

RAPPORTS



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POLISH ECONOMY OF THE YEARS 1918—1939 IN POLISH POSTWAR PUBLICATIONS

The history of the Polish economy of the years between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II is a very recent line of study. Systematic research work did not start before 1946. Serious difficulties, both as regards the staff and the sources, were experienced right at the outset. There were no specialists, historians or economists, willing to leave their traditional subjects of study and to start research in a little-known and rather special field. As a result of the suspension by the Germans of the university school activities during the occupation, there was a shortage of young historians who could devote most of their research work to this new line of study. Serious difficulties in finding adequate sources increased the reluctance to undertake work on recent history. As a result of the war, most of the records relating to economy had been heavily damaged, and the surviving few were still in disorder and consequently inaccessible for researchers.¹ The position as regards libraries was similar. Moreover, (and this is not less important and must not be forgotten), some historians had serious doubts whether the time that had passed since 1939 was long enough to allow strictly objective studies. In these circumstances, the study of the economic history of Poland of the years between the wars progressed very slowly and its larger scale development did not start before 1957.

We shall try to describe the main directions of the research in question and the subjects of the studies concerning the Polish economy of the years 1918—1939, published in Poland after the war, particularly in the recent years. Not included in this review are publicistic or journalistic works as mostly of no scientific value. In most cases the erudition of the authors was inversely proportional to the arbitrariness of their statements. We have, however, included a few popular scientific works, as well as published collections of documents if economic questions are their main subject.

¹ Most complete information on accessible archive records relating to the economic history of Poland in the years 1918—1939 is contained in *Katalog inwentarzy archiwalnych* [*Catalogue of Archive Inventories*], Warszawa 1957, p. 417 (roneoed).

The scientific value of the reviewed publications is uneven. Among many valuable works there are some not so good, too. This particularly applies to a part of the publications dating from 1950—1956, sometimes characterised by noticeably one-sided judgment on the described phenomena. This had, in some cases, led to the modification of facts to make them fit some preconceived theses with certain political significance at the time. However, with all their blemishes these publications have added a great deal to our knowledge of the studied period and they cannot be ignored in a study of the Polish economic history of the years 1918—1939. The works published after 1956 are generally free from defects of this type.

Heretofore, the studies on the Polish inter-war economy followed two principal lines: that of describing, analysing and evaluating separate economic phenomena, and that of attempting to present a synthesis, to give a rather sketchy but more general picture of the Polish economy of that period of time.

I

The first attempts at a synthesis were made by Professor L. Grosfeld in his popular work [*Pre-war Polish State in the Service of Capitalist Monopolies*].² The author tried to explain the causes of the economic backwardness in Poland with the part played by the monopolies and with the fact that the State economic policy depended on them. In 1952, at the first methodological conference of Polish historians at Otwock, Professor L. Grosfeld read a paper in which he further expanded his original analysis.³ The object of his paper was to 'prove and provide evidence that Poland of the years between the wars was one of the weakest links of the capitalist system, and that the imperialistic character of inter-war Poland was the source of her particular backwardness and degradation...'⁴ At present, in effect of the constantly developing studies on the twenty years between the wars, we find that these first results were not free from gross oversimplifications, and yet we have to admit that a number of explanations of the causes of Poland's economic backwardness have found confirmation in the course of other, more penetrating studies.

Next attempts at presenting a synthesis were made in publications intended

² L. Grosfeld, *Polskie państwo przedwrześniowe w służbie monopoli kapitalistycznych* [*Pre-war Polish State in the Service of Capitalist Monopolies*], Warszawa 1951, p. 116. The work was originally published as a series of articles in 'Myśl Współczesna', No. 8—9, 1951 and No. 1, 1951.

³ L. Grosfeld, *Prawidłowość i specyfika polskiego imperializmu* [*The Regularity and Specific Nature of Polish Imperialism*] in: *Pierwsza konferencja metodologiczna historyków polskich*, vol. II, Warszawa 1953, p. 263—330.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 265.

for university students.⁵ These were rather poor attempts, not based on sources and resulting not so much from the line of study of the authors as from the teaching needs. The authors did not try to put forward any new conceptions, and confined themselves to the presentation of more or less generally accepted views.

The first more elaborate attempt at providing a scientific synthesis of the economic history of the inter-war years was made by a group of workers of the Economic Science Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁶ In this work, an analysis was made of the state of the productive forces, the development characteristics of Polish capitalism, the Government economic policy and the position of the working masses. The principal thesis expounded in the work was that an economic recession had been taking place in Poland at that time. This thesis ignored the unusually strong fluctuations of the economic situation in Poland in the years 1918—1939. Consequently, it was true only in respect of some periods of time, as e.g. the so-called post-inflation crisis (1924—1925) and the great economic crisis (1930—1935). It was not true in respect of the inflation years (1921—1923), the boom period preceding the crisis (1926—1929) and the years of State interventionism before the outbreak of World War II (1936—1939). This non-historical treatment of the problems which are *par excellence* historical was the chief defect of the book and it was exceptionally sharply criticised by numerous reviewers with an exceptional unanimity.⁷ Apart from its non-historical approach, the book was criticised for the tendentious selection of examples, wrong use of statistical data, numerous factual errors etc. It has been agreed that the book, in spite of the ambitious plans of the authors, failed to meet the requirements of scientific accuracy.

Another attempt at presenting a synthesis was made by R. Gradowski

⁵ E. g. J. Chmura, *Historia gospodarcza Polski* [*The Economic History of Poland*], fasc. 6: (1918—1945), Warszawa 1953; A. Grodek, I. Kostrowicka, *Historia gospodarcza Polski* [*The Economic History of Poland*], Łódź 1955, p. 390—456; W. Styś, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski* [*An Outline of the Economic History of Poland*], Łódź 1958, p. 242—261; A. Grodek, *Historia gospodarcza XIX i XX wieku* [*The Economic History of the 19th and 20th Century*], Warszawa 1960, p. 253—366.

⁶ *Materiały do badań nad gospodarką Polski* [*Materials for Studies on Polish Economy*], Part I (1918—1939), Warszawa 1956, p. 216. See also B. Minc, *O kształtowaniu się dynamiki produkcji przemysłowej w Polsce kapitalistyczno-obszarniczej i w Polsce Ludowej* [*Dynamism of Industrial Production in Capitalist and People's Poland*], 'Ekonomista', 1954, No. 3. Similar in character is J. Zawadzki's work *Przejawy działania podstawowego prawa ekonomicznego współczesnego kapitalizmu w Polsce burżuazyjno-obszarniczej* [*Signs of Work of the Fundamental Economic Law of Contemporary Capitalism in Bourgeois Poland*], 'Ekonomista', 1954, No. 1—2.

⁷ Cf. A. Altman, *Referat na Sekcji Historii Najnowszej w Polskim Towarzystwie Historycznym* [*Report to the Recent History Section of the Polish Historical Society*], in: *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne 1886—1956*, Warszawa 1958, p. 64—65; M. Drozdowski in 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1957, No. 1; Z. Landau in 'Ekonomista', 1957, No. 1; J. Popkiewicz and F. Ryszka in 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1957, No. 1; J. Tomaszewski in 'Życie Gospodarcze', 1956, No. 21.

who tried to explain the specific nature and the development tendencies of Polish imperialism in the years between the wars.⁸ He started with an analysis of the processes of concentration of Polish production in the years 1918—1939, and went on to describe mergers of industrial enterprises into associations of the monopoly or oligopoly type. In the other chapters of the book he described the activity of capital in Poland, the functioning of the State credit system, the part played by foreign capital and the disputes over the Polish economic policy in the years following the great crisis. The book ends with some remarks on Poland's position in the capitalist world market. The author made very little use of the archives, while he overloaded his text with quotations and reprints from statistical tables most of which are easily accessible, and this is the weakest point of the book. However, if compared with earlier studies of the synthetic type, it constitutes an important step forward.

The last, in chronological order, attempt at a general study was made by Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski⁹ from the Economic History Department of the Central School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. Unlike in the earlier studies the material is arranged there in chronological order, not according to subjects. The period between the wars is subdivided as follows: 1918—1923 (the process of forming the Polish State and the reconstruction from war damage: 1924—1929 (the economic enlivenment), 1930—1935 (the crisis) and 1936—1939 (State interventionism).¹⁰ Within the separate chapters the material is arranged according to subjects with a view to including problems of industry, finance, agriculture and, to a lesser degree, of trade. Relatively much space is devoted to the presentation of the Government economic policy with all its mistakes and shortcomings, as well as its certain successes to which so much less attention was given in the earlier studies. The book is based on earlier works as well as on own research of the authors. It is difficult to me, as one of them, to judge the scientific value of the book.

