

# World War II casualties of Poland

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Approximately six million Polish citizens perished during World War II: about one fifth of the pre-war population.<sup>[1]</sup> Most were civilian victims of the war crimes and crimes against humanity during the occupation by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Statistics for Polish World War II casualties are divergent and contradictory. This article provides a summarization of these estimates of Poland's human losses in the war and their causes.

The official Polish government report on war damages prepared in 1947 put Poland's war dead at 6,028,000; 3.0 million ethnic Poles and 3.0 million Jews not including losses of Polish citizens from the Ukrainian and Belarusian ethnic groups. This figure was disputed when the communist system collapsed by the Polish historian Czesław Łuczak who put total losses at 6.0 million; 3.0 million Jews, 2.0 million ethnic Poles, and 1.0 million Polish citizens from the other ethnic groups not included in the 1947 report on war damages.<sup>[2][3]</sup> In 2009 the Polish government-affiliated Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) published the study "*Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*" (*Poland 1939-1945. Human Losses and Victims of Repression Under the Two Occupations*) that estimated Poland's war dead at between 5.6 and 5.8 million Poles and Jews, including 150,000 during the Soviet occupation.<sup>[4]</sup> Poland's losses by geographic area include about 3.5 million within the borders of present-day Poland, and about two million in the Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union.<sup>[5]</sup> Contemporary Russian sources include Poland's losses in the Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union with Soviet war dead.<sup>[6]</sup> In Poland this is viewed as inflating Soviet casualties at Poland's expense.

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German-Soviet Partition of Poland 1939

## Causes

Most Polish citizens who perished in the war were civilian victims of the war crimes and crimes against humanity during the occupation by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) estimates total deaths under the German occupation at 5,470,000 to 5.670,000 Jews and Poles,<sup>[7]</sup> 2,770,000 Poles,<sup>[8]</sup> 2.7 to 2.9 million Jews<sup>[9]</sup> According to IPN research there were also 150,000 victims of Soviet repression.<sup>[10]</sup>

### Jewish Holocaust deaths

Approximately three million Polish Jews were victims of the Holocaust. The Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) puts total Jewish dead at 2.7 to 2.9 million<sup>[11]</sup> Polish researchers estimate 1,860,000 Polish Jews were murdered in



Entrance to Auschwitz-Birkenau

the Nazi death camps, others perished in the Jewish ghettos in German-occupied Poland and in pacification campaigns.<sup>[12]</sup> Polish research estimated the Nazi death camp toll at 2,830,000; including 1,860,000 Polish Jews- 490,000 Belzec; 60,000 Sobibor; 800,000 Treblinka; 150,000 Chełmno; 300,000 Auschwitz; 60,000 Majdanek; an additional 970,000 Jews from other countries were transported to these camps and murdered.<sup>[13]</sup> The Nazi death camps located in Poland are sometimes incorrectly described as Polish death camps.

### Human Losses of the ethnic Polish population

According to the figures published by the Polish government in exile in 1941 the ethnic Polish population was 24,388,000 at the beginning of the war in September 1939.<sup>[14]</sup> The IPN puts the death toll of ethnic Poles under the German occupation at 2,770,000<sup>[15]</sup> and 150,000 due to Soviet repression<sup>[16]</sup>

The main causes of these losses are as follows.

### Acts of War

- 1939 Military Campaign-About 200,000<sup>[17]</sup> Polish civilians were killed in the 1939 Military Campaign. Many were killed in the Luftwaffe's terror bombing operations, including the bombing of Frampol<sup>[18]</sup> and Wieluń,<sup>[19]</sup> bombing of Sulejów.<sup>[20]</sup> Massive air raids were conducted on these, and other towns which had no military infrastructure.<sup>[21]</sup> Civilians were strafed from the air with machine gun fire in what became known as a terror bombing campaign. Columns of fleeing refugees were systematically attacked by the German fighter and dive-bomber aircraft.<sup>[22]</sup> The Siege of Warsaw (1939) caused a huge toll of civilian casualties. From the very first hours of World War II, Warsaw, the capital of Poland, was a target of an unrestricted aerial bombardment campaign by the German Luftwaffe. Apart from the military facilities such as infantry barracks and the Okęcie



Destruction of Wieluń in 1939



Victims of Wola Massacre



Forced labor, workers captured by German police (Poland 1941)



Execution at Palmiry

airport and aircraft factory, the German pilots also targeted civilian facilities such as water works, hospitals, market places and schools.

