

SOCIAL ISSUES AND THEIR SOLUTIONS IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD*

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THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF POLISH SOCIAL POLICY AFTER 1918

The independence of Poland after the First World War was a great, historical surprise for many Poles. It required actions that were appropriate in the face of new conditions. Poland appeared on the map of Europe after the Treaty of Versailles with an established western border. Despite the ambiguity regarding the delimitation of borders in the east and southwest (Silesia), the process of integration of Polish lands had begun. After years of annexation, each section faced a different situation. Russification in the Russian Partition contrasted with economic development and the level of culture in this area of the country. The poverty of Galicia did not correspond with the scope of the most far-reaching national freedoms in this area, which manifested itself in the lack of restrictions on the use of the Polish language. Germanization in the Prussian Partition was confronted with the long organic work of many activists who were effectively defending Polish identity among families and in schools.

The Great War was the cause of many social problems. It sucked millions of men into the ranks of invading armies – Poles, who at that time were citizens of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. In addition, it resulted in huge migrations of civilians and left behind more than 1.5 million orphans (according to the population census of 1921). The fight for the shape of the eastern border with the Ukraine and Russia that took place in the years 1918–1920 as well as the earlier victory in the Greater Poland Uprising posed additional social problems connected with maintaining combat readiness. Moreover, there were families separated by war as well as those facing uncertainty regarding the fate of soldiers and prisoners of war.

The Treaty of Versailles, after its ratification by Germany in January 1920, regulated the shape of the western border. However, the Silesian uprisings and plebiscites in Upper Silesia as well as Warmia and Masuria resulted in a lack of certainty regarding the issue of the Polish-German border. It was not until March 1921 that the Treaty of Riga established a border with Bolshevik Russia and calmed the situation in the east of the country. Disputes with Lithuania over Wilno [Vilnius] and the common border complemented the nervous political atmosphere of the early period of independence.

After the war, 700,000 prisoners of war from Germany and about 500,000 exiles and prisoners of war from Russia returned to Poland. To this it is necessary to add nearly 1.2 people who arrived in the country as part of repatriation over the years 1919–1925 (GUS [Central Statistical Office of Poland] 2003: 363, table 92(357)). These figures give an idea of the magnitude of housing issues and the problem of unemployment that had to be solved immediately.

At the same time, however, a large number of Poles in Europe remained outside the borders of the new state. Before the war, it was estimated that there were about 1.5 million Poles in Germany, about 1 million in the USSR, about 200,000 in Lithuania, and about 75,000 in Latvia. (*Rocznik Polityczny...* [Political yearly...], 1939: pages 22 and 23). This was in connection with migration “for a piece of daily bread,” both to the countries of Europe and to the Americas. According to these estimates, the total number of expatriates in the years 1919–1939 was over 2 million (GUS 2003: 363).

Along with the military and diplomatic establishment of borders, existing markets were gradually closing down. Poles counted the losses suffered as a result of destruction both during the war and during the partitions of Poland. The costs of war and reconstruction produced a budget deficit that was covered by the printing of money. The result was rampant inflation. It reached its highest value at the turn of 1923/24. Simultaneously, it drove many families even deeper into poverty and squalor. It was not until the currency exchange from the Polish mark to the zloty, which took place on May 1, 1924, that the period of high inflation ended.

After November 11, 1918, the Polish elite from the three partitions took the complicated process of national integration upon themselves. The key issue was the Polonization of foreign legislation, which regulated social problems in the three partitions. The legal order differed significantly, including the regulation of employment contracts, trade union activities, social assistance, working hours, social security, and labor inspection.

The law was standardized over the course of many years. The most important decisions were taken by decree up until the Legislative Sejm [Parliament] began its work (beginning with February 10, 1919). Polish social policy was launched by Józef Piłsudski’s decree on working time¹ issued on November 23, 1918.² The Decree of the Head of State marked the first state intervention in employee matters.