⁸ R. Gradowski, *Polska 1918—1939. Niektóre zagadnienia kapitalizmu monopolistycznego* [Poland 1918—1939. Some Problems of Monopolist Capitalism], Warszawa 1959, p. 260. Some of the theses contained in this book are an elaboration of an earlier article of the author *Rola i miejsce Polski burżuazyjno-obszarniczej w systemie kapitalizmu światowego* [Role and Place of Bourgeois Poland in the World Capitalist System], 'Ekonomista', 1955, No. 3.

⁹ Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918—1939* [An Outline of the Economic History of Poland 1918—1939], Warszawa 1960, p. 217.

¹⁰ We should add here that subdivisions of the inter-war years are still disputable in Poland. In 1957, J. Tomaszewski started a discussion on the subdivisions of the 1918—1926 period. Cf. J. Tomaszewski, *W sprawie okresu względnej i tymczasowej stabilizacji kapitalizmu* [The Period of Relative and Temporary Stabilization of Capitalism], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1957, No. 4—5, and J. Popkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *W sprawie wewnętrznej periodyzacji tzw. okresu międzywojennego historii Polski* [Time Subdivisions of the Inter-War Period of the History of Poland], *ibidem*.

Apart from general syntheses, a number of fragmentary studies have been published, relating to certain, particularly interesting periods. The end of the inflation (which lasted in Poland from the end of the war to 1923), the difficulties experienced in the process of stabilizing the Polish currency and the connected economic troubles have been presented by J. Tomaszewski.¹¹ L. Grosfeld studied the Polish economic situation in the years of the great crisis.¹² His work is a collection of material illustrating the course of the crisis in various branches of the national economy. The causes are discussed of the fact that the crisis in Poland was much more acute than in the other European countries. M. Drozdowski and, to a lesser extent, Z. Landau dealt with the period of State interventionism.¹³ This period of time is particularly interesting for the researcher since it was then that the State investments in industry started on a scale unprecedented in Poland and the foundations were laid of the Central Industrial Region (in 1937). This policy was largely connected with the person of Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance E. Kwiatkowski.

II

The development of analytical studies concentrating on a number of main groups of problems was much more vigorous. The choice of the subjects was not accidental. The authors tried to find an explanation of the causes of Poland's economic backwardness in the years between the wars. For the fact itself of backwardness, expressed in the relatively slight development of industrial production in the years 1918—1939 (which, combined with the considerable growth of the population, led to a drop in *per capita* production), has always been unquestionable. What had to be clarified was the causes of this state of affairs and the changes occurring in the Polish economy as a result of the fluctuations of the economic cycles and of the economic policy of the Government.

¹¹ J. Tomaszewski, *Polityka stabilizacyjna Władysława Grabskiego 1923—1925* [*Stabilization Policy of Władysław Grabski — 1923—1925*], 'Najnowsze Dzieje Polski, Materiały i studia z okresu 1914—1939', 1958, No. 1; J. Tomaszewski, *Trzy projekty Władysława Grabskiego* [*Three Projects of Władysław Grabski*], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1959, No. 4.

¹² L. Grosfeld, *Polska w latach kryzysu gospodarczego 1929—1933* [*Poland in the Years of Economic Crisis 1929—1933*], Warszawa 1952, p. 314.

¹³ M. Drozdowski, *Polityka gospodarcza Eugeniusza Kwiatkowskiego w latach 1936—1939* [*Economic Policy of Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski in the Years 1936—1939*] in: *VIII Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich w Krakowie 14—17 IX 1958*, vol. VI: *Historia gospodarcza Polski* [*Economic History of Poland*], Warszawa 1960; Z. Landau, *Głos w dyskusji nad komunikatem M. Drozdowskiego* [*A Voice in the Discussion on M. Drozdowski's Communiqué*], *ibidem*; M. Drozdowski, *Geneza i rozwój Centralnego Okręgu Przemysłowego* [*The Origin and Development of the Central Industrial District*], 'Najnowsze Dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu 1914—1939', 1959, No. 2; Z. Landau, *Polityka tzw. nakręcania koniunktury w Polsce w okresie 1936—1939* [*Policy of the so-called Tide Market Animation in Poland 1936—1939*], *ibidem*; M. Drozdowski, *Jeszcze raz w sprawie polityki gospodarczej rządu polskiego w latach 1936—1939* [*More About the Polish Government Economic Policy 1936—1939*], *ibidem*, 1960, No. 3.

The high degree of dependence on foreign capital, the wrong agrarian system and the failure to make a radical land reform, the adverse effects of the monopolization of industrial production, as well as a number of blunders in the Polish economic policy resulting from, among other things, the considerable influence exerted on the Government by the industrial circles endeavouring to attain, at all cost, their narrow and often egoistic aims, all these have been accepted as the main causes of Poland's economic underdevelopment in the inter-war years.

The question of foreign capital, the part it played in the Polish economy between the wars, the attitude to it of the consecutive Polish governments, are much discussed subjects of the historical literature relating to the inter-war years. This is a result of the enormous influence exerted by foreign capital on the whole of Polish economic life. The amount of national debts to foreign countries (as far as it could be ascertained from statistics): varied at various times from 7,000 to 10,000 million zlotys, i.e. three times the average budget of the Polish State. Annual transfers to foreign countries, connected with repayments of various debts, were estimated at 300 to 500 million zlotys. In order to realize the importance of that amount in the Polish economy one has to bear in mind that it was equal to the annual total of State investments. What is not less important, foreign capital made the Polish industry greatly dependent on its influence. Some 40 per cent. of the capital fund of the stock companies in Poland was in foreign hands. This proportion was larger still in the heavy and power industries. In 1934 it amounted to 67.4 per cent. in the mining industry, 93.3 per cent. in oil mining, 70.1 per cent. in the chemical industry and 82.4 per cent. in the gas, water and electricity supply enterprises. It was much smaller in the industries less important for the economic development of the country, e.g. 9.8 per cent. in the food industry, 14.4 per cent. in the clothing industry, 32.5 per cent. in the building industry etc. And it was not only through the holdings of the stock that the Polish national economy was made dependent on foreign influence, but also by credits, licences, patents, the participation in industrial monopolist agreements, and often even by personal associations. All that resulted in the problem of foreign capital becoming one of the central problems of the Polish inter-war economy. It was not by accident, therefore, that nearly every study devoted to this subject had to deal with the problem of foreign capital, to some extent.

General problems connected with the influence of foreign capital on the Polish economy are the subject of studies by Gradowski, Grosfeld, Ryszka and Zieleniewski.¹⁴ They have presented the part played by this capital,

¹⁴ L. Grosfeld, *Kredyty zagraniczne w Polsce przedwrześniowej* [*Foreign Credits in Pre-war Poland*], 'Nowe Drogi' 1948, No. 8; F. Ryszka, *Przywileje kapitału zagranicznego w Polsce burżuazyjno-obszarniczej* [*Privileges of Foreign Capital in Bourgeois Poland*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', vol. VI, 1954, No. 1; J. Zieleniewski, *Zależność gospodarcza Polski międzywojennej od państw imperialistycznych* [*Economic Dependence of Poland on Imperialist States*], 'Finanse', 1953, No. 2.

and the Polish Government's attitude towards it. The authors have given special attention to the exploitation tendencies of foreign capital which avoided making any new investments in Poland and confined its activities to buying existing production establishments. Gradowski gives a detailed enough estimate of the financial consequences of foreign capital activities in Poland. From his calculations, based on pre-war trade balances, it appears that in the years 1924—1937 the inflow to Poland of foreign capital in the shape of credits and long-term loans amounted to 3,194.4 million zlotys, while the outflow from Poland in repayments totalled, 1,865.9 million, and 3,702.6 million in interests, dividends etc. The balance was adverse and the gap amounted to 2,373.6 million zlotys, i.e. more than 430 million dollars at the 1938 rate of exchange.¹⁵ This served as the basis for the view that foreign capital had drained and hindered the Polish economy. The argumentation and the conclusions are, of course, presented here in a much simplified form.

Apart from works devoted to general studies on the influence of foreign capital on the Polish economy, there are a number of works describing and analysing various forms of activity of foreign capital in Poland.

Some interesting works deal with the attitude of foreign capital to Poland in the first years of independence after 1918. Working on records unaccessible before the war, F. Ryszka made a study of the secret negotiations conducted by the Polish Government on the eve of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, with a view to making Britain, France and Italy interested in the assignment of the disputed territory to Poland.¹⁶ The Polish Government intended to achieve this purpose by a number of considerable economic concessions in Upper Silesia which were to be granted to these countries after the incorporation of Upper Silesia with Poland. The negotiations, conducted on the Polish side by Professor A. Benis, succeeded in arousing interest only in France which was anyway concerned (for political reasons) to have Upper Silesia assigned to Poland and not to Germany. In consequence, Benis's mission, which had resulted in a number of economic concessions granted in Upper Silesia to French capital, contributed nothing to the assignment of the disputed territories to Poland. Documents relating to these negotiations have been collected and published by Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski.¹⁷

B. Ratyńska has studied a collection of documents concerning the influence

¹⁵ R. Gradowski, *op. cit.*, p. 193—194.

