

Bogdan Chrzanowski

Uniwersytet Gdański

ORCID 0000-0002-2725-8074

**Concepts for reconstruction of the maritime economy
of the polish underground state in the years 1940–1944**

Restoring the country's independence and then rebuilding it from the war damage in this economic infrastructure – these were the tasks that the Government of the Republic of Poland, which was in exile, set itself first in Paris and then in London (Chrzanowski, Gąsiorowski: 33–44). Maritime economy was to play a big role here. The huge economic and strategic benefits of having a coast with the port of Gdynia before the war were fully understood. Without prejudging the final shape of the borders before the future peace treaty, the so-called full occupation, or if the Western powers did not agree, a closer occupation of the lands located east of the Oder and Nysa Łużycka, from where there could be real premises for potential aggression on the part of Germany. The borders of the occupation zone were to run along the left bank of the Nysa Łużycka, the left bank of the Oder, the Szczecin Lagoon and Rügen Island. Together with England, Poland was to become a maritime power in the Baltic. The Polish government was of the opinion that matters of eastern lands cannot constitute a counterweight to the inclusion the East Prussia, Gdańsk and Śląsk Opolski in the borders of the future Polish state.

It was assumed that both in Gdynia and in the ports that were to belong to Poland after the war (Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Königsberg) the economic structure was to be transformed. In the future, they would become supply places for Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the need to expand maritime borders and to expand the commercial and fishing fleet emerged.

In London, in 1942–1943, a number of government projects were developed to rebuild maritime economy. These projects were then sent home, specifically to the Polish Government Delegation and the Home Army Headquarters. The work carried out in London was related to the activities undertaken by individual organizational divisions in the country, namely the Navy Department of the Alfa, the Marine Department of the Military Industry and Trade Bureau of the Military Bureau of the Headquarters of the Home Army Headquarters and the Marine Department of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland .

At the wheel of the Headquarters of Military Offices („Teczka”, „Głóg”, „Róża”, „Zeszyt”) stood Major / Lt. Col. Ludwik Muzyczka (“Benedykt”). The Headquarters of Military Offices (Militarized Administration) consisted of three independent divisions: Military Offices, Military Administration of New Lands and the Military Corps of the Security Service.

The organization of Military Offices began in mid-1941. By the end of this year, nine offices were operating, including the Military Office of Industry and Trade (“Tokarnia”), headed by prof. Stefan Władysław Bryła (“Władysław Zakrzewski”) and his deputy Witold Gokiel (“Ryszard”), and then by Janusz Tymowski („Ewaryst”, „Jaworski”) (Salmonowicz: 21; Górski: 34; Grabowski: 126; Ney-Krwawicz: 12–17; Kunert: 133–135; Matusiak: 365–366).

The Military Office of Industry and Trade (Wojskowe Biuro Przemysłu i Handlu –WBPIH, henceforth) included the Maritime Department, headed by Ludwik Hermel (“Kazimierz Boruń”) and Karol Gertner (“Radosław”) as his deputy. In order to coordinate the work of the Military Offices and the Navy Department, Commander Antoni Gniewecki appointed Piotr Blitekto the Militarized Administration on 9 September 1942, who worked there until 15 January 1943 (Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof). In this way, the “Alfa” Navy Department provided professional assistance to the cells of the Armed Forces Headquarters in the country. This coordination was necessary when developing insurgent plans, as well as taking over the coast and establishing administration there. Also, some intelligence reports, reviewed by experts from “Alfa”, were sent to the Maritime Department of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland. In the autumn of 1943, the deputy head of the Technical Group of the Navy Department, Aleksander Potyrała, through Zygmunt Peszkowski made contact with Stefan Bryła, in whose apartment at Polna St. in Warsaw, there were at least two meetings. Five or six people attended, presumably from the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade. During the meetings, issues related to the reconstruction of the shipbuilding industry were discussed. Witold Bublewski from “Alfa” also kept in touch with Stefan Bryła, who served as a liaison with the Maritime Department of WBPIH. In turn, Tadeusz Ocioszyński maintained contacts between the Military Offices and the Maritime Department of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation. In the Maritime Department of WBPIH five branches were established: General, Port, Shipping and Transport, Fisheries and Shipbuilding. These divisions were divided into sections.

As part of the operational plans, the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade developed plans for securing and launching the maritime industry, as well as preparing port personnel.

