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INTRODUCTION

The Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation has reproduced the “Report relating to casualties and war damages of Poland between the years 1939–1945” prepared and published in January 1947 by the Bureau of War Reparations by Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland.

One of the statutory objectives of the Foundation consists in conducting educational and information all undertakings with regard to popularization of historical truth concerning the Second World War. Hitherto, this objective has been implemented only partially, because of two main reasons. Firstly, the Foundation had to concentrate all resources on its crucial task, which were payments of the German benefits in years 1992–2006. The second factor is politically motivated. Consecutive Polish governments in the period between 1989–2005 did not attach due significance to the treasuring of the historical memory of the nation. This practice was noticeably reflected in the Polish–German relations. The doctrine of the so-called “community of interest”, which was adhered to in that period, rejected defining and solving problems of the past.

As a result of such policy, historical consciousness of the Polish nation has been reduced to symbolic preservation of monuments. Thus, credible knowledge about contemporary history of Poland, which for obvious reasons was not present in the discourse of Western Europe between 1945–1989, did not reach a wide range of addressees also in the years 1990–2005. As a consequence of such negligence, Poland is being less and less associated by the societies of Western Europe and the United States with all their crimes suffered, contrary to the perception of for example Russia or the Jewish population. Some Germans start to perceive Poland as the source of German war tragedies.

On the other hand, Germany used this period to develop its own historical policy. It was based on a new memory credo, which recognized German war crimes as squared and redressed and on the other side Germany started with exposing subjective German sufferings. The lack of the natural point of reference, concerning in this case Polish war experiences, triggered an uncritical politicization of history. In the coalition agreement for commitment CDU/CSU and SPD had provided that so-called “visible sign of expulsion” has to be built, some members of the German parliament returned to aggressive and revisionist claims and finally the influence of Erika Steinbach — chairperson of the Federation of Expellees — on Berlin’s policy regarding Poland increased.

It is not the purpose of this publication to deepen the wounds of the past. The Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation constitutes an institution of social dialogue. Its fundamental task is to enable true reconciliation between the victims and the perpetrators, i.e. between Poles and Germans. However, this true reconciliation cannot proceed in isolation from the historical truth, which is its essential and practically only foundation. Only the truth will effectively close the tragic fate of the common history of both nations.

The present publication should not also be treated as raising future claims, provoking concerns or causing new conflicts between neighbours living in integrated Europe, although it appears in a period of disturbing revisionist signals originating from different German media and political circles. Poles are aware of the fact, that the German nation also suffers enormously from social trauma caused by the Second World War. Such situation results from direct effects of the war, which impinge upon Germans too. Not only the loss of relatives fighting on many fronts, dying of gunshot wounds sustained during the actions of resistance in occupied Europe, or ultimately dying while fleeing from the Eastern front, but also the huge amount of crimes, which Germans, beguiled by cruel political visions of Adolf Hitler, perpetrated against Poles, must have unquestionably influenced collective psyche of the German nation. Therefore, even among postwar generations we can observe attempts to depreciate the tragedy of Poles, the desire to re-evaluate some events from the war period, or even postcolonial resentments, which are caused by the subconscious sense of guilt. The Foundation cannot allow those emotions to disturb good neighbourly relations between both countries. And in disputes about the historical truth, statistics seem to be the best judge.

The data enclosed in the Report will enable public to deliver, in abridged form, some information related to Polish war casualties and damages. It will enable the journalists and the historians dealing with the Second World War to access the data sources inaccessible in foreign archives and libraries.

Certainly, the sole indication of casualties and losses cannot present the exhaustive perspective of the Polish tragedy. One should be reminded of the fact, that Poland was not able to get even partial redress in the reparation process, starting with the base of the decisions from the Potsdam conference. It resulted from the decision of the three Great Powers regarding the transfer of our country to the so-called "eastern reparation sum" and the necessity of adhering in that matter to the Soviet Union's mediation. In consequence of the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 23rd August 1953 (Declaration of Polish People's Republic Government¹), a document extorted by Mocsow and therefore illegal — Poland withdrew from acquirement of reparations.²

¹ Decision text see: Zbiór Dokumentów PISM 1953. S. 1831.

² M. Muszyński — *Skuteczność stanowiska rządu PRL z 1953 r. w sprawie zrzeczenia się reparacji. Rozważania w świetle prawa międzynarodowego*. Kwartalnik Prawo Publiczne 2004, nr 3;

This could be compared to the reconciliation process with the victims of Nazi oppression undertaken after 1990³ dominated by German partners. In its result the financial benefits, received only by some of the Polish victims, had symbolic character and undoubtedly differed from the scope of authentic sufferings.

Unquestionably, information related to war casualties and losses will emphasize the amount of loss by the Polish nation and will help to preserve the commemoration of those Poles, who suffered injustice, in memory of people from all over the world. Forgiveness and reconciliation cannot signify amnesia.

* * *

For the last three hundred years Poles could not shape their own past. Alternatively, it was shaped by the three great powers, which initially took part in the partition of the Polish territory, subsequently colonized the nation and finally committed the genocide. For our oppressors it was important to spread the conviction in Europe, that it was not the occupants and the aggressors, but Poles themselves, who were guilty of their tragedy. For that reason, they tried scrupulously to eradicate each sign of their crimes from people's memory. By forging the facts and imposing its own interpretation of history, they strived to obliterate the difference between the victim and the perpetrator.

Nowadays this process influences also the knowledge of war martyrdom of the Polish nation. The scope of detriment, which suffered consciousness of those tragic days in Europe and all over the world, clearly indicates irrational reaction of world's media and politicians to the statement of Prime Minister J. Kaczyński regarding war casualties of Poland, pronounced during European Council session in June 2007.

For the abovementioned reasons the reprint of the "Report relating to casualties and war damages of Poland between years 1939–1945" seems to be indispensable. It will be published in three language versions: Polish, German and English. In the Polish language the original language and spelling from 1946 has been preserved. By issuing the three language versions the Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation would like, in a symbolic way, to initiate the periodical publication of reports, papers and other forms addressed to wide circles of the international community.

"The Report relating to casualties and war damages of Poland between the years 1939–1945" was supposed to be the initial document for evaluation of Polish reparation claims against Germany. It is unknown to wider circles

J. Sandorski — *Zrzeczenie się w 1953 r. przez Polskę reparacji wobec Niemiec w świetle prawa międzynarodowego* (w:) W. M. Góralski (red. nauk.) — *Problem reparacji, odszkodowań i świadczeń w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich 1944-2004*. Warszawa 2004.

³ J. Barcz, B. Jałowicki, J. Kranz — *Między pamięcią a odpowiedzialnością*, Warszawa 2004.

of potential addressees, particularly in abroad. The data enclosed in the report originate from research conducted in the years following the war. Hence, there is a possibility of some devaluation. They also do not reflect the whole picture of country losses, since they do not relate to important parts of Poland's territory. They do not include the pre-war territories of the Polish state located beyond the Bug River, which in consequence of Potsdam decisions were transferred to the Soviet Union. Furthermore, they do not include the present Western Territories of Poland, where Poland took over rule in 1945. One should also notice that the given quotas are expressed in zloty, in accordance with its 1939 nominal value, and they relate to market value of that time. In consequence the real present value of losses should to be verified again taking under consideration few dimensions.⁴ For that reason the data contained in the Report should not be compared with other, unfortunately still rare studies of that kind existing on the Polish historical market. In particular, it should be not compared with reports related to war losses prepared by some Polish cities in the years 2004–2005.

Despite the natural lack of coherence resulting from differences in research methods, change of property value, or nominal value and purchasing power of the zloty, the Foundation believes that the publication will fulfill its role by bringing the scale of tragedy (indicated by the percentage index) closer to wide social circles, which affected Poland as a result of Third Reich's aggression on 1st September 1939.

Mariusz Muszyński

⁴ In the year 1939 the Zloty-Dollar exchange rate was 5,31 zł to 1 USD. Since the last 70 years the Dollar rises its value 13 times. E.g.: In the year 1939 1 million Złoty come up to 190.000 USD while today it corresponds with 2,5 millions USD.

REPORT

**ON POLAND'S WARTIME LOSSES AND DAMAGE
IN THE YEARS 1939-1945**

ORGANIZATION OF WORKS TO DETERMINE WARTIME LOSSES

Detailed determination of wartime losses sustained by the Polish economy is not only a bill that — pursuant to international agreements — should be presented to the Germans for payment, but is also an important element of the plan for the country's reconstruction. In order to launch a viable reconstruction it is necessary to have thorough knowledge of the economic situation at the end of the war. The Polish government, aware of the importance of the problem, established an autonomous body to deal with the task — it was named Bureau for War Compensation. The competences of this body, operating under the auspices of the Council of Ministers, focused on providing the most accurate possible answer to the following question: "How much did World War II cost Poland?"