¹⁶ F. Ryszka, *Kulisy decyzji w sprawie Śląska w roku 1921* [*Behind the Scenes of the Decision on Silesia in 1921*], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1953, No. 1.

¹⁷ Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Misja prof. Artura Benisa* [*Mission of Professor Artur Benis*], 'Teki Archiwalne', 1959, No. 6.

of the French and British oil interests on the demarcation of the Polish frontier in so-called Eastern Galicia.¹⁸

The Polish-American economic relations in the first years of independence have been studied by K. Lapter.¹⁹ In his opinion the United States tried to subordinate Poland economically. Later, the same subject was tackled by Z. Landau who polemized with Lapter, pointing out that the whole matter was disputable and called for more penetrating studies.²⁰

In the years between the wars a number of serious attempts were made at making the whole of the Government management of the Polish economy dependent on foreign influences. These attempts became particularly intensified after the Dawes Plan had been accepted, since its successful implementation depended on prospects of a German economic expansion to the east. In connection with the strained Polish-German relations and with the fact that direct attempts at subordinating the Polish economy to the German Reich were doomed to fail, endeavours were made to give effect to the Plan in an indirect way, through making the management of the national economy dependent on British or American influences which would advocate the subordination of the Polish economy to Germany.

The first step in this direction was an attempt at drawing Poland into the British zone of influence. It was connected with the necessity to loosen the bonds between Poland and France. This purpose was to be achieved by, among others, a mission of British finance experts led by E. Hilton Young who visited Poland in 1923—1924.²¹ After these attempts had failed, further moves were made by the American banking house of Dillon, Read & Co. With an appropriately worded loan agreement they tried to make it impossible for Poland to receive substantial foreign credits at a very difficult time (1925) when there was a danger of very serious trade gaps resulting from the customs war with Germany, which could in consequence endanger the stabilization of the zloty achieved in 1924. The loan was to be granted only after Poland's consent had been given to the

¹⁸ B. Ratyńska, *Rola nafty w kształtowaniu stosunku państw zachodnich do sprawy Galicji Wschodniej (1918—1919)* [*Influence of Oil Interests on Western Powers Attitude to Eastern Galicia Problem (1918—1919)*], Warszawa 1957, p. 148 (roneoed typescript 'Zeszyty historyczne Polskiego Instytutu Spraw Międzynarodowych', No. 4).

¹⁹ K. Lapter, *Antypolska polityka imperializmu amerykańskiego w pierwszych latach II Rzeczypospolitej* [*Anti-Polish Policy of American Imperialism in Early Years of the Second Republic*], 'Nowe Drogi', 1951, No. 5.

²⁰ Z. Landau, *O kilku spornych zagadnieniach stosunków polsko-amerykańskich w latach 1918—1920* [*Some Controversial Problems of Polish-American Relations in 1918—1920*] 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1958, No. 4.

²¹ Z. Landau, *Polityczne aspekty działalności angielskiej misji doradców finansowych E. Hiltona Younga w Polsce (1923—1924)* [*Political Aspects of the Activities of E. Hilton Young's Financial Mission in Poland 1923—1924*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Szkoły Głównej Planowania i Statystyki' (SGPS), 1958, No. 9.

realization of the plans corresponding to the interests of the bank, very closely associated with the German economy. These problems have been presented by Z. Landau,²² and later elaborated in a study on the purposes of the mission of American finance experts who, headed by W. E. Kemmerer, visited Poland twice (in 1925 and 1926) at the invitation of the Polish Government. An analysis of the mission's recommendations has led to the conclusion that what the mission represented was not, as it might seem, any particular interests of American capital, but the economic interests of Germany.²³

Particularly well advanced are the studies on foreign loans granted to the Polish State and local Government. They were started in 1948 by L. Grosfeld who presented a number of interesting theses and hypotheses.²⁴ The other studies concentrated on two subjects: the Polish Government policy on the question of foreign loans (H. Jabłoński,²⁵ Z. Landau,²⁶ F. Ryszka²⁷) and the description and analysis of individual loans (the most detailed study of these has been made by Z. Landau²⁸). The works by Jabłoński, Ryszka and Landau are based on relatively rich sources. Their research work, although

²² Z. Landau, *Pożyczka dillonowska. Przyczynek do działalności kapitałów amerykańskich w Polsce* [Dillon Loan. American Capital Activities in Poland], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1957, No. 3 and Z. Landau, *Bank Dillon, Read & Co. a Polska* [Dillon, Read & Co. Bank and Poland], 'Sprawy Międzynarodowe', 1960, No. 7—8.

²³ See *Uwagi na marginesie pożyczki stabilizacyjnej 1927* [Remarks on Stabilization Loan 1927], 'Sprawy Międzynarodowe', 1952, No. 4; Z. Landau, *Misja Kemmerera* [Kemmerer's Mission], 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1957, No. 2. Interesting documents relating to the subject and originating from the Political Archives of the Foreign Affairs Office in Bonn have been published by B. Ratyńska, *Niemcy wobec stabilizacji waluty polskiej w latach 1925—1926* [German Attitude to Stabilization of Polish Currency 1925—1926], 'Sprawy Międzynarodowe', 1960, No. 9.

²⁴ See article quoted in Note 14.

²⁵ H. Jabłoński, *Z tajnej dyplomacji Władysława Grabskiego w r. 1924* [Secret Diplomacy of Władysław Grabski in 1924], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1956, No. 4—5; this article has caused a polemic. See Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Czy tajna dyplomacja?* [Was It Secret Diplomacy?], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny' 1957, No. 2 and H. Jabłoński, *W związku z uwagami Z. Landaua i J. Tomaszewskiego* [In Connection with Z. Landau's and J. Tomaszewski's Remarks], *ibidem*.

²⁶ Z. Landau, *Stosunek rządu polskiego do pożyczek zagranicznych w latach 1918—1920* [Polish Government Attitude to Foreign Loans in 1918—1920], 'Biuletyn Instytutu Gospodarstwa Społecznego', 1959, No. 1; Z. Landau, *Pożyczki zagraniczne w polityce rządu polskiego (listopad 1920—grudzień 1923)* [Foreign Loans in Polish Government Policy (November 1920—December 1923)], 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1959, No. 4; Z. Landau, *Gospodarcze i polityczne tło kredytów francuskich dla Polski w okresie 1921—1923* [Economic and Political Background of French Credits for Poland in 1921—1923], 'Sprawy Międzynarodowe', 1959, No. 7—8; Z. Landau, *Władysław Grabski a pożyczki zagraniczne* [Władysław Grabski and Foreign Loans], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1959, No. 4.

²⁷ Cf. Note 14.

²⁸ Z. Landau, *Pierwsza polska pożyczka emisyjna w Stanach Zjednoczonych* [First Polish Emission Loan in the United States], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1959, No. 15; Z. Landau, *Pożyczka tytoniowa* [Tobacco Loan], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1956, No. 3; Z. Landau, *Pożycz-*

conducted independently and using different sources, has led to a nearly unanimously reached conclusion that the loans, as financial operations, were decidedly disadvantageous to Poland. Because of the attached conditions of granting a number of economic concessions to the creditors (e. g. the lease of the match monopoly on the occasion of the Swedish loan, the purchases of tobacco for the Polish tobacco monopoly on the occasion of the Italian so-called tobacco loan etc.), these transactions proved extremely costly. In some cases the total real cost of the loan exceeded 20 per cent. per year.

At the same time a number of monographs was published, describing foreign capital activities in various sections of the national economy and in various areas of the country. D. Steyer studied the share of foreign capital in shipping.²⁹ J. Kielski dealt with the expansion of foreign concerns in the Polish power industry,³⁰ J. Tomaszewski described the penetration into Poland of the Italian *Banca Commerciale Italiana*.³¹ Ryszka and Popkiewicz, in their works on industry in Upper Silesia, devoted much space to foreign capital activities in that region.³² H. Zieliński tried to describe the attitude of international capital towards Polish Silesia in the years 1917—1945.³³ L. Grosfeld presented some most interesting fragments of documents relating to the close co-operation between American capital (A. Harriman group) and German capital in Upper Silesia (*Giesches Erben*).³⁴

ki ulenowskie [Ulen Loans], 'Najnowsze Dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu 1914—1939', 1958, No. 1; Z. Landau, *Działalność koncernu Kreugera w Polsce [Activities of Kreuger Concern in Poland]*, 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1958, No. 1. Besides, the problem of foreign loans was marginally treated in a number of other books and articles.