MAJOR SOCIAL ISSUES AFTER 1918

The social situation of the Polish population after the First World War was extremely difficult. *Undernourishment*, especially of children, turned out to be a priority social issue. Underappreciated today, the initiative of Herbert Hoover (Adams, 2009) – future president of the USA and then head of the American Relief Administration (ARA) – came to the aid of the Polish authorities. As early as February 1919 the first ships of this organization, loaded with food aid for children, sailed into Gdansk.

In March 1919, the then Prime Minister J. I. Paderewski appointed the State Committee to Aid Children, which started cooperation with the ARA. Many volunteers appeared in local communities and specifically focused their help on children. Around 28,000 Polish volunteers took part in the distribution of donations and gifts. They were supplied with milk and mass catering establishments were created in schools and mess halls.

In 1919, the Polish Diaspora joined in solving the problem of malnutrition of the adult population, including Jews. With the help of banks, individual citizens could send their money for food aid. The Americans also organized food shipments, which reached Gdańsk by merchant ships starting with the beginning of 1919. Moreover, Poland benefited from transshipment, using trains that in their turn transported the food further south into the country. The Postal Expedition Office in Gdańsk was established in 1920. Over the next three years it delivered nearly 1.2 million food parcels sent from America as individual help for families.

* Abbreviated and translated version of the text entitled “Kwestie społeczne i ich rozwiązywanie w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym” included in the publication “Stulecie polskiej polityki społecznej 1918–2018” [“One hundred years of Polish social policy 1918–2018”], published by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Policy and the National Centre for Culture, Warsaw 2018. Reprinting with the consent of publishers and authors. This text is based on a text by J. Auleytner, which uses data from “Historia polityki społecznej” [History of social policy], in *Polityka społeczna* [Social policy], edited by G. Firlit-Fesnak and M. Szyłko-Skoczny, Warsaw, 2007 and J. Auleytner, *Polityka społeczna w Polsce i w świecie* [Social policy in Poland and worldwide], Warsaw, 2012.

American food aid was distributed throughout Europe over the years 1919–1920. In the case of Poland it amounted to about 300,000 tons. Approximately 500,000 children were provided with ARA aid every day. In 1920, it was estimated that food should reach 1.2 million children, while clothing and footwear should reach 700,000 children.

Problems facing children can also be illustrated by data on the *infant death rate* per 1000 live births. The recording and gathering of such data was started in the interwar period in 1926. The highest value occurred in 1927 when the ratio was 151‰. Despite inferior methods of data collection prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, this figure never fell below 136‰ (GUS 2003: 361, Table 90(355)),³ which illustrates the level of care for women and children at the time quite well.

Children became a drastic social issue following the First World War. Local communities were burdened with the fate of orphans as well as homeless, illegitimate, begging, abandoned, and starving children. The catalogue of misfortunes subjectively felt by children also included the risk of illness or even death.⁴ Many children and adolescents tried to work to support their unemployed parents. A large part of the children's population failed to meet their constitutional obligation to attend school (introduced on February 9, 1919)⁵ encompassing children aged seven to fourteen (Kępski, 1991). As a result, illiteracy was also a serious social problem. According to 1931 census data, 12.4% of the 15–19 year olds were unable to read or write. Among people over 60 years of age, illiteracy encompassed more than half of the population.⁶

Against this background of malnutrition and children's issues, the *question of begging* was also noted and monitored. It existed in almost every city. A study by Leon Dydusiak (1938) describes the case of Borysław [Borislaw], where there were about 200 beggars (0.4%) out of a total population that numbered 45,000 inhabitants. Such a percentage might not seem high, but it was a problem that was visible in local communities, which was stressed in a paper by Adam Ostrowski (1937) with respect to the rural countryside. The issue of begging in the interwar period in the context of underdeveloped social welfare is also described in other works (Dydusiak, 1938: 55–56) on social policy.