- **Warsaw Uprising** Between 150,000 and 250,000 Polish civilians died in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, mostly from mass murders such as the Wola massacre.<sup>[23]</sup>

### **Murdered in Prisons or Camps, and in mass executions**

During the occupation many Non-Jewish ethnic Poles were killed in mass executions, including an estimated 37,000 Poles<sup>[24]</sup> at the Pawiak prison complex run by the Gestapo. Polish researchers of the Institute of National Remembrance have estimate about roughly 800,000 ethnic Polish victims during the German occupation including 400,000 in prisons, 148,000 killed in executions and 240,000 deaths among those deported to concentration camps,<sup>[25]</sup> including 70-75,000<sup>[26]</sup> at Auschwitz. During the occupation, communities were held collectively responsible for Polish attacks against German troops and mass executions were conducted in reprisal.<sup>[27][28]</sup> Many mass executions took place outside prisons and camps such as the Mass murders in Piaśnica. Psychiatric patients were executed in Action T4. Farmers were murdered during pacifications of villages.

### **Forced Labor in Germany**

Non-Jewish ethnic Poles in large cities were targeted by the *łapanka* policy which the German occupiers utilized to indiscriminately round up civilians off the street to be sent as forced laborers to Germany. In Warsaw, between 1942 and 1944, there were approximately 400 daily victims of *łapanekas*. Poles in rural areas and small towns were also conscripted for forced labor by the German occupiers. According to research by the Institute of National Remembrance between 1939 and 1945, 1,897,000 <sup>[29]</sup> Polish citizens were taken to Germany as forced laborers under inhuman conditions, which resulted in many deaths. However, Czesław Łuczak put the number of Poles deported to Germany at 2,826,500 <sup>[30]</sup> Although Germany also



Warsaw 1944



Katyn Massacre - Mass Graves



used forced laborers from all over Europe, Slavs (and especially Poles and Russians) who were viewed as racially inferior, were subjected to intensified discriminatory measures. They were forced to wear identifying purple tags with "P"s sewn to their clothing, subjected to a curfew, and banned from public transportation. While the treatment of factory workers or farm hands often varied depending on the individual employer, most Polish laborers were compelled to work longer hours for lower wages than Western Europeans. In many cities, they were forced to live in segregated barracks behind barbed wire. Social relations with Germans outside work were forbidden, and sexual relations ("racial defilement") were considered a capital crime punishable by death.

### Malnutrition and Disease

Prior to the war the area which became the General Government was not self sufficient in agricultural production and was a net importer of food from other regions of Poland.<sup>[31]</sup> Despite this food deficit the German occupiers confiscated 27% of the agricultural output in the General Government, thus reducing the food available for the civilian population.<sup>[32]</sup> This Nazi policy caused a humanitarian crisis in Poland's urban areas. In 1940 20 to 25% of the population the Government General depended on outside relief aid.<sup>[33]</sup> Richard C. Lukas points out "To be sure, the Poles would have starved to death if they had to depend on the food rationed to them."<sup>[34]</sup> To supplement the meager rations allocated by the Germans, Poles depended on the black market in order to survive. During the war 80% of the population's needs were met by the black market.<sup>[35]</sup> During the war there was an increase in infectious diseases caused by the general malnutrition among the Polish population. In 1940 the tuberculosis rate among Poles, not including Jews, was 420 per 100,000 compared to 136 per 100,000 prior to the war.<sup>[36]</sup> During the occupation the natural death rate in the General Government increased to 1.7% per annum compared to the prewar level of 1.4%<sup>[37]</sup>

### Kidnapping of children by Nazi Germany

Part of the Generalplan Ost involved taking children from Poland and moving them to Nazi Germany for the purpose of Germanization, or indoctrination into becoming culturally German. The aim of the project was to acquire and "Germanize" children with purportedly Aryan traits who were considered by Nazi officials to be descendants of German settlers in Poland. The Institute of

Plaque in Łódź Poland, commemorating children Germanized by the Nazis



Victims of a massacre committed by the UPA in the village of Lipniki, Poland, 1943

National Remembrance cited a source published in the People's Republic of Poland in 1960 that put the number of children kidnapped in Poland at 200,000 of whom only 30,000 were eventually returned to Poland, the others remained in post war Germany.<sup>[38]</sup>

## Soviet Repression

In the aftermath of the September 1939 German and Soviet invasion of Poland, the territory of Poland was divided between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (USSR). The Soviet occupied territories of Poland, with total population of 13.0 million, was subjected to a reign of terror. According to research published in 2009 by the Institute of National Remembrance about 1.0 million Polish citizens from all ethnic groups were arrested, conscripted or deported by the Soviet occupiers from 1939 to 1941; including about 200,000 Polish military personnel held as prisoners of war; 100,000 Polish citizens were arrested and imprisoned by the Soviets, including civic officials, military personnel and other "enemies of the people" like the clergy and Polish educators; 475,000 Poles who were considered "enemies of the people" were deported to remote regions of the USSR; 76,000 Polish citizens were conscripted into the Soviet Armed forces and 200,000 were conscripted as forced laborers in the interior of the Soviet Union. When the Soviet forces returned to Poland in 1944-1945 there was a new wave of repression of Polish citizens from all ethnic groups including 188,000 deported, 50,000 conscripted as forced labor and 50,000 arrested.<sup>[39]</sup>