²⁹ D. Steyer, *Kapitał zagraniczny w gospodarce Polski w okresie międzywojennym 1918—1939 [Foreign Capital in Polish Economy in 1918—1939]*, 'Zapiski Historyczne', vol. XXI, 1955, No. 3—4. This problem is also mentioned by the same author in his *Problemy robotnicze Gdyni 1926—1939 [Workers' Problems in Gdynia in 1926—1939]*, Gdańsk 1959, p. 175.

³⁰ J. Kielski, *Ekspansja zagranicznych koncernów elektrycznych w elektroenergetyce Polski burżuazyjno-obszarniczej [Expansion of Foreign Concerns in Power Generating Industry in Bourgeois Poland]*, 'Materiały i Studia Instytutu Nauk Społecznych przy KC PZPR', vol. II, 1953.

³¹ J. Tomaszewski, *Przyczynek do zagadnienia penetracji kapitału włoskiego w Polsce [On the Problem of Penetration of Italian Capital in Poland]*, 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1956, No. 3.

³² F. Ryszka, *Kapitał zagraniczny na Górnym Śląsku (1922—1939) [Foreign Capital in Upper Silesia 1922—1939]* in *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, Warszawa 1956, p. 361—403; J. Popkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *Przemysł ciężki Górnego Śląska w gospodarce Polski międzywojennej (1922—1939) [Heavy Industries of Upper Silesia in Polish Economy Between the Wars (1922—1939)]*, Opole 1959, p. 504.

³³ H. Zieliński, *Stanowisko międzynarodowego kapitału finansowego i ośrodków międzynarodowej reakcji oraz burżuazji polskiej wobec Śląska w latach 1917—1945 [Attitude of International Capital, International Reactionary Centres and Polish Bourgeoisie to Silesia in 1917—1945]*, in: *Konferencja Śląska Instytutu Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, vol. II, Wrocław 1954, p. 9—120. Also the discussion on the above named paper.

³⁴ L. Grosfeld, *Polska w latach kryzysu gospodarczego 1929—1933 [Poland in the Years of Economic Crisis 1929—1933]*, Warszawa 1952, p. 85—99.

It appears that the number of studies connected with problems of foreign capital is considerable. In spite of that, it should be stated that many questions still need clarification or even description. Particularly strongly felt is the need of a synthetic monograph of the whole of foreign capital activity in Poland between the wars.

III

Another large group of problems that attracted the attention of the researchers concerns the Polish countryside between the wars. The importance of the problem results from the fact that 60.6 per cent. of the Polish population lived upon land in 1931. Consequently, the situation of the countryside to a large extent determined the home market capacity and the prospects of the economic development of the whole country. Because of the defective agrarian structure the Polish countryside was poor and backward for the most part. According to the 1921 census 45 per cent. of land belonged to a relatively small number (3 per cent. of the total) of farms over 100 hectares. Contrasted with this small group was the mass of 1.1 million farms (34 per cent. of the total number) up to 2 hectares, which accounted for only one-thirtieth of the total area of land. Most of them were very small and possessed no draught animals. A large part of the farms between 2 and 5 hectares should also be assigned to this category. Even in a good economic situation they tried to satisfy their basic demand for industrial articles with home made goods. In consequence, the rural market could absorb only very limited quantities of manufactured goods, which influenced sale prospects of products of Polish industry which struggled against serious difficulties since no buyers could be found for industrial articles.

A most laborious and complicated study of the agrarian structure of the Polish countryside, the evolutionary trends there, and the specific traits of various areas was made by M. Mieszczankowski.³⁵ He used every available information contained in the agricultural census (1921) and the population census (1921 and 1931), as well as the findings of various monographic studies. He concentrated on the structure of farms under 100 hectares.

The possibility of improving the situation of the smallholders and the landless peasants depended to a considerable degree on the land reform. The lands held by big landowners, the State and the Church extended to so large an area that, if simultaneously distributed, although still insufficient to satisfy the hunger for land in full, they could have made appreciable additions to a large part of the small farms and consequently enriched the rural areas. Thus, apart from solving a number of social problems, the land reform would also have had much

³⁵ M. Mieszczankowski, *Struktura agrarna Polski międzywojennej* [*Agrarian Structure of Poland Between the Wars*], Warszawa 1960, p. 430.

economic importance. Its efficient and prompt implementation could have led to a considerable increase in the demand for industrial articles in rural areas. The land reform problems were presented in most detail by C. Madajczyk who, however, gave much more attention to the political and social than to the purely economic problems.³⁶

The relatively slow progress of the land reform (only 2.6 million hectares of land was distributed in the years 1919—1939, i.e. an average of 132,000 per year, as against the annual minimum of 200,000 hectares provided for in the Land Reform Law of 1925), as well as the high prices which had to be paid for the distributed land, greatly restricted the economic importance of the reform. In this situation, a marked degradation of Polish agriculture began in 1929 to be later abruptly accelerated by the economic crisis.

The effects of the crisis could be felt up to the outbreak of the Second World War in spite of a shortlived improvement in the situation of the countryside in the years 1936—1937. Studies by M. Dziewicka, L. Grosfeld and M. Drozdowski are devoted to these problems.³⁷ Dziewicka's study is of the general character. Grosfeld concentrated on the influence of the 1929—1933 crisis on agriculture in Poland, and Drozdowski described the Polish Government agrarian policy in the years 1937—1939.

In the years between the wars the Polish countryside had to cope with a very difficult problem of overpopulation of the rural areas. It resulted from the above described agrarian structure and from the difficulty to ensure an outflow of the surplus rural population to towns because of the stagnation in industry and the resulting serious unemployment among the industrial workers. The number of the 'redundant' population (i.e. of those who could leave the rural areas with no harm to agricultural production) was estimated at 2.5 to 8 million. The large discrepancy of the estimates resulted from the differences in the methods of calculation applied by different authors. The studies of this problem, initiated before the war, were continued by M. Stańczyk, W. Bieda, Z. Kozłowski

³⁶ C. Madajczyk, *Burżuazyjno-obszarnicza reforma rolna w Polsce (1918—1939)* [*Bourgeois Land Reform in Poland 1918—1939*], Warszawa 1956, p. 463. For fragments of this work see C. Madajczyk, *Bilans burżuazyjno-obszarnicznej reformy rolnej w Polsce* [*Balance Sheet of Bourgeois Land Reform in Poland*], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1954, No. 2; C. Madajczyk, *Faszycyzacja polityki agrarnej w Polsce lat 1934—1939* [*Fascization of Agrarian Policy in Poland in 1934—1939*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1954, No. 1.

³⁷ M. Dziewicka, *Zagadnienia degradacji rolnictwa w Polsce kapitalistycznej* [*Problems of Degradation of Agriculture in Capitalist Poland*], 'Ekonomista', 1955, No. 1; L. Grosfeld, *Upadek rolnictwa polskiego w latach kryzysu 1929—1933* [*The Decline of Polish Agriculture in the Years of Crisis 1929—1933*], 'Wojsko Ludowe', 1951, No. 12. (See also Chapter VI of L. Grosfeld's above quoted book on the crisis of 1929—1933); M. Drozdowski, *Polityka rolna rządu polskiego w latach 1936—1939* [*Agrarian Policy of the Polish Government in the Years 1936—1939*], 'Roczniki Dziejów Ruchu Ludowego', 1959, No. 1.

and others.³⁸ The last mentioned two described also the methods of liquidation of the problem in People's Poland. In addition to the overpopulation, another serious problem was that of unemployment among farm labourers. This problem was discussed by M. Ciechocińska.³⁹

The existence of the estates and of huge resources of nearly gratuitous peasant labour force made possible the survival in Poland of some remnants of the feudal type of economy. This question was presented by K. Rey in a very interesting study.⁴⁰ The situation of the peasants was studied (apart from the previously mentioned L. Grosfeld) by A. Ajnenkiel, J. Gójski, Z. Kozłowski, M. Mieszczankowski, K. Piotrowska-Hochfeldowa, W. Rogala and S. Warkoczewski.⁴¹ In their works they described the economic backwardness of Polish agriculture, the primitive living conditions and poverty of the rural population. Two of the above mentioned works (by Kozłowski and Piotrowska-Hochfeldowa) analysed the credit position in the rural areas. The author pointed out the privileged position of large farms which could receive cheaper bank credits, while smaller farmers had to seek credits (and their needs in this respect had been considerable, as it transpires from the studies) from private money-lenders at exorbitant interest rates. J. Majewski made an attempt at

³⁸ M. Stańczyk, *Przeludnienie agrarne w Polsce kapitalistycznej* [*Agrarian Overpopulation in Capitalist Poland*], 'Ekonomista', 1955, No. 1; W. Bieda, *Likwidacja przeludnienia agrarnego województwa krakowskiego i rzeszowskiego* [*Liquidation of Agrarian Overpopulation of Cracow and Rzeszów Voivodships*], 'Ekonomista', 1955, No. 4; Z. Kozłowski, *Problem ludzi 'zbędnych' w Polsce kapitalistycznej i jego likwidacji w Polsce Ludowej* [*Problem of 'Redundant' People in Capitalist Poland and of its Liquidation in People's Poland*], 'Nowe Rolnictwo', 1952, No. 6.