This issue was so important that in 1927 President Ignacy Mościcki issued a directive⁷ defining who is a beggar and who is a vagrant, and recommending that coercive measures be applied to these categories of people in the form of moving them to voluntary or forced labor centers or shelters. The directive also introduced prison sentences and fines. Crimes of this type were reported to the police and became a significant item in recorded statistics. The number of such crimes decreased twofold after the directive was introduced in 1930 (GUS 2003: 330, table 66(331)).

The social situation of the Polish population after the First World War mainly revolved around the question of *destitution and poverty*, the scale of which is difficult to imagine today. All scientific studies from the interwar period point to the severity of this problem. It involved such unresolved issues as education, unemployment (of youth), housing, health, migration, and lack of social security. It was also associated with pathological problems such as drunkenness,⁸ prostitution, crime, and begging. To solve these issues politicians were required to present ideas, funds, and legal regulations. Unfortunately, even when prudent regulations were introduced, there was a dearth of educated staff to implement them as well as an absence of sufficient financial resources (Linowski, 2010).

One of the most important issues was the regulation of conflict-generating relations between employers and employees. Apart from working time, Józef Piłsudski regulated, by decrees, the establishment of the State Labor Inspectorate (January 3, 1919)⁹ and the provisional functioning of trade unions (February 8, 1919).¹⁰ This created a legal framework to protect the legally and economically weaker employee from the exploitation by employers.

There were also *conflicts in rural areas*, home to about 75% of the population in the interwar period. A decision was taken to parcel land. However, the 1920 law on the implementation of agricultural reform¹¹ soon turned out to be inconsistent with the Constitution passed in March 1921.¹² In the interwar period, rural areas were burdened with issues such as illiteracy, hidden unemployment, untreated diseases,¹³ and cultural backwardness. The more dynamic rural residents migrated in search of better prospects abroad. For a long time rural inhabitants were associated with ignorance and backwardness, while rural areas were seen as areas of social degradation.

The social problems facing Poland can also be seen in its population structure by sources of income. In 1931, 60% of the total population made a living from backwards agriculture with less than 20% from industry and mining. In the eastern voivodeships [provinces] agriculture constituted a source of income for about 80% of the population in 1931, compared to only for 12% in the Silesian Voivodeship (GUS 2003: 405, Table 125(390)). The contrast in sources of income translated into the quality of living in the city and rural countryside. Cities facilitated easier access to work, education, health care, commerce, and the courts.

It should be remembered that after the First World War Poles did not make up an ethnically homogeneous nation. According to the September 1921 census¹⁴ ethnic Poles accounted for almost 70% of the total population, Ukrainians for 15%, and Jews for 8% (although in Warsaw they amounted to 27%).¹⁵ Germans lived in the Poznan, Pomeranian, and Silesian Voivodeships. In the latter they constituted as much as 28.3% of the total population. Ukrainians and Russians constituted over 68% of the total population in the Wołyń [Volhynia] and Stanisławów [Stanislaw] Voivodeships (GUS 2003: 382, table 108(373)). Such a structure was conducive to *ethnic conflicts*, especially after the wars in the eastern borderlands of Poland.

Ethnic strains were compounded by religious tensions. According to the 1931 census, the total population of the Orthodox Christians amounted to almost 12%, concentrated in the eastern provinces (e.g., in the Polesie Voivodeship – 80%), while the Jewish population amounted to 9.7% (33% in Warsaw) (GUS 2003: 385, Table 110(375)).

SOCIAL PROGRESS IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING: A SAMPLE OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Already in March 1921, the forefathers of that Poland passed a constitution with a set of social rights that are worth remembering today.¹⁶ First of all, it should be noted that women were granted the right to vote after Poland's regaining of independence in 1918 – i.e. on 28 November 1918. This was by decree of Head of State Józef Piłsudski. Among the laws that can be reexamined today, one should pay particular attention to constitutional provisions concerning the free education of children and young people at primary school level and the protection of the working conditions of juveniles. Citizens had the right to state care over their work as well as to social security. Admittedly, the social conditions at that time allowed only the partial realization of the rights enshrined in the Constitution, but they made everyone aware of the new humanist perspective behind the development of a united and independent homeland, one based on human rights.