The Institute of National Remembrance puts the confirmed death toll due to the Soviet occupation at 150,000 persons including 22,000 murdered Polish military officers and government officials in the Katyn massacre. They pointed out that Czesław Łuczak estimated the total population loss at 500,000 ethnic Poles in the Soviet occupied regions.<sup>[4]</sup>

Andrzej Paczkowski puts the number of Polish deaths due to Soviet repression at 90,000–100,000 of the 1.0 million persons deported and 30,000 executed by the Soviets<sup>[40]</sup>

According to Zbigniew S. Siemaszko the total of those deported was 1,646,000 of whom 1,450,000 were residents and refugees (excluding POWs).<sup>[41]</sup>

According to Franciszek Proch the total of those deported was 1,800,000 of whom 1,050,000 perished.<sup>[42]</sup>

## Massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia

An estimated 50,000 to 100,000 <sup>[43][44][45]</sup> ethnic Poles were killed in an ethnic cleansing operation carried out by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) beginning in March 1943 and lasting until the end of 1944 in the Nazi occupied Volhynia and Eastern Galicia.<sup>[4]</sup> The Institute of National

Remembrance maintains that 7,500 ethnic Ukrainians were also killed during this interethnic conflict <sup>[27][46]</sup>

### **Losses of other ethnic minorities**

The figure of 5.6 to 5.8 million war dead estimated by the IPN was for only the Jewish and ethnic Polish population. They did not provide figures for the death toll of Polish citizens from the other ethnic minorities.<sup>[47]</sup>

### **Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians**

According to the figures published by the Polish government in exile in 1941 there were about 7.0 million Polish citizens from ethnic minorities at the beginning of the war in September 1939, mostly Ukrainians, Belarusians, Polishchuks and Lithuanians living in the eastern regions of Poland annexed by the USSR.<sup>[48]</sup> The IPN did not estimate the death toll of Polish citizens from these ethnic minorities. The IPN maintains that accurate figures for these losses are not available because of border changes and population transfers, according to their figures 308,000 Polish citizens from the ethnic minorities were deported into the interior of the Soviet Union and were conscripted into the Soviet armed forces. During the German occupation Polish citizens from ethnic minorities were deported to Germany for forced labor.<sup>[27][46]</sup>

### **Ethnic Germans**

In prewar Poland about 800,000 persons were identified as ethnic Germans.<sup>[48]</sup> According to the IPN 5,437 ethnic Germans were killed in the 1939 military campaign. The IPN also puts the number of Polish citizens conscripted into the German armed forces at 250,000 of whom 60,000 were killed in action. Tens of thousands of ethnic Germans were killed during the Nazi evacuation from Poland in 1944 and 1945, and as a result of repression NKVD and Red Army or died in post war internment camps.<sup>[27]</sup> During the war the Nazi occupiers instituted the Volksliste in the Polish areas annexed by Nazi Germany to register ethnic Germans in Poland. Many Polish citizens were pressured to sign the Volksliste in order to avoid Nazi reprisals. About 1 million persons were on Volksliste groups 1 and 2 that included Polish citizens of German descent; Volksliste groups 3 and 4 included 1.7 Polish citizens that were subject to future Germanisation.<sup>[49]</sup> In addition 61,000 <sup>[14]</sup> ethnic Germans were living in the General Government. During the war 522,149 ethnic Germans from other nations were settled in Poland by the Third Reich.<sup>[27]</sup> By 1950 670,000 ethnic Germans from prewar Poland had fled or were expelled and about 40,000 remained in Poland; about 200,000 Polish citizens who were on Volksliste groups 1 and 2 during the war were rehabilitated as Polish citizens.<sup>[50][51]</sup>

## Summary of estimates

In 1947 the communist dominated government in Poland estimated war losses at 6.0 million ethnic Poles and Jews, they did not include the losses of Polish citizens from other minorities - Ukrainians and Belarusians.<sup>[52]</sup> In 1951 the Polish government made a reassessment of war losses that put actual losses at 5.1 million ethnic Poles and Jews, this study was to remain secret the communist government collapsed.<sup>[52]</sup> In a 2009 study by the Polish government affiliated Institute of National Remembrance the total deaths of ethnic Poles and Jews were estimated at 5.6 to 5.8 million persons including 150,000 in Soviet captivity.<sup>[27]</sup>

The Polish government estimate of war dead in 1947 was based on the results of the 1931 Polish census using the criterion of language spoken to breakout the various ethnic groups.<sup>[53]</sup> The classification of the ethnic groups in Poland during the Second Polish Republic is a disputed topic, Tadeusz Piotrowski called the 1931 Polish census "unreliable", noting that it had underestimated the number of non-Poles<sup>[54]</sup> The official figures for nationality from the 1931 Polish census based on the mother tongue put the percentage of ethnic Poles at 68.9%, Jews 8.6% and other minority groups 22.5%., Tadeusz Piotrowski maintains that the adjusted census figures(taking religious affiliation into account) put the percentage of ethnic Poles at 64.7%, Jews 9.8% and other minority groups 25.5% of Poland's population.<sup>[55]</sup> Based on the analysis by Tadeusz Piotrowski roughly 1.0 million Ukrainians and Belarusians) and 400,000 Polish speaking Jews were misclassified as Poles in the official figures for the 1939 population.<sup>[56]</sup> Polish demographer Piotr Eberhardt maintains that it is commonly agreed that the criterion of declared language to classify ethnic groups led to an overestimation of the number of Poles in pre-war Poland. He notes that in general, the numbers declaring a particular language do not mesh with the numbers declaring the corresponding nationality. Members of ethnic minority groups believe that the language criterion led to an overestimation of Poles.<sup>[57]</sup>