³⁹ M. Ciechocińska, *Bezrobocie wśród robotników najemnych na wsi według spisu z 1931 r.* [*Unemployment Among Farm Labourers According to Census of 1931*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1960, No. 19.

⁴⁰ K. Rey, *Uwagi w sprawie przeżytków feudalnych w rolnictwie Polski międzywojennej* [*Notes on the Question of Vestiges of Feudalism in Polish Agriculture Between the Wars*], 'Ekonomista', 1956, No. 2.

⁴¹ A. Ajnenkiel, *Zbiorowe umowy w rolnictwie w Polsce w latach 1919—1926* [*General Work Agreements in Polish Agriculture in 1919—1926*], 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne', 1957, No. 2; J. Gójski, *Fornale. Z życia i walk robotników rolnych* [*Life and Struggle of Farm Labourers*], Warszawa 1955, p. 200; Z. Kozłowski, *Kredyt rolny w Polsce burżuazyjnej i w Polsce Ludowej* [*Credits for Farmers in Bourgeois Poland and in People's Poland*], Warszawa 1955, p. 5—46; M. Mieszczankowski, *Wyzysk pracującego chłopstwa jako najemnej siły roboczej przez obszarników i kulaków* [*Exploitation of Working Peasants as Labour Force Hired by Big Landowners and Kulaks*], 'Materiały i Studia Instytutu Nauk Społecznych', vol. II, 1955; K. Piotrowska-Hochfeldowa, *Stosunki kredytowe na wsi w Polsce burżuazyjno-obszarniczej i w Polsce Ludowej* [*Credit Relations in Rural Areas in Bourgeois Poland and in People's Poland*], 'Ekonomista', 1954, No. 4; W. Rogala, *Życie i walka na wsi wielkopolskiej w latach 1919—1925* [*Life and Struggle in Rural Areas of Wielkopolska in 1919—1925*], Warszawa 1956, p. 186; S. Warkoczewski, *Ze studiów nad położeniem robotników folwarcznych w Poznańskim przed II wojną światową (1937—1939)* [*Studies on the Situation of Farm Labourers in Poznań Voivodship in 1937—1939*], 'Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych', 1957.

describing all the most important problems of the rural areas in Wielkopolska.⁴²

A number of studies were connected with the development of the co-operative movement in agriculture in the inter-war years. M. Ciechocińska described the development of the model (and therefore not typical) co-operative village of Lisków.⁴³ B. Strużek discussed various forms of agricultural co-operatives,⁴⁴ K. Bajan described the history of the farmers' circles and their activities, including production enterprises.⁴⁵ T. Romanowski dealt with problems of saving and lending co-operatives.⁴⁶ The economic programmes of the peasant parties active in Poland were discussed by A. Gurnicz.⁴⁷

Summing up, the studies on problems of the rural economy concentrated on a number of key problems. Many important questions were left out, including the specific traits of the development of agriculture in different parts of Poland, the economic situation of the estates etc. These gaps in our knowledge make it difficult to give a detailed scientific synthesis of the economic situation of the rural areas in Poland in the years between the wars. The only exception was an attempt made by S. Ignar, intended as a popular study and therefore not enough penetrating. It was based exclusively on published sources.⁴⁸

IV

The third problem on which a larger number of studies concentrated was the situation in industry. Some of these studies have already been mentioned among the synthetic studies. In the other works devoted to industry two lines of study are clearly defined: more or less detailed monographs of separate industries or individual enterprises on the one hand, and studies on the situation of the working class on the other.

⁴² J. Majewski, *Wieś Wielkopolska w okresie międzywojennym* [*Rural Areas in Wielkopolska Between the Wars*] in: *Dzieje wsi wielkopolskiej*, Poznań 1959, p. 273—346.

⁴³ M. Ciechocińska, *Lisków wieś wzorowa* [*Model Village of Lisków*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1958, No. 9; M. Ciechocińska, *Spółdzielnia w Liskowie w latach 1900—1939* [*Lisków Co-operative in the Years 1900—1939*], 'Przegląd Spółdzielczy', 1957, No. 6.

⁴⁴ B. Strużek, *W sprawie oceny tradycyjnych i współczesnych form spółdzielczości w rolnictwie* [*On the Question of Evaluation of Traditional and Contemporary Co-operative Forms in Agriculture*], 'Nowe Drogi', 1957, No. 4.

⁴⁵ K. Bajan, *Z historii kółek rolniczych w Polsce (okres do 1939 r.)* [*From the History of Farmers' Circles in Poland (up to 1939)*], 'Trybuna Spółdzielcza', 1960, No. 7.

⁴⁶ T. Romanowski, *70 lat spółdzielczości oszczędnościowo-pożyczkowej* [*70 Years of Saving and Lending Co-operatives*], 'Trybuna Spółdzielcza', 1960, No. 12.

⁴⁷ A. Gurnicz, *Program gospodarczy ruchu chłopskiego w okresie drugiej niepodległości* [*Economic Programme of the Peasant Movement in the Years of Second Independence*], 'Annales Uniwersytetu M. Curie-Skłodowskiej', sec. G, vol. 5, 1958.

⁴⁸ S. Ignar, *Kwestia rolna w Polsce kapitalistycznej* [*Agrarian Question in Capitalist Poland*], Warszawa 1952, p. 169.

In the studies on the situation in the heavy industry mainly concentrated in Upper Silesia⁴⁹ most credit goes to J. Popkiewicz and F. Ryszka who have written the best of all so far published books on the economic history of Poland of the inter-war years.⁵⁰ Their work is a most detailed study on the situation of the Silesian heavy industries and its influence on the development of Polish industry as a whole and, consequently, on the whole national economy. The authors devoted most of their attention to problems of production, sales, production capacities, property relations and organization of industry. These problems are presented in three chapters arranged in chronological order (1922—1928; 1929—1933 and 1934—1939). The monograph by Popkiewicz and Ryszka is based on a wealth of literature of the subject and an exceptionally thorough study of the sources in archives. It is a basic source of knowledge of the problems of Polish industry in the years between the wars.

Some other researchers were also interested in the heavy industry problems. M. Gdynia and S. Popławska made a study of the metallurgical works in Silesia and in Dąbrowa and Częstochowa industrial districts.⁵¹ They briefly presented the legal position, ownership relations and production programme of separate works, with the addition of information about the surviving records relating to each object. A. Loch and G. Szendzielorz gave a popular study of the history of 'Batory' metallurgical works.⁵² In a more detailed monograph, F. Ryszka and S. Ziemia compared the situation and development of 'Kościszko' metallurgical works in the years 1922—1932 and 1945—1954.⁵³ In

⁴⁹ *Stan badań nad historią górnictwa i hutnictwa na ziemiach polskich w latach 1870—1945* [State of Research on History of Mining and Metallurgical Industries in Polish Territories in 1870—1945] see an article by J. Jaros under the same title in 'Studia z dziejów górnictwa i hutnictwa', vol. I, 1957.

⁵⁰ J. Popkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *Przemysł ciężki Górnego Śląska w gospodarce Polski międzywojennej (1922—1939)* [Heavy Industries of Upper Silesia in Polish Economy Between the Wars (1922—1939)], Opole 1959, p. 504. Fragments of this work were earlier published in a series of articles: J. Popkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *Górnośląski przemysł ciężki w latach 1922—1929. Dynamika rozwoju produkcji i niektóre przejawy jej wpływu na gospodarkę narodową* [Upper Silesian Heavy Industries in 1922—1929. Dynamism of Expansion of Production and Its Influence on National Economy], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1956, No. 4—5; J. Popkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *Początki kryzysu gospodarczego w Polsce na tle sytuacji górnośląskiego przemysłu górnictwo-hutniczego 1928—1929* [Beginnings of Economic Crisis in Poland on the Background of the Situation of Upper Silesian Mining and Metallurgical Industries in 1928—1929], 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 1958, No. 1.

⁵¹ M. Gdynia, S. Popławska, *Zestawienie hut żelaza na Śląsku, w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim i okręgu częstochowskim* [Iron Works in Silesia, Dąbrowa Basin and Częstochowa District] in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska*, vol. II, Wrocław 1958.

⁵² A. Loch, G. Szendzielorz, *Kartki z dziejów huty 'Batory'* [Notes on the History of 'Batory' Metallurgical Works], Stalinogród 1956, p. 267.

