34, 35, 36, 317]

