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THE TRIAL OF THE BOARD
OF THE DISTRICT OF STATE-OWNED LANDED ESTATES IN KOSZALIN
IN 1948

Key words: Pomerania, state agricultural estates, show trial, combat against the Polish Peasant's Party

The State-owned Landed Estates (Polskie Nieruchomości Ziemskie, PNZ) were set up upon the decree of the Council of Ministers of 6 June 1946, but the preparations for its establishment had begun several months before. On 17 June 1946 the Secretary of Agriculture and Agricultural Reforms Stanisław Mikołajczyk delegated the engineer Witold Maringe, a former owner of the three-hundred-seventy-six hectare landed estate in Lenartowo in the county of Mogilno, to set up this enterprise. As early as 3 February 1946 Maringe appointed district plenipotentiaries of the PNZ, whose responsibility was to establish nine districts in the Western and Northern Lands: the district of Gdańsk based in Sopot, the district of Jelenia Góra based in Cieplice Śląskie, the district of Koszalin, the district of Lubusz Land based in Poznań, the districts of Olsztyn, Opole, Szczecin, Wrocław and East Masuria based in Giżycko. The seat of the Central Board of the PNZ (Zarząd Centralny, ZC PNZ) was Poznań, and Maringe was appointed its head by the minister Mikołajczyk. Former landowners played a major role in the formation of the PNZ as many of them held important positions in the Central Board and in the District Boards (Zarządy Okręgowe, ZO).¹

¹ Henryk DUDA, *Państwowe Nieruchomości Ziemskie w Opolu (1946–1949). Zarys monograficzny*, Opole 2006, pp. 14–23; Tadeusz BIAŁECKI, *Państwowe Nieruchomości Ziemskie 1946–1949 na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, [in:] *Od Państwowych Nieruchomości Ziemskich do restrukturyzacji i prywatyzacji Państwowych Gospodarstw Rolnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, ed. Kazimierz KOZŁOWSKI, Lech PAŁASZ, Szczecin 2006, p. 32; Tomasz OSIŃSKI, „Klika obszarnicza”.

The Koszalin district of the PNZ consisted of twelve counties of Szczecin Province: Białogard, Bytów, Drawsko, Koszalin, Miastko, Sławno, Szczecinek, Wałcz and Złotów. It belonged to the biggest districts in Poland. According to the data of 30 September 1946 the Koszalin district of the PNZ included 84 complexes and 84 estates covering a total area of 155 000 hectares, including 134 000 of farmland.² The area of the land continued to change as agricultural estates were taken over by the Soviet army and other estates were used for settlement and land subdivision. According to the data of 18 November 1947 the district had 175 000 hectares of farmland, 31 March 1948 – 209 000 hectares,³ and 1 June 1948 – 290 000.⁴ At that time the PNZ administered 679 estates in the Koszalin district, which were grouped in 86 complexes. The Soviets still owned 142 estates of the total area of 74 000 hectares.⁵ In the first quarter of 1946 in the Koszalin district 12 100 workers were employed, including 11 100 Germans (92%);⁶ 1 September 1947 – 16 200 workers, including 9 700 Poles (the Polish group also included 1 300 Ukrainians deported as a result of the

Ziemianie w polityce personalnej Państwowych Nieruchomości Ziemijskich (1946–1949), Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość, 2012, no. 2 (20), p. 229 n. This article was written mainly on the basis of extensive material from the Military District Court (Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy, WSR) in Szczecin (entry no. 61/222, vol. 1–9), collected in the Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, IPN), the Branch in Szczecin. This is the complete investigation material (testimonies, expertise, materials from the trial and others). Apart from those files in the Branch of the IPN in Szczecin there are kept operational materials from the investigation generated by the bureau of public security (entry no. 00101/399), which overlap with the material of the WSR. For this article the most important were the files of WSR, which examined thoroughly. The files from the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin, if they have survived, are to be found in the complex of the Central Board of the PNZ in Central Archives of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych, AAN). The files are not to be found either in the State Archive in Koszalin or in the State Archive in Szczecin. For the needs of this publication they are of tertiary importance.

² Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie [State Archive in Koszalin] (further cit. APS), Wojewódzka Rada Narodowa, Biuro Prezydyjalne w Szczecinie (further cit. WRN), entry no. 148, sprawozdanie ZC PNZ z działalności za 1946 r.

³ Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Oddział w Szczecinie [Institute of National Remembrance, Branch in Szczecin] (further cit. IPNS), entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 2, wyciąg ze sprawozdania z kontroli w ZO PNZ w Koszalinie w dniach 2 IV–31 V 1948 r.

⁴ Wykaz imienny Państwowych Nieruchomości Ziemijskich o obszarze powyżej 100 ha na terenie województwa szczecińskiego z 1 VI 1948 r., published in: *Źródła do dziejów Państwowych Nieruchomości Ziemijskich i Państwowych Gospodarstw Rolnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, ed. Tadeusz BIAŁECKI, Małgorzata MACHAŁEK, Szczecin 2008, pp. 23–185.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ APS, WRN, entry no. 148, sprawozdanie ZC PNZ z działalności za 1946 r.

“Wisła” action) and 6500 Germans (40%);⁷ and 1 January 1948 – 13 600 workers, including 2100 Germans (15%).⁸

The first head of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin became Tomasz Kozłowski,⁹ but as early as 1 September 1946 the chief director of the PNZ appointed the engineer Władysław Czarnecki to this post.¹⁰

The District Board consisted of four departments: the General Organizational Department, the Agricultural Department, the Department of Purchase and Distribution, the Financial Department and the independent Economic-Statistical Branch. The complexes of the estates were managed by administrators, while estates fell under the jurisdiction of the stewards. District inspectors played a major role as they were intermediaries between the administrators of the complexes and the District Board. In July 1946 county administrators were appointed.¹¹ Among the managerial staff of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin there were many good professional who had both higher agricultural education and experience in running big farms. The group included several former landowners, whose estate had been divided in the years 1944–1945, and administrators who in the times of the Second Polish Republic had run private and state-owned farms and who during WW II had managed folwarks taken over by the German occupying forces.

⁷ Ibid., entry no. 241, sprawozdanie ZO PNZ w Koszalinie od marca 1946 r. do 31 VIII 1947 r.

⁸ Ibid., entry no. 151, sprawozdanie z działalności ZO PNZ w Koszalinie za 1948 r.

⁹ H. DUDA, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁰ Władysław Czarnecki was born on 31 May 1896 in Warsaw, in a family of a construction entrepreneur Władysław and Jadwiga née Chmielecka. His father died in 1901. Władysław Czarnecki finished agricultural studies in the Warsaw University of Life Sciences obtaining the title of engineer farmer. From January 1919 until November 1920 he served in the Polish Army (he received the rank of the reserve sub-lieutenant in 1925). Next, he was the administrator of various landed estates in Lublin and Warsaw Provinces. From 1938 until the outbreak of the war he worked as a clerk in the Warsaw branch of the German Central Agricultural Bureau (German: Landwirtschaftliche Zentralstelle). After the collapse of the Warsaw Uprising, he was imprisoned in a camp in Pruszków, from where he escaped to Milanówek, where he resided until the Red Army entered the town. From April 1945 to August 1946 he was the administrator of the landed estate in Lipa in the county of Inowrocław. From February to March 1946 he was a plenipotentiary of the Central Board of the PNZ for the organization of the management staff for the PNZ in Olsztyn and Giżycko, and later in Bydgoszcz. After the organization of the Bydgoszcz management staff he was appointed the head of District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 23 IV 1948 r.; vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 26 VI 1948 r.; vol. 6, życiorys W. Czarneckiego z 1 VIII 1948 r.).

¹¹ APS, WRN, entry no. 148, sprawozdanie ZC PNZ z działalności za 1946 r.

The head of the Agricultural Department was Stanisław Rossochacki,¹² of the Department of Purchase and Distribution – Kazimierz Ziółkowski,¹³ of the Financial Department – Karol Kaćma,¹⁴ and of the General Organizational

¹² Stanisław Rossochacki was born on 9 August 1911 in Vilnius in a family of Kalikst and Eugenia née Jeleniewska. In 1922 his parents died, and Stanisław fell under the custody of his relatives in Vilnius. In 1930 he passed his final upper secondary school exam (*matura*), and in 1939 he obtained the diploma of the agricultural engineer at the Agricultural Department of Stefan Batory University in Vilnius. He did not take part in the fights in 1939 due to the bad health condition. After the German-Soviet war began, he returned to Vilnius, where he dealt with trade. From March 1943 he worked in various landed estates as an administrator. When the Soviets re-entered the Vilnius Land in July of 1944 he returned to Vilnius and worked as a warehouse worker in a granary. In August 1945 he arrived in Koszalin. From September 1945 to February 1946 he worked as an inspector in the Provincial Landed Bureau (Wojewódzki Urząd Ziemski, WUZ), next in the Agricultural Department of the District Board of the PNZ first as a notice, and from July 1947 as the head of the Agricultural Department (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 6, życiorys S. Rossochackiego, b.d.; vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania S. Rossochackiego z 1 VI 1948 r.).