Following the provisions on social rights of citizens, the first Act on Social Assistance was enacted on August 16, 1923.¹⁷ It distributed the burden of care on state and local government associations, which incurred the greatest expenditure in this respect.¹⁸ The Silesian Treasury financed significant expenditures on social assistance in line with separate regulations. Special attention should be paid to winter aid launched at the end of the 1930s.

Jobs were created with the launching of construction of the port in Gdynia (starting 1922), the main coal-based rail line – the "węglówka" – from Silesia to Gdynia (starting 1926), and the Central Industrial District (starting 1936). Apart from these infrastructural

projects, plants in Ursus, Radom, Poznań, and Tarnów's Mościce were built and expanded, thus blurring of the differences between Poland A and Poland B.

The *Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych* [Social Insurance Institution] was established in 1934. Its mission was to provide working people with state social insurance. This involved insurance against sickness, accidents at work, unemployment of encompassing blue- and white-collar workers, and two separate retirement pension insurance schemes for these two categories of workers.¹⁹ The number of people who exercised these rights in the eastern and southern voivodeships was several orders of magnitude lower than in central Poland. The origins of social insurance may be traced to the guilds and later employee institutions and mutual assistance and solidarity campaigns – e.g., brotherhood funds existed in Poland as early as the 16th century.

The introduction of social dialogue institutions (labor inspectors) as of the beginning of 1919 facilitated the extinguishing of tensions between employers and employees.²⁰

The period from 1919 to 1939 was also a period of high unemployment, especially among young people. Only nonagricultural unemployment was registered. According to estimates it amounted to about one million people in 1935. However, there were only 403,000 unemployed registered in state employment offices (GUS 2003: 409, table 129(394)). Work was a sought-after good at home and abroad. The hope for an income was realized through migration to the Americas and European countries. Two million people left Poland over the whole of the interwar period (mainly to France and Germany), while about 860,000 (excluding repatriates) returned (GUS 2003: 363, Table 92(357)).

Two phases of the welfare functions of the Polish state can be distinguished in the interwar period:

- The years 1918–1926, when new, unified national social legislation was introduced in place of foreign law. Social rights were incorporated into the 1921 Constitution and certain ILO – of which Poland is a founder-member (from 1919) – conventions, were ratified.
- The years 1926–1939, connected with the Sanation Government and the great economic crisis, were characterized by the trace implementation of the welfare functions of the state. Memoirs of the unemployed from this period bear testimony to the social harm suffered by the populations of towns and villages. Welfare in the interwar period limited itself to control over social inequality and the ad hoc resolution of tensions.

THE SCIENTIFIC TRADITION OF SOCIAL POLICY IN POLAND²¹

Most of the basic social problems of the interwar period were noted by the main schools of Polish social policy and subjected to scientific investigation.

Social policy was developed in an orderly manner as a scientific discipline on Polish lands from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. This was in parallel with its practical application. However, the date of the establishment of an organized scientific movement can be considered the year 1924. That is when the Polish Society for Social Policy was established. Nevertheless, it is a known fact that many thinkers and educators had already undertaken both a real-world diagnosis and lectures on social policy (economics). At the same time, on the threshold of regaining independence, initial activities began in this area. They revealed the practical talent of those involved, especially in the emerging Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

The Beginnings of the Science of Social Policy

The beginnings of social policy in the twentieth century are connected with its autonomy and institutionalization. The Cracow, Lwów [Lviv], Warsaw, Lublin, and Wilno [Vilnius] schools were established. There, social policy became a subject of teaching. The

members of the Cracow school were representatives of Polish liberal thought emphasizing social issues – Adam Heydel (1927) and Ferdynand Zweig (1938). The same happened in Lwów at the Jan Kazimierz University, where Stanisław Głąbiński (1913) conducted the subject of social economics.