Also, the Delegation of the Government of the Republic of Poland together with political factors (as well as initially with ZWZ-AK) formed its administrative network. In 1940–1945 there were several departments, including the Department of Industry and Trade (Departament Przemysłu i Handlu – DPiH, henceforth) headed by Bolesław Rutkowski (“Borucki”, “Boruta”). This department cooperated closely with the Military Office of Industry and Trade on the implementation of the army’s postulates, preparation of future plans, in particular legal acts for the transitional

period. Plans were also taken to take over and commission the most important industrial facilities, both during creation and later. Great importance was attached to the development of the maritime economy, which was related to the ongoing work on the reconstruction of the administration of the New Lands. This department was one of the most effective (Salmonowicz: 84; Górski: 234).

The Department of Industry and Trade was under the responsibility of the Maritime Department (Maritime Section), headed by Stanisław Ołtarzewski ("Stanisław Stanisławski"), who was also the deputy of Bolesław Rutkowski, and after his departure from the occupied country – Tadeusz Ocioszyński. This department carried out conceptual work on maritime administration and management, and its creation was associated with the development of DPiH. There were plans made to take over the coast, develop the port and launch shipping and fishing. (Salmonowicz: 84; Grabowski: 259). One of the documents of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation stated that the work of the Maritime Department concerns: a) organization of coastal administration; b) organization of seaports; c) organization of port companies.

The Maritime Department was the equivalent of the Maritime Department of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Shipping of the Government of the Republic of Poland. It also cooperated with the Interior Department in developing projects to secure industrial plants, including on the coast. It was expected that Königsberg, Gdańsk and Szczecin would join Poland after the war. Thus, the subject of intensive work became the issues of the future maritime economy, i.e. shipping, port operation, fisheries, organization of authorities, etc. These works were carried out with a view to rapid economic integration of East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia. The team dealing with these problems was managed by Tadeusz Ocioszyński, and the work was coordinated with military factors. The basic assumptions about the future administration of East Prussia and Gdansk were passed at the end of 1942 to the West Bureau (Górski: 166–167).

The State informed London directly about these works. Representatives of the Government Delegation, answering the questions posed by the Polish authorities explained that the activities of the Maritime Department cover the territory of *the territory of the Republic of Poland within the borders of 1939, and also East Prussia, the area of the Free City of Gdańsk, Opole Silesia (to Nysa Śląska) and Prussia Pomerania Kolobrzeg. The action regarding lands that could be incorporated into the Republic of Poland after the war is currently being conducted in particularly close consultation with military factors. The agreement is also sought by the Department of [Industry and Trade – author's note] in all its activities* (Akta KG AK). It was also stated that the Department is seeking specialists who would prepare plans for economic and administrative life. All the work was prepared, however, in conspiracy conditions, which was an additional organizational difficulty. Some of the staff emigrated and some were in hiding or in captivity.

In order to stimulate activity, the Maritime Department of the DPiH established contact with a group of maritime specialists residing in the occupied country – mainly in Warsaw. This group formed an informal team analyzing data on the development of maritime economy and coastal organization: shipyards, ports,

fisheries, communications, customs and the entire hinterland. These matters were discussed during meetings, which were usually private. It was recognized that after the war lost by the Reich, Poland must be well prepared to take on tasks in the sphere of economic life. This subject was well known to people from this team, because even before the outbreak of war many of its members held important positions in shipping, fishing and port management. According to Jerzy Michalewski ("Jerzy") and Piotr Blitek ("Morski"): *This group was, if only an extension of the DPIH apparatus, its auxiliary body*¹. In turn, Stanisław Ołtarzewski stated that: *"Self-start" was a feature of our organization. Very soon – after the Germans entered, volunteer teams of people associated with their pre-war or interests [maritime – author's note] began to form*².

The meetings were held in two groups maintaining constant contact with each other. The first included, among others, Paweł Bomas, Franciszek Lubecki, Tadeusz Ocioszyński, Tadeusz Tepper, and the second: Piotr Blitek, Bolesław Kasprowicz, Stanisław Ludwig, Józef Kulikowski and Tadeusz Weychert. Among the collaborators were, among others, Władysław Kowalenko, Witold Grot (from the organization "Ojczyzna" (Fatherland) and cpt Józef Poznański. Stanisław Ołtarzewski, head of the Maritime Department of the Industry and Trade Department, made contact with this team and proposed cooperation, which was approved. Both groups served their advice and experience to the Government Delegate and Militarized Administration.

All the meetings were held in private apartments, among others at Józef Poznański's. at Rakowiecka Street, Franciszek Lubecki in Żoliborz, Stanisław Ołtarzewski at 3 Maja and Jerzy Michalewski at Filtrowa. Cafes were also contact points. Prof. Eustachy Tarnowski, to whom representatives of the Delegation turned knowing that he was an expert on Gdańsk issues, also took part in those meetings.

