

Tomasz Domański PhD
Institute of National Remembrance
Delegation in Kielce

THE TRIAL OF THE *POLNISCHE POLIZEI*
FUNCTIONARIES FROM WODZISŁAW
ACCUSED OF CRIMES AGAINST JEWS
(HELD ACCORDING TO THE REGULATIONS
OF THE 31 AUGUST 1944 DECREE)

After the German occupiers established the General Governorate in part of the occupied Polish territories, on 17 December 1939 they appointed a police force called *Polnische Polizei* (*Policja Polska Generalnego Gubernatorstwa, Policja Polska*),¹ commonly known in Polish as the ‘Navy Blue Police’ (*policja granatowa*) after the colour of their uniforms. In comparison with the pre-war State Police (*Policja Państwowa*) and the police forces formed in other German-occupied countries, its structures were considerably more limited. The Germans did not organise command structures at levels higher than the city and municipal police. They created the position of liaison officer at each *Distrikt* level. The police stations would usually be located at the same places where they had been before the war.² As a structure, the *Polnische Polizei* was a police

¹ The text uses the German term *Polnische Polizei* as it was a police of the General Governorate, being a part of the German police force.

² Concerning the organisational structure and the primary tasks of the *Polnische Polizei*, the monograph written by Adam Hempel is still relevant. See A. Hempel, *Pogrobowcy kłęski. Rzecz o policji „granatowej” w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1990.

formation of the German Reich, and it constituted a part of the German 'order police', the *Ordnungspolizei*. The *Polnische Polizei* did not continue the activities of the Polish State Police at all, although most of the pre-war policemen were forced to serve in it.

The tasks of the *Polnische Polizei* were initially no different than those performed by the pre-war police. They concerned the maintenance of public safety, enforcing law and order and containing ordinary crime. However, the *Polnische Polizei* officers were supposed – step by step – to implement the German occupation policy. They were instructed to fight the Polish Underground, to arrest and send people to forced labour (they also assisted in the round-ups conducted by the gendarmerie or the Gestapo), collect the mandatory quotas of agricultural produce, requisite livestock and respect all the ordinances issued by the German authorities. One of the essential tasks of the *Polnische Polizei* officers was to implement the German policy towards Jews. These instructions have recently become a subject of research and analysis by historians and researchers in related fields; therefore, the knowledge concerning the occupation structures and the activities of particular *Polnische Polizei* officers is constantly expanding.³

This article discusses the activities of the *Polnische Polizei* officers based in the Wodzisław police station (located in Jędrzejów district in Radom province

³ Among the recent scholarly publications concerning the *Polnische Polizei*, the following deserve attention: J.A. Młynarczyk, 'Pomiędzy współpracą a zdradą. Problem kolaboracji w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie – próba syntezy', *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 2009, no. 1, pp. 113–121; R. Litwiński, 'Komisja rehabilitacyjno-kwalifikacyjna dla byłych policjantów (1946–1952)', *Dzieje Najnowsze* 2004, no. 1, pp. 117–134; *idem*, 'Policja granatowa w okupacyjnej Warszawie w obronie bezpieczeństwa i porządku publicznego. Od podległości wobec okupanta do współpracy z Polskim Państwem Podziemnym' in *Porządek publiczny i bezpieczeństwo w okupacyjnej Warszawie*, ed. R. Spałek, Warsaw 2018, pp. 89–118; *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski*, vol. 1–2, ed. B. Engelking, J. Grabowski, Warsaw 2018. In the last case, the authors took a biased approach towards the *Polnische Polizei*'s activities. The reader of this work may get the impression that comments considering the German provenance of this formation were deliberately not included. They used the name given by the Germans (*Polnische Polizei*, Polish Police), but frequently write it as '*polska policja*', not capitalised and with no quotation marks. They did not explain the real significance of this name, which also linguistically strengthens the impression of a Polish (not German) character of this formation. T. Domański, 'Korekta obrazu? Refleksje źródłoznawcze wokół książki „Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski”', p. 10, <https://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/33085,Korekta-obrazu-Refleksje-zrodloznawcze-wokol-ksiazki-Dalej-jest-noc-Losy-Zydow-w.html>, accessed 6 August 2019.

[*Kreishauptmannschaft* Jędrzejów, *Distrikt* Radom]) towards Jews during World War II. These events will be analysed on the basis of the minutes from a post-war trial. Some minor threads concerning this matter have already been taken up by Jan Grabowski and Sylwia Szymańska-Smolkin.⁴ The abovementioned matters were also mentioned by Michał Nowak, a regional history enthusiast. In 2004, he published a study on the local volunteer Fire Brigade (*Ochotnicza Straż Pożarna*). He stated that the Jews from Wodzisław “were first killed by bullets fired by Vlasov soldiers (Ukrainians in German service) and the *Polnische Polizei* men.” The author may have meant the collaborative formations which were commonly – in fact erroneously – called Vlasov soldiers. He further mentioned that Polish nationals had secretly contributed to the deaths of Jews by “murdering Jews for profit or out of fear of denunciation.”⁵ Unfortunately, the author did not include any sources for the quoted information.

So far, the trial of two officers, Józef Machowski and Józef Klepka, who were accused of murdering Jews during World War II among other crimes, has not been analysed thoroughly. The trial was pending in the Court of Appeal in Kielce at the turn of the 1950s. The trials held under the 31 August 1944 Decree⁶ had – in the reality of the Stalinist regime in Poland – various characters and courses (many defendants tried for other alleged crimes were also accused under the regulations of this Decree, such as the bishop of Kielce Czesław Kaczmarek⁷). In some cases, innocent persons were sentenced, or the degree of the accused persons’ guilt was distorted.⁸ The text aims to analyse the trial of the police officers in question, and to assess the judicial credibility of the proceedings.

⁴ J. Grabowski, ‘The Polish Police Collaboration in the Holocaust’, https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20170502-Grabowski_OP.pdf, accessed 31 June 2018; S. Szymańska-Smolkin, *Fateful Decisions: The Polish Policemen and the Jewish Population of Occupied Poland, 1939–1945*, n.p., 2017, pp. 121–125.

⁵ M.K. Nowak, *Z nurtem i pod prąd. 100 lat OSP Wodzisław na tle historii ruchu strażackiego w regionie*, Wodzisław – Cracow 2004, p. 68.

⁶ The decree of 31 August 1944 on the punishment for fascist-Hitlerite criminals guilty of manslaughter and maltreatments of civilians and prisoners of war and for traitors of the Polish nation (*Dziennik Ustaw* 1946, 69, p. 377). The Decree was amended five times between 1945 and 1949; it has already been subject to numerous analyses and commentaries.

⁷ *Wokół procesu biskupa kieleckiego Czesława Kaczmarka. Wspomnienia nazaretanki s. Izabelli Machowskiej*, ed. T. Domański, D. Kozieł, Kielce 2013.

⁸ T. Domański, ‘Z dziejów policji granatowej. Proces Edwarda Krepskiego’ in *225 lat policji w Polsce. Geneza i ewolucja policji*, ed. P. Majer, M. Seroka, Olsztyn 2017.

Wodzisław is a small town located in Jędrzejów district. Before World War II, it was inhabited by 2838 Jews, who made up 73.2% of the population.⁹ The German occupation authorities set up a ghetto in Wodzisław in 1940. As a result of the deportation of Jewish people from Jędrzejów, among other places, the number of citizens of the ghetto rose to almost 4000.¹⁰ The prevailing conditions were profoundly challenging, aggravated by a fire at the end of 1940.¹¹ As described by Jan Grabowski: “As in so many other small ghettos, there were no walls or fences to separate the Jews from their ‘Aryan’ neighbours. Nor were there any Germans to speak of in Wodzisław; the forces of order were represented by the local Blue Policemen.”¹² When quoting the abovementioned source, Jan Grabowski did not notice that the Wodzisław ghetto auxiliary police force (*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst*, JO¹³) (13 men in strength) was the only substantial police force on the spot, and its activities are virtually unknown.¹⁴

In fact, there were no other German police units present during the German occupation of Wodzisław apart from the *Polnische Polizei*. The other units were stationed in Krzelów and Lubcza, whereas only a *Polnische Polizei* station was organised in Wodzisław, using the building used by the pre-war State Police.¹⁵ Until 1943, the following functionaries served at the station in Wodzisław:

⁹ K. Urbański, *Gminy żydowskie małe w województwie kieleckim w okresie międzywojennym*, Kielce 2006, p. 170.

¹⁰ *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* gives only general information on the young Jews who escaped from Wodzisław (*The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust*, ed. G. Miron, S. Sulhani, vol. 2, Jerusalem 2009, p. 939; J. Kraemer, ‘Wodzisław’ in *Encyclopedia of camps and ghettos 1939–1945*, vol. 2, part A: *Ghettos in German-occupied Eastern Europe*, ed. M. Dean, M. Hecker, n.p., 2012, p. 344). Robert Seidel established that the number of Jews in the Wodzisław ghetto amounted to 3800 (R. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2006, p. 231, for further information on the ghetto in Wodzisław see there).

¹¹ Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (hereinafter JHI Archive), collection *Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe – Jüdisches Hilfskomitee, hereinafter ŻSS)*, 211/1115, Wodzisław, Jędrzejów district, 8 November 1940, p. 12.

¹² J. Grabowski, *The Polish Police...*, p. 11.

¹³ This article uses the names introduced by German occupation authorities. Functionaries of the JO were commonly referred to as *OD-Mann*, *OD-Männer*.

¹⁴ J. Kraemer, *Wodzisław...*, p. 344.