In Warsaw, the Warsaw School of Economics, the Free Polish University, and the University of Warsaw were the academic centers where social policy was taught. The representatives of education were Ludwik Krzywicki, Konstanty Krzeczowski, Stanisław Rychliński, Zofia Golińska-Daszyńska (1932), and Helena Radlińska.

In Lublin, the Catholic University of Lublin published the first textbook on social policy (Szymański 1925) in 1925, while in Wilno, at Bathory University, social policy was the subject of scientific interest of sociologist Aleksander Wóycicki (1929) and economist Władysław Zawadzki (1927).

Building the identity of social policy science was fostered by the establishment in the 1920s of the *Polish Society for Social Policy* (PTPS), which was a member of the International Union of Social Progress. It benefited from the assistance of the Ministry of Social Welfare (later renamed the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare) and gradually created a scientific movement, organizing readings, lectures, and publishing a dozen or so papers promoting various areas of social policy.²² In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War the seat of the Polish Society for Social Policy was located in the building of the *Institute of Social Affairs*, headed by Kazimierz Kornilowicz. The Foundation – the Institute of Social Affairs and the PTPS (Auleytner 2001; 2002) – jointly created the second most significant scientific community for social policy in Warsaw, alongside the Institute of Social Economy (IGS), which consisted of about 120 people.

The Warsaw School of Social Policy

Institute of Social Economy (IGS), 1920–1944

The Institute of Social Economy (Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego – IGS), a research institute, diagnosed social problems in the interwar period. It studied the social situation of selected groups of the population and thus built the foundation of a new scientific discipline without engaging in political games.

In its program, the Institute was close to workers' circles. It comprehensively examined the social situation of the labor world in Poland.

Throughout the interwar period, the IGS published 72 brochures and books as well as several periodicals. The diaries of the unemployed and peasants from that period are of particular importance as documentation and for research (IGS 1933; 1935).

Its three main representatives – Ludwik Krzywicki (Head of the IGS), Konstanty Krzeczowski, and Stanisław Rychliński – are the authors of numerous publications constitute the historical foundations of the theory of social policy today.

In his works, Krzywicki dealt, among other things, with the origin of social issues.²³ He considered it to be the subject of the science of social policy. He put forward the thesis that these issues were present in every period of history, but only the nature and content changed. According to the opinion of Krzywicki, the issues that period arose as a result of the rapid development of production means. He claimed that social issues consist of a mosaic of societal issues (housing, women's, unemployment, inequality, etc.). All of them have common roots. They are an expression of the same transformations that triggered the development of production means in various spheres of life. These problems arose not by chance, but as an objective and necessary product of modern economic development. In Krzywicki's view, the social issue as a subject of science had its subjective and objective side.

The second representative of the interwar IGS school, Krzeczowski, also undertook the effort of isolating social policy as an

autonomous discipline. He wanted to unambiguously define social policy as a science that should objectively examine reality and evaluate the programs of political parties, but not identify with any one of them. Krzeczowski divided the definitions of this science into three groups:

(a) Definitions aimed at remedying deficiencies in the existing system,

(b) Definitions that formally named the described social phenomena, and

(c) Teleological terms that made social policy programs their starting point.

Krzeczowski believed that *the subject of research into social policy as a science is social structure and changes therein*. He defined social structure as the system of social relations, its structure, and the stratification of society. Since social structure is dealt with by sociology, Krzeczowski formulated the thesis that the science of social policy is only about changes taking place in social structure under the influence of deliberate activity on the part of social groups and public bodies, and that it seeks, as a discipline, ways of carrying out these changes in the most deliberate way. According to Krzeczowski (1947: 19–20), social policy must find a formula that generalizes all types of programs. “In the idea of transformation, which is set as a goal of social policy-makers, is rooted the concept of a new man who should make real the ideal of a new system and new relations.” Krzeczowski’s definition makes visible the evolution that was taking place in the social structure, where the old dominant working class is gradually being replaced by the middle class.