As already mentioned, the authorities of the Polish Underground State assumed that the city and port of Königsberg would fall after Poland. Conceptual work was also moving in this direction. Initially, Bolesław Kasprowicz was supposed to be the director of the Maritime Office, but he switched with Józef Krawczyński, who was anticipated for the same position in Gdynia. Finally, it was agreed at the Maritime Department that Kasprowicz would become the director of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Gdynia.

The Maritime Department of the Department of Industry and Trade also conducted scientific and library work. They were performed by, among others, Władysław Antoni Drapella ("Adek"). His apartment at ul. Nowogrodzka 5/7 was the contact point of "Alfa" and the Maritime Department of the DPIH. Tadeusz Ocioszyński and Józef Borowik were there. The latter commissioned Drapella to compile a bibliography and gather a maritime book collection, as well as maps of

1 Relacja J. Michalewskiego i P. Blitka in the author's collection (in the author's collection, henceforthdalej). Udostępnił A.Ropelewski.

2 Relacja S. Ołtarzewskiego (S. Stanisławskiego) in the author's collection. Udostępnił A.Ropelewski.

the Bay of Gdańsk. Drapella also dealt with the preparation of a marine education program. In this way, the concept of "Sea Wszechnica. The birth of an ideal", according to which the Maritime University was to be established in the vicinity of Gdańsk – in Oliwa, Jelitkowo or Przymorze³.

The Polish authorities in London tried to help both the Home Army Headquarters and the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland to the Country in gathering the appropriate staff of specialists in this field. Some names were known to the Government of the Republic of Poland. And so on March 8, 1943, the Chief of the Intelligence of the Sea, Lt. Bronisław (Brunnon) Jabłoński transferred to the Department VI (National, also known as the Special Department) of the Supreme Commander a list of specialists related to maritime issues, staying in the occupied country. Presumably, this list was to be sent to Warsaw. In London, it was not known that most of the mentioned were already involved in the underground. The list includes, inter alia, the names of Stefan Borkowski, Tadeusz Ocioszyński, Piotr Blitek and Jerzy Michalewski⁴, Tadeusz Weychert⁵ and Tadeusza Tepper. The government of the Republic of Poland was still interested in the specialists of the maritime industry in May 1945. In a note from the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Shipping of May 11, 1945, it was ordered to find in the country, among others, Lubecki, Borowik and Kulikowski. Thereasons for the search of these people or the subsequent course of events are not known.

The subject of studies at the "Alfa" Navy Department, Military Offices and the Government Delegation also included issues regarding the appropriate division of competences in the future reconstruction of maritime enterprises.

On November 14, 1942, the captain of "Alfa" Antoni Gniewecki ("Witold") sent a scheme for the division of maritime factories between the Navy Department and the Militarized Administration to the head of the staff Gen. Tadeusz Pełczyński ("Grzegorz"). The division included shipyards in Szczecin, Gdynia, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Königsberg and Klaipeda.

The division of tasks between "Alfa" and "Teczka" in the aspect of the reconstruction of maritime economy was discussed during the conference that took place on January 21, 1943 in Warsaw. It was convened by then leader of the Western Area, General Tadeusz Komorowski "Bór". Apart from him, the conference was attended by: the head of the Militarized Administration, Maj. Ludwik Muzyczka, his deputy Witold Gokieli, the commander of "Alfa" – Cpt. Antoni Gniewecki and the officer for special tasks – Witold Bublewski. During

3 Relacja B. Kasprowicza i W.A. Drapelli (w zb. aut.).

4 It is indicated here that: Must be known. Spec., He was in France and returned to the country. Indeed, J. Michalewski, the emissary of the ZWZ, was sent on December 24, 1939 from Paris to Warsaw, where he arrived at the beginning of January 1940. See Studium Polski Podziemnej w Londynie (SPP, henceforth), Oddział VI (O VI, henceforth), Kierownictwo Marynarki Wojennej (KMW, henceforth), ref. 2.6 (copy: AMS, ref. K-5-7).

5 In 1945 he was active in the structures of the National Armed Forces. He also had contact with the Secret Military Organization "Gryf Pomorski" and with the intelligence and communication center of the Holy Cross Brigade in Regensburg, among others with Commercial Naval Officer Capt. NSZ Mieczysław Dukalski.

the meeting, it was established that the Militarized Administration would take over the responsibility for taking over the shipyards according to the previously agreed division, ensuring staffing on their own.