¹³ Kazimierz Ziółkowski was born on 22 December 1913 in Poznań in a family of a medical doctor Czesław and Emilia née Celichowska. He was a grandson of Zygmunt Celichowski, a historian and administrator of the Kórnik Library and the president of the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences. His father died in 1931. After he passed his *matura* exam in 1933, he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at Poznań University. In 1936 he gave up the studies and started studying in the Poznań School of Economics. His education was interrupted by the outbreak of the war. From January 1939 to January 1940 he worked in the Poznań Printing Plant; next was resettled to Kobierzyn (now a district of Cracow) by the Germans. Next, he worked in the landed estate of his cousin Lipicze in the county of Częstochowa. When the Germans confiscated the estate from his cousin, Ziółkowski was transported to Częstochowa, from where he left for Warsaw. After some time he returned to Częstochowa and started working as the head of the branch of the District Agricultural-Commercial Cooperative in Żarki. He was dismissed in March 1943, then he got a job as the head of the second branch in Janów in the county of Radomsko, where he worked until the Red Army entered the town. In March 1945 he returned to Poznań, and after a year he started working in the District Board of the PNZ as the head of the Department of Supplies and Sales (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1, życiorys K. Ziółkowskiego z 11 IV 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania K. Ziółkowskiego z 20 IV 1948 r.).

¹⁴ Karol Kaćma was born on 27 June 1898 in Mokrotyn, in the country of Żółkiew, in Lviv Province, in a family of Aleksander and Karolina née Mayer. In 1916 he passed his *matura* exam in Lviv. Next he was called up to the Army of Austria-Hungary and served in Hungary. At the end of 1916 he was dismissed from the army and returned to Warsaw, then to the vicinities of Kalisz, where he earned his living as a private teacher. In January 1919 he was called up to the Polish Army and sent to the eastern front. In March 1922 he was demobilized as the sub-standard bearer (later he was given the rank of the Reserve Sub-Lieutenant). From May 1922 he worked in the Lviv branch of the Warsaw Bank for Trade and Industry. In June 1926 he received the post of the head of the Tarnopol branch of the French Shipping Society Chargeurs réunis. In the autumn of 1926 he was moved to the position of the head of the department in Przemyśl in the French Shipping Industry La Société générale des transports maritimes. In the spring of 1927 he became the head of the society in Lviv. He worked there until the end of July 1930. Next, he became the head of the branch of the Immigration Syndicate in Stanisławów, and from

Department – the sub-colonel Gwidon Brożyński (until September 1939 the provincial commander of the State Police in Lublin¹⁵). Moreover, the following people belonged to the management of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin: the district inspector of veterinary medicine Jan Gliński,¹⁶ the head of the branch of Planning and Production – Ignacy Tadrzyński,¹⁷ the head of the

June 1938 – in Lviv. He worked there until the outbreak of the war, in which he did not take part due to his bad health condition. In May 1940 he left for Warsaw for fear of being resettled to the Soviet Union. At the beginning of 1941 he became the head of a shop of the Grocery's Cooperative "Spółnota Skarbowa". He worked there until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising. At the end of September 1944 he was transported to the camp in Pruszków, from where managed to escape to the vicinities of Cracow. In February 1945 he left for Łódź, from where he left for Koszalin in May 1945 with the personnel of the State Repatriation Bureau (Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny, PUR). He worked in a branch of the PUR until mid-February 1946. Next worked in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin originally as a notice, and from January 1947 as the head of the Financial Department (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 6, życiorys K. Kaćmy z 2 VIII 1948 r.; vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania K. Kaćmy z 23 IV 1948 r.).

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania K. Ziółkowskiego z 14 IV 1948 r.; Adam HEMPEL, *Pogrobowcy kłęski. Rzecz o policji „granatowej” w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1990, p. 41.

¹⁶ Jan Gliński was born on 6 May 1890 in Dziekaniszki in the country of Vilnius, in a family of an agricultural lease-holder, who died in 1905. In 1911 he passed his *matura* exam and started studying in the Veterinary Institute in Warsaw (moved to Moscow in 1915), which he finished in 1916. Next, he was called up to the Russian army and sent to the Turkish front. In October 1918 he was dismissed from the army, returned to Warsaw and worked as a veterinary doctor. In May 1920 he was called up to the Polish Army. After completing the active military service, he remained in the army as a veterinary doctor and served in Toruń, Grodno, Nowa Wilejka and Vilnius. In September 1939 he was interned in Lithuania; in January 1940 he was released and returned to the Vilnius Land where he worked as a veterinary doctor. After the Soviet Army occupied Lithuania, the Soviet authorities appointed him the head of the veterinary clinic in Święciany. During the German occupation he continued working for the clinic under the supervision of a Lithuanian doctor. In January 1944 left for Podbrodzie, where he worked as a veterinary doctor. In July 1944 the Soviet authorities appointed him the county veterinary doctor in Święciany. In May 1946 he arrived in Tychów in the Białogard county to work in his profession, and on 1 February 1947 he started working in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin as a district veterinary inspector (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 6, życiorys J. Glińskiego z 1 VIII 1948 r.; vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania J. Glińskiego z 24 IV 1948 r.).

¹⁷ Ignacy Tadrzyński was born on 2 May 1890 in Sanniki, in the country of Środa Wielkopolska, in a family of an agricultural lease-holder. In 1905 he finished a gymnasium school in Śrem in 1905, and in 1908 he finished a secondary agricultural school in Szamotuły. In 1911 he started agricultural studies in Munich Polytechnic; after a year he moved to Leipzig University, which he finished in 1914 with the diploma of an agronomist. After the studies he became the administrator of the three hundred fifty hectare estate of Małe Łąki, in the county of Kościan, which was leased by his father. In 1921 he leased the six-hundred-hectare estate of Psarskie in the county of Szamotuły, but in 1930 he went bankrupt. For a year he administered another estate, then he held the position of the commissary Voigt of the gmina of Lwówek, in the county of Nowy Tomyśl; next, he was the Voigt of the gmina of Duszniki in the county of Szamotuły. In 1932 he joined the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (BBWR). Af-

Seeding department – Józef Pakulski.¹⁸ Nine out of eleven district inspectors came from landed gentry families: Tadeusz Czaplicki,¹⁹ Tadeusz Przedpełski,²⁰ Włodzimierz Sulimierski, Stanisław Suski, Adam Pułaski, Kazimierz Pułaski, Jerzy Pniewski,²¹ Kazimierz Klimkiewicz, Konstanty Ciechomski. The administrators of the complexes who came from landed gentry families included: Edward Górski (Krosino, the county of Białogard), Tadeusz Kohler-Okoński (Gwiazdowo, the county of Szczecinek), Włodzimierz Karotka (Świerzenko, the county of Miastko), Ignacy Strzelecki (Łeknica, the county of Szczecinek), Witold Piłsudski – the cousin of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (Kiełpin, the county

ter 1935 he took the position of the supervisor of landed estates as the representative of the Provincial Arbitrary Office for Owners of Farming Estates in Poznań. In 1940 he was resettled to Tarnobrzeg by the Germans. In 1941 he received from the Liegenschaft the position of the administrator of the landed estate of Wojsław, in the country of Mielec, which he held until the arrival of the Red Army in August 1944. Next, he became the administrator of this estate as the representative of the landed commissary in Nisk. In March 1945 he returned to Poznań, and in July he left for Koszalin, where he started to work in the Provincial Landed Estates Office as a notice. In March 1946 he commenced working in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin, originally as a notice, and from December 1946 – as the head of the branch of Planning and Production (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 6, życiorys I. Tadrzyńskiego z 2 VIII 1948 r.; vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania I. Tadrzyńskiego z 1 VI 1948 r.; vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania I. Tadrzyńskiego z 23 IV 1948 r.).