¹⁵ W. Czarny, ‘Ruch oporu na ziemi wodzisławskiej’, *Przyjaciel Wodzisławia* 1986, no. 2, p. 5.

Sergeant Władysław Buczek,¹⁶ Platoon Officer Ludwik Szczukocki,¹⁷ Corporal Władysław Wójcikiewicz,¹⁸ Corporal Waclaw Malec, Police Candidate Zdzisław Węcowski,¹⁹ Platoon Officer Józef Klepka and Platoon Officer Józef Machowski. Buczek was the commanding officer of the unit until February 1943. For security reasons, the *Polnische Polizei* stations in Wodzisław and Nawarzyce were merged in the same year, raising the total number of functionaries to nine.²⁰

The scarcity of background sources makes it challenging to present a broad view of the activities of the *Polnische Polizei* officers in Wodzisław during the German occupation. One of the elements difficult to analyse is the possible underground activity of Commandant Buczek. It is very likely that he cooperated

¹⁶ Władysław Buczek (born on 13 January 1894 in Bejsce), served at the following police stations: Kościelec (18 August 1920–1 August 1932), Opatowiec (1 August 1932–10 March 1934), Wiślica (10 February 1934–1 March 1939) and Wodzisław (1 March 1939–1 September 1939). He served in *Polnische Polizei* from 15 December 1939. Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Archives of Institute of National Remembrance, hereinafter AIPN), collection *Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für den Distrikt Radom* (hereinafter KdS), 105/131, Personal Card Index [of Władysław Buczek], Wodzisław, 1 December 1941, p. 62.

¹⁷ Ludwik Szczukocki (born on 27 March 1894 in Magdalenka), served at the following police stations: Sarny (1 November 1923–31 March 1925) and in the Jędrzejów district: in Raków, Jędrzejów, Motkowice and Wodzisław (1 April 1925–1 September 1939). He served in the *Polnische Polizei* from 15 December 1939 (AIPN, KdS, 105/131, Personal Card Index [of Ludwik Szczukocki], Wodzisław, 1 December 1941, p. 65).

¹⁸ Władysław Wójcikiewicz (born on 19 June 1904 in Mstów), served at the police station in Sosnowiec (28 September 1928–1 September 1939). He served in the *Polnische Polizei* from 16 December 1939 (AIPN, KdS, 105/131, Personal Card Index [of Władysław Wójcikiewicz], Wodzisław, 2 December 1941, p. 66).

¹⁹ More detailed information concerning Waclaw Malec and Zdzisław Węcowski could not be established. Malec was born on 6 March 1916 in Słupia in Jędrzejów district. Węcowski was born on 27 July 1927 in Antonin (AIPN, 3060/27, [List of the *Polnische Polizei* guards in active service in Radom *Distrikt*], n.p., n.d., p. 65).

²⁰ Archiwum Akt Nowych (The Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, hereinafter AAN), Collection *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army, hereinafter AK), 203/XIII-9, vol. 1, *OdeB* of the Army and paramilitary units 23 December 1942–22 January 1943, n.p., n.d., p. 20; AAN, Collection *Archiwum Środowiska Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej Obwód Jędrzejów* (Archives of the Circle of Home Army Soldiers in Jędrzejów Province, hereinafter AŚŻAKJ), 21, Copy of *OdeB* of the police, military and paramilitary forces, n.p., 29 September 1943, p. 133; AIPN, Collection *Zbiór akt Policji Polskiej w Dystrykcie Radomskim* (Collection of the Polish Police Records in *Distrikt* Radom), 3060/27, [List of the *Polnische Polizei* guards in active service in Radom *Distrikt*], n.p., n.d., p. 44; Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Delegation in Kielce (hereinafter AIPN Ki), Collection *Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Kielcach* [Regional Committee for Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People – Institute of National Remembrance in Kielce] 1991–1999 (hereinafter OKBZpNP), 53/1794, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Kielce, 7 November 1967, p. 7).

with the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*, AK). According to a post-war unsigned account of Kazimierz Czech a.k.a. 'Bielicki', Buczek, when threatened by Germans with arrest, escaped with his family in 1943. As he deserted, he provided information to the Underground about the weapons stored in the station's attic. Ultimately, the arrest did not take place.²¹ After the war, Buczek did not mention his cooperation with the Home Army, but in 1967 he testified about the circumstances of his desertion in the following words: "In winter 1943, some head of a nearby village ordered a Jewish woman with her child to be brought to the police station. When I wanted to release her, a policeman named Machowski, my subordinate, informed van der Brellie, the commander of the gendarmerie in Jędrzejów, about it over the phone,²² and he ordered me to shoot her. To avoid the order, I deserted from my post and hid in Warsaw under a false name until the end of the occupation. Since then I have had no connections with Wodzisław."²³ Another *Polnische Polizei* officer from Wodzisław, Zdzisław Węckowski, was described in the AK intelligence report as follows: "extremely zealous towards the occupier, and the personal and trusted spy of Oberleutnant Brellie." He was abducted by an unknown five-member unit and hanged in 1943. The nearby German police troops tried to stop the attackers. A pursuit was launched, but the perpetrators were not caught. As a consequence of Węckowski's assassination, a large party of *Schutzpolizei* arrived in Wodzisław on 1 August 1943, surrounded the whole town and gathered the inhabitants in the market. A *Schupo* [*Schutzpolizei*] Commandant from Krzelów gave a speech to the assembled people. He accused them that of not being ashamed as "the bandits had stolen a policeman." He also demanded that the residents catch and kill the bandits.²⁴

²¹ AIPN Ki, Collection *Sąd Apelacyjny w Kielcach* (Court of Appeal in Kielce, hereinafter SAK), 126/278, Testimony of Władysław Buczek at the Main Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 76; AAN, AŚŻAKJ, 21, Account of Kazimierz Czech *alias* 'Bielicki', n.p., n.d., p. 74.

²² Oberleutnant van der Brellie was the commanding officer of the German gendarmerie in Jędrzejów district (T. Domański, A. Jankowski, *Represje niemieckie na wsi kieleckiej 1939–1945*, Kielce 2011, p. 71).

²³ AIPN Ki, OKBZpNP, 53/1794, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Kielce, 7 November 1967, p. 9.

²⁴ AAN, AŚŻAKJ, 21, Copy of Report, n.p., n.d., pp. 85–86.

The analysis of these events needs an additional focus on the two persons charged: Józef Machowski and Józef Klepka. Machowski was born on 19 August 1907 in Dąbrówka Niemiecka (Nowy Sącz District). He graduated primary school and became a locksmith. Interrogated as a suspect in 1950, he stated that he was a milkman and whey-maker by profession. He joined the Polish State Police on 1 June 1933. Until the outbreak of the war, according to his personal card, he served only at the police station in Wodzisław, and he was assigned to the *Polnische Polizei* on 15 December 1939.²⁵ After 1945, Machowski worked in Tarnów and in Rzeszów at the *Samopomoc Chłopska* Cooperative.²⁶ Klepka was born in 1896 in Mikołowice (Busko district). After graduating from a primary school in 1910, he went to the Dąbrowa Coal Basin, where he worked in a mine until 1914. In the same year, he returned to his hometown of Mikołowice, where he was employed as a lineman. He enlisted in the Polish Army in 1920 and served in the 57th Infantry Regiment. Thereafter he joined the State Police, and served at the police station in Brest (1 October 1923–15 March 1925) and the following stations: Sędziszów (15 March 1924–1933) and Wodzisław (1933–1 September 1939). Thereafter, he was assigned to the *Polnische Polizei* on 15 December 1939.²⁷ On 7 October 1943, he was released from service due to health reasons and returned to Mikołowice, where he stayed until spring 1945. After the war he worked at the Tax Office in Busko-Zdrój as a bailiff.²⁸ Klepka was reinstated by the Rehabilitation and Qualification Committee for former *Polnische Polizei* officers in 1946. A favourable opinion of him was issued by the *Milicja Obywatelska* station (the Communist criminal and public order

²⁵ AIPN, KdS, 105/131, Personal Card [of Józef Machowski], Wodzisław, 3 December 1941, p. 64; AIPN Ki, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Machowski, Gorlice, 7 March 1950, p. 58.

²⁶ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Letter from Stefania Machowska to the Prosecutor's Office at the Court of Appeal in Kielce, Rzeszów, 5 July 1950, p. 24.

²⁷ Interrogated as a suspect, Klepka said that he enlisted in the *Polnische Polizei* in 1940 after returning from evacuation (AIPN Ki, 127/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 28 October 1949, p. 21; AIPN, KdS, 105/131, Personal Card [Józef Klepka], Wodzisław, 1 December 1941, p. 63).

²⁸ AIPN Ki, 127/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 28 October 1949, p. 22; AAN, Collection *Akta byłych funkcjonariuszy Policji Państwowej, Straży Więziennej, Korpusu Ochrony Pogranicza i Straży Granicznej* (Files of former State Police, Prison Guard, Border Protection Corps and Border Guard officers, hereinafter AF), [Józef Klepka], Curriculum Vitae, Busko-Zdrój, 26 June 1946, pp. 271–272.

police) in Wodzisław and the Municipality Office in Wodzisław, stating that Klepka “had not been working for the occupiers”.²⁹

The details of Machowski’s and Klepka’s service in 1939–1942 are unknown. Probably they performed their duties towards the Poles and Jews in accordance with German orders. Machowski certainly participated in the classes on price control for policemen in March 1942.³⁰ Finally, attention should be paid to the actions taken by Machowski and Klepka against the Jews. A proper picture of Machowski’s attitude is given by Buczek and in the testimony of Ignacy Zinger, according to whom Machowski behaved “brutally towards the Jewish population. In the first years, he carried out house searches and took the property of those people.”³¹ Another witness, Marian Pałasz, claimed that in 1941 Machowski “took away the meat and other food from the Polish and Jewish people.”³² Was he the only policeman who acted in this way? Apparently not: on 15 February 1942 Commanding Officer Buczek reported: “...this police station seized 30 kg of beef from slaughter carried out in secret by Lejzor Nawarski³³ in Wodzisław.”³⁴ However, Machowski’s attitude visibly distinguished itself, as he was mentioned in one of the AK’s intelligence reports as a suspected “Gestapo agent.”³⁵

²⁹ AAN, AF, [Józef Klepka], Certificate, Warsaw, 31 December 1946, p. 268; AAN, AF, [Józef Klepka], Certificate, Wodzisław, 6 August 1946, p. 273; AAN, AF, [Józef Klepka], Personal data, Wodzisław, 3 July 1946, p. 275.