⁵³ F. Ryszka, S. Ziemia, *Dwa dziesięciolecia huty Kościszko* [Two Decades of 'Kościszko' Metallurgical Works], Warszawa 1955, p. 194. A fragment of the work was published as an article under the same title in 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1954, No. 3.

the part concerning the pre-war years they included the role played by foreign capital invested in the works, the influence of the crisis and the living conditions of the workers.

A number of other authors studied the coal mining industry. J. Jaros presented the most important facts in the history of various collieries in Silesia.⁵⁴ E. Rippel gave some data illustrating the extraction of coal in Dąbrowa basin in the inter-war years.⁵⁵ J. Strzoda analysed technical equipment of the coal mining industry (1913—1945).⁵⁶ J. Jaros studied the history of 'Król' colliery at Chorzów (1918—1922)⁵⁷ and described the activities of 'Skarboferm' concern, a State-owned enterprise on 36-year lease to a Franco-Polish company.⁵⁸ Slightly different in character is W. Michowicz's work describing the very important influence of the British miners' strike (May—November 1926) on the improvement in the situation in the Polish coal mining industry to which it had opened excellent possibilities of increasing exports, particularly to Scandinavia.⁵⁹

The history of the textile industry was studied by K. Bajer whose monograph covered the time from the early 19th century to 1939.⁶⁰ He described the position in various districts and branches of the textile industry, the influence of the general economic situation, the position in employment and production, financial problems, wages and conditions of work, investments etc. A. Werwicki's book on the development of the textile industry in Białystok district⁶¹

⁵⁴ J. Jaros, *Zestawienie kopalń węgla kamiennego na Śląsku* [Coal Mines in Silesia], *Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska*, vol. I, Wrocław 1957.

⁵⁵ E. Rippel, *Wydobycie węgla kamiennego w kopalniach Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego w latach 1919—1939* [Hard Coal Extraction in Dąbrowa Basin Collieries in 1919—1939], Katowice 1960, p. 159. Roneoed typescript.

⁵⁶ J. Strzoda, *Przyczynek do badania wyposażenia technicznego w polskim górnictwie węglowym w latach 1913—1945* [Studies on Technical Equipment of the Polish Coal Mining Industry in 1913—1945], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomicznej (WSE) w Katowicach', 1957, No. 3.

⁵⁷ J. Jaros, *Historia kopalni 'Król' w Chorzowie w latach 1918—1922* [History of 'Król' Mine at Chorzów in 1918—1922] 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 1957, No. 1.

⁵⁸ J. Jaros, *Gospodarka koncernu 'Skarboferm'* [Activities of 'Skarboferm' Concern], 'Zaranie Śląskie', 1957, No. 1.

⁵⁹ W. Michowicz, *Wpływ strajku górników angielskich z 1926 r. na przemysł węglowy w Polsce* [Influence of British Miners' Strike of 1926 on Polish Coal Mining Industry], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego', series I, 1957, No. 7.

⁶⁰ K. Bajer, *Przemysł włókienniczy na ziemiach polskich od początku XIX wieku do 1939 r.* [Textile Industry in Polish Territories from the Beginning of the 19th Century to 1939], Łódź 1958, p. 303.

⁶¹ A. Werwicki, *Białostocki okręg przemysłu włókienniczego do r. 1945* [Białystok Textile District to 1945], Warszawa 1957, p. 164.

is of a different character. Special attention is given there to the question of localization. The development of the textile industry in Łódź district was described in an article by S. Lipko.⁶²

Housing and housing conditions were the subject of studies by Cegielski, Chojecki, Dangel, Stasiak and, in more detail, by Jarosławski and Kozłowska.⁶³

Only a few and rather brief studies were devoted to other industries and described individual works or their amalgamations. W. Bielicki described the Polish Association of Portland Cement Factories,⁶⁴ H. Hermanowski — the nitrogen fertilizer industry,⁶⁵ W. Jackiewicz — Nitrogen Works at Chorzów,⁶⁶ J. Siniarska-Czaplicka — Paper Mills at Jeziorna,⁶⁷ H. Młynarczyk — 'Höntsch and Co', a small metal factory at Poznań,⁶⁸ A. Fajferek described problems of the development and localization of the sugar industry

⁶² S. Lipko, *Rozwój przemysłu włókienniczego w okręgu łódzkim* [Development of Textile Industry in Łódź District], 'Przemysł Włókienniczy', 1957, No. 12.

⁶³ J. Cegielski, *Z badań nad stosunkami mieszkaniowymi na ziemiach polskich w okresie kapitalizmu* [Studies on Housing Position in Polish Territories Under Capitalism], 'Biuletyn Instytutu Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego (IBM)', 1956, No. 11; S. Chojecki, *Próba oceny rozmiarów budownictwa mieszkaniowego w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym* [Tentative Estimate of the Scope of Housing Schemes in Poland Between the Wars], 'Biuletyn IBM', 1956, No. 8; J. Dangel, *Kilka dalszych uwag na marginesie oceny rozmiarów budownictwa mieszkaniowego w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym* [More Remarks on the Estimate of the Scope of Housing Schemes in Poland Between the Wars], 'Biuletyn IBM', 1956, No. 11; A. Stasiak, *Stosunki mieszkaniowe w województwie katowickim* [Housing Position in Katowice Voivodship], 'Prace IBM', IX/26, Warszawa 1959; J. Jarosławski, *O kwestii mieszkaniowej w Polsce międzywojennej. Przyczynek do zagadnienia pauperyzacji klasy robotniczej w ustroju kapitalistycznym* [Housing Question in Poland Between the Wars. In Connection with the Problem of Pauperization of the Working Class in the Capitalist System], Warszawa 1950, p. 91; E. Kozłowska, *Warunki mieszkaniowe w Górnośląskim Okręgu Przemysłowym w świetle badań statystycznych* [Housing Conditions in Upper Silesian Industrial District in the Light of Statistics], Warszawa 1957, p. 366.

⁶⁴ W. Bielicki, *Związek Polskich Fabryk Portland-Cementu w okresie międzywojennym* [Polish Association of Portland Cement Factories Between the Wars], 'Cement', 1958, No. 3.

⁶⁵ H. Hermanowski, *Kapitał państwowo-monopolistyczny na przykładzie działalności Przedsiębiorstwa Przemysłu Nawozów Azotowych (ZPZA) w Polsce przedwojennej* [State Monopolist Capital on the Example of Nitrogen Fertilizer Works in Pre-war Poland], 'Zeszyty Naukowe WSE w Katowicach', 1957, No. 1.

⁶⁶ W. Jackiewicz, *Historia Chorzowskich Zakładów Azotowych* [The History of Chorzów Nitrogen Works], 'Przemysł Chemiczny', 1955, No. 11.

⁶⁷ J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Historia papierni w Jeziornie do r. 1939* [The History of Jeziorna Paper Mills until 1939], 'Przegląd Papierniczy', 1958, No. 7.

⁶⁸ H. Młynarczyk, *Höntsch i Ska z o. o. w Poznaniu. Przyczynek do roli kapitału obcego w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym* [Höntsch & Co. of Poznań. A Study on the Role of Foreign Capital in Poland Between the Wars], 'Przegląd Zachodni', 1952, No. 11—12.

(1820—1939),⁶⁹ and I. Bojanowska — the Polish shipbuilding industry.⁷⁰

A separate small group consists of studies on transport and communications. The most important of them are: an article by J. Nowkuński⁷¹ on the construction of railways in Poland (1918—1938) and works by B. Kasproicz, J. Majczyño, M. Pruszyński and D. Steyer concerning problems of sea transport, the merchant fleet and harbours of Gdynia and Gdańsk.⁷²

The situation and conditions of work of the working class were marginally mentioned in many studies, the main subject of which was the history of the political movement among the working class. They are omitted here because of their marginal character.

The ever growing unemployment was the main problem of the working class in the inter-war years. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, according to the grossly underestimated figures shown in official statistics, the number of unemployed exceeded 450,000. It is worth recalling, for comparison, that in 1937 some 829,000 people were working in mining and in industrial enterprises employing over 4 workers (including the owner and the employed members of his family). So, about one-third of the whole working class was affected by unemployment, and this at the time when the economic situation was good. Unemployment problems were described by L. Grosfeld, M. Ciechocińska, A. Antonow and W. Kostuś, and jointly by C. Baszyński, K. Chrośniak, B. Kwiatkowska, M. Michałkiewicz and A. Perlińska.⁷³ The first mentioned work concentrated on the causes

⁶⁹ A. Fajferk, *O rozwoju i lokalizacji przemysłu cukrowniczego w latach 1820—1939* [*Development and Localization of Sugar Industry in the Years 1820—1939*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe WSE w Katowicach', 1958, No. 3.