¹⁸ Józef Pakulski was born on 4 December 1911 in Zwierzyniec, in the country of Zamość, in a family of a gardener. In 1932 he passed his *matura* exam in Krasnystaw and did his one-year military service, which he finished with the rank of corporal sub-standard-bearer. In 1935 he enrolled for agricultural studies in the Warsaw University of Life Sciences; his studies were interrupted by the war. In the September campaign he fought in the 27th infantry regiment. After 17 September 1939 he returned to Hrubieszów and helped his parents in gardening works. In June 1940 he started working in the County Agricultural-Commercial Cooperative in Hrubieszów. In the summer of 1941 he joined the Union of the Armed Struggle of the Home Army. In May 1943 he became a bookkeeper in the landed estate of Liwcze in the country of Hrubieszów, belonging to Liegenschaft; he worked there until March 1944. Then, he was sent by Liegenschaft to the landed estate of Skierbieszów in the county of Zamość, which he administered. In July 1944 he was called up to the Polish Army. Yet, he did not appear in the army. Instead he took a job in the County Landed Estates Office in Zamość, which sent him back to Skierbieszów, where he held the position of the administrator from September 1944 to April 1945 (until the division of the estate). Next he left for Poznań, and in July 1945 he went to Koszalin, where he worked in the WUZ as an agricultural noticer. From March 1946 he worked in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin as a notice, and from August 1947 as the head of the Branch for the Sowing Action (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 6, życiorys J. Pakulskiego z 2 VIII 1948 r.; vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania J. Pakulskiego z 19 IV 1948 r.; vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania J. Pakulskiego z 9 VI 1948 r.).

¹⁹ *Ziemiańscy XX wieku. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3, ed. Janina LESKIEWICZOWA, Warszawa 1996, pp. 29–30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, Warszawa 2002, p. 144.

²¹ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania K. Ziółkowskiego z 13 IV 1948 r. i 14 IV 1948 r.

of Człuchów), Bisikiewicz (Przechlewo, the county of Człuchów), Katkowski (Pakotulsko, the county of Człuchów), Suchodolski (Gniewno, the county of Człuchów), Przewoźny (Bińcze, the county of Człuchów), Golian (Łoża, the county of Człuchów), Kuczkowski (Jeziernik, the county of Człuchów), Kisielnicki (Lipka-Scholastykowo, the county of Złotów), Aleksander Wasniewski (Sławianowo, the county of Złotów), Jarzębski (Stawnica, the county of Złotów), Gołaszewski (Krajenka-Zalesie, the county of Złotów). In the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin former landowners constituted the most numerous group among the administrators – much bigger than in other districts.²²

Supporters of the communist authorities among members of this group were few. The managing staff of the District Board of the PNZ remained under the influence of the Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL) headed by Stanisław Mikołajczyk. Among the very few advocates of the communist authorities there were: members of the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Pracy, PPR), the deputy head of the District Board of the PNZ (from January 1948) Antoni Ambroźewicz, the administrator of the Karwin complex in the county of Białogard Lucjan Jacyna (the secretary of the Commune Committee of the PPR and a member of the County Committee of the PPR in Białogard), and the administrator of the Rymań complex in the county of Kołobrzeg Julisz Barwiński.²³

After the general elections to the sejm on 19 January 1947, the communists started to eliminate the Polish People's Party (PSL) and to remove its activists from all the areas of public life all over Poland, including Western Pomerania.²⁴ One of the first signs of the attack against the PNZ was an article titled *Byli dziedzice "oddziedziczeni" po p. Mikołajczyku uprawiali sabotaż gospodarczy niszcząc majątki państwowe* [Former landowners – "inherited" after Mr Mikołajczyk sabotaged state-owned farms – trans. Agnieszka Chabros], which was published on 25 September 1947 in "Głos Szczeciński" – the paper of the PPR. The anonymous author informed about arresting a group of administrators and stewards of the PNZ in the county of Kłodzko in Lower Silesia. He wrote: "In the state-owned estates in the county of Kłodzko – the former secretary of agriculture Mikołajczyk employed former landowners as «excellent professionals». The former landowners started to work «professionally». Like in the old good times a worker worked in the field while the «lords» earned money

²² Ibid., protokół przesłuchania K. Ziółkowskiego z 13 IV 1948 r.; T. OSIŃSKI, op.cit., p. 252. Among the administrators there were more landowners, but we did not manage to establish their names.

²³ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 4, protokół przesłuchania J. Barwińskiego z 13 VII 1948 r., L. Jacyny z 15 VII 1948 r. i A. Ambroźewicza z 20 VII 1948 r.

²⁴ Kazimierz KOZŁOWSKI, *Między racją stanu a stalinizmem. Pierwsze dziesięć lat władzy politycznej na Pomorzu Zachodnim 1945–1955*, Warszawa–Szczecin 2000, pp. 180–184.

on his labour. As now they administered an estate that did not belong to them, wasted and sabotaging it". The text included a description of alleged abuses, thefts and sabotage.²⁵

The management of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin and Szczecin was heavily criticized at the meeting of the Provincial National Council (Wojewódzka Rada Narodowa, WRN) on 30 September and 1 October 1947. The reports from the activity of both managements were discussed. The participants in the meeting criticized both directors of the PNZ for the "scandalous attitude of many administrators and stewards towards workers, «aristocratic» customs of the administrators recruiting mainly former landowners whose estates had been taken away from them, and sabotage resulting from the inappropriate selection of managers". The management in the PNZ in Koszalin was accused of "not showing the smallest attempts to appoint loyal and talented agricultural workers for important positions". Other charges included unpunctual payments of remuneration, not making any efforts to acquire Polish workers, tolerating thefts, abuses and mismanagement, favouring German female workers as stewards and administrators, failing to fight the phenomenon of Polish employees giving up their jobs. The councilmen from the PPR and satellite political groups of the Provincial National Council adopted a resolution in which they demanded that the apparatus of the internal scrutiny should be changed, the property should be better protected, the effectiveness of work and production should be increased and "the apparatus should be purified from socially pernicious elements such as landowners".²⁶

Some charges were justified, other were exaggerated or unfounded. Theft, abuse and mismanagement occurred in the estates of the PNZ frequently, but the management of the District Board fought against them, the evidence of which may be the fact that in 1947 a dozen administrators were arrested for this reason in both districts in West Pomerania.²⁷ The superiors of the head of the Koszalin District appreciated his work. A few weeks before, on 18 July 1947, the Secretary of Agriculture and Agricultural Reforms Jan Dąb-Kocioł, having audited the enterprise, expressed in writing his appreciation for Władysław Czarnecki for "the good organization of work and satisfactory effects of developing state-owned farms".²⁸

²⁵ *Byli dziedzice „oddziedziczeni” po p. Mikołajczyku uprawiali sabotaż gospodarczy niszcząc majątki państwowe*, Głos Szczeciński, no. 99 from 25 September 1947.

²⁶ APS, WRN, entry no. 241, protokół z posiedzenia WRN 30 IX–1 X 1947 r.; *Demokratyzacja aparatu kierowniczego. Racjonalne gospodarowanie – podniesienie wydajności pracy zadczyduje o wykonaniu planu PZNZ*, Głos Szczeciński from 16 October 1947.

²⁷ APS, WRN, entry no. 241, protokół z posiedzenia WRN 30 IX–1 X 1947 r.

²⁸ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 8.

Another person who attacked the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin was the voivode of Szczecin and an activist of the PPR, Leonard Borkowicz, who did so in an open letter titled "Gagging the mouths of democratic activists".²⁹ In the letter he informed about the conference of the activists of the PPR and the People's Party, which took place in Białogard on 31 August 1947. It was there that Borkowicz spoke about having to look closer at the work of both estates of the PNZ. During the discussion the steward of the estate Buczyno in the Wilczkowo complex (the county of Białogard) – Antoni Borowski (PPR) took the floor. He accused the administrator of this estate Jan Zielewicz of sabotage. Borowski explained that Zielewicz had told Borowski to plough 3,5 hectares of frozen wheat. Borowski refused to do so and he collected 53 quintals of grain. Several weeks after the conference the head of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin submitted to the Prosecutor's Office in the District in Koszalin a notification that Antoni Borowski had committed slander. The investigation started immediately. The behaviour of Czarnecki outraged Borowski, who wrote in his open letter: "I think that the facts described by me are the evidence of the attempt to gag the mouths of the democratic activists, who care about the struggle against economic sabotage".³⁰

The witch-hunt against the managerial staff of the PNZ intensified after Stanisław Mikołajczyk's escape from Poland on 21 October 1947.³¹ On 16 January 1948 a meeting of secretaries and activists in the folwark circles of the PPR took place in Szczecin. It was headed by the First Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PPR Wiktor Kłosiewicz. Local activists of the PPR called for the "democratization of the apparatus of stewards and administrators", which meant the manning of those positions with members of the PPR. They gave examples of alleged acts of sabotage and even used threats. One of the speakers said: "if we find people who think that they are the masters of the folwark as it was before September 1939 [...], we shall deal with them without further

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2. It was not possible to establish the exact date of the letter and in which newspaper it was published. From the content of the letter one may infer that it was written in October 1947.

³⁰ The committee to examine the conduct of Zielewicz was set up. It consisted of inspectors of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin and the Provincial Board of Peasants' Self-Help Cooperative in Szczecin. It found out that the order issued by Zielewicz had been correct, as in the spring of 1947 the wheat in the field had not come out. Nevertheless, Zielewicz was arrested by the WUBP in Szczecin. It was not established how his case had finished (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 4, protokół przesłuchania Gustawa Kanera, referenta organizacyjnego ZO PNZ w Koszalinie z 13 VII 1948 r.; vol. 5, wniosek o wyłączenie sprawy J. Zielewicza z 24 VII 1948 r.).