³⁰ AIPN, Collection *Der Stadt- und Kreishauptmann Kielce* (hereinafter SKK), 652/64, Letter to the Gendarmerie Commanding Officer in Jędrzejów district, n.p., n.d., p. 10.

³¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Ignacy Zinger, Katowice, 2 October 1950, p. 107.

³² AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Marian Pałasz, Gorlice, 16 March 1950, p. 57.

³³ Presumably this refers to Lejzor Nawarski, who was then in hiding with his family, hidden by the Poles Julian Laskowski and his sister Józefa Karbowniczek (‘Laskowski Julian, Karbowniczek Józefa’ in *Księga Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata. Ratujący Żydów podczas Holokaustu. Polska*, ed. I. Gutman, Cracow 2009, p. 391); the entry erroneously gives the place of hiding as Wodzisław Śląski.

³⁴ AIPN, SKK, 652/64, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* Station in Wodzisław to the District Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów, Wodzisław, 16 February 1942, p. 32. The *Kreislandwirt* in Jędrzejów decided to hand out the meat to policemen from Wodzisław and Jędrzejów. A confiscation of property was also carried out at Hejnoch Ajzowicz’s in Wodzisław, and the confiscated footwear was brought to the *Polnische Polizei*’s district station in Jędrzejów (AIPN, SKK, 652/64, Phonogram no. 543, n.p., n.d., p. 30; AIPN, SKK, 652/64, Letter from the *Kreishauptmannschaft* in Jędrzejów to the *Polnische Polizei*’s District Station in Jędrzejów, Jędrzejów, 27 March 1942, p. 66).

³⁵ AAN, ASŻAKJ, 19, List of Persons in the Jędrzejów District Actively Cooperating and Suspected of Cooperating with the Occupier as Informants, Agents and Denunciators, n.p.,

Machowski's activities were clearly remembered by the local population. Already in July 1945, an unknown security police functionary in Wodzisław wrote about Józef Machowski that he was "the prominent German snitch, which every Wodzisław citizen can confirm", and suspected that Machowski fled from the area because he was afraid of the consequences of his actions.³⁶ Then, in 1946, an informant codenamed 'Orzeł' reported to the security authorities: "I report that Machowski Józef, the commander of the station of the 'Navy Blue' Police, the slayer of Jews during the liquidation of the ghetto in Wodzisław, is now in Rzeszów and is currently working as a manager of an agricultural and commercial cooperative. I'm also reporting that he was active in the actions against partisans during the occupation alongside the Germans."³⁷ The abovementioned opinion was also confirmed by Jan Leszczyński, a secretary of the Polish Socialist Party in Wodzisław.³⁸

The District Department of Security (*Powiatowy Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego*, PUBP, the Communist security police unit) in Jędrzejów investigated the wartime activities of Machowski and the *Polnische Polizei* station in Wodzisław, and interrogated witnesses. Józef Klepka was arrested in 1949,³⁹ whilst Józef Machowski was arrested on 17 March 1950 in the vicinity of Gorlice.⁴⁰ The investigation in 1949 initially considered Klepka only, and Machowski was added as a suspect in 1950. According to the indictment filed by the prosecutor Mikołaj Górski in 1950, Józef Machowski was "in Wodzisław in 1942, serving as an officer of the former Polish police, obedient to the German state authorities; took part in the murder of about 30 Polish citizens of Jewish nationality, shooting them with a rifle [...]. In the same year in Piotrkowice,

n.d., p. 14. In the same report, another policeman from Wodzisław, Stanisław N[iedziela], (*ibidem*), was named as a German collaborator. This report was prepared by 'Gruby', i.e. Stanisław Wiśniewski, deputy head of the Home Army District Command in Jędrzejów and head of its 2nd (intelligence) department (A. Ropelewski, *W jędrzejowskim obwodzie AK*, Warsaw 1986, *passim*).

³⁶ AIPN Ki, Collection *Wojewódzki Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych w Kielcach* (Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Kielce, hereinafter WUSW), 013/1127, Report, Wodzisław, 27 July 1945, p. 12.

³⁷ AIPN Ki, WUSW, Report no. 1, n.p., 21 January 1946, p. 13.

³⁸ AIPN Ki, WUSW, [Jan Leszczyński's Opinion], Wodzisław, 28 March 1946, p. 14.

³⁹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Copy of the Arrest Warrant, Jędrzejów, 31 October 1949, p. 27. It should be noted that before the formal arrest, Klepka had already been interrogated by the PUBP Jędrzejów investigators.

⁴⁰ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Letter from the Prosecutor's Office to the Court of Appeal in Kielce, 26 April 1950, p. 14; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Stefania Machowska's Letter of to the Prosecutor's Office at the Court of Appeal in Kielce, 5 July 1950, p. 24.

Wodzisław municipality, Jędrzejów district, acting as an officer of the former Polish police, obedient to the German state authorities, took part in the murder of four Polish citizens of Jewish nationality from the Rajzman family, shooting them with a rifle.”⁴¹

Concerning the charges made against *Polnische Polizei* officers, the genocide of the Wodzisław Jews should be discussed in detail, as German troops undoubtedly murdered the members of the Jewish community during the ghetto's existence. In the winter of 1941/2, a mass murder of twelve Jewish males and one woman was perpetrated by an unknown SS unit, commanded by a man named 'Tohas'. In March 1942 in Wodzisław, Jews suspected of Communist sympathies were arrested, apparently as part of a broader campaign of repression.⁴² Some time in mid-June 1942, the SS executed about 50 Jews. The actual liquidation of the ghetto was most likely carried out on 20 September 1942. Van der Brelie, the commander of the German police in Jędrzejów district, was in charge of the operation. Among the German gendarmes carrying out the deportation only one, Alfred Lusser, is known by name.⁴³ According to the findings of Wolfgang Curilla, apart from the *Polnische Polizei* the operation was carried out by the SS, a Gestapo unit and a gendarmerie platoon from Jędrzejów.⁴⁴ The Jews were taken to the market square and then rushed to Sędziszów⁴⁵; their final destination was the death camp in Treblinka.

⁴¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Indictment against Józef Machowski, Kielce, 30 April 1950, p. 3. Machowski was also charged with two other crimes, namely: “In 1943 in Wodzisław, Jędrzejów district, obedient to the German state authorities, acted to the detriment of Marian Pałasz by capturing him for deportation to forced labour in the Reich”; “From 1941 to 1943 in the municipality of Wodzisław, Jędrzejów district, acted to the detriment of a larger number of undetermined persons from amongst the Polish and Jewish population by taking away food” (*ibidem*).

⁴² J.A. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen. Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945*, Darmstadt, pp. 256–257; R. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik...*, p. 301.

⁴³ Archives of Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation in Cracow (hereinafter AOK), Investigation Files (hereinafter DS), 63/64, vol. 2, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Eugeniusz Adamczyk, Gliwice, 7 March 1968, p. 422/2. Eugeniusz Adamczyk was the head of counterintelligence; from November 1944 to the end of the occupation he was head of the 2nd Department of the Home Army in the Jędrzejów region. He witnessed the deportation of Jews from Wodzisław.

⁴⁴ About 3000 were deported (W. Curilla, *Der Judenmord in Polen und die deutsche Ordnungspolizei 1939–1945*, Verlag: Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2011, s. 494).

⁴⁵ According to an eyewitness, “during the march of evacuated Jews to the railway station in Sędziszów, they were repeatedly shot at and a dozen people were killed. Behind the column were horse-drawn carts, in which, apart from the ‘weak’, the corpses of people shot during the march were collected. I personally watched the operation from various points of the marching route” (AOK, DS, 63/64, vol. 5, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Edward Biały, Jędrzejów, 24 February 1968, p. 140).

After the deportation of September 1942, some Jews still remained in Wodzisław. The number rose to approximately 300 people in November 1942. These Jews were resettled to the Sandomierz ghetto.⁴⁶ The correspondence of the *Polnische Polizei* station in Wodzisław with the district headquarters of the police in Jędrzejów shows that the final liquidation of the ghetto in Wodzisław took place on 11 December 1942.⁴⁷ Some groups of Jews were deported at that time, including “children up to 14 years old, the sick, the old, those unable to work.” These people were transported on carts to the ghetto in Szydłów.⁴⁸ *Polnische Polizei* functionaries were also obliged to secure the property of the expelled Jews at the behest of the German police. Due to the small number of staff at the station, Commander Buczek used four policemen from other stations delegated to Wodzisław: Platoon Officer Kowalik, Platoon Officer Bonarski, Corporal Malec and Candidate Grynja.⁴⁹

During the deportations, many Jews were murdered on the spot. Due to the proximity of events, determining the precise number of deaths in individual operations is impossible. Two hundred victims were indicated in the quoted AK report.⁵⁰ In 1947, Antoni Artymiak estimated this number at 318 people.⁵¹ The same number of victims was recorded in the *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni* from 1980 and in the study *Encyclopedia of camps and ghettos* from 2012. However, according to Artymiak and

⁴⁶ Information about the Polish *Babnschutz* functionaries taking part in the deportation operation mentioned in the *Encyclopedia of camps* must be verified. Nevertheless, some German functionaries speaking Polish were present during the operation in Wodzisław, as was confirmed by the testimony of the *Polnische Polizei* officer Buczek. He claimed that *Schupo* functionaries took part in the liquidation of the ghetto in Wodzisław, and that many of them spoke Polish (J. Kraemer, *Wodzisław...*, p. 344; AIPN Ki, OKBZpNP, 53/1794, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Kielce, 7 November 1967, p. 8; JHI Archives, Accounts, 301/3549, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Mojżesz Najman, Sędziszów, 9 May 1948, pp. 2–5).