The document prepared by "Alfa" at the end of 1943 entitled Possibilities for rebuilding the shipbuilding industry and the auxiliary industry contained a comprehensive study of the development and use of shipbuilding facilities from Gdynia to Königsberg. This document was created during a conference attended by: Aleksander Potyrała (Dąbkowski: 13), cpt Rafał Czeczot and cpt Józef Woźnicki. Issues were also considered in terms of both industrial intelligence and the use of the coast in the post-war period. This study was created as part of the work of the Office of Industrial Intelligence Studies, Division II KG AK ("C-4"). It outlines general concepts for the prospective development of sea and inland shipyards in the Gdańsk Coast, East Prussia and Opole Silesia. Attention was paid to shipyards in Gdynia, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Königsberg and inland shipyards in Modlin, Płock, Bydgoszcz and Pinsk. A summary of the degree of war damage during the occupation was also made. The authors of the document had the goal of making Poland a highly developed maritime state (Akta KG AK).

An important issue raised in "Alfa" was the problem of organizing the navigation apparatus in the post-war period. In 1943, Witold Bublewski developed *The Navigation Organization Project*. The first part, entitled *Preliminary general assumptions*, defines future land-sea borders of Poland. In the west they were to be Odra and Nysa Łużycka, then the sea coast from Szczecin to Klaipeda. It was assumed that a community of states would be created on the so-called Black-Baltic and Baltic-Adriatic intermarium, which would also include Poland. They hoped to obtain colonial areas or appropriate concessions, which would allow a fair distribution of raw materials. As part of the recovery, Poland was to receive part of the merchant fleet of countries fighting on the side of Germany and take over German property in the territories that would fall to Poland after the war. In the section of *Characteristics of the Field Situation*, an analysis of the situation in areas belonging to the Reich before the war was conducted. Part three. The organization of shipping concerned the launch of ports under control during the general creation for the reception of Polish and Allied transports. This task was to be carried out by "Alfa", but in the absence of a sufficient number of people, it had to use the assistance of the Merchant Navy. The fourth part of Personnel funds and their mobilization concerned the gathering of specialists with knowledge in the field of maritime affairs in "Alfa" and in the Trade Navy.

Presumably, based on this project, the document *Organization of the Navigation Apparatus* was issued in "Alfa", dated February 1, 1943, addressed to the West Area Tadeusz Komorowski, which ultimately determined the responsibility of the Navy Department for all administrative and economic matters. It was recognized that the ports of Szczecin, Gdynia, Gdańsk, Königsberg and Klaipeda would be located within Polish borders.

Thus, the scope of competences of the military and civilian side in maritime matters was divided between the "Alfa" Navy Department, the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade of the Headquarters of Military Offices and the Maritime Department of the Department of Industry and Trade of the

Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland. The main role here was played by "Alfa", watching over the course of organizing the coastal area. It was agreed that tasks that do not fall under the strict competence of "Alfa" will be implemented by the Maritime Department of WBPiH.

On August 1, 1943, the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Army General Tadeusz Komorowski "Bór" issued an order to merge the Militarized Administration ("Portfolio") and the Substitute Administration (Kunert: 439–440). The merging process was to take place in two stages. Ministries of Industry and Trade (Heads of Military Offices and Delegation) were intended to be unified in the second stage. The order of August 1943 was directed to the Western Area Headquarters and "Alfa" on September 3, 1943. In this way, efforts were made to focus maritime affairs in one decision-making center. However, the Department of Industry and Trade of the Delegation was to take over from the Military Office of Industry and Trade only those matters that did not concern the war industry and were not necessary for the functioning of the army at the time of the uprising. Therefore, the issues of the military industry were to remain in the hands of "Teczka", and the remaining ones would become the Delegation's competence.

Basically, the consolidation occurred at the beginning of 1944, but the entire unification process of the Militarized Administration and the Substitute Administration was not definitively completed until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising. After merging the two divisions, part of the work of the Maritime Department of the Military Office of Industry and Trade as an independent form was suspended. The close connection of the work of the Naval Department, Military Offices and the Department of Industry and Trade existed not only on the level of preparation of maritime concepts, but also in the case of "Alfa" and "Teczka" on the issue of plans for general uprising. Certain discrepancies between "Alfa" and "Teczka" regarding competences did not prevent mutual cooperation between the two divisions. Thus, the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade transferred a number of projects relating to the future administration of the Gdańsk Coast to the Navy Department. One of them called *MD Organization (Maritime Department)* contained guidelines for future Maritime Offices at Military Departments.