⁷⁰ I. Bojanowska, *Polski przemysł okrętowy* [*Polish Shipbuilding Industry*], Gdynia 1960, p. 5—17.

⁷¹ J. Nowkuński, *Budowa nowych kolei żełaznych w Polsce w okresie 1918—1939 i po wojnie* [*Construction of New Railways in Poland in 1918—1939 and After the War*], 'Przegląd Komunikacyjny', 1947, No. 5.

⁷² B. Kasproicz, *Problemy ekonomiczne budowy i eksploatacji portu w Gdyni w latach 1920—1939* [*Economic Problems of Construction and Exploitation of Gdynia Harbour in 1920—1939*], 'Zapiski Historyczne', 1956, No. 1—3; B. Kasproicz, *Straty gospodarcze Gdańska jako wynik jego izolowania się od Polski w latach międzywojennych* [*Economic Losses of Gdańsk as a Result of the Isolation from Poland Between the Wars*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', 1956, No. 3—4; J. Majczyño, *Polska flota handlowa. Zarys zagadnień polityki żeglugowej i rozwoju floty handlowej w Polsce Ludowej* [*Polish Merchant Fleet. An Outline of Shipping Policy and Development of the Merchant Fleet in People's Poland*], Gdynia 1960, p. 9—26; M. Pruszyński, *Początki żeglugi morskiej w Polsce (1915—1925)* [*Beginnings of Shipping in Poland (1915—1925)*], 'Technika Morza i Wybrzeża', 1948, No. 7—8. Also the above mentioned works by Steyer.

⁷³ L. Grosfeld, *Zagadnienie bezrobocia w Polsce przedurzędniowej* [*Unemployment Problem in Pre-war Poland*], 'Myśl Współczesna', 1951, No. 10; M. Ciechocińska, *Spis roku 1931 jako źródło danych o bezrobociu wśród ludności miejskiej w Polsce* [*Census of 1931 as Source of Informa-*

of unemployment and its social effects, the second was of a more statistical character and analysed the size of unemployment in Poland in 1931, working on the results of the census. The census had revealed a number of unemployed nearly twice as large as that officially recorded by the State administration. The last two studies contain extensive selections of documents. The selection presented by Antonow and Kostuś relates to unemployment in the Silesian voivodship, the attitude of the State and big industry towards that problem, the living conditions of the unemployed and their struggle for an improvement of their lot. The other selection concerns unemployment in Pomerania in the years 1921—1938.

The situation and conditions of work of the working class are the subject of articles by L. Grosfeld on the situation in the crisis years,⁷⁴ by H. Zieliński on the situation of Silesian workers in the years 1918—1922,⁷⁵ by J. Pabisz on the Silesian workers of 1930s who had been given I.O.U. slips instead of wages,⁷⁶ by M. Świącicki on the legislation concerning contracts for work,⁷⁷ by E. Pietraszek on workers' holidays,⁷⁸ by K. Kąkol on the legislation and organization of social insurance schemes,⁷⁹ by F. Popiołek on social assistance in the metallurgical and mining industries,⁸⁰ and by D. Steyer on the situation of dockers.⁸¹

tion on Unemployment in Polish Towns], 'Przegląd Statystyczny', 1960, No. 4; M. Antonow, W. Kostuś, *Bezrobocie na Górnym Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym. Wybór materiałów archiwalnych* [*Unemployment in Upper Silesia Between the Wars. A Selection of Sources*], 'Teki Archiwalne', vol. 6, 1959; C. Baszyński, K. Chrośniak, B. Kwiatkowska, A. Michalkiewicz, A. Perliński, *Bezrobocie na Pomorzu w latach 1921—1938* [*Unemployment in Pomerania in, 1921—1938*], 'Teki Archiwalne' vol. 4: *Materiały do historii klasy robotniczej w Polsce 1916—1938*, Warszawa 1955.

⁷⁴ L. Grosfeld, *Wzrost eksploatacji klasy robotniczej w Polsce w okresie kryzysu 1929—1933* [*Growing Exploitation of the Working Class in Poland During the 1929—1933 Crisis*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1952, No. 1. See also Chapter V of the above mentioned Grosfeld's book on the crisis.

⁷⁵ H. Zieliński, *Położenie i walka górnośląskiego proletariatu w latach 1918—1922* [*Situation and Struggle of Upper Silesian Proletariat in 1918—1922*], Warszawa 1957, p. 303.

⁷⁶ J. Pabisz, *Zatrudnianie robotników za rewersem w byłym województwie śląskim w latach trzydziestych XX wieku* [*Employment of Workers Paid in I. O. U. Slips in Silesia Voivodship in 1930s*], in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska*, vol. II, Wrocław 1958.

⁷⁷ M. Świącicki, *Ustawodawstwo o umowie o pracę w latach 1918—1939* [*Legislation Concerning Contracts of Work in 1918—1939*], 'Państwo i Prawo', 1960, No. 4—5.

⁷⁸ E. Pietraszek, *Jak robotnik wykorzystywał urlop w Polsce kapitalistycznej* [*How Workers Spent Their Holidays in Capitalist Poland*], 'Przegląd Zagadnień Socjalnych', 1951, No. 1.

⁷⁹ K. Kąkol, *Ubezpieczenia społeczne w Polsce* [*Social Insurance in Poland*], Warszawa 1950, p. 185. Roneoed typescript.

⁸⁰ F. Popiołek, *Opieka społeczna w przemyśle hutniczo-górnym na ziemiach polskich* [*Social Assistance in the Mining and Metallurgical Industries in Poland*], Cieszyn 1946, p. 104.

⁸¹ D. Steyer, *Położenie i walka robotników portowych i marynarzy w sanacyjnej Gdyni* [*Situation and Struggle of Dockers and Seamen in Pre-war Gdynia*], 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', 1955, No. 4—5. See also Chapter II of the earlier quoted book by D. Steyer.

Closely connected with industrial problems are problems of handicrafts. So far, they have not been given attention proportional to their importance. For it should be remembered that handicrafts in Poland in the years 1918—1939 gave employment to a number of people larger than that of those employed in all industrial enterprises employing more than four workers. And yet, J. Tomaszewski's article, analysing the scope of small commodity economy in towns and in the country,⁸² and C. Niewadzi's treatise on the situation of small industry and handicrafts⁸³ are the only studies of these problems, not to mention some very fragmentary works.⁸⁴

As it appears from the above review, the study of problems of industry and living conditions of the working class is still too little advanced.

V

A separate group consists of studies on financial and credit relations. Two general studies on these subjects have been published. One is a book by K. Ostrowski in which the author makes an attempt at presenting the whole of the financial, credit and currency problems in Poland between the wars, with most of his attention devoted to the financial problems, while the other questions are treated rather marginally.⁸⁵ The financial policy problems mentioned in the title of the book have not been presented in full. The material is arranged chronologically and the time divisions are in principle the same as those used by Landau and Tomaszewski in their work. The imperfection of Ostrowski's book consists in that it has been based upon a narrow selection of sources with the complete exclusion of archive records and almost complete of the Press. These omissions weigh heavy upon the value of the work. This had been noticed by all the reviewers who addressed to the author many serious critical remarks undermining the scientific value of the work.⁸⁶

Another general study, with its subject more restricted than that of the previously mentioned one, is a book by Szymczak.⁸⁷ It deals with the money

⁸² J. Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka drobnotowarowa w Polsce międzywojennej* [*Small Commodity Economy in Poland Between the Wars*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1959, No. 15.

⁸³ C. Niewadzi, *Przemysł drobny i rzemiosło w Polsce burżuazyjno-obszarniczej* [*Small Industries and Handicrafts in Bourgeois Poland*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1955, No. 2.

⁸⁴ E. g. A. Sarapata, *Przyczynek do dziejów rzemiosła w Polsce. Rozwój szewstwa we wsi Zebrzydowice koło Krakowa w pierwszej połowie XX wieku* [*A Study on the History of Handicrafts in Poland. Development of Shoemaking Trade in the Village of Zebrzydowice near Cracow in the First Half of the 20th Century*], 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1959, No. 3.

⁸⁵ K. Ostrowski, *Polityka finansowa Polski przedwrzesniowej* [*Finance Policy in Pre-war Poland*], Warszawa 1958, p. 323.

⁸⁶ Cf. reviews: by Z. Landau in 'Przegląd Historyczny', 1958, No. 4; by J. Lubowicki in 'Państwo i Prawo', 1959, No. 4; by J. Tomaszewski in 'Ekonomista', 1959, No. 1.