⁴⁷ AIPN, SKK, 652/66, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* Station in Wodzisław to the District Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów, Wodzisław, 11 February 1942, p. 123.

⁴⁸ AIPN Ki, Mateusz Mielniczuk Collection (hereinafter KMM), 267/33, Report: ‘Granat’, n.p., 15 December 1942, p. 41. In this report contains an information that on 11 December 1942 a contingent of Jews was designated for deportation: “Everyone from Wodzisław was taken.”

⁴⁹ AIPN, SKK, 652/66, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* Station in Wodzisław to the District Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów, Wodzisław, 11 February 1942, p. 123.

⁵⁰ AIPN Ki, KMM, 267/33, Report: ‘Sęp’, n.p., 22 September 1942, p. 11.

⁵¹ The figure of 70 people murdered and the date 23–24 September 1942 as the date of the ghetto’s liquidation as provided by Wolfgang Curilla require corrections (W. Curilla, *Der Judenmord...*, p. 494).

the *Rejestr*, the deportation took place in September and October 1943, which appears entirely wrong considering the contents of the available sources.⁵² It should be added that Mr & Mrs Grass were also among the people shot dead at the Jewish cemetery.⁵³

Important details of the operation to liquidate the ghetto in Wodzisław are provided by one of the AK reports. Particularly noteworthy are the fragments concerning the participation of policemen from the local *Polnische Polizei* station in that event. A Home Army intelligence officer, nicknamed 'Sęp', wrote on 22 September 1942⁵⁴: "The operation of expelling Jews from Wodzisław was more bloodthirsty than here, as at 1 a.m., about 80 German gendarmes and 'Shaulises'⁵⁵ arrived and blocked all the exit routes; yet at 6 a.m. all the Jews were driven out of their homes to the meadows; anyone who resisted and refused to leave his flat was shot on the spot. There was an incident when a Jew, who, upon seeing the events in the city, set his house on fire and burned himself and his two children alive.⁵⁶ The 'Shaulises' tormented people horribly. J.K.,⁵⁷ an eyewitness, states [that] children were shot like partridges or hares so that local Catholics could not hold back their tears at the sight of such child abuse. The same witness claims that a significant number of Jews fled into the fields and the woods⁵⁸ and about 200 people were killed on the spot.

⁵² A. Artymiak, *Ofiary zbrodni niemieckich w powiecie jędrzejowskim w latach 1939–1945*, Jędrzejów 1947, p. 49; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo kieleckie*, Warsaw 1980, p. 306. Both Antoni Artymiak and the *Rejestr*... listed the SS, the German police, Ukrainians and Gendarmerie among the perpetrators, but did not mention the involvement of the *Polnische Polizei* (see also Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach [State Archives in Kielce, hereinafter APK], Collection *Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację* (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, hereinafter ZBoWiD), 286, Questionnaire concerning Wodzisław, Wodzisław, 5 March 1978, p. 243).

⁵³ AOK, DS, 63/64, vol. 5, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Marcjanna Jachym, Jędrzejów, 8 December 1966, p. 70.

⁵⁴ The citations mirror the original spelling of the sources.

⁵⁵ The participation of Lithuanian auxiliary forces ('Shaulis') is not confirmed in other sources.

⁵⁶ The event was confirmed by Eugeniusz Adamczyk, head of counterintelligence of the Home Army in Jędrzejów, in his memoirs. That man was named 'Zielone Drzewo' ('green tree'). See E. Adamczyk 'Wiktor', *Mój udział w kontrwywiadzie Armii Krajowej*, Warsaw 2007, p. 110. In the minutes of the interrogation in 1968, Adamczyk testified that the house had been set on fire by gendarmes at the behest of commander van der Brellie (AOK, DS), 63/64, vol. 3, Minutes of the Interrogation of Eugeniusz Adamczyk, Gliwice, 7 March 1968, p. 422/2).

⁵⁷ Only the initials are given in the text.

⁵⁸ The description above appears to be coherent with the testimonies of the survivors (<http://andreovia.pl/publikacje/zydzi-z-jedrzejowa/item/35-yad-vashem>, accessed 22 June 2018). *The Yad*

However, when listing the names of the Jews, he claims that the *Polnische Polizei* executed at least 30 of them. On the way from Wodzisław to Sędziszów, many Jews were shot. It was also said that the *Polnische Polizei*, sharing the German madness, had been doing great business liquidating the Jewish property at that time. ‘Jewish stuff’ was usually bought by those who need it least, and as the Polish police have a fairly serious voice in this case, it is not surprising that those who bribed them first can purchase first. Policeman Wilczyński⁵⁹ did so unscrupulously, and if someone does not give him something ‘in his hand’, then obviously this person cannot buy anything. As evidence of the above, two witnesses saw Wilczyński taking money from [people] seeking to buy Jewish things. On a Saturday afternoon, I saw with my own eyes a cart full of Jewish linen, completely clean and tidy, entering Mazur’s yard; Mazur and another policeman, whose name I will also provide, walked by.”⁶⁰

Records of Machowski’s and Klepka’s trial and the query in the few remaining files from the district *Polnische Polizei* headquarters in Jędrzejów revealed that Machowski’s actions against the Jews were not limited to confiscating their food. This policeman was focused on murdering Jews. The expulsion of Jews from the Wodzisław ghetto in September 1942 was the subject of the first point of indictment. The liquidation of the Wodzisław ghetto and the participation of platoon-leader Machowski in this operation were analysed during the trial as the most important matters. Admittedly, relatively few witnesses were

Vaschem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust provides only some general information on the escape of young Jews from Wodzisław (p. 940). The problem of flights from ghettos was analysed thoroughly by G. Berendt, ‘Żydzi zbiegli z gett i obozów śmierci’ in *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji*, ed. M. Trębacz, A. Sitarek, E. Wiatr, Łódź 2012, p. 137.

⁵⁹ On 12 September 1947, the District Court in Kielce sentenced Władysław Wilczyński to 15 years in prison. He was found guilty of many crimes against Poles, Jews and Roma; as an example, it was reported that “he acted to the detriment of 10 Polish citizens of Jewish origin, persecuted for racial reasons, by detecting their hiding place in the old marketplace in Jędrzejów, taking them and tying them, and handing them over to the German police, wherein they were shot”. AIPN Ki, Collection *Sąd Okręgowy w Kielcach* (District Court in Kielce, hereinafter SOK), 127/96, Sentence concerning Władysław Wilczyński, Kielce, 12 September 1947, p. 35. It should be noted that in 1943, Wilczyński was sentenced to death by the Underground court at the headquarters of the Home Army District in Radom. However the execution was carried out poorly: Wilczyński was shot at but only wounded (AIPN Ki, SOK, 127/96, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Wiśniewski, Jędrzejów, 4 April 1947, p. 52v.)

⁶⁰ AIPN Ki, KMM, 267/33, Report: ‘Sęp’, n.p., 22 September 1942, p. 11.

interrogated during the investigation against Machowski and Klepka. One of them was the abovementioned Marian Pałasz, who was 14 years old in 1942. According to Pałasz, during the liquidation of the ghetto, the officer “diligently assisted the Germans.”⁶¹ When the deportation had been finished, Machowski and Germans walked around the ghetto. As Pałasz testified: “[Soldiers] gathered the rest of the Jewish population, of whom there were about thirty people⁶², and led them to the Jewish cemetery, where they were summarily executed. The abovementioned took part in that. I witnessed the execution. [...] I also recall that after the execution of those 30 people at the Jewish cemetery, when the Germans had gone, some unknown Jewish woman, who had previously fallen down out of fear, decided to stand up and run away when the Germans disappeared, but she was shot dead by him.”⁶³ Pałasz confirmed his testimony at the court hearing, adding that the crime at the cemetery was committed by “two German gendarmes, Machowski and some other policeman.”⁶⁴ According to Buczek’s testimony, Machowski was forced by the Germans to participate in the execution at the Jewish cemetery.⁶⁵ The functionary’s conduct towards the Jews was confirmed in a report by an AK intelligence officer nicknamed ‘Brzózka’. In a report of 13 October 1942, he wrote: “In Wodzisław during the deportation of the Jews, Platoon Officer [Józef] Machowski and a new candidate [no name was given] stood out among others in shooting the Jews.”⁶⁶

The evidence gathered suggests that Machowski undoubtedly shot dead the members of two Jewish families during the deportation of Jews from Wodzisław – Klajman and Zeleman – on a meadow known as Wierdonek, near

⁶¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Marian Pałasz, Gorlice, 16 March 1950, p. 57.

⁶² Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk states that during the liquidation of the ghetto, when Jews were being searched for in their homes in Wodzisław, 30 Jews were murdered, and 40 more died during the selection (*Judenmord...*, p. 268).