In particular, the Bureau drew on the activity of a number of special offices established by the respective ministries and tasked with compiling inventories of war losses, and institutions attached to territorial organs of public administration authorities, such as voivodship and starost's offices. Furthermore, the Bureau collaborated with self-government units, including gmina offices, town boards, professional organizations and institutions, such as the State Mutual Insurance Company etc..

That organizational setup permitted a broad-ranging campaign of registering wartime losses in: agriculture (regulations of the Minister of Agriculture of March 4 1945 and August 14 1945), forestry (regulation of the Minister of Forestry of March 21 1945), industry (regulations of the Minister of Industry of April 14 1945 and November 17 1946), in transportation (regulation of the Minister of Transport of September 4 1945), in telecommunications (regulation of the Minister of Postal Service of May 12 1945), in art and culture (regulation of the Minister of Art and Culture of March 5 1945), in education (regulation of the Minister of Education of September 20 1945), in health care (regulation of the Minister of Health of April 20 1945), in armed forces (order of the Minister of National Defense of February 26 1946), in commerce and private property (regulations of the Bureau for War Compensation attached to the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of September 21 1944 and 27 May 1945), in real estate (regulation of the Minister of Reconstruction of June 16 1945).

Independently of the above regulations, the Bureau for War Compensation of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers conducted — in accordance with unified guidelines (regulation of the Minister of Public Administration of June 9 1945) (7894) — registration of instances of death, disablement — with specification of its causes, and description of certain forms of

German terror, including imprisonment, deportation for the purpose of forced labor and evictions. The registration was conducted by gmina offices and town boards. Investigations were conducted ex officio and covered the population residing at the time of registration on the territory of the gmina, as compared to the situation on September 1 1939.

As a result of the registration campaign, the Bureau for War Compensation of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers acquired sufficient materials to determine war losses on the basis of the inventory. The materials were verified and compared with experts' loss estimates in the different fields. In several cases the registration was too difficult to be conducted, e.g. in commerce, due to the virtually complete annihilation of the Jewish population in bridgehead areas, in Warsaw etc. In such instances estimates the losses were estimated.

The Bureau for War Compensation appointed experts to verify the balance of material and human losses. They were affiliated within an Editorial Committee which conducted detailed research on the subject, in preparation of a topical publication. Moreover, the experts examined the problem of indirect losses.

In the latter case, the aim was to assess losses stemming from post-war reduction of the national income due to: a) destruction of 38% of state assets; b) murder of 6 million people, mostly of productive age; c) depletion of the remaining assets due to lack of investments and depreciation.

The war losses were calculated relative to Poland's post-war borders, excluding the Regained Territories. With reference to human losses, persons of Polish and Jewish nationality residing in territories yielded to the Soviet Union were also taken into account, as this population has, or would have if still alive, the right to move to Poland.

The losses were expressed in the Polish currency, using its value on September 1 1939. The losses were calculated as of May 9 1945, that is the end of the war. The process of calculating the losses lasted from September 21 1944 till January 1 1947.

CHARACTERIZATION OF POLAND'S WARTIME DESTRUCTION

General remarks

Although during the last world war all of Poland's territory was twice ravaged by hostilities, suffering their acute consequences, resulting both from the ruthlessness of the enemy and the destructive force of modern weapons, it is not the destruction caused by these actions that inflicted Poland's gravest wartime losses. It was the enemy's occupation of the country that caused equally acute or even graver damage. That happened not only because the occupation of Polish lands lasted longer than the occupation of other countries fighting against the Germans, not only because all of Poland's area succumbed to the occupation and no part of it was free, but primarily because the character of the hostile occupation was distinct and unprecedented since ancient times.

The occupation not only became — as envisaged by norms of international law — military administration of an occupied country, not only a means of exploiting that country for the benefit of Germany's war goals — as had happened, contrary to the Hague Convention, during the previous world war — but also, and perhaps first and foremost, a continuation of the war and struggle conducted not against the state any more, but against the entire Polish people.

The ultimate goal of that struggle, as indicated by leading German public figures during the war and corroborated by facts, was decimation and subsequent complete destruction of the Polish population. Only remnants of the population were to survive, devoid of any national awareness or possessions, politically terrorized and subservient to the German nation. The goal was to create living space for the Germans in the east, which they needed to become a race of masters and rulers of the European continent. The struggle was divided into stages, e.g. destruction of national awareness, annihilation of the managerial class, destruction of the economy and finally biological annihilation. Implementation of these objectives was to continue beyond wartime, though it began and was conducted during its duration. It was enforced with total ruthlessness, which was moderated by the perpetrators in only rare instances.

The intensity of the enemy's efforts designed to attain the above goal was not the same throughout the occupation. Germany's war expediencies got in the way and — depending on the situation on the fronts — they assumed priority, temporarily changing the short-term objectives of German policy. These expediencies included obvious striving to exploit the Polish

labor force for Germany's war goals, and striving to harness Poland's manufacturing potential for the same purpose. However, whenever such expediencies were no longer pressing, the tendency of intentional destruction resurfaced with full force.

The enemy's aforementioned policy greatly increased the scope and impact of war losses. Whenever one cause of losses eased off, another appeared in its place. The society and Poland's economic apparatus had no respite, being incessantly subjected to destruction and exploitation. At the same time, the damage inflicted by the enemy was more multidimensional and total in character than it would have been if no such intentional action had been conceived. No sphere of national life, however distant from the realm of war, escaped the severe consequences of the occupiers' actions. The fates of war put an abrupt stop to Germany's endeavors. Not only did Germany fail to attain its fundamental goal, it did not even manage to get close. However, the impact on all of Polish life of that operation caused enormous, protracted difficulties for Poland in rebuilding its existence and potential.

1. The consequences of military operations

As noted above, Polish lands twice became the scene of war hostilities. The campaign of 1939 was short-lived, lasting over a month in just a few areas and being mainly reduced to mobile warfare. However, the related damage was acute and contributed — jointly with other causes — to the difficulties of subsequent years. It engulfed the whole territory of the country; the clashes into which the campaign disintegrated took place all over the country. Resolute, determined resistance, ruthlessly suppressed by an enemy who had superiority in weapons and logistics, raised the intensity of the fighting, magnifying human and material losses.

The areas of the biggest battles, such as Kutno, Modlin, Warsaw, Hel, region of Narwia, part of Pomerania and others, sustained heavy damage during the campaign. Even then, during the fighting, the enemy's attacks were not restricted to the armed forces and targets of military significance, but were also directed at the civilian population and objects without any military importance.

A major role in inflicting such terror was played by the German air force, though the terror also assumed other manifestations, e.g. mass executions of thousands of civilians in Bydgoszcz. Elsewhere, Warsaw became the first example of German aerial bombing of an open city. Alas, September 1939 provided ample other examples.

In the final account, the campaign resulted in the deaths of 70,000 Polish troops and tens of thousands of killed civilians, as well as enormous destruction, which in Warsaw exceeded 10% of the city. The damage was chiefly

inflicted on cities important from the administrative and economic point of view. The countryside was affected to a lesser degree, though it suffered from mass requisitions of livestock, connected with troop movements.

After moderate damage caused in subsequent years by aerial bombings, hostilities again returned to Polish lands in 1944. Fierce, protracted mobile fighting between the German and Russian armies, the latter backed by Polish troops, evolved in the autumn into positional warfare along the central section of the Vistula, in the region of the Bug and Narwia in the north, and in the south between the San and Dunajec. January and February of 1945 brought a powerful Russian assault, which moved the frontline beyond Poland's 1939 borders, with the exception of south-western Carpathian counties, where fighting lasted till the end of the war. That period of the war resulted in great losses.

The year 1944 brought almost complete destruction of the country's capital, Warsaw, acute damage to the industrial centre of Białystok, etc. The following year saw severe destruction of Poznań, Grudziądz, and — in addition to these major cities — the destruction of dozens of smaller towns. This time the war did not spare the countryside, which had escaped the first months of the war relatively intact. And so, a virtual desert appeared in close proximity of positional warfare frontlines, stretching over several counties, with completely burned out buildings, barren land and minefields. Furthermore, the last two years of the war caused great losses in Poland's economic life, as the withdrawing Germans evicted the population on a mass scale and plundered or destroyed such economic assets as factory equipment, farm livestock and cultural objects. These losses struck a powerful blow against the organism of Poland, already weakened by years of war.