## Reports, studies and assessments

### Polish Bureau of War Damages

In April 1947 the Polish government Bureau of War Damages (BOW) published an analysis of Poland's war losses. This study was prepared for a conference on war reparations from Germany. Their figure of 6,028,000 Polish war dead has been cited in historical literature since then.<sup>[58][59][60]</sup>

### **Poland Bureau of War Damages (BOW). Statement on war losses and damages of Poland in 1939–1945.**<sup>[61]</sup>



<b>Preamble</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Total population of (ethnic Poles & Jews)	27,007,000	
Killed	6,028,000	100.0%
<b>Causes of death</b>		
Direct War Operations	644,000	10.7%
Murdered in the extermination camps, executions, liquidation of ghettos etc.	3,577,000	59.3%
Prisons, concentration camps, epidemics, extenuation, bad treatment etc.	1,286,000	21.3%
Outside of camps because of extenuation, wounds, injuries, beating, hard work etc.	521,000	8.7%

Notes provided in report:

- Total deaths of 6,028,000 includes about 3,000,000 Jews<sup>[62]</sup>
- Population of 27,007,000 includes only ethnic Poles & Jews; Polish citizens of national minorities (Ukrainians, Belarusians) and Germans are not included.<sup>[62]</sup>
- Population of 27,007,000 includes 5,193,000 Poles and Jews in the Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union.<sup>[62]</sup>
- In addition to the above losses there was a decrease of 1,215,000 births.<sup>[61]</sup>
- Figure of 644,000 deaths caused by direct war operations includes 123,000 military casualties.<sup>[61]</sup>

### Criticism of 1947 Report of Polish Bureau of War Damages

Since the fall of communism the Polish historian Czesław Łuczak maintained that the figure 6.0 million war dead is not correct because in January 1947 the communist dominated government in Poland pressured the Bureau of War Damages to come up with a figure of war losses to present at a conference on war reparations from Germany even though they had incomplete information at that time. A subsequent 1951 study by the Polish Ministry of Finance found actual losses to be about 5.1 million persons.<sup>[2][63][64]</sup>

## **Polish Ministry of Finance**

The Polish government Ministry of Finance in 1951 prepared a study to investigate and detail Poland's war losses in order to document claims for war reparations from Germany.<sup>[65]</sup> This study was to remain secret and not published until after the collapse of communism in Poland.<sup>[65]</sup> The Ministry of Finance estimated actual losses at 5,085,000 persons, 943,000 less than the Polish government Bureau of War Damages(BOW) report of 1947. According to Ministry of Finance figures losses were 5,085,000 persons (1,706,700 Poles and 3,378,000) Jews<sup>[66]</sup>

According to Mateusz Gniadzowski

This discrepancy was explained by demographers also by the fact that the (BOW) included the "missing" category in the total population loss figure, based on the statistics of the end of 1945, while many people believed to have been dead either returned to the country, or remained abroad as emigres. It was not until 1950 that the war, or war related , in demographic terms, population migrations were over<sup>[65]</sup>

### 1951 Report by Polish Finance Ministry

Cause of death	Number (Poles & Jews)	%
Acts of War	550,000	10.7%
Murdered	3,000,700	57.3%
Prisons & Camps	1,083,000	21.3%
Forced Labor	274,000	5.4%
Exhaustion	168,000	3.3%
Total	5,075,700	100.0%

Source: Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 15 (There was no explanation given for the difference of 9,300 between this schedule and the total losses of 5,085,000 persons in the description of the Ministry of Finance Report)

**Kazimierz Piesowicz**

In 1987 the Polish Academy of Science journal *Studia Demograficzne* published an article by Kazimierz Piesowicz that analyzed the demographic balance from Poland from 1939-1950.