⁶³ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Marian Pałasz, Gorlice, 16 March 1950, p. 57. Pałasz confirmed his testimony given in the investigation at the court hearing.

⁶⁴ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Marian Pałasz at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75.

⁶⁵ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Władysław Buczek at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 76.

⁶⁶ AIPN Ki, KMM, 267/33, Report: ‘Brzózka’, n.p., 13 October 1942, p. 25.

the school.⁶⁷ Those people hid from deportation but were found. However, it remains unknown how many members of the aforementioned families were shot by Machowski. Pałasz mentioned twelve people, Kałma Fajrajzen said five to seven, whilst Buczek, citing Machowski's own words, mentioned seven to nine people murdered in the basement.⁶⁸ Machowski himself, while describing the course of these events during his trial, offered unreliable explanations: "In one of the courtyards, the gendarmes called me to shoot Jews by the river. I hesitated, but I was beaten and pushed. So I fired, but at the ground above those laying down – the bullets fell 2–3 metres away from the people. I left right away as [...] and my stomach ached. I asked the commander to dismiss me. I was dismissed from service and did not go outside in Wodzisław anymore."⁶⁹

However, it is important to ask about the attitudes and actions of the other policemen from the *Polnische Polizei* functionaries in Wodzisław. Should Klepka and Machowski have been the only ones in the defendants' dock? Such a question is prompted by the letter that the commander of the station, Władysław Buczek, sent to the district commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów on 22 November 1942. The document reads as follows: "I report that during the liquidation of Jews in Wodzisław I received 300 rounds of rifle ammunition from the gendarmerie of Jędrzejów; this I assigned to the privates listed below to supplement the ammunition fired." The issue table may be found below:

⁶⁷ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Kałma Fajrajzen at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 76; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Ignacy Zinger, Katowice, 2 October 1950, p. 107.

⁶⁸ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Kałma Fajrajzen at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 76; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Marian Pałasz at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Władysław Buczek at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950 r., p. 76. It is doubtful whether the murders at the Jewish cemetery and Wierdonek took place during the same deportation. The executions most likely occurred during two different deportation operations, as Władysław Buczek's testimonies given at the court hearing point out.

⁶⁹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Józef Machowski at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 73.

Ammunition issued on:	Surname and name of the policeman	Rank	Post	Number of rounds
5 October 1942	Buczek, Władysław	Sergeant	<i>Polnische Polizei</i> station in Wodzisław	20
	Wieczorek, Regional Commander	Master sergeant	Sędziszów	25
	Klepka, Józef	Platoon-leader	Wodzisław	20
	Szczukocki, Ludwik	Platoon-leader	Wodzisław	20
	Machowski, Józef	Platoon-leader	Wodzisław	36
	Wójcikiewicz, Władysław	Platoon-leader	Wodzisław	15
	Węcowski, ⁷⁰ Zdzisław	Candidate	Wodzisław	20
	Niedziela, Franciszek ⁷¹	Platoon-leader	Nawarzyce	5
	Gorgis, Jan	Candidate	Nawarzyce	20
	Jabłoński, Józef	Corporal	Oksa	20
	Machnik, Józef ⁷²	Corporal	Słupia	5

⁷⁰ AAN, AŚŻAKJ, 21, Copy of Report, n.p., n.d., pp. 85–86.

⁷¹ This policeman was mentioned in a Home Army report as one of the active Gestapo agents (AAN, AŚŻAKJ, 19: List of persons in the Jędrzejów district actively cooperating and suspected of cooperating with the occupier as informants, agents and denunciators, n.p., n.d., p. 11).

⁷² On 16 September 1952, the District Court in Kielce sentenced Józef Machnik to death, permanent deprivation of public and civil rights, and the confiscation of all of his property for killing “two women and three children – Polish citizens of Jewish nationality – in Raszków in the autumn of 1942. At the court hearing, Machnik did not plead guilty. This sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court on 25 December 1952; the Council of State commuted the death penalty to life imprisonment. That was not the only pending court case against Józef Machnik: three years later, on 15 April 1955, the District Court in Kielce found Machnik, along with three other policemen – Bolesław Dołowicz (commander of the *Polnische Polizei* station in Nawarzyce), Franciszek Niedziela and Wojciech Chaja [Haja] (both from the station in Nawarzyce; Machnik was then delegated to Nawarzyce from the *Polnische Polizei* station in Słupia) – guilty of “taking part in the murder” in the autumn of 1942 in the Zareszyn Forest (nearby village of Sadki) of the Jews Marian Kozioł, Michał Kozioł, Rozalia Kwaśniewska and two little children, Kwaśniewski (first name unknown) and a woman (name unknown) (the abovementioned persons were apprehended after the pursuit for the perpetrators of an assault and robbery in the farm of the village head of Brzezinki, Piotr Golda; during the robbery “the perpetrators spoke Jewish”). The Provincial Court in Kielce sentenced Machnik for his complicity in that crime to life imprisonment and

Ammunition issued on:	Surname and name of the policeman	Rank	Post	Number of rounds
	Żelichowski, Stanisław ⁷³	Candidate	Prząsław	11
	Włodarczyk, Mikołaj ⁷⁴	Platoon Officer	Prząsław	5
	Chaja [Haja], Wojciech	Platoon Officer	Nawarzyce	5
	Gorgis, Jan	Candidate	Nawarzyce	10
14 October 1942	Węcowski, Zdzisław	Candidate	Wodzisław	17
14 October 1942	Szczukocki, Ludwik	Platoon Officer	Wodzisław	20
15 October 1942	Klepka, Józef	Platoon Officer	Wodzisław	10
15 October 1942	Węcowski, Zdzisław	Candidate	Wodzisław	16
Total				300 rounds

Source: AIPN, SKK, 652/48, vol. 1, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* Station in Wodzisław to the District Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów, Jędrzejów, 21 November, 1942, p. 38.

permanent deprivation of public and honorary rights; Dołowicz was sentenced to 13 years in prison, Niedziela to 12 years in prison and Chaja [Haja] to 5 years in prison. The Supreme Court commuted Niedziela's sentence to 7 years in prison. On 18 June 1955, the District Court in Kielce sentenced Machnik to a combined penalty of life imprisonment, permanent deprivation of public rights and honourable civil rights, and the confiscation of all of his property. Machnik allegedly killed also a Jew, Edward Gładki, in Nowa Wieś (AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/3691, vol. 1; Plan of the Case Closure, Kielce, 6 April 1960, p. 72; AIPN Ki, Collection *Sąd Wojewódzki w Kielcach* (Voivodship Court in Kielce, hereinafter SWK), 128/100, Sentence of District Court in Kielce, Kielce, 11 January 1954, p. 84; AIPN Ki, SAK, 128/100, Letter of the General Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) to the District Court in Kielce, Warsaw, 11 June 1951, p. 106; AIPN Ki, SWK, 128/177, Indictment against Józef Machnik, Bolesław Dołowicz, Franciszek Niedziela, Wojciech Chaja [Haja], Kielce, 15 February 1955, p. 50; AIPN Ki, SWK, 128/77, Text of the Sentence of the Voivodship Court in Kielce, Kielce, 11 January 1954, p. 118–119; AIPN Ki, SWK, 128/101, Sentence of the District Court in Kielce, Kielce, 11 January 1954, p. 17).

⁷³ According to a Home Army report, on 26 October 1942 this policeman shot a Jewish woman in the Gaj forest after she was taken from the municipal arrest (APK, Collection *Armia Krajowa Obwód Jędrzejów*, [Home Army Jędrzejów District]), 3, Report, [Roads], 27 October 1942, p. 66).

⁷⁴ Włodarczyk received a rehabilitation certificate for former *Polnische Polizei* officers on 22 October 1947 (AAN, AF, [Mikołaj Włodarczyk], Certificate, Warsaw, 22 October 1947, p. 163).

The statistics are followed with a note: "I hereby enclose 91 fired shells and 17 shells."⁷⁵ On 1 December 1942, Commander Buczek sent another letter to the commander of the *Polnische Polizei* station in Jędrzejów with a request for ammunition supply: "I would like to ask for the supply of refills for rifle ammunition for this police station, as it was fired by the functionaries of [this] police station at the Jews during their last resettlement from Wodzisław; namely for sergeant Władysław Buczek – 20 rounds; platoon-leader Józef Klepka – 10 rounds; platoon-leader Władysław Wójcikowski – 5 rounds; Ludwik Szczukocki – 20 rounds; candidate Zdzisław Węcowski – 16 rounds, 71 rounds in total."⁷⁶

According to the abovementioned data and the letter from Commander Buczek of November 1942 (assuming this information is reliable), it appears that during the deportation of Jews from Wodzisław, the *Polnische Polizei* functionaries "fired on the Jews" 371 rounds in total. The policemen who reported the greatest consumption of ammunition were: candidate Węcowski (53), platoon-leader Szczukocki (40) and platoon-leader Machowski (36). The main question is whether all the rounds were actually "shot at the Jews", and whether all the policemen committed murders. The answer cannot be unambiguous. Only Machowski was put on trial. Home Army reports also generally mention "the Polish Police" and the particular activity of only two functionaries. Given the German meticulousness in counting each round,⁷⁷ it seems to be peculiar that one of the letters concerning the replenishment of ammunition is dated 21 November (it also refers to events from the preceding two months), i.e. after the complete liquidation of the ghetto, and the other letter bears a date of 1 December 1942. It should be noted that Commander Buczek, when interrogated as a witness in 1967, did not mention the participation of the *Polnische Polizei* in the ghetto deportation.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ AIPN, SKK, 652/48, vol. 1, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* Station in Wodzisław to the District Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* in Jędrzejów, Jędrzejów, 21 November 1942, p. 38.