2. Hostile occupation

From the very moment they completed their occupation of Poland, the Germans assumed the position that the Polish state no longer existed and they had power on its territory, unlimited by any regulations. They usurped the right to subjugate the country to their purposes, both short-term military ones and, particularly, their political objectives. The first step in that direction was the complete destruction of the Polish state apparatus and almost total barring of the local population from running the country. Poles were only occasionally employed in civil service posts devoid of any political significance.

The territory of Poland, with the exception of areas in the east, which were taken by Soviet troops and authorities, was divided into several occupation zones, the administration of which was marked by certain distinctions. The area of Upper Silesia was completely incorporated into the Reich.

The remaining areas in the west and north of Poland, dozens of kilometers distant from the capital in some places, were turned into a German province, the so-called Neu-Reich, also incorporated into the Reich, but possessing certain administrative peculiarities. The rest of Poland was formed into a General-Gouvernement, an entity with a vague legal status, ruled by a German governor and German authorities. In each of the above territories the Germans pursued a somewhat different policy, though with the same goal. According to the first statements made by Governor General Frank, the General-Gouvernement was to become the national homeland of Poles. Other areas under German rule, were to be — in line with intentions revealed during the first months of the war — a German territory with no room for Poles. In essence, that amounted to a division of the aforementioned campaign into stages. The destruction of everything Polish was to be faster in the territories incorporated into the Reich, while being postponed in others.

The population of the territories under German rule was broken up by the occupiers into national groups. Persons of German descent were separated from that population, becoming the group of Volksdeutsch, who were to become the mainstay and instrument of German policy. Compared to the population as a whole, they were granted a number of significant privileges in the areas of food provisions, housing, wages and elementary security, which Polish population did not enjoy. On the other extreme, the Germans segregated the entire Jewish population, even depriving it of the rights possessed by the Polish population and earmarking it for annihilation before the others. The Germans further distinguished additional groups in the general population, including Ukrainians, Russians and Belorussians, granting them privileges similar to those of the Volksdeutsch. Attempts were also made to further split the Polish society by creating a fictitious group of highlander population. The Germans tried to imbue the respective categories of the population with hatred and contempt for groups in an inferior situation. Each of these territorial and national groups was subjected to different treatment.

The Jewish population was immediately deprived of property on the entire territory, and to a large extent — of personal freedom. Jews were brutally herded to perform unpaid forced labor, being deprived of food, abused physically and mentally and denied the possibility of religious practice. Moreover, Jews were in constant danger of loss of life. As the occupation dragged on, Jews were forcibly herded into special, closed city quarters, which was a first step to their biological annihilation.

The lands incorporated into the Reich were to be immediately purged of any conscious Polish life. After the removal of the Polish majority, they were to become areas of German settlement by merited soldiers from the eastern Reich. Poles who were living there found themselves in a situation similar to that of the Jews in the rest of the country.

Already during the first months of the occupation, from the end of 1939 till mid-1940, the Polish population in that area was expropriated of all property, including personal effects. During that period and later, mass deportations of Poles, totaling a million people, were ruthlessly conducted — partly into the General-Gouvernement, and partly — with regard to people capable of working — for manual labour to the Reich. The Polish population still remaining in those territories, deprived of property, deprived of the possibility of education, deprived of the possibility of performing skilled work, paid much lower salaries than Germans for menial work that was only available, provisioned much worse than the German population, thrown out of their flats into basements, restricted in religious practice, subjected to specially introduced penal regulations and ruled with absolute terror — found itself in the role of slaves.

Initially, the rights of the Polish population were broader in the lands incorporated into the General-Gouvernement than in the western territories. However, as years passed, those rights were also progressively narrowed — to the benefit of the German population.

It became increasingly obvious that General Governor Frank had been lying when he announced that Poles in that territory would enjoy the freedom of national life.

Such promises were replaced by the brutal frankness of Himmler's words, cited in the occupation daily *Warschauer Zeitung* of August 8 1942: "It is our task...to ensure that only people of truly German blood inhabit the eastern borderlands".

The history of that part of the occupied territories offers the most striking examples of the development of the German policy directed against the Poles.

3. Struggle against Polish culture

The striving to destroy the Polish nation manifested itself primarily in the struggle against national identity and against cultural life in all its forms. Already the period of the hostilities in 1939 was marked by the destruction of great quantities of such cultural values as monuments, collections, libraries etc. Already then Poland suffered serious losses in this sphere. The period of the occupation increased those losses many times over.

The planned, intentional character of Germany's destructive policy was brought into sharpest focus with regard to Polish culture. This is corroborated beyond any doubt by preserved instructions, circulars and other documents, by the great size of the apparatus of destruction, by its numerous, highly disciplined cadres. Germans, unable to quickly and completely remove the Polish population, launched attempts to weaken the Polish na-

tional spirit. The Germans understood that they could attain that most effectively by striking against Polish cultural values, by annihilating scholars, artists and intellectuals, by cutting off the population at large from education, art, science, and all higher forms of intellectual life.

Two traits of the German destruction of Polish culture — its multidimensionality and totality — followed from that goal defined by the Germans. They targeted all spheres of cultural and social life: religious cult, science, schooling at all levels, literature, the press, music, theatre, plastic arts, monumental buildings, museums, conservation of monuments, architecture, radio, cinema, sports. And in all the spheres they targeted, they conducted systematic, dogged, consistent destruction, causing atrophy, or degradation to primitive or even grotesque forms. That destruction was something exceptional, even during this war. It was not motivated exclusively by strategic goals or limited to a repressive nature. It followed from the plan to prepare “living space” (Lebensraum) for „the race of masters”. Hence, its intensity and ruthlessness, far beyond anything comparable.

The forms of destruction were diverse. The most striking form was the destruction of material objects of culture. Here, you can distinguish pure destruction, alongside confiscation and looting. All these three forms were profusely applied — either simultaneously or alternately — during different period of the occupation. The demolition of buildings and monuments, sending of books to paper mills to be ground up, smashing of specimens of Polish glassware or gramophone records, setting of fire to whole libraries and archives — these were typical examples of pure destruction.

A regulation issued by the General Governor during the first months of the occupation concerning the “securing” of works of art from both state and private collections became the prologue to a succession of more or less official confiscations, lasting throughout the occupation and conducted in the great majority of cases without protocols and receipts, prior to the removal of the works to Germany. The altar of Wit Stwosz from St. Mary’s Church in Krakow, Dürer’s drawings from the Ossolineum and those of Honore Daumier from the Warsaw Zachęta, old prints from the Warsaw University Library — these are just a few examples of an operation that targeted the great majority of public collections and numerous private art collections, as well as libraries, archives, the equipment of research workshops and institutions and other kinds of cultural property. This was coupled with ordinary looting, occurring openly of the occasion of the “liquidation” of Polish institutions and private property by Germans, including top officials of the occupation authorities.

Another type of destruction involved the annihilation of culturally active people capable of intellectual or artistic creativity, capable of arousing and nurturing interest in these fields. German terror was directed with particular force and fury against such people. Artists, scholars, and teachers were

particularly at risk of arrest, imprisonment, deportation to camps, death sentences — or death without sentence, caused by the very conditions of prison or camp life. The list of losses in this category is large in absolute terms, but it is striking in comparative terms. In addition to these losses, the living conditions under the occupation should be blamed for accelerating numerous natural deaths.

But material and human destruction exhausted neither the goals, the methods, nor the achievements of the German campaign against Polish culture. The minutely conceived German plan, malicious in its long-term approach, struck at the very foundations of Polish culture by completely halting for several years all functions of cultural life. For over five years, Poles in the General-Gouvernement could not attend museums, public libraries or exhibition halls; they had no press except the venomous German papers, they could not print books (with the exception of homemaking manuals and a few, usually extremely vulgar “best-sellers”). Works devoted to the history and geography of Poland, masterpieces of Polish and world literature were confiscated in book shops and private reading rooms. Music, theatre, cinema and radio, controlled by the German authorities, excluded from their programs — in line with a 1940 regulation of the Governor General — all works taking up those topics, while broadly promoting pornography. All associations and unions were disbanded and their assets confiscated. The occupation authorities banned the operation of academic schools. An attempt to open Krakow University in the fall of 1939, when the true intentions of the Germans were not yet obvious, led to the treacherous deportation of all its professors to the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, where many of them perished. Secondary schools were closed; vocational and primary schools, allowed to exist, could not teach history, geography and other subjects enhancing intellectual refinement. Schools were meant to provide a low level of instruction in elementary subjects and vocational skills. Polish history and geography textbooks were — by order of the German authorities — taken away from school pupils. Conditions were far worse in the territories incorporated into the Reich, where — with a few exceptions dating back to the early period of the occupation — there were no Polish schools, or Polish bookshops, or Polish newspapers, or Polish shows, and even the public use of the Polish language was prohibited. Harsh restrictions on religious practice were also introduced there.