S. Rychliński, a representative of the younger generation of researchers in the IGS, saw social policy science as a discipline presented in the form of a structured set of guidelines on how to prevent injustice and harm suffered by an individual and society within the system of paid work, including their elimination and mitigation. Thus, social policy is assigned to an action program, the aim of which is to eliminate all the direct and indirect effects of alienation of man. Rychliński (1978) stated that “in Germany, it was a teaching about social reforms, about pacifying tensions through dialogue.”

The achievements of the prewar IGS are characterized by an ability to diagnose the social situation of specific social groups.

The IGS worked closely with the Institute of Social Affairs (ISS), which was established as a scientific institution of the Ministry of Social Welfare in the early 1930s and operated until September 1939. It was one of the few existing social policy research institutions. The person connecting the two institutions was Kazimierz Kornilowicz (Auleytner, 2012: 48 et seq.).

After the war, employees of the former ISS established the Polish Institute of Social Service (PISS) in Łódź. It operated in the years 1946–1953. Its initiator was Helena Radlińska. The PISS encompassed Edward Strzelecki, Wacław Szubert, and Jerzy Piotrowski and was a precursor in the study of social security. The Institute managed to publish two books about Konstancy Krzeczowski and his texts on social policy, health insurance, and universal health care.

The Reformism of Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska

From the point of view of the theory and practice of social policy of the interwar period, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska’s reformist outlook is of significance. She stated that:

Every social and economic system will be based on the creator of all values: work. Therefore, research and reforms initiated in our imperfect capitalist world will be continued and supplemented in the probable successor systems: the planned or the socialist economy. Reforms must therefore *be developed*, applied to living standards and carried out continuously and consistently. Both employers and workers must be instructed about the necessity and

normal justification of the reforms as well as their economic importance. [...] Social Policy is heading towards all these reforms, implementing them gradually. (Daszyńska-Golińska, 1932: “Przedmowa” [Foreword]).

Daszyńska-Golińska’s primary theses concerning social policy may be summed up in the following statements:

1. The primary objective of social policy is to increase the welfare of the broad working masses.

2. This objective is being pursued by means of reforms that, in turn, encompass individual categories of workers.

3. Social reforms follow the path of evolution, not revolution. They have to channel their way through personal views and work on the morality of society in order to be applied in a skillful manner.

4. The implementation of social reforms, which are the norm for the coexistence of social classes, requires the authority of the State. The State, as an entity, prescribes reforms and supervises their implementation.

CONCLUSION

One hundred years of Polish independence makes it possible to look at the progress that has been made from the perspective of several generations. The processes that encompass modern society are different than those of 90 or 100 years ago. Although there are social issues that have the same names as they had in the past, their content is different and, perhaps most importantly, the level of social and economic progress is much higher. This is expressed by national income per citizen. This is why the definitions of social policy from the interwar period as forms of activity are not really relevant to contemporary issues.

In retrospect, social policy understood as a set of activities at different levels of organized social life (parish, borough, county, region, country, and international community) displays four universal types of situations seen in the past and seen today:

First of all, social activities are aimed at *leveling the living conditions* of individuals (groups) that are economically the weakest and inept to a certain standard, seen in a given society as fair, at a minimum acceptable level.²⁴

Secondly, social activities are undertaken with the intention of creating *equal access to social services* guaranteed by constitutional rights.

Thirdly, social activities are carried out with a view towards *indemnification of life risks*, which may affect an individual or a social group. This is expressed in the creation of the social security system.

Fourthly, social activities on a national, regional, county, and borough scale have a positive impact on *changes in social structure*. Some people move from their positions to higher ones in the hierarchy, others are permanently marginalized and “drop out of the game” (e.g., retirees). Social policy has a key impact on marginalization and inclusion, and thus creates a kind of social structure in which its members strive for their individual wellbeing.

The state performs two of its social policy functions at the same time: *the welfare function*, related to protection against inequality and social risk, and *an active function*, related to forming a kind of social structure in which its members, through their work, become the moving force of the economy.