### Poland's Population Balance (1939–1950)

Description	Total	Poles	Jews	Germans	Others (Ukrainians /Belarusians)
1. Population 1939 (by Nationality)	35,000,000	24,300,000	3,200,000	800,000	6,700,000
2. Natural Increase 1939-1945	1,300,000	1,000,000			300,000
3. Total Human Losses	(6,000,000)	(3,100,000)	(2,800,000)		(100,000)
4 . War Emigration	(1,500,000)	(500,000)	(200,000)	(600,000)	(200,000)
5. Border Changes USSR	(6,700,000)	(700,000)			(6,000,000)
6. Population gain Recovered Territories	1,100,000	1,100,000	0	0	0
7. Re-Immigration 1946-50	200,000	200,000	0	0	0
8. Deportations to USSR 1944-1947	(500,000)		0	0	(500,000)
9. Natural Increase 1946-1950	2,100,000	2,100,000	0	0	0
10. Population 1950	25,000,000	24,400,000	200,000	200,000	200,000

Source of figures: Kazimierz Piesowicz, *Demograficzne skutki II wojny swiatowej* Studia Demograficzne, No. 1/87, 1987. 103-36 pp. Warsaw

#### Legend:

1. Population 1939 -In this analysis the nationality of the population is by the primary language spoken, not by religion. Most Jews spoke Yiddish, however included with the Poles are about 200,000 Polish speaking Jews who are classified with the Polish group. Included with the Poles are 1,300,000 Eastern Orthodox & Greek Catholic adherents who are sometimes classified with the Ukrainian and Belarusian groups <sup>[56]</sup>
2. Natural Increase October 1939-December 1945 -After the war Polish demographers calculated the estimated natural population growth that occurred during the war. This figure is the net total of actual births less the total of deaths by natural causes from October 1939-December 1945.<sup>[67]</sup>

3. Kazimierz Piesowicz put the total war dead at 6.0 million. He also notes that all the figures are approximated.<sup>[68]</sup>
4. War Emigration Polish citizens who remained abroad after the war.<sup>[67]</sup>
5. Border Changes USSR The number of Polish citizens who remained in the USSR after the war estimated by Kazimierz Piesowicz<sup>[69]</sup>
6. Population gain Recovered Territories Germans remaining in Poland after the war in the Recovered Territories. This group included 1,100,000 German nationals who declared their allegiance to Poland.<sup>[70]</sup>
7. Re-immigration 1946-50 Poles resident in western Europe before the war, primarily in Germany and France, who returned to Poland after the war <sup>[71]</sup>
8. Deportations to USSR 1944-1947-Forced resettlement of Ukrainians and Belarusians to the USSR.<sup>[71]</sup>
9. Natural Increase 1946-1950 This is the official Polish government data for births and natural deaths from January 1946 until the census of December 1950.<sup>[71]</sup>
10. Population December 1950 Per Census The total population per the December 1950 census was 25 million.<sup>[71]</sup>

## Franciszek Proch

Franciszek Proch was a Polish lawyer and journalist. During the war he was imprisoned at the Dachau concentration camp. In the post war era he resided in Germany and the United States.<sup>[72]</sup> Proch published *Poland's Way of the Cross* in 1987 in which he estimated Poland's war dead.<sup>[73]</sup> The estimates of Franciszek Proch were cited by Tadeusz Piotrowski in his book *Poland's Holocaust*<sup>[74]</sup>

Description	Population (Poles&Jews)	Military Losses	Civilian Losses (Non-Jewish)	Civilian Losses (Jewish)	Total Losses	% Population
Poland	28,400,000					
Under German Occupation		295,000	2,345,000	2,400,000	5,040,000	17.7%
Under Soviet Occupation		65,000	885,000	100,000	1,050,000	3.7%
Total Losses		360,000	3,320,000	2,500,000	6,090,000	21.4%

Source of figures: Franciszek Proch, Poland's Way of the Cross, New York 1987 Pages 143-144

Details provided by Franciszek Proch

- Population includes 25.0 million Poles and 3.4 million Jews.<sup>[75]</sup>
- Jewish Losses- 2.4 million victims of Nazis and 100,000 of Soviet Terror. 32,000 Jews died in Polish military.<sup>[76]</sup>
- Victims of Soviet Terror- 1,800,000 deported and 750,000 released; 1,050,000 dead (15,000 Katyn; 565,000 in Labor camps; 220,000 Missing; 150,000 Died since 1955; 100,000 unaccounted for)<sup>[77]</sup>

## Czesław Łuczak

Czesław Łuczak was a Polish historian, and Rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University from 1965 to 1972, from 1969 to 1981 and from 1987 to 1991; director the University's Institute of History. He was a member of the Polish United Workers' Party in communist Poland.

Łuczak authored *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej (Poland and Poles in the Second World War)*. In a section on the demographic losses he presented estimated losses with some brief observations. The figures are Łuczak's estimates.<sup>[78]</sup>

<b>Estimated total losses by Czesław Łuczak</b>	<b>Number of persons</b>
During German Occupation of Poland	5,100,000
Direct War Operations (not including Warsaw Uprising)	450,000
Subtotal	5,500,000
Outside Polish Territory	500,000
Other Countries	2,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,000,000</b>

Source: Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 16

- Losses during the German occupation of Polish territory were 5.1 million persons.<sup>[78]</sup>
- Losses due to direct war operations, not including Warsaw Uprising were 450,000 persons.<sup>[78]</sup>
- Losses outside Polish territory were 500,000 persons. This figure includes forced labor in Germany as well as in the USSR. Losses in the USSR included mass executions and the deaths of those persons deported and resettled in the USSR.<sup>[79]</sup>
- Total Polish War losses were 6 million persons.<sup>[78]</sup>