The system of the occupation was designed to break the spirit of the Polish people, to make it forget its thousand-year history and to reduce it to a level of a mass, incapable to satisfying any needs of a cultural nature, if such needs could be aroused in its midst.

All cultural values of the Jewish community were subjected to ruthless destruction from the very beginning. All manifestations of cultural life were banned.

The aforementioned campaign of the Germans, lasting in this sphere without respite for the six years of the occupation, particularly ruthless and destructive in territories incorporated into the Reich, but also very painful in the General-Gouvernement, caused enormous losses in Poland's cultural life in general. Alas, they can be expressed in financial terms only to a small degree. The material furnishings of the cultural sphere — whether regarding schools, museums or libraries — were taken away or destroyed; e.g. losses range between 40% and 80% in the research equipment of academic schools and their library collections. The number of vocationally active staff in the cultural sphere diminished during the occupation as a result of their intentional annihilation by the occupiers. And so, those killed during the war include 700 professors and senior faculty members of academic schools, over 1000 teachers of secondary and vocational schools, 4000 teachers of primary schools. Not only these losses, but even natural losses could not be replaced because the influx of fresh staff was halted for six years, in line with the cited ban on education and all manifestations of cultural life. The general cultural level of the society suffered a serious setback as a result of the ban on schooling and all forms of cultural activity. Facing more profound tasks than in the prewar period, since, in addition to normal cultural development, there is a need to fill the gaps and restore the prewar level, Poland tackles the job with diminished material assets and dramatically depleted human resources, with excessive loss of senior, qualified workers and simultaneous absence of suitably prepared successors.

In order to make up at least in part for those consequences, the generation that has been decimated during war period will have to undertake supreme efforts, at the cost of premature exhaustion. There is no doubt that at least two more generations will be doomed to such excessive toil.

4. Struggle against Polishness in the sphere of the national economy

In economic life, damage attributed to all kinds of war-related circumstances was coupled with losses caused by the policies of the occupiers. As noted above, serious damage in this sphere was caused by the campaign of 1939. Far greater destruction occurred during the military operations in 1944–1945, when the German armies were driven out of the occupied territories. Those losses resulted from combat, intentional devastation perpetrated by the Germans in the occupied country, and finally requisitions to Germany of valuable economic assets. In this sphere, too, losses during the occupation exceeded the losses strictly connected with the war.

The German policy directed at the national economy was marked by three distinct tendencies, each of which caused serious economic damage. From the very beginning, the occupation authorities sought to incorporate

the economic apparatus of the occupied territories into the framework of the German war economy, striving, in effect, to introduce the same type of coerced economic organization as that established in Germany for the purpose of the war effort. On the other hand, the authorities, especially in certain periods, followed a policy of plunder, excessively exploiting the resources remaining in the country, the social income and national assets. Finally, there also occurred in the economic sphere the brazen, planned German campaign, already mentioned on other occasions, designed to degrade and destroy Poles. It manifested itself in the areas of ownership, conditions of work and pay, in provisions and housing. All three above tendencies caused serious damage to the Polish national economy.

Attempts to introduce in Polish lands principles of the German wartime economic organization, while partly successful in territories incorporated into the Reich, assumed grotesque form in the General-Gouvernement. The reconstruction of certain plants, closure of many others, prohibition of economic activities that were not deemed essential to the war effort, but which were needed for normal economic life, not to mention losses in the social income, led to material damage, as the Polish economy lost many crucial plants through the destruction of the manufacturing assets following their excessive exploitation and lack of maintenance, destruction of untended buildings, emaciation of farmland and the resultant reduction of productivity.

Severe setbacks to the country's economic life also resulted from the suspension of activity of Bank Polski, the establishment of an institution called the Emission Bank and enforced exchange of the banknotes of Bank Polski for paper money issued by the occupiers. The Emission Bank, creation of which was contrary to international law, became yet another instrument of the country's economic exploitation, technically facilitating the removal of many assets from the country.

The German policy of economic plunder, consisting in ruthless exploitation of Polish economic assets for war purposes, was reflected in the reduction by half of the number of farm livestock, vast destruction of tree stands — with well over two hundred thousand hectares of forests completely destroyed and over half a million hectares seriously damaged. Other branches of the economy were similarly affected. One should also add here the almost complete looting by the German authorities of bank safes and the confiscation of credit collaterals.

Both the consequences of the enforced war economy and of the policy of economic plunder are today causing burdens and difficulties that will be felt for many more years. The fact of impoverishment of the society is not the only nor the most severe manifestation of those consequences. First and foremost, they are impacting the development of post-war manufacturing processes, since the production apparatus has been largely destroyed. The destruction or serious damage to the building on 350.000 farms (over on-fifth

of the total), reduction of livestock on these farms by 60%, devastation of 14 thousand industrial production plants out of a total of 23 thousand, the loss by these plants of all their stocks and materials needed for production, the destruction of the transportation network in 80% — these figures illustrate the enormity of the difficulties facing Poland in building post-war economic life and advancing trade and production, which are the basis and condition of prosperity.

These difficulties become even more acute in consequence of the biological annihilation of the most productive forces of the nation and the resulting shortage of manpower for such broad-ranging reconstruction of the country. The capitalized total of such losses, which will reflect on future income, is twice as high as the registered material losses.

The aforementioned destructive tendencies of Germany were most strikingly demonstrated in the sphere of ownership. The Jewish population was deprived of all its property immediately after the Germans occupied the country. As concerns the Polish population, the first period of the occupation, i.e. 1939 and the first half of 1940 brought its expropriation from the majority of its property throughout the Polish territory incorporated into the Reich. With regard to agricultural property, those expropriations included some 5 million hectares of farm land, and were coupled with brutal, brazen eviction from that territory of a large part of the Polish population and its transfer either to the General-Gouvernement or to the Reich, as forced slave labor. The remaining part of the population, deprived of all rights, was assigned to forced labor under the supervision of the German population, receiving only a fraction of the wages paid to Germans for the same work, getting only half as much foods and being forced to hand over to the Germans the more attractive homes. The expropriations conducted by the Germans in the General-Gouvernement gathered momentum gradually. First, they were applied to the bigger manufacturing plants, then they spread to a large part of rural real estate, smaller plants, some major land estates, and in the final period of the occupation — even to some peasant farms. A large part of the expropriated property was destroyed and after the war was not returned to the owners, causing permanent loss to national assets. This applies in large extent to moveable property, handicrafts and commercial establishments and Jewish property. And so, the war resulted in the destruction in Poland of up to 200.000 shops and 85.000 craftsmen's workshops. But even the assets that survived were not utilized during the war for the benefit of the Polish economy, but for the exclusive benefit of the German economy. Furthermore, even that part of national assets that remained in Polish hands did not escape severe damage.

In addition to the destruction of property, a vast part of the social income of the war years — already reduced due to the general wartime condi-

tions — was diverted from economic circulation in the country and used exclusively for the needs of the German economy. That took the form of mandatory produce quotas imposed on farms and used only to a small degree for the needs of the Polish population, or of industrial products being sold at low prices — almost exclusively to Germans. The proletarianized Polish population and members of the prewar Polish legal community were forced during the occupation to perform work largely for the benefit of the German economy. New labor legislation was introduced, abolishing almost all employee privileges and lending work the character of slavery. Employees were prohibited from changing their workplace, leave was reduced to a minimum, wages were not set on the basis of contracts but were imposed through fixed tariffs. In effect, employees were totally subjugated to the employers, i.e. German authorities. Meanwhile, Germans enjoyed key privileges in the sphere of employment. It was impermissible even for a highly-qualified Pole to be the superior of Germans. Wages paid to Poles, even despite longer working hours, were several times lower than what Germans got for the same work. In addition to involuntary labour at home, hundreds of thousands of Poles were forced to work in Germany, where their conditions were even harsher. As a result of impressments into forced labor, almost two and a half million Poles found themselves in Germany during the war.