⁷⁶ AIPN, SKK, 652/48, vol. 1, Letter from the Commander of the *Polnische Polizei* station in Wodzisław, Władysław Buczek to the district Commander in Jędrzejów, Wodzisław, 1 December 1942, p. 61.

⁷⁷ The policemen were required to submit detailed reports on the use of weapons (AIPN, SKK, 652/48, vol. 1).

⁷⁸ AIPN Ki, OKBZpNP, 53/1794, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Kielce, 7 November 1967, p. 8.

The next point of the indictment against Machowski and Klepka concerned the murder of the Jewish Rajzman family, hidden by one Stawinoga in the village of Piotrkowice.⁷⁹ The Rajzman family, coming from Wodzisław, consisted of four members,⁸⁰ Moszek Rajzman, his wife and two children. Presumably, the Rajzmans went into hideout in 1942; they lived in a specially built shelter placed in a barn. Stawinoga's dealings with the Rajzman family were most likely determined by exclusively predatory motives. A local rumour was that "Stawinoga had taken all the Rajzman's leather"⁸¹ and brought "the whole family's wardrobe" at his place.⁸² The presence of the hidden family became a burden for Stawinoga after some time. Witness Czesław Plutecki, stated that after two months "when [Stawinoga] consumed everything he received from those people, he decided to go to Wodzisław and report the Jews hidden on his farm to the 'Navy Blue' Police."⁸³ According to Plutecki, Stawinoga "got things done by drinking" at the police station. In return, the policemen did not report him to the Germans for hiding the Jews.⁸⁴ Buczek testified that the course of events was a bit different: in 1942 Stawinoga allegedly turned to the police commander with an offer to murder those people. Stawinoga also offered ten thousand złoty for murdering the Rajzmans.⁸⁵ Buczek apparently replied to Stawinoga that "the Polish police is not supposed to execute Jews, and I will not do this" and that if Stawinoga was afraid of the Germans, he could tell the Jews "to go wherever they want."⁸⁶ However, as the development of events

⁷⁹ After the war, the *Powiatowy Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego* (District Department of Security, PUBP, the local unit of the Communist security police) in Jędrzejów launched an investigation concerning the abovementioned murders in Piotrkowice. On 14 January 1950 the investigation was suspended "due to the failure to apprehend the suspect" by functionary Tadeusz Grabiwoda (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Application for the Suspension of the Investigation, Jędrzejów, 14 January 1950, p. 35).

⁸⁰ The witness Czesław Plutecki, a neighbour of Stawinoga, said that the family had five members. All other witnesses mentioned a family of four (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Czesław Plutecki, Racibórz, 17 February 1949, p. 11).

⁸¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Osiński, Piotrkowice, 7 August 1948, p. 7.

⁸² AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Czesław Plutecki, Racibórz, 17 February 1949, p. 11.

⁸³ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁴ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Czesław Plutecki, Racibórz, 17 February 1949, p. 11.

⁸⁵ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Jędrzejów, 8 October 1948, p. 9.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

showed, two policemen from the Wodzisław police station – Machowski and Klepka – went to Stawinoga.

During the investigation and in the court, Machowski denied the alleged offences. Interrogated at the court hearing on 6 September 1950, he said, “I had good neighbourly relations with the Rajzman family. Prior to the resettlement, [Rajzman] asked me for some advice what he should do. I advised him to hide with his family somewhere in the countryside, and he did so. I even helped him escape the town. Later I learned from Stawinoga that the Rajzmans were hidden in his barn. Stawinoga asked to remove them from there. However, I refused, even though Wojton Lubczyk [?] persuaded me to chase the Jews. Once I was on duty with policeman Józef Klepka. We went to Stawinoga with the village head. I was to take the Rajzmans and let them go somewhere along the way. When I came to Stawinoga, there were already some people who had shot the entire Rajzman family. One of them, whom I met in the city, told me to turn around and stand with a rifle around my neck. Stawinoga could have been in collusion with the organisation. We went [there] to help the Rajzman family. I told Klepka about it right before entering Stawinoga’s place. I was the patrol commander due to Klepka’s illness. Klepka was in the house with Stawinoga all the time.”⁸⁷ According to Machowski’s later testimony, it was Stawinoga who brought the “organisation,” and its three members were there on the spot.⁸⁸

Machowski’s version as presented at the trial and during the investigation was certainly an attempt to avoid responsibility. The policeman’s words were contradicted by several witnesses present at that tragic evening in Piotrkowice, including the co-defendant Józef Klepka. Key testimonies were given by the head of Piotrkowice village, Stanisław Osiński, and Władysław Kaczor. After arriving at Piotrkowice, Machowski and Klepka took Osiński with them to point out Stawinoga’s farm. Moreover, they were saying that “there are Jews at Stawinoga’s house” and that “Stawinoga reported it at the station [in Wodzisław].”⁸⁹ After the policemen had arrived at the place, Stawinoga went out to them. Thereafter, according to Osiński, the events unfolded as follows: “It happened in the evening, Józef Machowski ordered Józef Klepka to

⁸⁷ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Józef Machowski at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 73.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Osiński, Piotrkowice, 7 August 1948, p. 7.

watch and make sure that the Jews did not escape; he went with Stawinoga himself, so that Stawinoga would indicate the place in the barn with straw where the Jews were hiding. Machowski shouted first: 'Come out!', a shot was fired, I heard the screams of Rajzman's children and wife. Then Rajzman's wife and two children came out. Rajzman's wife asked Józef Machowski: 'Mr. Machowski, I want to say a few words.' Machowski at once shouted: 'About turn!'; he shot, instantly killing the Jewish woman, Rajzman's wife, near the barn, and killed her two children, shooting them with a rifle. I saw that Józef Machowski shot four people with a rifle that evening: three people next to the barn, and the Jew Rajzman inside the shelter."⁹⁰ Following the murder, Machowski searched Stawinoga's house. He did not find "anything relevant, he ended the search"⁹¹ The testimony of the co-defendant Klepka should be noted: "I did not ask him what had taken place at the barn, as it was him who shot [those] Jews of the Rajzman family, as I had not seen anyone else at that time."⁹²

Additional testimony in the case was given by Władysław Kaczor, who served as a cart driver on that fatal evening. He said: "I don't recall the exact date, but it was at the end of November or the beginning of December 1942 [...] When I drove up to Stawinoga's buildings, I stopped on the road from Piotrkowice, and the village head and the police got off [the cart] and [everyone] went to Stawinoga's yard; whether they entered the house or Stawinoga was in the yard, I can't say, but after a short time I heard the shots fired, coming from next to the barn, but I don't know which policeman was shooting as I was behind the bushes. I only heard the screams, how those Jews screamed, and after the shots came the screams. Following the shooting, one of the policemen shouted, ([but] which one I can't remember), that I had ridden into the yard with the horses. Upon arriving in the yard, I tied the horses to the fence and entered Stawinoga's house, and sat in the kitchen, and both policemen and the village head Osiński and Stawinoga were sitting in the room, but what they were saying was unknown to me, for I was sitting in the kitchen and the door was locked. They left after an hour or so. They

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*. Józef Klepka testified that after the murder, Machowski said: "I dealt with them – meaning with the Jews" (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 28 October 1948, p. 22).

⁹¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Osiński, Piotrkowice, 7 August 1948, p. 7. Osiński confirmed the above testimony at the hearing (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Stanisław Osiński at the Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, pp. 74–75).

⁹² AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Testimony of Józef Machowski at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 74.

told me to get on the cart because we were about to leave.”⁹³ The cart driver testified further that he saw four blood-soaked bodies⁹⁴. Machowski reportedly confessed to Klepka that he had killed three people of the Rajzman family, and also quoted what he told Stawinoga: “You are lucky that it was us, not the [German] gendarmes, as the gendarmes would have shot the Jews and your whole family.”⁹⁵

The behaviour of the other policeman present on the spot – Józef Klepka – should also be focused on. The events in Piotrkowice were not analysed in detail, although according to eyewitnesses, the role of Klepka should be described as passive, limited to following Machowski’s instructions.⁹⁶ Osiński testified: “In the barn belonging to Stawinoga, Machowski ordered Klepka to stand at one end of the barn and watch to make sure that the Jews would not escape. If the Jews were to flee, Machowski ordered Klepka to fire at them.”⁹⁷ This detail is lacking in the testimonies given to Kazimierz Stawecki and Tadeusz Grabiwoda, the PUBP’s investigative functionaries in Jędrzejów. Klepka stated that he had been instructed by Machowski to go to Piotrkowice, whilst Machowski was ordered to “go to Piotrkowice [to] chase out the Jews.”⁹⁸ Also, after arriving at the buildings belonging to Stawinoga, Klepka was allegedly in the yard all the time, there he heard the shots and screams. Later, due to the cold, he entered Stawinoga’s home. He claimed that he was following Machowski’s instructions, who told him that they were going to Piotrkowice to “chase the Jews away.”⁹⁹

The investigation did not find who had given the abovementioned order to “chase the Jews away” and whether it was really about “chasing them away”. Interrogated as a witness, Commander Buczek strongly denied ever having issued such an order: “As

⁹³ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Kaczor, Jędrzejów, 30 July 1949, pp. 16–17.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 17. Kaczor confirmed his testimony during the trial (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Władysław Kaczor at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75).

⁹⁵ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 29 October 1948, p. 25.

⁹⁶ Klepka was tried with Machowski (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/297, Indictment against Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 14 January 1950, p. 36; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Sentence of the Court of Appeal in Kielce, Kielce, 11 January 1954, p. 86, 89).

⁹⁷ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Stanisław Osiński at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75.

⁹⁸ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 28 October 1948, p. 21–22.