In the Maritime Department of WBPiH, numerous projects were also developed regarding the organization of ports, sent to "Alfa" and the Maritime Department of DPiH. Almost all projects featured the thread of successive transfer of power by the army to civil services. Until then, however, military authorities had to have administrative, economic and fiduciary powers of attorney.

One of the most important documents of the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade was, according to the conditions of occupation, an extremely detailed dozens-page scheme of the Port Authority, including even the lowest levels of organization. According to the developed scheme, the Port Authority was to have the following Departments: General, Technical, Port Operation, Shipping and Transport, Fisheries, Customs and the Harbor Master's Office (Akta KG AK).

Port organization concepts were also prepared by the Maritime Department of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland to the state. This department made another division of ports into two basic groups: separated ports of an economic nature (Gdańsk, Gdynia, Königsberg) and small ports subject to the Maritime Office during the transitional period “ (Akta KG AK). Various types of transport difficulties were anticipated, both on waterways and land routes, as well as disruptions in the normal operation of ports in the first period after the cessation of hostilities, caused by the chaos that would prevail in western areas. That is why the Polish authorities in London were asked to agree to subjecting Western territories to permanent occupation, including the entire Odra River with Szczecin, irrespective of the decisions of Western powers as to the final course of the western border of Poland. The port of Szczecin could possibly fill a gap in the event of disruption of work in Gdynia, Gdańsk or Königsberg, but: The Department, already struggling with difficulties in preparing the proper cast for Gdańsk, Gdynia and Krolewicz could not take care of the management of Szczecin, which would have to be prepared in London (Akta KG AK).

The Department of Industry and Trade, together with the Military Offices, also prepared the staff necessary for the operation of the shipping apparatus, which was to be concentrated first in Great Britain and then transferred to Poland. All maritime companies were to start their operations in accordance with the arrangements adopted by the Maritime Department of DPiH. The Government Delegation sent the above proposals to London. They were the subject of an analysis of the Government of the Republic of Poland in matters of the reconstruction of maritime economy.

Both military and civil authorities at home and in exile were also interested in the problems of rebuilding sea fishing. In the article *Sea fishing*, problems related to fish management: fishing fleet, food market and export were analyzed. It was considered an urgent task to launch the Fishery Department at the Maritime School or to organize a Fishery School and a Factory of Fishing Nets and Equipment, as well as workshops for operating and repairing fishing equipment. Unlike deep-sea fishing, coastal fishing was to remain regional and remain in the hands of the local population (Kashubia), because this occupation has been livelihood and income in Pomerania for centuries. The sovereignty was to be in the hands of the Fisherman's Commissioner of the Coast with headquarters in Gdańsk, to whom the District Commissioners were subject on individual sections of the Coast. It was also planned to expand the processing industry, i.e. smokehouses, salting plants, cold stores and canning factories⁶.

Particular organizational departments dealing with maritime affairs, despite their differences, cooperated with each other and tried to find a platform for mutual agreement. After the fall of the Warsaw Uprising, these works were interrupted. Some concepts were attempted to be put into practice in different political conditions.

6 AMS, Archiwum „Alfy” ..., ref. 3220.

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Concepts of Reconstruction of the Maritime Economy in the Polish Underground State in 1940–1944

Abstract

The regaining of the country's independence, and then its revival after the war damages, including its economic infrastructure – these were the tasks set by the Polish government in exile, first in Paris and then in London. The maritime economy was to play an important role here. The Polish government was fully aware of the enormous economic and strategic benefits resulting from the fact that it had a coast, with the port of Gdynia before the war. It was assumed that both in Gdynia and in the ports that were to belong to Poland after the war: Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Królewiec, the economic structure was to be

transformed, and they were to become the supply points for Central and Eastern Europe. Work on the reconstruction of the post-war maritime economy was mainly carried out by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Shipping. In London, in 1942–1943, a number of government projects were set up to rebuild the entire maritime infrastructure. All projects undertaken in exile were related to activities carried out by individual underground divisions of the Polish Underground State domestically, i.e. the “Alfa” Naval Department of the Home Army Headquarters, the Maritime Department of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade of the Head of the Military Bureau of the Home Army Headquarters and the Maritime Department of the Department of Industry Trade and Trade Delegation of the Government of the Republic of Poland in Poland. The above-mentioned organizational units also prepared plans for the reconstruction of the maritime economy, and the projects developed in London were sent to the country. They collaborated here and a platform for mutual understanding was found.

Key words: Polish Government in exile, maritime economy, maritime infrastructure, reconstruction of post-war economy