⁸⁷ Z. Szymczak, *Ze studiów nad stosunkami gospodarczo-pięniężnymi w Polsce w latach 1924—1939* [*Studies on Economic and Finance Relations in Poland in 1924—1939*], Poznań 1959, p. 100. Roneoed typescript.

policy problems of the Polish State from the time of the introduction of the zloty (1924) and with the discussion caused by this policy. Szymczak made the same mistakes as Ostrowski, particularly as regards the use of the sources. Consequently, his work is also of little scientific value.

The remaining studies are monographs of selected problems of financial history. Studies by Z. Karpiński, W. Jaworski and C. Urbański are devoted to the banks and credit. The most exhaustive and most valuable is the history of the Polish central emission bank — Bank of Poland — written with a profound knowledge of the subject by Z. Karpiński, one of the Bank's directors of long standing.⁸⁸ Apart from presenting a number of more or less generally known facts, the author has also revealed many secrets. In his articles Karpiński described the evolution of the Polish monetary system in the years 1918—1950 and the credit system of the Bank of Poland.⁸⁹ Jaworski studied the Polish credit system,⁹⁰ and Urbański problems of the financing of industrial investments by the largest State-owned Polish bank — the National Economy Bank (BGK).⁹¹

Taxation was studied by W. Boniecki (from the point of view of the overburdened taxpayer) and by J. Szpunar, from the side of the Government taxation policy in the years of economic crisis.⁹² The finance system of the State-owned enterprises was explained by N. Gajl.⁹³ A most detailed description of the difficult financial situation of the local Government, and of problems

⁸⁸ Z. Karpiński, *Bank Polski 1924—1939. Przyczynek do historii gospodarczej okresu międzywojennego* [Bank of Poland 1924—1939. A Study on Economic History of Inter-war Years], Warszawa 1958, p. 246.

⁸⁹ Z. Karpiński, *Zmiany ustroju pieniężnego w Polsce w okresie między rokiem 1918 a 1950* [Changes in the Polish Monetary System Between 1918 and 1950], 'Wiadomości Narodowego Banku Polskiego', 1958, No. 11 and 12; Z. Karpiński, *System kredytowy Banku Polskiego w latach 1924 do 1939* [Credit System of Bank of Poland 1924—1939], *ibidem*, 1957, No. 3.

⁹⁰ W. Jaworski, *System kredytowy Polski kapitalistycznej* [Credit System in Capitalist Poland], 'Wiadomości Narodowego Banku Polskiego', 1956, No. 7 and 8; W. Jaworski, *Zarys rozwoju systemu kredytowego w Polsce Ludowej* [Development of Credit System in People's Poland], Warszawa 1958, Chapter I.

⁹¹ C. Urbański, *Finansowanie inwestycji przemysłowych przez Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego w okresie międzywojennym* [Financing of Industrial Investments by National Economy Bank Between the Wars], 'Inwestycje i Kredyt', 1958, No. 1 and 2.

⁹² W. Boniecki, *Przeciążenie podatkowe w odrodzonej Polsce (1918—1939)* [Taxation Burden in Poland in 1918—1939], 'Sprawozdanie z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności', 1948, No. 10; J. Szpunar, *Polityka podatkowa Polski w okresie kryzysu w latach 1929—1933* [Polish Tax Policy During the 1929—1933 Crisis], 'Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych', vol. 20, 1958.

⁹³ N. Gajl, *Zasady systemu finansowego skomercjalizowanych przedsiębiorstw państwowych w Polsce międzywojennej* [Finance System of Commercialized State Enterprises in Poland Between the Wars], 'Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego', series I, 1958, No. 9.

of local Government credits was given by K. Niemski.⁹⁴ Articles on the same subject written by A. Wernik and H. Sochacka-Krysiakowa are of a more fragmentary character.⁹⁵ Wernik described the financial situation of the City of Warsaw local Government during the crisis, and Krysiakowa the evolution of the local Government tax system. H. Ciechocińska studied the part played by internal loans in the State finance policy in the years 1934—1939.⁹⁶ A slightly larger group of studies is devoted to the history of property assurance.⁹⁷

Problems of home trade have so far been left on the very margin of the studies. The only larger work on the subject is a book by A. Hodoly and W. Jastrzębowski, dealing with rural trade.⁹⁸ Apart from information on the trade itself the book contains much interesting information about the financial situation of the countryside. The other studies concern marginal problems such as e.g. the contraband and trade in saccharin in Poland in the years 1930—1938,⁹⁹ or the organization of sales of works of rural craftsmen in Podhale district in the years 1870—1950.¹⁰⁰

There is also some connection between home trade problems and a publication of the Economic Sciences Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, concerning the relation of prices in People's Poland.¹⁰¹ It contains many statistical

⁹⁴ K. Niemski, *Gospodarka finansowa samorządu terytorialnego i kredyt komunalny w Polsce* [*Finance Economy and Credit System of Local Government in Poland*], Łódź 1946, p. 180.

⁹⁵ A. Wernik, *Finanse m. st. Warszawy w okresie kryzysu ekonomicznego w latach 1929—1934* [*Financial Situation of the City of Warsaw During Economic Crisis of 1929—1934*], 'Finanse', 1956, No. 1; H. Sochacka-Krysiakowa, *Kształtowanie się systemu dochodów podatkowych samorządu terytorialnego w Polsce międzywojennej* [*Evolution of Local Government Tax System in Poland Between the Wars*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1960, No. 13.

⁹⁶ M. Ciechocińska, *Pożyczki wewnętrzne emitowane przez rządy polskie w latach 1933—1939* [*Internal Loans of Polish Governments in 1933—1939*], 'Najnowsze Dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu 1914—1939', 1960, No. 3.

⁹⁷ See e. g. articles published in *150 lat ubezpieczeń w Polsce* [*150 Years of Assurance in Poland*], vol. I and II, Warszawa 1958—1960, p. 180 and 214; W. Drozdowski, *Działalność zapobiegawcza b. Powszechnego Zakładu Ubezpieczeń Wzajemnych* [*Preventive Activities of Former General Mutual Assurance Board*], 'Wiadomości Ubezpieczeniowe', 1958, No. 6; Z. Szymański, *Polska Dyrekcja Ubezpieczeń Wzajemnych* [*Polish Mutual Assurance Board*], *ibidem*, No. 10; Z. Szymański, *Powszechny Zakład Ubezpieczeń Wzajemnych w latach 1927—1939* [*General Mutual Assurance Board in 1927—1939*], *ibidem*, No. 11.

⁹⁸ A. Hodoly, W. Jastrzębowski, *Handel wiejski w Polsce międzywojennej. Liczby i fakty* [*Rural Trade in Poland Between the Wars. Figures and Facts*], Warszawa 1957, p. 269.

⁹⁹ J. Tomaszewski, *Przemysł i handel sacharyną w Polsce w latach 1930—1938* [*Contraband and Trade in Saccharin in Poland in 1930—1938*], 'Zeszyty Naukowe SGPS', 1958, No. 9.

¹⁰⁰ A. Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz, *Organizacja zbytu wyrobów rzemiosła wiejskiego na Podhalu w latach 1870—1950* [*Organization of Sales of Works of Rural Craftsmen in Podhale Region in 1870—1950*], 'Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej', 1957, No. 2.

¹⁰¹ A. Chlebowczyk, L. Beskid, S. Felbur, *Materiały do badania relacji cen* [*Materials for Study of Relation of Prices*], Warszawa 1958, p. 390. Roneoed typescript.

data regarding the relation of prices for the articles connected with agriculture, retail and wholesale prices etc., in the years between the wars.

The position is similar as regards foreign trade. The only larger work is a book by J. Krynicki¹⁰² describing the situation in Polish foreign trade in the inter-war years. Besides, there is a rather general study on the Polish-German customs war which started in 1925,¹⁰³ and an article on the Poznań International Fair.¹⁰⁴

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As it can be seen from the above review the interest taken in the Polish economy of the years 1918—1939 is considerable. This is proved both by the wide range of discussed problems and the appreciable number of published works. Both the published studies and the research work still in progress give a rise to hope that in the coming years the analytical studies will be so well advanced that possibilities will arise of giving a valuable and detailed scientific synthesis of the economic history of Poland in the years between World War I and World War II.

(Translated by Jerzy Eysymontt)

¹⁰² J. Krynicki, *Problemy handlu zagranicznego Polski 1918—1939 i 1945—1955* [*Polish Foreign Trade Problems 1918—1939 and 1945—1955*], Warszawa 1958, p. 322.

¹⁰³ H. Sokulski, *Wojna celna Rzeszy przeciw Polsce w latach 1925—1934* [*The Reich's Customs War Against Poland in 1925—1934*], 'Sprawy Międzynarodowe', 1955, No. 9.

¹⁰⁴ J. Ziółkowski, *Międzynarodowe Targi Poznańskie w przeszłości i obecnie* [*Poznań International Fair in the Past and Present*], 'Przegląd Zachodni', 1955, No. 5—6.