Czesław Łuczak authored an article in the Polish academic journal *Dzieje Najnowsze Rocznik Szanse i trudnosci bilansu demograficznego Polski w latach 1939–1945. Possibilities and Difficulties of the Demographic Balance in Poland 1939-1945* Pages 9–14

<b>Estimated losses by Czesław Łuczak</b>	<b>Number of persons by ethnic group</b>
Ethnic Polish Victims During German Occupation	1,500,000
Ethnic Polish victims in Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union	500,000
Jewish Victims During German Occupation	2,900,000
Losses of Other Ethnic Groups	1,000,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,000,000 to 5,900,000</b>

Source: Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 16

- A summary of the main points in Łuczak's article are as follows.
- The 1947 Report of the Polish Bureau of War Damages considered only Poles and Jews in the 1939 population, other minorities were not included with the losses.<sup>[80]</sup>
- The Polish Bureau of War Damages report of 1947 put Jewish losses at 3.4 million; in a subsequent report to the United Nations this figure was 3.2 million Jewish dead, thus reducing the total to 5.8 million.<sup>[80]</sup>
- Actual losses of Ethnic Poles in the Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union was about 500-800,000 persons. Reports published in the west estimating these losses at 1.5 million Poles in Soviet hands is not based on reliable evidence.<sup>[81]</sup>
- Losses of Ethnic Poles in the Massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia range from a few thousand up to several hundred thousand persons, occasionally 200,000. The figure of 500,000 deaths mentioned by Lech Wałęsa is not based on reliable evidence.<sup>[82]</sup>
- The estimates for losses of the Jewish population in the Holocaust range from 2.7 million to 3.4 million persons.<sup>[83]</sup>
- Łuczak estimated total losses at 6.0-5.9 million Polish citizens, not less than the report of the Polish Bureau of War Damages. This figure includes 2.9 million Jews, 2.0 million Ethnic Poles and 1.0 million from national minorities the Ukrainian and Belarusian ethnic groups which were not included in the 1947 Polish government figure of 6.0 million war dead. Total losses in the Polish areas annexed by the Soviet Union were 2.0 million persons including 500,000 Ethnic Poles.<sup>[84]</sup>
- Łuczak estimated total losses of Ethnic Poles due to the German occupation at 1.5 million persons; 1.3 million in occupied Poland and 200,000 as forced laborers in Germany. Łuczak maintains the demographic evidence points to overall losses of 1.5 million Ethnic Poles under the German occupation.<sup>[85]</sup>
- Łuczak maintains total overall losses of Ethnic Poles and Jews at about 5.0 million persons, 1.0 million less than the 1947 report of the Polish Bureau of War Damages.<sup>[86]</sup>

## Tadeusz Piotrowski

Thaddeus Piotrowski is a Polish-American sociologist. He is a Professor of Sociology in the Social Science Division of the University of New Hampshire at Manchester. Piotrowski's assessment in 1998 of Polish war losses is that *"Jewish wartime losses in Poland are estimated to be in the 2.7-2.9 million range. (Many Polish Jews found refuge in the Soviet Union and other countries.) Ethnic Polish losses are currently estimated in the range of 2 million. (The number is probably higher if we add all those who died at the hands of the Ukrainian Nationalists.)"*<sup>[87]</sup>

Poland's War Dead estimated by Tadeusz Piotrowski in 2005 on Project in Posterum website,<sup>[88]</sup>

Description	Total population	War Dead
Ethnic Poles	22,700,000	2,000,000
Jews	3,400,000	3,100,000
Other Minorities	9,000,000	500,000
Total	35,100,000	5,600,000

Poland's War Dead estimated by Tadeusz Piotrowski in 2005 on Project in Posterum website,<sup>[88]</sup>

Causes of War Dead	Estimated number
German Occupation	5,100,000
Soviet Occupation	350,000
Massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia	100,000
Total	5,600,000

## Kazimierz Bajer

An analysis of Poland's war losses by Kazimierz Bajer was published in the journal of the veterans of the Armia Krajowa. Bajer calculated the estimated population losses of the 12 million ethnic Poles over the age of 15 who were capable of resistance during the German and Soviet occupation.<sup>[89]</sup> Bajer's figures were used by Polish government affiliated Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) to estimate the war dead of the ethnic Polish population.<sup>[90]</sup>



<b>Calculation of Population Capable of Resistance</b>	
Total Population September 1939	35,339,000 A.
Population Not Ethnic Polish	(10,951,000) B.
Ethnic Polish Population	24,388,000 C.
Losses 1939 Campaign	(849,000) D.
Population Not Capable of Resistance	(11,526,000) E.
Population Capable of Resistance-October 1939	12,013,000