³¹ At the end of 1947 Eugeniusz Kłosse, the head of the District Board of the PNZ, was removed from his office and arrested for a short time. His successor became a member of the PPP (H. DUDA, *op.cit.*, pp. 63–64).

ado”.³² At the meeting of the Provincial National Council (WRN) in Szczecin on 31 January 1948 the management district boards of the PNZ were attacked again for persisting in “cultivating the aristocratic ambiance, which refers mainly to the directors in Koszalin”.³³

The last call for undertaking the decisive measures against the managerial staff of the PNZ was a long article written by Jerzy Nawrot titled *In the interest of agricultural workers and the state*, which was published in “Głos Szczeciński” on 12 February 1948. The author wrote that “with the active participation of our party and the power of the democratic camp we shall manage to sort out the economy of state-owned estates and make them models of crop-farming plants. However, all those successful reforms do not mean that the estates work well now and that they have been purified of Mikołajczyk’s demoralization and decay. Still injustice occurs in our estates; there is much evil and we have to speak loudly about it to keep the public and the authorities alert. There are acts of sabotage and criminal mismanagement. [...] The sumptuous parties organized on name days in various estates by the stewards are a real plague. [...] At the same time, provoking the feeling of discontentment and unrest, administrators are in arrears with remuneration for three or four months. [...] In some estates [...] the administrators fail to recognize the Folwark Committees, dissolve them and dismiss the more conscientious workers; there are also cases – we must confess this with some embarrassment – when administrators physically assault agricultural workers, punching them in the face and kicking them as it used to be in feudal times”. According to the author, the remedy for this situation was to be an increased level of control imposed by the PPR: “All this sleaze of Mikołajczyk’s multiplies rapidly particularly in the estates, where it comes across the resistance of the Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers, where there are no circles of our party, or where they are weak and passive, where not enough care is provided by the county and provincial organizations of our party or other democratic parties, where there is a lack of sufficient control executed by the bodies of the Ministry of Agriculture and the state administration”.³⁴

The examples of “flagrant misdeeds” provided by J. Nawrot were usually untrue, exaggerated or isolated. However, the fact of arrears in the payments of the remuneration to folwark workers became a major problem in 1947. On 1 July 1947 the arrears in the remuneration payments and allowances for the

³² *Współzawodnictwo pracy podniesie zarobki robotników rolnych. Aktywiści i sekretarze kół PPR w majątkach państwowych radzą nad usprawnieniem gospodarki i poprawą bytu*, Głos Szczeciński, no. 18 from 18 January 1948.

³³ APS, WRN, entry no. 247, protokół z posiedzenia WRN 31 I 1948 r.

³⁴ Jerzy NAWROT, *W interesie robotników rolnych i państwa*, Głos Szczeciński, no. 42 from 12 February 1948.

workers of the Koszalin District of the PNZ amounted to 90 million zlotys.³⁵ Those arrears made workers discontent and caused short strikes in a few estates. Administrators demanded that the District Board pay the salaries, pointing out the desperate situation of the workers. The administrator of the Rymań complex in the county of Kołobrzeg, Juliusz Barwiński, a member of the PPR, in July 1948 wrote that “people are literally starving, they have neither potatoes nor grain – they eat only herbs and berries, which will soon lead to an outbreak of typhoid fever caused by famine”.³⁶ The strikes took place in June and September–October 1947 in the Łeknica-Ostrowąsy complex in the county of Szczecinek and in April–May 1947 in the Strzepowo complex in the county of Koszalin.³⁷ In other complexes workers threatened to go on strike, while seasonal workers gave up their jobs.³⁸

Some workers asked the commune committees of the PPR and the District Board of the Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers (dominated by the PPR) in Koszalin for help. Functionaries of the PPR used such cases for political combats accusing the managerial staff of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin of deliberately refraining from paying the remuneration owed to workers of the complexes whose administrators belonged to the PPR.³⁹ Nevertheless, it was the Central Board of the PNZ in Poznań that was to blame as they sent the money with significant delay and failed to react to dozens of letters sent to them by the directors from Koszalin.⁴⁰ A similar situation took place in the District Board of the PNZ in Opole and probably in other districts.⁴¹

On 31 March 1947 Władysław Czarnecki made a decision which was hard to understand. He ordered the dismissal of about 80–90 administrators, stewards, bookkeepers and other workers, including about 20 members of the PPR. Among the dismissed workers were Lucjan Jacyna, a member of the PPR in Białogard, and Tadeusz Bandomir, a secretary of the PPR circle in the car base

³⁵ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 5, protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 24 VII 1948 r.

³⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, pismo administratora zespołu Romanów (obecnie Rymań) PNZ do ZO PNZ w Koszalinie z 18 VII 1948 r.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. 4, protokół przesłuchania I. Strzeleckiego z 7 VII 1948 r.; pismo administratora zespołu Łeknica-Ostrowąsy do ZO PNZ w Koszalinie z 3 X 1947 r.; vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania S. Czernikowskiego z 1 VII 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania K. Ziółkowskiego z 17 VI 1948 r.; vol. 5, protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 24 VII 1948 r.

³⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, pismo administratora zespołu Laski w powiecie sławieńskim do ZO PNZ w Koszalinie z 20 VII 1947 r.; pismo administratora zespołu Ogrodzieniec (obecnie Gudowo) w powiecie drawskim do ZO PNZ w Koszalinie z 19 IX 1947 r.

³⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, pismo sezonowych robotników rolnych z zespołu Łeknica-Ostrowąsy do KG PPR w Barwicach z września 1947 r.; meldunek sekretarza ZZPiRR w Koszalinie B. Zduńczyka, b.d.; vol. 4, protokół przesłuchania B. Zduńczyka z 11 VII 1948 r.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 5, protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 24 VII 1948 r.

⁴¹ H. DUDA, op.cit., pp. 178–179.

of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin.⁴² It seems that Czarnecki did not realize that by making this decision he had condemned himself. After a few days and upon the insistence of several county committees of the PPR, he was forced to reinstate some members of the PPR. On 7 April 1948 Tadeusz Bandomir wrote a letter to the Investigating Department of the County Public Security Bureau in Koszalin, in which he accused the managers of the District Board of the PNZ of a deliberate destruction of the unit of the PPR. In 1948 this was a very serious charge.⁴³

On 2 April 1948 a thorough scrutiny of the Koszalin district of the PNZ commenced. It was carried out by four inspectors of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural reforms: the engineer Ignacy Binsztejn, the engineer Tadeusz Darnowski, Artur Augustyn and Edward Szpetkowski. The inspection lasted until the end of May. In the final report, the inspectors described quite a few irregularities and abuses (the failure to prepare spring sowing, faulty transfers of seeds, wrongly organized threshing and improper distribution of artificial fertilizers, frequent deaths of livestock – mainly sheep, irregularities connected with the distribution of coal and fuels, the reduction of the plan of spring sowing, etc.).⁴⁴ The next inspection was conducted by the inspector of the Szczecin branch of the Office of Control in the Council of the State the engineer Wawrzyniec Dąbrowski on 3–21 July 1948. He also found numerous irregularities.⁴⁵

Before the first control finished, Józef Pakulski – the head of the branch of the Sowing Action and Kazimierz Ziółkowski – the head of the Department of Purchase and Distribution were arrested on 9 April. Further arrests took place on 23 April and included the director Władysław Czarnecki, Stanisław Rossochacki – the head of the Agricultural department, Ignacy Tadrzyński – the head of the branch of Planning and Production, Karol Kaćma – the head of the Financial Department, Jan Gliński – the district veterinary inspector, Stefan Koźniewski – the district inspector of mechanization,⁴⁶ Wanda Łapies –

⁴² IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 4, protokół przesłuchania L. Jacyny z 15 VII 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania F. Kawęckiego z 13 VII 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania A. Ambrożewicza z 20 VII 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania W. Czarneckiego z 29 VII 1948 r.; protokół przesłuchania B. Zduńczyka z 11 VII 1948 r.

⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, pismo T. Bandomira i A. Maciejewskiego do Wydziału Śledczego PUBP w Koszalinie z 7 IV 1948 r.; T. Bandomir probably cooperated with the Security Bureau as in 1954 he worked in the WUBP in Koszalin (Archiwum Państwowe w Koszalinie, Komitet Wojewódzki Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej w Koszalinie, entry no. 17124, uchwała Wojewódzkiej Komisji Kontroli Partyjnej w Koszalinie z 24 IV 1954 r. w sprawie T. Bandomira).

⁴⁴ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 2, wyciąg ze sprawozdania z dokonanej kontroli w ZO PNZ w Koszalinie od 2 IV do 31 V 1948 r.

⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, protokół z kontroli ZO PNZ w Koszalinie 3–21 VII 1948 r.

⁴⁶ Stefan Koźniewski was born on 14 February 1900 in Warsaw, a son of Stanisław and Ali-

a noticer of fuel materials and combustibles in the Department of Purchase and Distribution,⁴⁷ Piotr Korniejewski – the former noticer in the Department of Purchase and Distribution,⁴⁸ Ignacy Strzelecki – the administrator of the Łeknica-Ostrowąsy complex in the county of Szczecinek.⁴⁹ On 25 April two district inspectors were detained: Stanisław Suski⁵⁰ and Włodzimierz Suli-

na née Krzyżanowska. His father worked in the railway as a carpenter. In February 1918 Stefan joined the 1st regiment of the Legions. He was decorated with the Cross of Valor for the fight in the war of 1920. Until 1939 he served in various units of the Polish Army (the last rank – major). In the years 1935–1937 he worked in the Main Inspectorate of Military Forces. During the September campaign he was captured by the German, but managed to escape in March 1945. He stayed in Belgium and France, from where he was sent to the 3rd Carpathian Rifle Division (3DP). He stationed in Italy. In January 1946 he set off to Poland with the intention of taking his family to the West. In February 1946 he was arrested in Czechoslovakia and given to the Polish authorities. He was imprisoned in Warsaw by the Security Bureau until November 1946. Next, he was released and from December 1946 he worked as an inspector of mechanization in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania S. Koźniewskiego z 23 IV 1948 r.).

⁴⁷ Wanda Łapies was born on 24 February 1924 in Kiev, a daughter of Szczepan and Antonina née Grajewska. In 1928 her parents returned to Warsaw. Wanda lived in Warsaw until the Warsaw Uprising. Next her family was evacuated to the county of Łowicz, from where she went to Koszalin in 1945 to work as a clerk in the city authorities. In March 1946 she started working in the District Board of the PNZ (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1, protokół przesłuchania W. Łapies z 23 IV 1948 r.).

⁴⁸ Piotr Korniejewski was born on 19 July 1910 in Warsaw, a son of Michał and Lidia née Gabszewicz. His father was a clerk in the city hall in Warsaw. During the war Piotr had various temporary jobs and dealt with trade. In August 1945 he arrived in Koszalin and worked there first in the Main Office for Military Trade, next from August 1946 to the end of February 1948 in the District Board of the PNZ (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 1–2, protokół przesłuchania P. Korniejewskiego z 24 IV i 26 VI 1948 r.).

⁴⁹ Ignacy Strzelecki was born on 27 February 1899 in Watkowo in the country of Ciechanów, a son of Józef and Stefania née Fabianowicz. His parents owned a landed estate (180 hectares) in the county of Ciechanów. In 1918 Ignacy finished the gymnasium school in Mińsk, and in 1923 the Agricultural Academy in Bydgoszcz; next he took over his father's estate. During the German occupation he was the administrator of his own estate until 1943; next he was resettled and became the administrator of the landed estate in the county of Przasnysz. He worked there until January 1945. As his estate had been parceled out, he worked as a teacher in an agricultural school in Ruda in the county of Przasnysz, next in the County Agricultural Office in Przasnysz. In July 1946 he became the administrator of the Łeknica-Ostrowąsy complex (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania I. Strzeleckiego z 24 IV 1948 r.).

⁵⁰ Stanisław Suski was born on 6 January 1912 in Rożdżały in the country of Kalisz, a son of Brunon and Rozalia. His father owned a landed estate in Laski, in the country of Grójec (575 ha), while his mother – in Rożdżały (250 ha). In 1932 Stanisław finished the humanistic gymnasium school in Kalisz and started studying in the Warsaw University of Life Sciences in Warsaw. After three semesters he interrupted his studies owing to his illness and became the administrator of his father's estate until the end of the war. In 1943 he bought a farming estate in the village of Kozery in the county of Grodzisk (7,8 ha). Until the end of 1945 he worked on his farm since the estates of his parents had been parceled out. In February 1946 he started working

mierski.⁵¹ In total, the authorities arrested 13 people – almost all the managers of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin. They were taken into custody by the Provincial Bureau of Public Security (Wojewódzki Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego, WUBP) in Szczecin. On 5 May Włodzimerz Sulimierski was released owing to his and his wife's poor health.⁵² The reason why Sulimierski was released might have been the fact that he had hidden a Jewish female medical doctor until the end of WWII while he was the administrator of the Okołowice estate.⁵³

After Władysław Czarnecki was arrested, his deputy Antoni Ambrożewicz (the PPR) became the acting director of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin. On 1 July 1948 the engineer and farmer Juliusz Barwiński, the administrator of the Rymań complex in the county of Kołobrzeg, was appointed director. Other important positions were held by members of the PPR.

The investigation was conducted by the officials of the WUBP. The suspects were interrogated mainly by the standard-bearer Aleksander Merza,⁵⁴ who was known for using torture in the interrogation process,⁵⁵ Michał Glazman, and sporadically by other functionaries under the supervision of the prosecutor from the Military District Prosecutor's Office (Wojskowa Prokura-

in the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania S. Suskiego z 27 IV 1948 r.).

⁵¹ Włodzimerz Sulimierski was born on 6 January 1883 in Zielęcice in the country of Łasin, a son of Karol and Józefa. In 1996 he finished agricultural studies in Bohemia and after the death of his father he inherited his estate in Zielęcice (80 ha), where he worked until 1940. After his estate was taken away from him by the Germans, he became the administrator of the estate in Okołowice in the county of Radomsko (500 ha) as the representative of Liegenschaft. He had worked there until the estate was parceled out in 1945. In April 1945 he became the head of the WUZ in Koszalin, and from May 1946 he was an employee of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin (IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 2, protokół przesłuchania W. Sulimierskiego z 28 IV 1948 r.).

⁵² Ibid., postanowienie o uchyleniu środka zapobiegawczego z 5 V 1948 r.

⁵³ Ibid., pismo W. Sulimierskiego do wojskowego prokuratora rejonowego w Szczecinie z 5 V 1948 r.

⁵⁴ Aleksander Merza (1919–1990), born in Szumsk in the country of Krzemieniec in Volhynia; he finished a trade school in Krzemieniec. In 1940 he was resettled to Kazakhstan; from April to September 1946 he was the head of the Financial Department of the agricultural-commercial cooperative in Białogard; from September 1946 to October 1947 he was an accountant and an investigating officer of the County Bureau for Public Security (PUBP) in Białogard; from November 1947 to July 1950 he worked as an investigating officer in the Provincial Bureau for Public Security (WUBP) in Szczecin (Radosław PTASZYŃSKI, *Sędziowie Wojskowego Sądu Rejonowego w Szczecinie i ich wyroki. Studia i materiały*, Szczecin 2008, p. 17, fn. 48; *Twarze szczecińskiej bezpieki. Obsada stanowisk kierowniczych Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa i Służby Bezpieczeństwa województwa szczecińskiego. Informator personalny*, ed. Paweł KNAP, Marcin OZGA, Marcin STEFANIAK, Szczecin 2008, p. 140).

⁵⁵ Radosław PTASZYŃSKI, *Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy i Wojskowa Prokuratura Rejonowa w Szczecinie w latach 1946–1955*, Szczecin 2010, p. 282.

tura Rejonowa, WPR) in Szczecin Major Rafał Kaniewicz.⁵⁶ The suspects were accused of the offence based on art. 3 point 2 of the decree of 13 June 1946 concerning particularly dangerous offences in the period of the reconstruction of the State – i.e. sabotage.⁵⁷ The investigation lasted from the beginning of August 1948 and was quite brutal as the suspects were interrogated mainly by the standard-bearer Merza. All the suspects cancelled their testimonies suggesting that they had been forced to make them. On 27 July the WPR discontinued the proceedings against Włodzimierz Sulimierski, Piotr Korniejewski and Stanisław Suski due to insufficient evidence; the latter two were released from arrest.⁵⁸ The case against Ignacy Strzelecki was excluded for separate proceedings.⁵⁹ On 4 August the WPR issued a resolution concerning the partial discontinuance of the case against Wanda Łapies and Stefan Koźniewski. The proceedings concerning sabotage were discontinued in reference to them. However, they were still suspected of other offences, and as such their cases were passed on to the Branch of the Special Commission for the Combat with Abuses and Economic Sabotage in Szczecin.⁶⁰ What happened to them later has not been established.

On 9 August 1948 the investigation was closed and the standard-bearer Antoni Merza prepared a bill of indictment against Władysław Czarnecki, Jan Gliński, Karol Kaćma, Józef Pakulski, Stanisław Rossochacki, Ignacy Tadrzyński and Kazimierz Ziółkowski accusing them of sabotage.