⁹⁹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 29 October 1948, p. 24.

a witness, I testify that I gave no order to policemen J[ózef] Machowski and J[ózef] Klepka; I assert that they might have gone there and executed the Jews hiding at Stawinoga's, on their own account."¹⁰⁰ Undoubtedly the crime in Piotrkowice was reported in official records. In one of the versions, Machowski prepared a report, then forwarded it to the gendarmerie in Jędrzejów; whilst in the other, Commander Buczek made an entry in the Wodzisław station's activities log.¹⁰¹

The Judges of Court of Appeal in Kielce, chairman Stanisław Jabłoński and jury members Jan Śledź and Stanisław Kaczmarek, had no doubts about the guilt of Józef Machowski. He was found guilty of two crimes under Art. 1, point 1 of the Decree of 31 August 1944, committed in the manner described in points 1 and 2 of the indictment, and of the crimes under Art. 2 of the abovementioned Decree as described in point 3 of the indictment.¹⁰² For the latter, the Court of Appeal in Kielce sentenced Machowski to 3 years in prison; for the crimes under points 1 and 2 of the indictment, to the death penalty for each of them; and the combined penalty was death and the permanent loss of civil and honorary rights and confiscation of all property.¹⁰³ The Supreme Court also had no doubts about Machowski's guilt. Rejecting the appeal by the accused, and upholding the Kielce Court of Appeal's sentence, the Court stated: "Although in the case considered, the defendant indeed, as stated in the sentence's grounds, shot at a group of 30 persons of Jewish nationality ordered by the German gendarmerie – the Court of Appeal has properly assessed that the defendant did not deserve to be treated according to the regulations of Art. 5, par. 2 of the 31 August 1944 Decree, when considering the behaviour of the defendant, who was then showing a great deal of his own initiative in liquidating citizens of Jewish nationality, even when Germans were absent."¹⁰⁴ The Court of Appeal in Kielce and the Supreme Court issued negative opinions on pardoning Machowski, and the

¹⁰⁰ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Władysław Buczek, Jędrzejów, 8 October 1948, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/279, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Suspect Józef Klepka, Jędrzejów, 29 October 1948, p. 24; *ibidem*, 28 October 1948, p. 21–23.

¹⁰² "In 1943 in Wodzisław, Jędrzejów district, obeying the German state authorities, he acted to the detriment of Marian Pałasz by capturing him for deportation to forced labour in the Reich" (AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Indictment against Józef Machowski, Kielce, 30 April 1950, p. 3).

¹⁰³ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Sentence against Józef Klepka and Józef Machowski, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Copy of the Sentence of the Supreme Court, Warsaw, 29 March 1951, p. 123.

President Bolesław Bierut did not pardon him. The death sentence on Machowski was carried out on 16 May 1951 in Kielce prison.¹⁰⁵

The fate of the other defendant, Józef Klepka, followed a different path. Apart from the Rajzmanns' murder, he was charged of beating a Pole, Józef Blacha, in autumn 1942 at a police station in Wodzisław. Klepka was found guilty of taking part in the murder of the Rajzmanns, but acquitted of assaulting Blacha. The Court of Appeal in Kielce sentenced him to 5 years and 6 months in prison. The court applied an extraordinary leniency in their punishment, which was justified as follows: "The defendant Klepka was, at that time, acting under orders by the defendant Machowski, a patrol commander, [...] and when imposing imprisonment, [the Court] sentenced him to the minimal term, as the behaviour of the defendant Klepka, except for the crime attributed to him, was impeccable."¹⁰⁶ Kałma Fajrajzen emphasised: "The accused Klepka had a very positive attitude towards Jews. He always helped them."¹⁰⁷ Klepka left the prison on parole, after a decision of the Voivodship Court in Kielce of 11 January 1954.¹⁰⁸

Despite the conclusion of the trial and the passing of the sentences, several threads in the case remain unexplained. First and foremost, the identity of the other policeman shooting Jews at the cemetery could not be established. Also, the records of the trial do not contain all of the paperwork produced, as may be inferred from the investigation files which have been preserved. For example, the original minutes of the interrogation of the witness Stanisław Osiński on 24 June 1947,¹⁰⁹ the witnesses Stanisław Chabiński

¹⁰⁵ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Opinion Concerning Pardoning Józef Machowski, Warsaw, Kielce, 7 April 1951, p. 127; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Opinion Concerning Pardoning Józef Machowski, Warsaw, 12 April 1951, p. 130; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Letter of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Poland to Voivodship Court in Kielce, Warsaw, 11 May 1951, p. 133; AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Letter of the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Kielce to Voivodship Court in Kielce, Kielce, 16 May 1951, p. 141; J. Grabowski, *The Polish Police...*; it was not the only case – as Grabowski maintains – of capital punishment carried out on a *Polnische Polizei* officer (J. Grabowski, *The Polish Police...*, p. 31, footnote 29). For instance, on 20 June 1950, a former *Polnische Polizei* officer, Edward Krepski, was hanged in Kielce (T. Domański, *Z dziejów policji granatowej...*, p. 220).

¹⁰⁶ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Sentence Concerning Józef Klepka and Józef Machowski, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 86, 88.

¹⁰⁷ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Kałma Fajrajzen at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Decision of the Voivodship Court in Kielce, Kielce, 11 January 1954, p. 157.

¹⁰⁹ AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Copy of the Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Osiński, Piotrkowice, 24 June 1947, p. 17. This testimony generally confirms other preserved testimonies made during the investigation.

and Mieczysław Barański¹¹⁰ (these minutes relate to the murders of the Jews, perhaps also committed by Machowski, that were not included in the indictment) and the witnesses Franciszek Jarosz, Stanisław Żoźna¹¹¹ and Józef Synal, are lacking. The witness Synal described events that had taken place in autumn 1942 in Wodzisław. Machowski reportedly shot at a crowd of people gathered in one of the streets, approximately 150m from the *Polnische Polizei* station. Two Jews suffered gunshot wounds.¹¹² Other allegations not included in the indictment against Machowski are also referred to in the testimonies of Marian Pałasz (“I heard that Machowski also shot dead the Korc family in Olszówka”¹¹³) and Kałma Fajrajzen (“Colleagues said that the accused Machowski shot dead Lewkowiczówna and the Korc family”¹¹⁴). Besides, references to platoon-leader Machowski appear in the records of the parallel trial of Mieczysław Szota and others. One of the witnesses examined, Piotr Kalinowski, who served as the supervisor of the municipal lock-up during the occupation, testified that at the beginning of 1943 he had witnessed Machowski taking four Jews out of the remand prison and killing one of them (a women). He also saw the bodies of the three other Jews.¹¹⁵

Assessing the archival records which have been researched, there is no doubt that the trial of Józef Machowski was fair, despite the times in which it took place, in contrast to some of the trials conducted at that time in the courts

¹¹⁰ AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Copy of the Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Mieczysław Barański, Wodzisław, 22 September 1948, p. 27; AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Chabiński, Wodzisław, 11 September 1948, p. 26.

¹¹¹ AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Copy of the Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Franciszek Jarosz, Jędrzejów, 27 September 1949, p. 55; AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Copy of the Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Stanisław Żoźna, Jędrzejów, 27 September 1949, p. 56. The testimonies concerned the events in Piotrkowice.

¹¹² AIPN Ki, WUSW, 013/1127, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Józef Synal, Jędrzejów, 12 November 1949, p. 66.

¹¹³ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Marian Pałasz at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75.

¹¹⁴ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/278, Testimony of Kałma Fajrajzen at the Court Hearing, Kielce, 6 September 1950, p. 75. The case of the Jewish family Korc is of particular importance: in 1952 the former Home Army soldier Zygmunt Szykshnian (with the partisan unit led by Jan ‘Michał’ Stempkowski) was found guilty of complicity in killing them (T. Domański, “‘Sierpniówki’ jako źródło do dziejów Armii Krajowej w Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckim na przykładzie procesów przed Sądem Okręgowym, Sądem Apelacyjnym i Sądem Wojewódzkim w Kielcach. Wybrane problemy badawcze” in *Z dziejów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Kielecczyźnie 1939–1945*, ed. J. Gapys, T. Domański, Kielce 2016, p. 179).

¹¹⁵ AIPN Ki, SAK, 126/100, Minutes of the Interrogation of the Witness Piotr Kalinowski, Jędrzejów, 10 November 1949, p. 69.

in Kielce.¹¹⁶ For unknown reasons, the court in Kielce did not consider many aspects of the defendant's activities as revealed in the course of the trial, but focused solely on selected issues. The degree of the responsibility of other *Polnische Polizei* officers from Wodzisław and of the farmer Stawinoga was not analysed. The latter, as it appears from the general shape of the case, initiated the murder of the Rajzman family.