Source of figures: Bajer, Kazimierz *Zakres udziału Polaków w walce o niepodległość na obszarze państwa polskiego w latach 1939-1945*, "Zeszyty Historyczne Stowarzyszenia Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej", (Kraków) 1996 Pages 10–13

A.Population of 35.339 million includes about 240,000 in Polish annexed Zaolzie area around Český Těšín.<sup>[14]</sup>

B.Population not ethnic Polish includes 2,916,000 Jews.<sup>[14]</sup>

C.Ethnic Polish population includes 435,000 Polish speaking Jews.<sup>[14]</sup>

D.Population Losses 1939 Campaign- Bajer estimated that 69% of the 1,230,000 human losses in Sept. 1939 were Poles. (Total 849,000: Killed 296,000; Prisoners of War 449,000; emigrated from Poland (Sept./Oct 1939) 104,000).<sup>[91]</sup> The IPN put the 1939 war dead at 360,000.<sup>[39]</sup>

E. Population Not Capable of Resistance( 100% ages 1–14; 50% ages 15–19; 30% women 20-39; 100% over 70 years and 632,000 disabled) <sup>[92]</sup>

<b>Losses of Ethnic Polish Population Capable of Resistance</b>	
Population Capable of Resistance Oct 1939	12,013,000
War Dead 1944/45	(170,000) C.
Return of Wounded soldiers	70,000
Deported to USSR	(663,000)
Conscripted in Soviet Armed Forces	(76,000)
Conscripted in German Armed Forces	(200,000)
Conscripted for Work USSR	(250,000)
Forced Labor in Germany	(1,897,000)
Entered on Volksliste	(815,000) D.
Arrested in USSR	(150,000)
Prisoners in Concentration Camps	(138,000)
Murdered	(506,000) A./B.
Deaths In Prisons & Camps	(1,146,000) A./B.
Deaths Outside of Prisons & Camps	(473,000) A./B.
Murdered in Eastern Regions	(100,000) B.
Invalids	(530,000)
Total Losses	(7,044,000)
Population Capable of Resistance-May 1945	4,969,000

Source of figures: Bajer, Kazimierz *Zakres udziału Polaków w walce o niepodległość na obszarze państwa polskiego w latach 1939-1945*, "Zeszyty Historyczne Stowarzyszenia Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej", (Kraków) 1996 Page 14

A. Bajer uses the 1947 Bureau of War Damages figures as the base to compute his estimate of ethnic Polish war dead.<sup>[93]</sup>

B. Figure included by IPN in total ethnic Polish war dead of 2,770,000<sup>[94]</sup>

C.The IPN put the war dead in 1944/45 at 183,000.<sup>[95]</sup>

D.According to Bajer's calculations the number of Polish citizens on the Volksliste was 2,224,000. (200,000 were conscripted into the German Armed Forces, 937,000 were ethnic Germans, 272,000 were Poles involved in the Polish resistance and 815,000 were not involved in the resistance movement.)<sup>[93]</sup>

## Institute of National Remembrance

The Polish government affiliated Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) in 2009 estimated total war dead at between 5,620,000 and 5,820,000 persons. They did not provide a detailed population balance showing how the figures were derived. They did however breakout the figures of the total war dead <sup>[4][46]</sup>

Description	Human Losses
Ethnic Poles Deaths -German Occupation	2,770,000
Jewish Holocaust Deaths	2,700,000 to 2,900,000
Victims of Soviet Repression	150,000
Total War Dead	5,620,000 to 5,820,000

Source:Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 9

Losses of Ethnic Poles during German occupation<sup>[96]</sup>

Description Losses	1939/40	1940/41	1941/42	1942/43	1943/44	1944/45	Total
Direct War Losses	360,000					183,000	543,000
Murdered	75,000	100,000	116,000	133,000	82,000		506,000
Deaths In Prisons & Camps	69,000	210,000	220,000	266,000	381,000		1,146,000
Deaths Outside of Prisons & Camps		42,000	71,000	142,000	218,000		473,000
Murdered in Eastern Regions						100,000	100,000
Deaths other countries							2,000
Total	504,000	352,000	407,000	541,000	681,000	270,000	2,770,000

Source: Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 30

- The Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) figures are taken from the study by Kazimierz Bajer *Zakres udziału Polaków w walce o niepodległość na obszarze państwa polskiego w latach 1939-1945*, which is detailed above. The IPN noted that Bajers study was *an attempt to calculate the overall losses of ethnic Poles*.<sup>[97]</sup> The authors of the (IPN) report point out that the figure of 2,770,000 deaths during the German occupation should be treated with caution. They maintain that it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the exact number and causes of Poland's losses. They hope that ongoing projects in Poland will be able to provide more accurate information in the future.<sup>[98]</sup>
- Figure of 2,770,000 Poles does not include 100,000 victims of massacres in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia.<sup>[99]</sup>
- The Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) puts the confirmed death toll due to the Soviet occupation at 150,000, they pointed out that Czesław Łuczak based on a population balance estimated the total population loss at 500,000 ethnic Poles in the Soviet occupied regions.<sup>[100]</sup>
- By June 2009 the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) was able to confirm the information regarding 1.5 million of the total estimated 5.8 million war dead .<sup>[101]</sup> *In 2012 the Institute of National Remembrance was able to identify 3,474,449 victims and those persons persecuted under the German occupation* <sup>[102]</sup>