Władysław Czarnecki, Stanisław Rossochacki and Ignacy Tadrzyński were accused of reducing the spring sowing area to 5996 hectares in 1948 despite

⁵⁶ Rafał Kaniewicz (1911–1982) – by 1946 he used the surname Kanner; born in Nowy Sącz, a graduate of the Faculty of Law of Jagiellonian University; he worked as a barrister until the outbreak of the war. From April to November 1941 he was a soldier in the Red Army; during his journey to the army of Anders he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp for desertion. He returned to Poland in 1945. From October 1948 to November 1946 he was the deputy prosecutor of the Special Court in Gdańsk; from November 1946 to February 1948 the sub-prosecutor of the Military District Prosecutor's Office (WPR) in Gdańsk; next he was the sub-prosecutor of the WPR in Szczecin (R. PTASZYŃSKI, *Sędziowie Wojskowego Sądu*, p. 19, fn. 56).

⁵⁷ Dziennik Ustaw (further cit. Dz.U.) from 1946, no. 30, pt. 192. Art. 3 of the decree said: "The person who commits acts of sabotage by: 1) destroying plants, public utility devices or public transport devices, or devices serving to defend the Polish State or an ally; 2) making it impossible or difficult for plants or devices mentioned in p. 1 to operate properly; 3) producing useless or not sufficiently useful items against to what it has been agreed with the army should be punished to at least three-year imprisonment, life sentence or death penalty".

⁵⁸ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 5, wniosek w przedmiocie umorzenia postępowania karnego przeciwko W. Sulimierskiemu, P. Korniejewskiemu i S. Suskiemu z 27 VII 1948 r.

⁵⁹ Ibid., wniosek o wyłączenie sprawy przeciwko I. Strzeleckiemu z 27 VII 1948 r.

⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, wniosek z 4 VIII 1948 r. w przedmiocie częściowego umorzenia sprawy W. Łapies i S. Koźniewskiego i przekazania według właściwości.

being aware that they had been in a position to use an area of at least 64 471 hectares. In this way, they hindered the development of the Regained Lands and caused the State Treasury to lose 7000 tons of grain, which was the equivalent of over 60 million zlotys.

Władysław Czarnecki, Stanisław Rossochacki, Ignacy Tadrzyński, Kazimierz Ziółkowski and Józef Pakulski were accused of disorganization in their preparations for the spring sowing operation in 1948, thereby delaying the sowing process and causing the reduction of the crop yield, which put the State Treasury at risk of losing incredible sums of money.

Władysław Czarnecki, Kazimierz Ziółkowski and Józef Pakulski were accused of disrupting the work of the Department of Purchase and Distribution, which resulted in failure to distribute industrial, grocery and textile products stored in the warehouses, indispensable for the normal work of the complexes and workers, who had lost their motivation to work, which led to their reduced effectiveness, which, in turn, put the State Treasury at risk of major losses and undermined the authority of the state.

Władysław Czarnecki, Jan Gliński and Stanisław Rossochacki were accused of allowing the mass deaths of sheep and lambs and the mass deaths of piglets (reaching up to 40%). They were also to blame for the spread of infectious diseases due to their failure to carry out medical examinations of sheep before their transportation and quarantine, which led to a decrease in the quantity of the livestock and hindering of its development, which put the State Treasury at risk of making a loss of two million zlotys.

Władysław Czarnecki and Karol Kaćma were accused of causing arrears in payments of the salaries to workers of the complexes despite having sufficient funds, which caused a significant decrease in the effectiveness of the workers and undermined the society's trust in the state-owned agricultural economy and the state. Moreover, it exposed the state to the danger of losing incredible sums of money.⁶¹

The author of the bill of indictment referred mainly to the statement of experts appointed on 2 August 1948 by the WUBP – inspectors of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural reforms: Ignacy Binsztejn, Tadeusz Darnowski, Edward Szpetkowski and the head of the Veterinary Department of the Ministry – Stanisław Krauss.⁶² The bill of indictment was approved on 13 August 1948 by Lt.Col. Tadeusz Juśkiewicz, the military district prosecutor, and sent to the Military District Court (Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy, WSR) in Szczecin in order to be examined on a regular basis.⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 6, akt oskarżenia z 10 VIII 1948 r.

⁶² Ibid., orzeczenie biegłych powołanych przez WUBP 2 VIII 1948 r.

⁶³ Ibid., postanowienie o zatwierdzeniu aktu oskarżenia z 13 VIII 1948 r.

The show trial before the Military District Court (WSR) took place on 23–28 and 31 August 1948 in the room of the WRN in Szczecin. The judging panel was headed by one of the most malleable military judges – Lt.Col. Kazimierz Stojanowski,⁶⁴ the standard-bearer Antoni Szczerbanowski and the standard-bearer Wincenty Śmigielski. Major Rafał Kaniewicz was the prosecutor of the WPR. The defendants were defended by military counsels from Szczecin: Władysław Czarnecki by the attorney Tadeusz Tomicki; Jan Gliński by the attorney Adam Radomski; Józef Pakulski, Stanisław Rossochacki and Karol Kaćma by the attorney Maciej Majster; Kazimierz Ziółkowski by the attorney Waclaw Skobierski, Ignacy Tadrzyński by the attorney Józef Szapiro. A few days earlier in the same place there was another show trial of the members of the Militant Unit of the Army (Bojowy Oddział Armii, BOA). Out of twenty-three defendants six were sentenced to death and two were sentenced to life imprisonment.⁶⁵ Although this was a coincidence, the communist propaganda attempted to show a parallel between those two trials.⁶⁶

The trial against the managers of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin was a parody of a trial. On the first few days the defendants gave their testimonies. All of them cancelled their testimonies given during the investigation and none of them pledged guilty. Władysław Czarnecki spoke about great difficulties faced by the District Board: a lack of qualified staff, a shortage of workers after the displacement of Germans, and the failure to send money on time by

⁶⁴ Kazimierz Stojanowski (1897–1975), born in Folwarki, in the county of Złoczów, in Tarnopole Province. His father was a carpenter. In Złoczów he finished the primary and gymnasium schools. In January 1916 he was recruited to the Austrian army. In May 1919 he started his military service in the Polish Army, and in June 1921 he was moved to reserve in the rank of sub-standard-bearer. In the years 1921–1924 he studied law at the University of John Casimir in Lviv; he obtained the diploma of Master of Engineering in 1928 at the Jagiellonian University. In the years 1928–1938 he was a legal apprentice, associate judge and judge in Lviv, Podhajce and Kosowo Huculskie. From January to September 1939 and next from November 1939 to November 1940 and from September 1944 he was the head of the Municipal Court in Pruchnik, in the county of Jarosław. From January 1945 he worked in the military court in Lublin, Białystok, Piotrków Trybunalski and Radom. From July 1946 he was the deputy of the head of the Branch of the Military District Court (WSR) in Szczecin; from November 1946 he was the deputy of the head of the WSR in Szczecin; from February 1948 he was the head of the WSR in Szczecin. In September 1953 he was a member of the adjudicating panel in the WSR in Warsaw, where the trial of the bishop of Kielce Czesław Kaczmarek took place. From June 1955 to December 1963 he was the vice-president of the Provincial Court in Szczecin (R. PTASZYŃSKI, *Sędziowie Wojskowego Sądu*, pp. 45–52; *Proces księdza biskupa Kaczmarka i innych członków ośrodka antypaństwowego i antyludowego. Stenogram procesu odbytego przed Wojskowym Sądem Rejonowym w Warszawie w dniach 14 IX–21 IX 1953 r.*, ed. Jan SIEMIANOWSKI, Warszawa 1953, p. 35).

⁶⁵ R. PTASZYŃSKI, *Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy*, p. 110.

⁶⁶ *63 miliony strat spowodowali sabotażyści z PNZ. Pierwszy dzień procesu przeciwko Czarneckiemu i innym*, Głos Szczeciński, no. 234 from 25 August 1948.

the Central Board of the PNZ, which kept changing the areas of the farmlands (taking over the estates from the Soviet Army with the aim of their further dividing and colonizing). He explained that the reduction of the spring sowing plan in 1948 had been caused by a lack of seeds and tractive force; groceries and industrial products being backlogged in the warehouses by the fact that the Central Board had not established prices for the products or the prices were too high; the high mortality of sheep and piglets had been the result of a lack of qualified sheep farmers (after German sheep farmers had been displaced) and veterinary doctors (in the whole district there was only one veterinary doctor and two veterinary assistants); the delay in making payments to folwark workers had been caused by the Central Board not sending the money despite many reminders. The remaining defendants gave similar explanations. They had adopted a similar defence strategy of not pleading guilty and explaining that the irregularities had been caused by objective factors.