The provisioning of the Polish population was conducted in accordance with norms sharply reduced in comparison to the food supplies earmarked for the German population in the same country. In territories incorporated into the Reich it amounted to about half of the provisions allocated to the German population. On the territory of the General-Gouvernement provisions were restricted exclusively to the part of the population directly working for the needs of the Germany; supplies of food were fiction as concerned the rest of the population. And so, the calory value of food allocated to the Polish population ranged between 400 and 700 calories per day, i.e. it was a fraction of the minimum needed to survive. Food shortages led to the emergence of a black market. It was countered by the occupation authorities with regulations threatening death for even slight transgressions. In practice, in numerous cases persons violating those German regulations were deported to work in Germany or sent to concentration camps.

German policies in the sphere of the national economy resulted in severe impoverishment. National assets were largely destroyed or looted from the owners. The production potential was destroyed in industry, crafts and agriculture, as were stocks and municipal real estate. The reduction and plunder of the social income seriously diminished the possibility of capitalization over the next few years, hindering reconstruction. Many of these phenomena will have impact for many years.

5. Annihilation of the population

The condition of the national economy had deep impact on the biological state of the population. A large part of the Polish society was driven into poverty during the war years. People were deprived of clothes, food, and decent housing, which had extremely adverse effect on their health and ability to work in the immediate post-war years. That, in addition to other consequences, also caused serious biological losses. Those losses also had other causes. Running an occupation economy, the Germans applied the severest means of coercion. Already during the first days of the occupation, the Germans perpetrated numerous acts of brutal terror. During the first weeks of the occupation two young women were shot in Warsaw for tearing down a poster denigrating England, while in December 1939 over a hundred randomly selected persons were executed at Wawer near Warsaw for the killing of a German policeman by a bandit. That became the symbolic beginning of further acts of collective responsibility and mass terror, which included the burning of dozens of villages, deportation of thousands of people to concentration camps, mass public executions (over 70 such executions in Warsaw alone), murder of the inhabitants of entire city quarters during the Warsaw Uprising. However, terror was applied by the occupiers not only as a peculiar method of government, but also as a means of attaining the fundamental goal cited above — that of biological destruction of the whole nation. Such was the terror directed against the Jewish population, which in Polish lands was almost totally annihilated in street executions, gas chambers and crematoria of special camps. Some three million Polish Jews perished during the war.

Such e.g. was the execution in the forest at Palmiry, near Warsaw, of several thousand persons over several months of 1940; the victims included many prominent public figures. Such were the frequent street round-ups of random passers-by, which resulted in tens of thousands of people being sent to the giant concentration camps at Oświęcim and Majdanek. Such were the special repressions applied against numerous groups of intellectuals.

The aforementioned destructive terror, coupled with other factors connected with the war and occupation, including poor food provisions, dwelling conditions, clothing shortages, poverty caused by German pay scales, conditions of forced labor in the country and conditions of forced labor in Germany caused acute biological damage. As a result — as indicated by the enclosed tables — the population of Polish lands was dramatically reduced. The total population loss in Polish lands, including military losses, is calculated at over 6 million, that is 22% — a number that is vast in both absolute and comparative terms. As a result of the terror Poland also has some 600 thousand invalids, who constitute a great burden on the vocationally active part of the society. However, the ratio of the population that perished to the

population that survived does not sufficiently characterize the biological losses caused by the conditions described above and by German actions. The aforementioned circumstances also had severe impact on the part of the population that survived the occupation and on the general population structure of the Polish society. The circumstances cited above and the special persecution, applied individually or on mass scale, led to massive spread of disablement and disease, with particularly high incidence of tuberculosis and nervous disorders. General death rates rose from 13 to 18 per thousand, infant mortality rates to 26 per thousand. Some one and a half million people are today suffering from tuberculosis, children's health is substantially inferior to what it was in the past. We witness various psychoneuroses, rising alcoholism and drugs addiction. These circumstances, as well as the lowering of public and individual morality — resulting from the application by the occupiers of special methods in the economy and other fields — has lowered the ability to work and cut labour productivity, both of which will be restored to normal only with the passage of time. It should be noted here that the terror of the occupiers was primarily directed against young people and those of productive age. Coupled with losses connected with the struggle against the occupiers, this resulted in a higher percentage of losses in the group of young and mature men. Combined with the reduction of births by some 1.2 million — which was caused by the harsh living conditions under the occupation and the special methods applied by the occupiers (e.g. prohibition of marriages in Neu-Reich) — this had adverse effect on the age structure of the population, which will be hard to ameliorate in a short period of time.

Warsaw, which was the city most severely tried by the enemy, can serve as an example here. Compared to the last prewar population census, the ratio of women to men changed from 119.4 to 100 — 142 to 100 in February 1946, while the percentage of the population aged 20-24 fell from 23% to 14.3% relative to the population as a whole; the shift in the 20-39 age group was from 39% to 34%.

6. Destruction of Warsaw

The destruction of the country's capital, Warsaw, has a prominent place in the occupiers' activity. It reflected a general tendency on the part of the occupiers to erase the historic role of the Polish people. The final destruction of Warsaw coincided with the outbreak of the rising of the inhabitants of Warsaw and took place in the months immediately following the Uprising, after complete expulsion of the population.

The destruction was not a repressive reaction, but rather a manifestation and conclusion of an operation executed to plan.

Already in 1939, during the siege of Warsaw, German troops destroyed a number of objects in Warsaw that had no defensive significance but were important from the point of view of the city's culture and tradition. It was planned that during the occupation Warsaw would be reduced to the size of a provincial city of one hundred thousand. The destruction of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, completed in 1944, had already been initiated and largely perpetrated in 1939-1940. Besides the complete demolition of the interiors and appointments, holes were drilled in the castle walls, in preparation for blowing up the building. After the Uprising, the German authorities set about ruthlessly destroying anything that remained, that is buildings, industrial equipment that had not been previously plundered, surviving private property, churches and monumental buildings, all Warsaw archives and all ancient Polish prints from Warsaw libraries — meticulously gathered in one place for the purpose of their destruction, and finally practically all the monuments in the capital. It was a ruthless, destructive operation, hardly necessitated by the expediencies of war.

The German operation against the capital further compounded the problems connected with the reconstruction of wartime damage. Apart from the destruction of enormous material assets, a large part of which had been gathered in the capital, and of great cultural values collected here — the destruction and practical annihilation of the centre of the country's government, the seat of national leadership and central economic authorities, as well as a major center of cultural life, could not fail to cause extreme organizational difficulties in rebuilding the nation's life. Doubtless, that was one of the objectives of the occupiers.

7. Final remarks

Despite the conditions of life during the occupation, described above, no part of the Polish population submitted to the violence of the enemy. The struggle, lost in 1939, was continued at sea, in the mountains of Norway, the fields of France, the skies over England, in the Soviet Union, in Africa, in Italy, in Holland and Germany. Armed struggle was also conducted at home. After the resistance of General Kleeberg's group at Kock, in October 1939, became hopeless, fighting continued that winter in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains by the partisan unit of Major Hubal. Combat units were established by the Home Army, People's Guard, People's Army, Peasant Battalions, Polish People's Army and smaller groupings. Resistance did not only assume armed form. The consequences of German actions against Polishness in various spheres of life were actively countered. An example here was the well-developed system of clandestine schooling, from the highest to the lowest level, underground press issued in thousands of copies by dozens of publications,

and underground book publishing. All these forms of struggle in territories occupied by the enemy resulted in heavy losses, not only among the fighters, but also in the property and lives of civilians. But that was unavoidable and has had the positive aspect of facilitating post-war rebuilding of our statehood and mental regeneration of the population, which had never spiritually considered itself vanquished. On the other hand, the ability of the people to find solutions even in the toughest situations undoubtedly reduced the extent of the losses, particularly among the population. Still, the magnitude of the losses is staggering, and overcoming them requires external assistance and the rallying of all the forces at home.

The situation relating to the reconstruction of the country and healing of wartime wounds has been enhanced by the social transformation conducted immediately after the war, which offered the possibility of planned utilization of the great material assets at the disposal of some individuals and the implementation of a planned economy, enabling the harnessing of all the active forces in society. Reconstruction is also enhanced by the possibility of tapping the economic apparatus and natural resources in the regained territories, even though the war destruction was very extensive there, too.

Despite everything, the destruction perpetrated by the enemy in all spheres of life will be felt by Poland for many years to come.

* * *

As we examine the data presented below on the losses incurred by Poland, in order to appreciate their full monstrosity we must keep one axiom in mind.