From the perspective of 100 years of Polish social policy, the role of the state as the main active entity should be emphasized. From the very beginning, it created the framework of the legal order, which included values integrating the national community, such as justice, human dignity, equality before the law, freedom, solidarity, and subsidiarity. Time shows that such values correspond to the economic capacity of the state and the abilities of citizens to use them.

¹ According to this decree, working time amounted to 46 hours per week – five eight-hour days and a six-hour Saturday, known as an “English Saturday.”

- ² Decree on the Eight-Hour Working Day (Journal of Laws of 1918, No. 17, item 42).
- ³ Today this ratio is about 4%.
- ⁴ For example, in 1938 there were 614 cases of infanticide and nearly 2,400 cases of children being left in the hands of strangers; GUS 2003: 332, table 66(331).
- ⁵ Decree on Compulsory Schooling (Journal of Laws of 1919, No. 14, item 147).
- ⁶ Detailed data on illiteracy from the 1921 and 1931 censuses are available from GUS (2003: 487–489).
- ⁷ Directive of the President of the Republic of Poland issued on October 14, 1927 on Combating Begging and Vagrancy (Journal of Laws No. 92, item 823).
- ⁸ The prewar statistical crime category of “drunkenness” (opilstwo) referred to a state of alcohol addiction.
- ⁹ Provisional Decree on the Establishment and operations of the Labor Inspectorate (Journal of Laws of Poland No. 5, item 90).
- ¹⁰ Decree on Provisional Regulations Governing Trade Unions (Journal of Laws of Poland No. 15, item 209).
- ¹¹ Act of July 15, 1920 on the Implementation of the Agricultural Reform (Journal of Laws of 1920, No. 70, item 462).
- ¹² Act of March 17, 1921 – Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws of 1921, No. 44, item 267).
- ¹³ In eastern voivodeships [provinces] there were 1.6–1.8 doctors per 10,000 people, while in Warsaw the figure was 22 (as of January 1, 1938); GUS 2003, table 179(444).
- ¹⁴ Not including the population of Central Lithuania and Upper Silesia.
- ¹⁵ Wikipedia. Free encyclopedia, *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Ludności*, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierwszy_Powszechny_Spis_Ludności (October 30, 2017).
- ¹⁶ For a detailed, critical analysis see G. Simon, 1928; for comparison of social rights in Polish constitutions of the 20th century see J. Auleytner (2012: 298–302).
- ¹⁷ Act of August 16, 1923 on Social Welfare (Journal of Laws of 1923, No. 92, item 726).
- ¹⁸ For detailed data on expenditures see GUS (2003: 432, Table 149(414)).
- ¹⁹ Separate regulations concerning blue-collar workers and white-collar workers remained in place until 1974, when the Labor Code was introduced equalizing the legal situation of both groups.
- ²⁰ For details on interwar employment relations see Świącicki, 1960.
- ²¹ For more detailed information on this topic see Auleytner, 2001.
- ²² Koschembahr-Łyskowski, 1927; Roszkowski, 1927; Drecki, 1927; Fuss, 1928; Drecki, 1928; Bornstein-Łychowska, 1928; Simon, 1928; Balsigerowa, 1933; Drecki, 1934; Klott de Heidenfeldt, 1937; *Sprawozdanie z obrad...* [Summary of the proceedings...], 1938.
- ²³ This topic is discussed in greater detail in Hryniewicz, 1988.
- ²⁴ I would like to point out that in the interwar period research on the budgets of worker households in Warsaw, Łódź, the Dąbrowa Basin, and Upper Silesia was already underway.

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the lineage of the Polish social policy between 1918 and 1939. The historical context of the Polish state's social activity was presented. The text discusses the social rights of citizens in the first Constitution of 1921 and major scientific schools, which were engaged in social policy from the point of view of the socialist, liberal, and catholic values. The author presented the social state's actions and discussed the precursors of social science.

Key words: history of social policy, social problems, children, poverty, social rights, forerunners of the social policy, Polish schools and scientific streams of social policy