Next, another nine prosecution witnesses were heard, including two brought to the court from the custody of the WUBP (Ignacy Strzelecki and Jan Zielewicz), along with three expert witnesses, who prepared a statement as upon the order of the WUBP of 2 August 1948. The court did not admit a single motion as evidence – neither from the hearing of the witnesses nor from the documents. After the hearing of the evidence ended, the prosecutor Major Rafał Kaniewicz demanded that Władysław Czarnecki be sentenced to death, that Stanisław Rossochacki be given the longest possible prison sentence, and that the remaining defendants be also severely punished. The defence counsels and the defendants asked to be acquitted.⁶⁷

The decision of the court was announced on 3 September 1948. The court declared all the defendants guilty of the offences and sentenced: Władysław Czarnecki to death and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights forever along with the forfeiture of property; Stanisław Rossochacki to fifteen years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for five years; Karol Kaćma to twelve years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for four years; Kazimierz Ziółkowski to eight years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for three years; Józef Pakulski to six years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for three years; Ignacy Tadrzyński to five years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for two years; Jan Gliński to four years in prison and the deprivation of civil and honorary rights for two years. In case of Rossochacki, Kaćma, Ziółkowski, Pakulski, Tadrzyński and Gliński, their time spent in custody was deducted from the imprisonment sentences.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 7, protokół rozprawy z 23 VIII–3 IX 1948 r.

⁶⁸ Ibid., wyrok z 3 IX 1948 r.

On the same day, the judging panel issued an opinion concerning a pardon for Władysław Czarnecki⁶⁹ on the basis of art. 250 of the Military Code of Criminal Proceedings. Taking into account the fact that the administration of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin had originally encountered serious difficulties affecting its effectiveness due to the large number of estates, extensive territory and the unfavourable location of the base of the District Board, along with the fact that Czarnecki's work had been positively evaluated until mid-1947, the adjudicating panel decided that he deserved pardon and suggested that he be sentenced to 10 years in prison, with deprivation of civil and honorary rights for four years omitting the forfeiture of property.⁷⁰ In applying for pardon, the adjudicating panel indirectly admitted that the trial was political, and the death sentence was not justifiable. The opinion concerning pardon was not made public, but the verdict was. It was used by the communist propaganda machine to attack opponents of the regime. In this way, it played its role to intimidate opponents without even being executed.

The communist propaganda publicized the trial. In "Głos Szczeciński" there appeared ten extensive accounts in which PPR propagandists calumniated the defendants while deliberately omitting the facts.⁷¹ The conclusion of the campaign was an article by an anonymous functionary of the propaganda apparatus published in the newspaper on 2 September 1948 – one day prior to the announcement of the verdict. The author, not hiding the political inspiration of the trial, wrote that "the Szczecin trial exposed some forms of the enemy's combat with the communist political system in the countryside. In this combat, the enemy applied insidious tactics demanding extraordinary alert-

⁶⁹ Article 250 KWPK stated: "if a death sentence has been given, then immediately after the verdict is signed, the judge shall hold a meeting to consider whether the sentenced deserves pardon and what punishment would be appropriate in the event of pardon. An opinion on this subject is attached to the case file"; see: dekret z dnia 23 VI 1945 r. Kodeks Wojskowego Postępowania Karnego: Dz.U. from 1945, no. 36, pt. 216.

⁷⁰ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 7, opinia składu sądu z 3 IX 1948 r.

⁷¹ *Proces sabotażystów z PNZ przed sądem w Szczecinie*, Głos Szczeciński, no. 232 from 23 August 1948; *63 miliony strat spowodowali sabotażyści z PNZ. Pierwszy dzień procesu przeciwko Czarneckiemu i innym*, ibid., no. 234 from 25 August 1948; *Sabotażyści*, ibid., no. 234 from 25 August 1948; *Sabotażyści popierali obszarników i szykanowali członków partii demokratycznych. Drugi dzień procesu w sprawie PNZ w Koszalinie*, ibid., no. 235 from 26 August 1948; *Trzeci dzień procesu sabotażystów z PNZ. Zakończono już przesłuchiwanie oskarżonych i sąd rozpoczął postępowanie dowodowe*, ibid., no. 236 from 27 August 1948; *Czwarty dzień procesu sabotażystów z PNZ. Świadkowie potwierdzają winę oskarżonych*, ibid., no. 237 from 28 August 1948; *Sabotażyści wyrządzili niepowetowane szkody gospodarce narodowej. Piąty dzień procesu szkodników gospodarczych z PNZ*, ibid., no. 238 from 29 August 1948; *Niepowetowane szkody wyrządzili Państwu sabotażyści z PNZ*, ibid., no. 239 from 30 August 1948; *Sabotaż gospodarczy to jedna z form walki klasowej. Czego nas uczy proces b. kierowników PNZ w Koszalinie*, ibid., no. 241 from 1 September 1948.

ness. These tactics consisted in infiltrating institutions and offices, taking over managerial positions and acting to the detriment of the state, maintaining at the same time the appearances of dedicated work for a given institution for the good of the state [...]. This trial exemplifies that one may again conclude how anti-Polish and anti-national our reaction has become [...]. It is the hatred towards the communist system that had led the accused to commit a crime; it is the desire for the return of the old times, when the lord's whip could thrash the back of the toiling worker, that led them to delay the process of the development of Western Pomerania, provide arguments for German revisionists and their Anglo-Saxon protectors. Sent «to work» as the head of the Koszalin PNZ by his principal Mikołajczyk, the defendant Czarnecki and the remaining defendants remained loyal to him after he had escaped from Poland. He, their «would-be leader», organized a tour abroad ordered by his principals from Wall Street and calumniated Poland; they did not miss any opportunity to act to Poland's considerable detriment⁷². In the end, the author called upon the readers to be alert: "but the message of the trial is powerful. It says that we must increase our alertness, because there is no place for retreat in the class struggle as it uses insidious, treacherous and dangerous methods. This alertness must be exhibited by members of democratic parties and people of no party affiliation. It must be evinced in rural communities by small-size and medium-size farm holders. Everybody who is concerned about the work of a worker and peasant, everybody who is interested in increasing the wealth of the masses is engaged in the development of the Regained Lands"⁷². Two days before the announcement of the sentence in the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) it was announced clearly what the party expected: "the enemy who wants to disrupt our economy and our agriculture; the enemy who wants to stop the wheel of our development, must be smashed by this wheel. There should be no mitigating circumstances in cases which concern the interests of the working class and the Polish People's Republic"⁷³.

All the attorneys representing the defendants lodged a revisory complaint to the Supreme Military Court (Naczelny Sąd Wojskowy, NSW) in Warsaw on 10 September. In this extensive appeal (consisting of 57 typed pages) they criticized the trial heavily as well as the sentence and the justification for the sentence. They quoted numerous examples of procedures being breached: not a single witness for the defence was allowed to testify, all the evidence presented by the defence to prove the innocence of the defendants was rejected.

⁷² *Dalszy ciąg procesu sabotażystów z PNZ. Prokurator domaga się najwyższego wymiaru kary dla osk. Czarneckiego, ibid., no. 242 from 2 September 1948.*

⁷³ *Sabotaż gospodarczy to jedna z form walki klasowej. Czego nas uczy proces b. kierowników PNZ w Koszalinie, ibid., no. 241 from 1 September 1948.*

Next, referring to the expertise and testimony of the witnesses of the defence, they rejected the accusations of mismanagement and sabotage. In conclusion, they asked for the rescission of the sentence and for the case to be sent to the Military District Court in Szczecin to have it examined by a jury consisting of different members.⁷⁴

The NSW consisting of Col. Kazimierz Drohomirecki, the judge commentator Lt.Col. Leo Hochberg and the judge Lt.Col. Beniamin Karpiński, dealt with the revisory complaint on 29 December 1948. The court partly recognized the arguments of the defence and changed the sentence of the WSR of 3 September 1948 by:

- changing the death penalty for Władysław Czarnecki as well as all the additional penalties into a sentence of fifteen-year's imprisonment along with the loss of public and honorary rights for 5 years;
- changing the fifteen-year prison sentence for Stanisław Rossochacki as well as all additional penalties for a ten-year sentence along with the loss of public and honorary rights for 5 years;
- changing the qualification of the offences attributed to Kazimierz Ziółkowski and Józef Pakulski from sabotage and acting to the detriment of the public when planning the distribution of goods among the public (the charge concerned either the omission to perform the tasks or the distribution of goods, contrary to the legal regulations – art. 41. p. 1 of the decree of 13 June 1946) and changing the sentence for Ziółkowski from an eight-year term of imprisonment to a four-year sentence without any additional penalties, while Pakulski's sentence was changed from a six-year term of imprisonment to a four-year sentence without any additional penalties;
- changing the qualification of the offences attributed to Aleksander Kaćma from sabotage to the malicious or persistent evasion to perform his duties as a worker and as a principal, the failure to fulfil his social responsibility to take care of the welfare of workers acting against their interests (art. 42 of the decree of 13 June 1946) and changing his sentence from the twelve-year imprisonment into the five-year imprisonment without any additional penalties;
- changing the qualification of the offences attributed to Jan Gliński from sabotage to the offence of acting to the detriment of the public or private interest by an official abusing his authority or failing to carry out his duties (art. 286 p. 1 of the Criminal Code of 11 July 1932) and changing his sentence from the four-year imprisonment with additional penalties into the two-year imprisonment without additional penalties;
- the five-year sentence for Ignacy Tadrzyński was upheld.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ IPNS, entry no. Sz. 61/222, vol. 7, skarga rewizyjna do NSW w Warszawie z 10 IX 1948 r.