The losses were not and could not have been the work of the criminal mentality of one man or even of a disciplined group of people — Hitler's party. Hitlerism elaborated the idea and plan of destruction, but it was the German people who carried out the plan with complete unanimity. Hitlerism merely exposed and magnified to the highest degree a tendency that had remained and was carefully nurtured within the German people — the tendency to build an empire and prosperity of the German people on Polish lands.

The victory of the Allies saved the Polish people from annihilation. However, the six years of being subjected to uncontrolled tormenting caused such great losses in every sphere that no balance sheet can fully reflect the resultant consequences.

It is possible to calculate only certain fragments and aspects of the material losses. And so, through the mass eviction of Poles from lands incorporated into the Reich and annihilation of the Jews — the Germans destroyed commerce and crafts, the sequestration of industry and mass removal of the most valuable machines to Germany caused reduction of output and national

income, agriculture was devastated through the destruction of 55% of the livestock, the confiscation of gold, introduction of a worthless currency and machinations with currency emission disorganized the financial apparatus, the coercion of two million Poles to perform slave labor in Germany robbed us of an enormous potential of work and energy.

The losses sustained by the railways are put at 84%, those of the postal system and telecommunications — at 62%, those of the education system — at 60%, the material cultural assets were lost in 43%, the damage to forests — so hard to ameliorate — is calculated at 28%. But that is not the point of gravity. Poland has over a million citizens infected with tuberculosis, half a million invalids incapable of working, 22% of all Polish citizens have perished.

Such is the balance sheet of World War II in Poland and such is the message of the data collected and presented below.

STATISTICAL TABLES (General)

- I. Biological losses of the Polish society
- II. Loss of life according to cause of death
- III. Loss of life relative to total population
- IV. Loss of life and invalidity of population, with specification of losses in rural and urban areas
- V. Selected forms of the occupiers' terror
- VI. Comparative compilation of losses of life in the respective countries participating in the war
- VII. Material losses — general compilation
- VIII. Compilation of direct losses
- IX. Quantitative compilation of destroyed objects according to their type
- X. Compilation of war losses per capita in Poland and other occupied countries

Table I

Biological losses of the Polish society
General compilation

Specification	Number of persons in thousands	%
1. Loss of life — total	6.028 ^{*)}	100.0
a) due to direct military action	644	10.7
b) due to the occupiers' terror	5.384	89.3
2. War invalidity (war invalids and civilian invalids — total)	590 ^{**)}	100.0
a) physical handicap	530	89.8
b) mental handicap	60	10.2
3. Excess of tuberculosis instances (exceeding the average theoretical number of instances)	1.140	100.0

^{*)} Including ca. 3 million Jews.

^{**)} Including 100.000 war invalids.

Note: The number of people who are or would be entitled (if still alive) to return to Poland, estimated in 1939 at 5.193.000 (4.222.000 Poles and 971.000 Jews) served as the basis for measuring losses on territories yielded to the Soviet Union.

Table II

Loss of life according to cause of death

Specification of causes of death	Number of people in thousands	%
TOTAL:	6.028	100.0
1. In consequence of direct military action	644	10.7
a) army losses	123	2.0
b) civilians losses	521	8.7
2. In consequence of the occupiers' terror	5.384	89.3
a) victims of extermination camps, executions, ghetto liquidation etc.	3.577	59.3
b) inmates of prisons, camps and other places of incarceration (death due to epidemics, exhaustion, maltreatment etc.)	1.286	21.3
c) casualties outside camps and prisons in consequence of wounds, mutilations, forced labor etc.	521	8.7

Note: Irrespective of population losses totaling 6.028.000, the fall in the number of births in 1939–1945 was estimated at 1.215.000.

Table III

Loss of life relative to total population

Population Causes of death	Number of casualties	
	Absolute number in thousands	as % of total population
Number of Polish and Jewish population on Sept 1 1939 ^{*)}	27.007	100.0
Total number of casualties:	6.023	22.2
Causes:		
a) direct military action	644	2.4
b) murdered in extermination camps, pacification actions, executions, ghetto liquidation	3.577	13.3
c) death in prisons, concentration camps and other places of incarceration, due to epidemics, exhaustion, maltreatment, mutilations and forced labor	1.286	4.7
d) death outside concentration camps and prisons in consequence of wounds, mutilations, beating, excessive labor ..	521	1.8

^{*)} The number 27.007.000 constitutes the total of the Polish and Jewish inhabiting on 1st September 1939 the then territory of Poland.

Table IV

Loss of life and invalidity
Rural and urban population losses

Specification	Number of cases in thousands	%
Loss of life	6.028	100.0
urban areas	4.756	78.9
rural areas	1.272	21.1
Invalidity	590	100.0
urban areas	437	74.1
rural areas	153	25.9

Table V

Selected forms of the occupiers' terror

Population Forms of terror	Number of people directly affected by the occupiers' terror, who survived	
	Absolute number in thousands	% of total population
Size of Polish and Jewish population on 1 st September 1939	27.007	100.0
Forms of terror:		
1. Incarceration in concentration camps and prisons etc.	863	3.2
2. Forced labor of Polish citizens deported to Germany or other occupied countries	2.460	9.1
3. Deportations	2.478	9.2

Note: 863.000 is the number of people who survived concentration camps and prisons. The number of those who perished in camps and prisons is several times higher.

Table VI

Comparative compilation of population losses in countries participating in the war^{*)}

Country	Number of casualties	
	Absolute number in thousands	per 1000 inhabitants
Union of South Africa	6	0.6
United States of America	187	1.4
India	759	2
Australia	12	2
Norway	8.6	3
Canada	41	3.4
New Zealand	10	6
Belgium	59	7
England	368	8
France	653	15
Czechoslovakia	250	15
Luxemburg	5	17
The Netherlands	200	22
Albania	28	24
Soviet Union	7.000	40
Greece	558	70
Yugoslavia	1.706	108
Poland	6.028	220

^{*)} Data based on documents presented at the Paris Reparations Conference, data regarding the Soviet Union is based on a report published 'World Economy and Politics', issue: 10-11, October-November 1946.

Table VII

Material losses
General compilation
(millions zlotys)

	Total ^{*)} :	258.432
A. Direct losses:		
1. Destruction of material assets		62.024
2. Sequestered production and services during occupation		26.776
B. Indirect losses:		
1. Costs of repairing damage not included in the destruction of material assets		845
2. Value of suspended production after war due to the destruction of material assets		52.502
3. Loss of potential output by persons killed and war invalids ^{**))}		4.650
4. Loss in productivity due to reduction in work efficiency and capital yield after the war		41.635

^{*)} This amount does not include war expenditure on Polish military units incurred by the Allies or any financial claims by the Polish State and Polish citizens due to breach of economic and commercial relations in consequence of war. The cited amount of losses was based on the value of the zloty as of 1.9.1939.

^{**))} The commitments of the State Treasury and Social Welfare due to disability pensions and widow or orphan benefits was calculated at 35.570 million zlotys after capitalization. This sum constitutes part of the total amount of 74.650 million zlotys of capitalized future future income, with deducted future consumption of killed persons and those entirely or partially unable to work, taking into account normal death rates and interest rate. The following factors were taken into account in the calculations: vocational structure, sex, age, average salaries of these persons.

Table VIII

Compilation of direct losses
(millions zlotys)

	Direct losses	Losses in assets	Relation of losses in assets to national assets on 1.9.1939
Total:	88.800	63.024	38%
Agriculture, gardening, special cultures	11.302	5.240	35%
Forestry, hunting, fishery	3.579	3.579	28%
Industry, mining, energy sector, handicrafts	22.411	11.039	32%
Commerce	7.096	7.096	65%
Communications and transportation	10.591	8.791	50%
Postal service	700	562	62%
Public administration, self-government, monopolies, banks and insurance	5.340	3.000	60%
Cultural and artistic assets	5.365	5.365	43%
Schools and scientific institutions .	3.022	1.858	60%
Healthcare	539	539	55%
Military equipment	5.266	5.266	100%
Residential buildings, households, private and public office equipment	13.589	9.689	30%

Note: When calculating the percentage of losses in national assets in 1939, military equipment and households were not taken into account, since they had not been included in the calculation of national assets before the war. Objects destroyed more than once also were not taken into account.