The trial discussed and the remaining records of the Home Army highlight the need to analyse the attitudes and actions of some *Polnische Polizei* policemen towards the Jews in the Jędrzejów district. The reports of the Home Army are especially worth recalling. The operation to "resettle all" of the Jews from Jędrzejów took place on 22 February 1943. In this action, as well as the Germans, the *Polnische Polizei* functionaries took part (also killing Jews). Among them were Wilczyński, Całka and Kozak. Wilczyński¹¹⁷ allegedly shot "a few" Jews.¹¹⁸ On 24 September 1942, two policemen from Czekaj, Jan Kupiec¹¹⁹ and Stanisław Stachura, under orders from the Germans, in the forests of the Krzelów estate, were "shooting [at] all the Jews (11 persons). Among the victims were women and children. Please register the abovementioned events as contrary to the humanitarian dignity of a human."¹²⁰ These matters require a thorough analysis. The Underground fighters using the codenames 'Granat' and 'Brzózka' who signed the [Home Army] Reports, which were very critical of some *Polnische Polizei* functionaries, were the *Polnische Polizei* Sergeant-Major Jan Derszniak and the *Polnische Kriminalpolizei* functionary Józef Zapala; this shows that the attitudes of *Polnische Polizei* functionaries towards the Jews as discussed above were not overwhelming.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ The trial of the *Polnische Polizei* officer from the police station in Złota should be mentioned; there is evidence that the trial was of a political nature, and the defendant Krepski did not commit the crimes he was charged with. The trials of soldiers fighting for the independence Underground were also mainly aimed at compromising them, and not to objectively determine the course of events (T. Domański, *Z dziejów policji granatowej...*, pp. 219–243; *idem*, "Sierpniówki"...", pp. 167–215; *idem*, 'Z historii oddziału "Wybranieckich", czyli o wiarygodności materiałów śledczych i operacyjnych UB', part 1, *Arcana* 2012, no. 106–107; part 2, *Arcana* 2013, no. 109).

¹¹⁷ Wilczyński was the very same policeman so eager to use deported Jews' property (see above).

¹¹⁸ AIPN Ki, KMM, 267/33, Report: 'Granat', n.p., n.d., p. 69.

¹¹⁹ The Home Army suspected Kupiec of cooperating with the Germans (AAN, AŚŻŻAK, 19, List of Persons in the Jędrzejów District Actively Cooperating and Suspected of Cooperating with the Occupier as Informants, Agents and Denunciators, n.p., n.d., p. 14).

¹²⁰ AIPN Ki, KMM, 267/33, Report: 'Miedzna', n.p., 10 October 1942, p. 6; AIPN Ki, KMM, Reports 'Kostek', n.p., n.d., p. 17.

¹²¹ A. Ropelewski, *W służbie wywiadu Polski Walczącej (na przykładzie Obwodu ZWZ-AK Jędrzejów)*, Gdańsk 1994, p. 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival sources

Archiwum Akt Nowych (Central Archives of Modern Records)

Armia Krajowa (Home Army)

Archiwum Środowiska Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej Obwód Jędrzejów (Archives of the Circle of Home Army Soldiers in Jędrzejów Province)

Akta byłych funkcjonariuszy Policji Państwowej, Straży Więziennej, Korpusu Ochrony Pogranicza i Straży Granicznej (Files of former State Police, Prison Guard, Border Protection Corps and Border Guard officers)

Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute)

Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe – Jüdisches Hilfskomitee) Accounts

Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance)

Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für den Distrikt Radom

Der Stadt- und Kreishauptmann Kielce

Zbiór akt Policji Polskiej w Dystrykcie Radomskim (Collection of the Polish Police Records in *Distrikt Radom*)

Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Kielcach (Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance in Kielce)

Kolekcja Mateusza Mielniczuka (Mateusz Mielniczuk's collection)

Sąd Apelacyjny w Kielcach (Court of Appeal in Kielce)

Sąd Okręgowy (District Court in Kielce)

Wojewódzki Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych w Kielcach (Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Kielce)

Archiwum Oddziałowej Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Krakowie (Archives of Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation in Cracow)

Investigation files (DS)

Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (State Archives in Kielce)

Armia Krajowa Obwód Jędrzejów (Home Army Jędrzejów District)

Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy)

Printed sources

Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo kieleckie, Warsaw 1980.

Wokół procesu biskupa kieleckiego Czesława Kaczmarka. Wspomnienia nazaretanki s. Izabelli Machowskiej, T. Domański, D. Kozieł, Kielce 2013.

Literature

Adamczyk E., 'Wiktor', *Mój udział w kontrwywiadzie Armii Krajowej*, Warsaw 2007.

Artymiak A., *Ofiary zbrodni niemieckich w powiecie jędrzejowskim w latach 1939–1945, Jędrzejów 1947.*

Berendt G., 'Żydzi zbiegli z gett i obozów śmierci' in *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji*, ed. M. Trębacz, A. Sitarek, E. Wiatr, Łódź 2012.

Curilla W., *Der Judenmord in Polen und die deutsche Ordnungspolizei 1939–1945*, Verlag: Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2011.

Czarny W., 'Ruch oporu na ziemi wodzisławskiej', *Przyjaciel Wodzisławia* 1986, no. 2.

Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski, vol. 1–2, ed. B. Engelking, J. Grabowski, Warsaw 2018.

Domański T., "'Sierpniówki" jako źródło do dziejów Armii Krajowej w Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckim na przykładzie procesów przed Sądem Okręgowym, Sądem Apelacyjnym i Sądem Wojewódzkim w Kielcach. Wybrane problemy badawcze' in *Z dziejów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Kielecczyźnie 1939–1945*, ed. J. Gapys, T. Domański, Kielce 2016.

Domański T., 'Z dziejów policji granatowej. Proces Edwarda Krepskiego' in *225 lat policji w Polsce. Geneza i ewolucja policji*, ed. P. Majer, M. Seroka, Olsztyn 2017.

Domański T., 'Z historii oddziału "Wybranieckich", czyli o wiarygodności materiałów śledczych i operacyjnych UB', part 1, *Arcana* 2012, no. 106–107; part 2, *Arcana* 2013, no. 109.

Domański T., Jankowski A., *Represje niemieckie na wsi kieleckiej 1939–1945*, Kielce 2011.

Hempel A., *Pogrobowcy kłęski. Rzecz o policji "granatowej" w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1990.

Kraemer J., 'Wodzisław' in *Encyclopedia of camps and ghettos 1939–1945*, vol. 2, part A: *Ghettos in German-occupied Eastern Europe*, ed. M. Dean, M. Hecker, n.p., 2012.

'Laskowski Julian, Karbowniczek Józefa' in *Księga Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata. Ratujący Żydów podczas Holokaustu. Polska*, ed. I. Gutman, Cracow 2009.

- Litwiński R., 'Komisja rehabilitacyjno-kwalifikacyjna dla byłych policjantów (1946-1952)', *Dzieje Najnowsze* 2004, no. 1.
- Litwiński R., 'Policja granatowa w okupacyjnej Warszawie w obronie bezpieczeństwa i porządku publicznego. Od podległości wobec okupanta do współpracy z Polskim Państwem Podziemnym' in *Porządek publiczny i bezpieczeństwo w okupacyjnej Warszawie*, ed. R. Spalek, Warsaw 2018.
- Młynarczyk J.A., *Judenmord in Zentralpolen. Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939-1945*, Darmstadt 2007.
- Młynarczyk J.A., 'Pomiędzy współpracą a zdradą. Problem kolaboracji w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie – próba syntezy', *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 2009, no. 1.
- Nowak M.K., *Z nurtem i pod prąd. 100 lat OSP Wodzisław na tle historii ruchu strażackiego w regionie*, Wodzisław – Cracow 2004.
- Ropelewski A., *W jędrzejowskim obwodzie AK*, Warsaw 1986.
- Ropelewski A., *W służbie wywiadu Polski Walczącej (na przykładzie Obwodu ZWZ-AK Jędrzejów)*, Gdańsk 1994.
- Seidel R., *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2006.
- Szymańska-Smolkin S., *Fateful Decisions: The Polish Policemen and the Jewish Population of Occupied Poland, 1939-1945*, n.p., 2017.
- The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust*, red. G. Miron, S. Sulhani, vol. 2, Jerusalem 2009.
- Urbański K., *Gminy żydowskie małe w województwie kieleckim w okresie międzywojennym*, Kielce 2006.

Legal acts

Dekret z dnia 31 sierpnia 1944 r. o wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy winnych zabójstw i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego (Decree of 31 August 1944 on the punishment for fascist-Hitlerite criminals guilty of manslaughter and maltreatment of civilians and prisoners of war and for traitors of the Polish nation). *Dziennik Ustaw* 1946, nr 69, poz. 377.

Internet resources

Domański T., 'Korekta obrazu? Refleksje źródłoznawcze wokół książki „Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski”', <https://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka->

cyfrowa/publikacje/33085,Korekta-obrazu-Refleksje-zrodloznawcze-wokol-ksiazki-Dalej-jest-noc-Losy-Zydow-w.html, accessed 10 October 2019 r.

Grabowski J., *The Polish Police Collaboration in the Holocaust*, https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20170502-Grabowski_OP.pdf, accessed 31 June 2018.

Archiwum Społeczne Historii Ziemi Jędrzejowskiej, Żydzi z Jędrzejowa. <http://andreovia.pl/publikacje/zydzi-z-jedrzejowa/item/35-yad-vashem>, accessed 22 June 2018.

SUMMARY

After the Polish defeat in 1939, the German occupiers established a new police force within the General Governorate, formed of pre-war officers of the Polish State Police. They named it *Polnische Polizei* (Polish Police). The new police gained the name of the 'Navy Blue Police' because of the colour of the uniforms, and has become engraved under this name in social awareness and historical research. The officers of the *Polnische Polizei* were to implement the orders imposed by their German superiors. Among these tasks, anti-Jewish operations played an important role. The paper discusses the participation of *Polnische Polizei* policemen in the deportation of Jews from Wodzisław in the Jędrzejów district in 1942; it also attempts to verify the charges raised during the post-war trial of two functionaries. The analysis unambiguously proves that during the Jewish deportation period at least two policemen, including Józef Machowski, were involved in the murders of Jews. In addition, the same policeman, together with Józef Klepka from the Wodzisław police station, participated in the murder of the Rajzman family; Machowski was the one who shot them. For these crimes, Machowski was sentenced to capital punishment, and the sentence was carried out.

KEYWORDS

Polnische Polizei•Józef Klepka•Józef Machowski•August Decree•trial