⁷⁵ Ibid., postanowienie NSW z 29 XII 1948 r.

After receiving the sentence, the convicts spent several months in jail in Szczecin; next, they were transported to the prison in Wronki, where Ignacy Tadrzyński⁷⁶ died on 17 February 1950. Jan Gliński was released from prison on 23 April 1950 after completing his whole sentence.⁷⁷ Aleksander Kaćma was paroled on 6 February 1952;⁷⁸ Józef Pakulski and Kazimierz Ziółkowski were released on 9 April 1952 after completing their whole sentence;⁷⁹ Władysław Czarnecki was given a year break from his imprisonment due to his poor health and on 11 September 1954 he was released from jail.⁸⁰ Stanisław Rossochacki spent the longest period of time in prison as it was not until 19 February 1955 that the Military District Court (WSR) in Szczecin granted him a year break from his imprisonment.⁸¹

Czarnecki and Rossochacki never returned to jail since after the political changes in Poland in 1956 the Minister of Justice asked for the extraordinary revision of the sentence of 3 September 1948 to the Supreme Court, who examined the case and on 17 January 1957 acquitted Czarnecki, Gliński, Kaćma, Pakulski, Rossochacki and Ziółkowski of all the charges, while the case of Tadrzyński was closed.⁸²

The sentenced managers of the District Board of the PNZ in Koszalin personified everything that communists hated. They came from landowning families or were connected with landowners (Czarnecki, Rossochacki, Tadrzyński), they had fought with the Bolsheviks in the war of 1920 and had been reserve officers of the Sanation Polish Army (Czarnecki, Kaćma, Gliński). They had worked in the government administration of the Second Polish Republic (Czarnecki, Tadrzyński), acted as activists in the Sanation political organizations (Tadrzyński), held managerial positions in the Polish branches of foreign companies in Poland (Kaćma) and been soldiers in the Union of the Armed Struggle / the Home Army (Pakulski). They were opponents of the communist authorities and even if they worked well for the benefit of the state, the communists viewed them as enemies who were to be loathed and destroyed.

The arrests and the trial took place at a time when the communist authorities decided to crack down on their political opponents centred around the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, zawiadomienie o śmierci więźnia I. Tadrzyńskiego z 17 II 1950 r.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, zawiadomienie o zwolnieniu więźnia karnego J. Glińskiego z 23 IV 1950 r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, zawiadomienie o warunkowym zwolnieniu A. Kaćmy z 30 I 1952 r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, zawiadomienie o zwolnieniu więźnia karnego J. Pakulskiego i K. Ziółkowskiego z 9 IV 1952 r.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, wyciąg ze wspólnego protokołu posiedzenia niejawnego WSR w Szczecinie z 8 IX 1954 r.; zarządzenie zwolnienia W. Czarneckiego z 9 IX 1954 r.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, postanowienie WSR w Szczecinie z 14 II 1955 r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. 9, wyrok Sądu Najwyższego z 17 I 1957 r.

PSL and planned to reconstruct the Polish state according to the Soviet model, which included the collectivization of agriculture. Supposedly, the show trial of Czarnecki and his colleagues was supposed to remove the real and possible enemies of the system and to intimidate this part of the management staff of the state enterprises, which were not so enthusiastic about the reconstruction of the state. In the new political situation the PNZ, whose main task was to manage the landed estates until they were divided, became a useless and detrimental enterprise which hindered the collectivization of agriculture. For this reason, the communists' aim was to destroy the PNZ completely. In 1949 the general director of the PNZ Witold Maringe along with a group of his co-workers was accused of sabotage and espionage. Maringe was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in a show trial on 3 February 1950. In 1956 he was released from prison and rehabilitated.⁸³ The PNZ was liquidated and upon the decision of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers of 12 February 1949, a new entity was set up – the State Agricultural Enterprise.

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⁸³ H. DUDA, *op.cit.*, p. 15; T. OSIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 258.

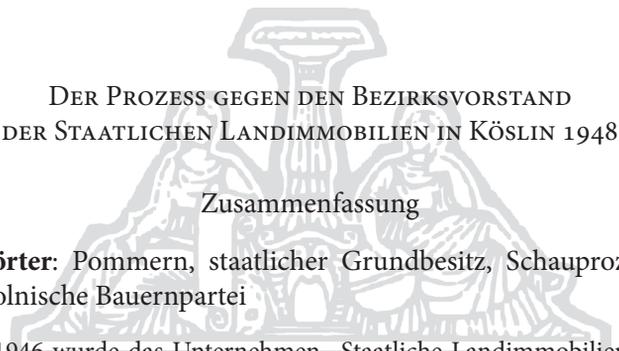
THE TRIAL OF THE BOARD OF THE DISTRICT OF STATE-OWNED LANDED ESTATES IN KOSZALIN IN 1948

Summary

Key words: Pomerania, state agricultural estates, show trial, combat against the Polish Peasants' Party

At the beginning of 1946 the enterprise referred to as the State-owned Landed Estates (PNZ) was set up. In West Pomerania two such districts were established: in Szczecin and in Koszalin. The latter was one of the biggest in Poland; Władysław Czarnecki was appointed director in September 1946. Many landowners whose landed es-

tates had been taken away and divided into smaller parts worked for the PZN in the years 1944–1945. The management board of the enterprise was known for its negative attitude towards the so called “people’s authority” and for its support of the Polish People’s Party (PSL) headed by Stanisław Mikołajczyk. After the general parliamentary election to the sejm in January 1947 and Mikołajczyk’s escape from Poland in October 1947, the communists intensified their attacks on the management board of the PNZ. In April 1948, thirteen people were arrested following a fictitious accusation of sabotage; seven of them, including Czarnecki the director, were prosecuted at the Military District Court in Szczecin. The show trial took place in August 1948. The accused were sentenced to long terms in prison, while Władysław Czarnecki was sentenced to death. After appeal, the Supreme Military Court changed the death sentence into fifteen years’ imprisonment and alleviated the sentences of the remaining convicted people. One of them died in jail in February 1950, while the remaining were gradually released in the years 1950–1955. In January 1957, the Supreme Court acquitted all of them.



DER PROZESS GEGEN DEN BEZIRKSVORSTAND
DER STAATLICHEN LANDIMMOBILIEN IN KÖSLIN 1948

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Pommern, staatlicher Grundbesitz, Schauprozess, Kampf gegen die Polnische Bauernpartei

Anfang 1946 wurde das Unternehmen „Staatliche Landimmobilien“ gegründet. In Westpommern wurden zwei Bezirke gegründet: Stettin und Köslin. Letzterer war einer der größten im Land, dessen Direktor im September des Jahres Władysław Czarnecki wurde. In dem Unternehmen arbeiteten viele Gutsbesitzer, deren Eigentum in den Jahren 1944/45 parzelliert worden war. Die Führungskader des Unternehmens waren für ihre Abneigung gegen die „Volksmacht“ und für ihre Unterstützung der Polnischen Bauernpartei von Stanisław Mikołajczyk bekannt. Nach den Wahlen zum Sejm im Januar 1947 und der Flucht Mikołajczyks aus dem Land im Oktober dieses Jahres verstärkten die Kommunisten die Angriffe auf die Führung der Staatlichen Landimmobilien. Im April 1948 wurden 13 Personen aus der Direktion des Bezirks Köslin unter dem fiktiven Vorwand der Sabotage verhaftet, von denen sieben, darunter der Direktor Czarnecki, vor das Militärbezirksgericht in Stettin gestellt wurden. Der Schauprozess fand im August 1948 statt und war die Parodie eines Gerichtsverfahrens. Es ergingen Urteile von mehrjährigen Gefängnisstrafen, während Władysław Czarnecki zum Tode verurteilt wurde. Aufgrund einer Berufung wandelte das Oberste Militärgericht die Todesstrafe in 15 Jahre Gefängnis um und milderte die Urteilsprüche der übrigen Verurteilten. Einer von ihnen starb im Februar 1950 im Gefängnis, die übrigen wurden in den Jahren 1950–1955 freigelassen. Im Januar 1957 sprach der Oberste Gerichtshof alle Verurteilten frei.

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