Table IX

Quantitative compilation of war destruction according to type

1. Private buildings:	
a) in urban areas	162.190
b) farms	353.876
2. Factories and factory complexes	14.000
3. Shops	199.751
4. Craftsmen's workshops	84.436
5. Households:	
a) rural areas	968.223
b) urban areas	1.982.048
6. Cultural institutions	
a) museums	25
b) theatres	35
c) cinemas	665
d) folk cultural centers	323
7. Schools:	
a) academic schools	17
b) secondary schools	271
c) vocational schools	216
d) primary schools	4.880
e) others	768
8. Public healthcare:	
a) hospitals	352
b) tuberculosis sanatoria	29
c) spa treatment centers	24
d) social security institutions	47
e) health care centers and clinics	778
f) surgeries, including dentist's surgeries	1.450
9. Radio equipment:	
a) broadcasting stations	13
b) radio-telegraph stations	7
c) radio receivers	867.700
10. Transportation:	
a) locomotives	2.465
b) passenger railway cars	6.256
c) freight cars	83.636
d) maritime vessels	25
e) coastal vessels	39

11. Railway infrastructure:	
a) length of railway bridges and viaducts in meters	47.767
b) length of rails in kilometers	5.948
12. Road infrastructure:	
a) length of hard surface roads in kilometers	14.900
b) length of road bridges in meters	15.500
13. Telecommunications equipment:	
a) telephone sets	243.250
b) centralized telephone sets	181.350
c) length of leaded cables in kilometers	350.700
14. Livestock:	
a) horses	1.908.000
b) cattle... ..	3.905.000
c) pigs	4.988.000
d) sheep	755.000
15. Volume of felled lumber in cubic meters	75.000.000

Table X

Compilation of material losses per capita incurred by Poland
and other occupied countries^{*)}

Country	Material losses		Material losses	
	billions zlotys	zlotys per capita	millions dollars	dollars per capita
Poland	88.800	3.288	16.882	626
Yugoslavia	48.103	3.161	9.145	601
France	111.212	2.651	21.143	504
The Netherlands	23.523	2.735	4.472	520
Czechoslovakia	22.103	2.141	4.202	407
Greece	13.387	1.936	2.545	368
Belgium	11.982	1.457	2.278	277
Norway	6.628	2.283	1.260	434
Soviet Union	679.000 rubles	3.880 rubles	679 .000 rubles	3.880 rubles

^{*)} Data relating to material war losses were taken from materials presented at the International Reparations Conference in Paris (quoted from Yugoslav report). Data material losses incurred by Soviet Union taken from a communiqué of the Extraordinary State Commission appointed to investigate German crimes.

DETAILED TABLES

1. Human losses in the army
2. Losses among Polish intelligentsia
3. Territorial distribution of material losses
4. Losses in agriculture, gardening and special cultures
5. Losses in forest management
6. Losses in forest management (excluding buildings and stock)
7. Losses in energy sector, industry and handicrafts
8. Losses in energy sector, industry and handicrafts
9. General compilation of material losses in mining, industry, energy sector and handicrafts
10. Losses in commerce
11. Losses in transportation
12. Losses in transportation (excluding buildings and stock)
13. Losses in postal service and telecommunications
14. Losses in postal service and telecommunications (excluding buildings and stock)
15. Losses in public administration, self-government, monopolies, banking and insurance
16. Losses in public administration, self-government, monopolies, banking and insurance
17. Losses in cultural goods and art
18. Losses in cultural goods and art (according to respective branches)
19. Losses incurred by schools and educational establishments
20. Losses incurred by schools and scientific institutions (excluding buildings and stock)
21. Losses in healthcare service

Table 1

Human losses in the army

	Dead	Wounded	Missing	Total:
Total:	123.178	236.606	420.760	780.544
1. September campaign 1939	66.300	133.700	420.000	620.000
2. I Army in the East	6.275	12.552	—	18.827
3. II Army in the East	7.607	15.212	—	22.819
4. Units in France and Norway 1940	2.079	4.154	—	6.233
5. Units fighting alongside Great Britain				
a) Carpathian Brigade (Tobruk)	122	468	11	601
b) II Corps	2.197	8.737	264	11.198
c) I Armored Division	1.014	3.595	305	4.914
d) I Autonomous Parachute Brigade	66	159	179	404
e) Air force	3.000	—	—	3.000
f) Navy	1.500	—	—	1.500
g) Other	18	29	1	48
6. Warsaw Uprising ^{*)}	13.000	28.000	—	41.000
7. Resistance movement ^{**)}	20.000	30.000	—	50.000

^{*)} The cited figures do not include civilian losses, including high numbers of youth fighting in unorganized groups as well as civilians who perished in the Warsaw Uprising.

^{**)} The cited figure is much lower than the actual number of those killed fighting within the Resistance Movement against the Germans during the occupation. Statistical expression of those losses is not yet possible. These losses, however, are included in the data on Poland's total human losses.

*Table 2*Losses among Polish intelligentsia
(partial data)

Specification	Number of deaths
1. Culture and art historians, museum curators, archeologists	62
2. Plastic artists	235
3. Musicians	60
4. Actors and directors	104
5. Writers	56
6. Journalists	122
7. Judges, prosecutors and apprentice judges	1.110
8. Lawyers	4.500
9. Doctors	5.000
10. Dentists	2.500
11. Sanitary personnel of healthcare services	3.000
12. Professors and academics	700
13. Secondary school teachers	848
14. Kindergarten teachers	34
15. Primary school teachers	3.963
16. Vocational schools teachers	340
17. Teachers of other schools	411
18. Librarians	54
19. Archive staff	91
20. Staff of scholarly societies	32
21. Catholic priests	2.647
22. Clergy of other faiths	n.a.
23. Railway workers	6.124
24. Postal workers	2.412
25. Treasury employees	3.958
26. General administration officers	n.a.
27. Social security employees	1.183
28. Officers	9.000
29. Engineers and technicians	n.a.

Table 3

Territorial distribution of material losses

Voivodship	%
Total:	100.0
1. Białostockie	4.2
2. Gdańskie	5.2
3. Kieleckie	8.4
4. Krakowskie	5.1
5. Lubelskie	3.2
6. Łódzkie including Łódź	8.8
7. Pomorskie	5.2
8. Poznańskie	8.6
9. Rzeszowskie	4.1
10. Śląsko-Dąbrowskie	5.5
11. Warszawskie	7.2
12. Capital City of Warsaw	34.5

Table 4

Losses in agriculture, gardening and special cultures
(millions zlotys)

	Total:	11.302
1. Damage to soil due to military action		353
2. Losses in livestock		2.560
3. Losses in agricultural machinery and implements		638
4. Losses in gardening and special cultures		350
5. Losses in crop stocks possessed on 1.9.1939		1.239
6. Confiscated agricultural production during occupation		6.062

Note: The above compilation does not include losses in rural real estate totaling 1.545 million zlotys and households — 511 million zlotys, which amounts to 2.056 million zlotys. This amount is included in the data on losses in 1. buildings and 2. households.

Table 5

Losses in forest management
according to material classification

	(millions zlotys)
Total:	3.579
1. Damage to soil	22
2. Tree stand destruction	2.465
3. Losses in stock and technical equipment	39
4. Losses in resin and side products	47
5. Losses in hunting	228
6. Losses in inland fishery	31
7. Losses in timber stock	111
8. Miscellaneous	15
9. Losses in private forests	621

Note: The above compilation does not include losses in forestry buildings (40 mln zlotys), in wood industry plants (90 million zlotys) and forest transportation — railways and road equipment (16 million zlotys), which totals 146 million zlotys. This sum is included in data on losses in 1. buildings, 2. industry, 3. transportation.

Table 6

Losses in forest management
(excluding buildings and stock)
according to branches (millions zlotys)

Sector	Unspecified losses	Soil	Woodstand	Dead stock and technical equipment	Resin and side products	Fauna and fish	Miscellaneous	Total:
Total:	621	22	2.462	39	47	259	15	3.468
1. Forestry								
a) State forests	—	22	2.465	31	47	—	15	2.580
b) Private forests	621	—	—	—	—	228	—	621
2. Hunting	—	—	—	4	—	31	—	232
3. Fishery ⁾	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	35

⁾ Includes inland fishery.

Table 7

Losses in energy sector, industry and handicrafts
(according to material classification)

	(millions zlotys)
Total: ^{*)}	22.411
1. Losses in buildings (factories, power plants, gas plants, handicrafts workshops)	1.828
2. Losses in equipment, machinery and other assets	4.440
3. Losses in raw materials, semi-processed goods, processed goods according to possession on 1.9.39	4.771
4. Losses in confiscated industrial production during the occupation	6.126
5. Capitalized loss through the labour of Polish workers during the occupation	5.246

^{*)} Incomplete data.