## United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum believes that

The Nazi terror was, in scholar Norman Davies's words, "much fiercer and more protracted in Poland than anywhere in Europe." Reliable statistics for the total number of Poles who died as a result of Nazi German policies do not exist. Many others were victims of the 1939-1941 Soviet occupation of eastern Poland and of deportations to Central Asia and Siberia. Records are incomplete, and the Soviet control of Poland for 50 years after the war impeded independent scholarship.

The changing borders and ethnic composition of Poland as well as vast population movements during and after the war also complicated the task of calculating losses

In the past, many estimates of losses were based on a Polish report of 1947 requesting reparations from the Germans; this often cited document tallied population losses of 6 million for all Polish "nationals" (Poles, Jews, and other minorities). Subtracting 3 million Polish Jewish victims, the report claimed 3 million non-Jewish victims of the Nazi terror, including civilian and military casualties of war. Documentation remains fragmentary, but today scholars of independent Poland believe that 1.8 to 1.9 million Polish civilians (non-Jews) were victims of German Occupation policies and the war. This approximate total includes Poles killed in executions or who died in prisons, forced labor, and concentration camps. It also includes an estimated 225,000 civilian victims of the 1944 Warsaw uprising, more than 50,000 civilians who died during the 1939 invasion and siege of Warsaw,<sup>[103]</sup>

## Military casualties

Poland lost a total of about 140,000 regular soldiers killed and missing. The Polish resistance movement lost an additional 100,000 fighters during the war.<sup>[63]</sup>

The official Historical Journal of the Polish military has published statistics on Polish military casualties. The following schedule details these losses <sup>[104][105]</sup> The Polish contribution to World War II included the Polish Armed Forces in the West, and the 1st and 2nd Polish Army fighting under Soviet command.

Description	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Prisoners of War	Total
Campaign Poland 1939	95-97,000	130,000		650,000	876,000
Free Polish Forces	33,256	42,666	8,548	29,385	113,855
Warsaw Uprising (Resistance forces)	18,000	25,000			60,443
Total	146,256 to 148,256	197,666	8,548	697,500	1,050,298



Forces of Polish Anders Army in Russia 1942

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Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota. *Polska 1939–1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*. Institute of National Remembrance(IPN) Warszawa 2009 ISBN 978-83-7629-067-6 Page 20

T. Panecki, *Wysięk zbrojny Polski w II wojnie światowej*, pl:Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny 1995, nr 1-2, s. 13,18.

- The figure of 95-97,000 killed in the 1939 campaign includes 17-19,000 in Soviet hands as POW.<sup>[106]</sup>
- The Armia Krajowa resistance movement which had a strength of about 400,000 fighters in 1944 lost 100,000 killed in the struggle against the German occupation and 50,000 imprisoned by the Soviet Union at the end of the war.<sup>[107]</sup>

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8. Materski and Szarota page 9 Łączne straty śmiertelne ludności polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką oblicza się obecnie na ok. 2 770 000.
9. Materski and Szarota page 9 *liczba Żydów i Polaków żydowskiego pochodzenia, obywateli II Rzeczypospolitej, zamordowanych przez Niemców sięga 2,7- 2,9 mln osób*
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98. Materski and Szarota. Page 9 (*Liczbę tę należy traktować orientacyjnie, gdyż dla samej Warszawy historycy mają problem z ustaleniem liczby ofiar bezpowrotnych*)
99. Materski and Szarota. Page 9 *Do tych strat należy doliczyć ponad 100 tys. Polaków pomordowanych w latach 1942-1945 przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich (w tym na samym Wołyniu ok. 60 tys. osób)*
100. Materski and Szarota Page 9 *Badacze, sumując dotychczasowe ustalenia i podając przyczyny porażek i utrudnień badawczych, skłonni są przypuszczać, że pod okupacją sowiecką zginęło w latach 1939-1941, a następnie 1944-1945 co najmniej 150 tys. obywateli II RP (taką liczbę da się ustalić na drodze potwierdzeń pozytywnych, przy czym nadal w obiegu naukowym pozostaje liczba 500 tys.*
101. Materski and Szarota. Page 9 (*Do końca czerwca 2009 r. lista ta obejmuje zweryfikowane informacje o 1,5 mln osób.*)
102. (*Obecnie, w bazie programu można znaleźć informacje o 3,474,449 ofiarach i osobach represjonowanych pod okupacją niemiecką*)"Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod okupacją niemiecką" (<http://www.straty.pl/index.php/aktualnosci/item/40-podpisanie-umowyProgram>)
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