Note: The above compilation also includes in point 3 losses in goods processed in other sectors, such as transportation — 323 million zlotys, army — 631 million zlotys, treasury (monopolies), irrespective of losses in raw materials, semi-processed materials and processed goods in industry and handcraft. In point 2 — losses in other sectors in industrial equipment, such as timber industry 90 million zlotys, army — 38 million zlotys, administration (monopolies) — 105 million zlotys, other sectors — 66 million zlotys.

Table 8

Losses in energy sector, industry and handicrafts
(millions zlotys)

Sector	Equipment, machinery and other assets
Total:	4.440
Energy sector	228
Industry	3.562
Handicrafts	650

Table 9

General compilation of material losses in mining, industry,
energy sector and handicrafts
(millions zlotys)

Total:	7.523 ^{*)}
1. Mining	721
2. Mineral industry	189
3. Metal industry	2.479
4. Electrotechnical industry	394
5. Chemical industry	875
6. Textile industry	704
7. Paper industry	112
8. Leather industry	79
9. Timber industry	146
10. Foodstuffs industry	956
11. Clothing industry	216
12. Printing industry	231
13. Building industry	421

^{*)} Incomplete data.

Note: The above compilation includes the value of buildings, technical equipment and stock.
The stock value of other sectors is not included.

Table 10

Losses in commerce
(millions zlotys)

	Total:	7.096
1. Losses in storehouse, warehouses, granaries		350
2. Losses in equipment used for storage, packaging, transport and sale of goods		2.980
3. Losses in goods		3.766

Table 11

Losses in transportation
(according to material classification)
(millions zlotys)

	Total:	10.591
1. Losses in railway buildings (railway stations, sheds, warehouses)		664
2. Destruction of roads, rails, bridges, airports, ports		2.251
3. Losses in means of transport (aircraft, locomotives, railway cars, sea and river vessels, cars)		4.509
4. Losses in workshops and technical equipment		1.083
5. Losses in office equipment		163
6. Other material losses		119
7. Losses due to railway and transportation exploitation during the occupation		1.800

Note: The above compilation does not include losses in coal and crude oil stock worth 31 million zlotys, industrial products used for transport, valued at 323 million zlotys, and losses of a railway museum, all included in the data regarding industry, art and culture. On the other hand, the compilation includes, among others, the value of transport in other sectors, amounting to 687 million zlotys.

Table 12

Losses in transportation
(excluding buildings and stock)
according to respective branches (millions zlotys)

Branch	Roads, rails, bridges, airports, ports	Means of transport	Workshops and technical equipment	Office equipment	Miscellaneous	Total
Total:	2.251	4.509	1.083	165	74	8.127
1. Railways	924	3.090	550	152	—	4.790
2. Motor roads	902	—	38	—	—	940
3. Waterways	56	40	10	1	8	107
4. Aviation	33	41	14	—	—	96
5. Meteorological service	—	—	—	3	—	3
6. Private transportation	161	65	—	—	—	226
7. Motor vehicles	—	490	404	—	—	894
8. Central Management	—	—	—	9	37	9
9. Sea transport	175	86	67	—	—	365
10. Transport in other sectors	—	697	—	—	119	697

Table 13

Losses in postal service and telecommunications
(according to material classification)

	Total:	700
1. Losses in technical equipment of post offices, telephone and telegraphic networks		354
2. Losses in office equipment		27
3. Losses in private radio equipment		167
4. Miscellaneous		14
5. Losses due to exploitation of mail and telecom- munications services during the occupation		138

Note: The above compilation does not include losses in post office buildings, amounting to 39 mln zlotys, included in the compilation relating to public administration, and losses in mail transport, amounting to 32 mln zlotys, included in the compilation related to transportation.

Table 14

Losses in postal service and telecommunications
(excluding buildings and stock)
according to the respective branches (millions zlotys)

No	Branch	Technical equipment of post offices, telephone and telegraphic network	Office equipment	Private radio equipment, radio sets	Miscellaneous	Total
	Total:	354	27	167	14	562
1.	Post offices	239	21	—	14	274
2.	P.A.S.T.A (Polish Telegraphic Network Agency)	105	4	—	—	109
3.	Polish Radio	10	1	167	—	178
4.	Central Management	—	1	—	—	1

Table 15

Losses in public administration, self-government, monopolies,
insurance and banking
according to material classification (millions zlotys)

	Total:	5.340
1. Losses in buildings: (courthouses, post offices, internal revenue offices, general administration customs offices, self-government offices, social security offices, barracks, forestry administration, banks and churches)		1.258
2. Losses in office equipment		1.045
3. Losses in special technical equipment		379
4. Losses in sewer infrastructure, water mains and self-government institutions, not included in other sectors		318
5. Capitalized losses due to exploitation of the administrative apparatus by the occupiers		2.340

Note: The above compilation does not include losses in state monopoly commodities (cigarettes, spirits, salt, commodities stocked in customs warehouses), amounting to 425 million zlotys, losses of industrial equipment in these monopolies, amounting to 105 million zlotys, included in the compilation on industry.

Table 16

Losses in public administration, self-government,
monopolies, insurance and banking
according to the respective branches (millions zlotys)

Branch	Office equipment	Special technical equipment of offices and institutions	Sewer infrastructure, water mains and self-government institutions, not included in other branches	Total:
Total:	1.045	379	318	1.742
1. Government	8	—	—	8
2. Judiciary	59	—	—	59
3. Foreign service	25	—	—	25
4. Internal general administration	60	—	—	60
5. Social security	55	—	—	55
6. Treasury administration and financial apparatus				
a) Treasury administration	120	—	—	120
b) Customs administration	3	—	—	3
c) State companies and monopolies	9	—	—	9
d) Banks	50	—	180	50
e) Military administration	309	—	—	489
7. Non-ministry central offices	10	379	—	389
8. Other branches of state administration	22	—	—	22
9. Territorial self-government ^{*)}	252	—	138	390
10. Professional self-government	4	—	—	4
11. Religious self-government	59	—	—	59

^{*)} Including buildings.

Table 17

Losses in cultural goods and art
according to material classification (millions zlotys)

	Total:	5.365
1. Losses in monuments		4.111
2. Losses in works of art and art collections		1.208
3. Losses in technical equipment		38
4. Losses in office equipment		8

Note: 1. The above compilation includes losses in works of art and cultural objects also incurred by other sectors, amounting to 644 mln zlotys.

2. The above losses do not include damage to Polish art and culture that cannot be expressed in material terms.

Table 18

Losses in cultural goods and art
according to the respective branches (millions zlotys)

No	Branch	Monuments	Works of art, art collections, libraries	School technical workshops technical and special	School equipment assets and office equipment	Total:
	Total:	4.111	1.208	38	8	5.365
1.	Monuments	4.009	—	—	—	4.009
2.	Museums ⁾	10	446	—	—	456
3.	Theatres	92	—	—	—	92
4.	Music, plastic arts, literature	—	164	—	—	164
5.	Film	—	—	38	8	46
6.	Religious objects	—	360	—	—	360
7.	Cultural equipment of offices and associations	—	194	—	—	194
8.	Cultural and educational military institutions	—	44	—	—	44

⁾ Including office equipment.

Table 19

Losses incurred by schools and scientific institutions
according to material classification (millions zlotys)

	Total: ^{*)}	
1. Losses in buildings of secondary, vocational and primary schools		3.022
2. Losses in buildings of academic schools, research institutes, scientific associations, libraries, archives		682
3. Losses in libraries and collections		88
4. Losses in special equipment and school technical workshops		458
5. Losses in school resources		492
6. Capitalized losses due to suspended education services		138
		1.164

^{*)} Incomplete data.

Table 20

Losses incurred by schools and scientific institutions
(excluding buildings and stock)
according to respective branches (millions zlotys)

No	Branch				
	Total:	458	492	138	1.088
1.	Schools supervised by school boards	39	227	100	366
2.	Academic schools	37	61	13	111
3.	Research institutes	5	8	2	15
4.	Scientific associations	2	7	—	9
5.	Libraries	310	10	12	332
6.	Archives ^{*)}	58	15	1	74
7.	Military schools	3	148	9	160
8.	Physical education and civil defense training	4	16	1	21

^{*)} This branch also includes military archives.

Table 21

Losses in healthcare service
according to material classification (millions zlotys)

	Total:	
1. Hospitals, healthcare centers, sanatoria, clinics		539
2. Medical equipment		193
3. Medicines and dressing materials		85
4. Inventory and internal equipment		86
		175

Note: The above compilation does not include losses incurred in sanitary transport (12 million zlotys), which are included in the compilation on transportation