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KEY POLICE FORCES IN THE REBORN POLAND — HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY ON THEIR NAMES

Introduction

Having the honourable opportunity to join the initiatives undertaken by the Police Academy in Szczytno to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Polish independence, and the related 100th anniversary of the State Police, the authors – a historian and a linguist – present a text on the names of the most important police forces in the newly reborn Poland, providing

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each name with historical commentary and linguistic remarks, including comments on semantics and orthography.

Proper names in language and public life — general remarks

The need to create proper names appears every time we want or have to distinguish certain people or objects from similar ones, because even when their number is limited, demonstrative pronouns (this, that) are not sufficient, and it becomes necessary to use individual designations. The establishment of a state organisation also involves the necessity to assign specific permanent terms, not only to people, but also to various manifestations of their social activity.

The difference between common names (*nomina appellativa*) and proper names (*nomina propria*) can be explained by taking into account the functional point of view.

The first of the most basic functions of proper names is to point to specific elements (persons, objects, entities, etc.), while common names have meanings which include sets of elements. Thus, proper names, by indicating individual elements, have a different scope of application from common names – which, let us repeat, refer to whole groups of objects. This means that *nomina propria* have a narrow scope of reference, while their content is rich³.

Of no lesser importance is the identifying function of proper names. Their use guarantees that we will not make a mistake about a person, an institution or a place, for there is no doubt that Władysław Henszel is a better description of a person than ‘the commander-in-chief’, ‘the pre-war national police chief’, or ‘the commander-in-chief of the State Police’, as it can be seen by every reader of e.g. the anniversary police picture album, which mentions many commanders-in-chief, but only one called Władysław Henszel⁴. Without the possibility of individual distinction, it is difficult to imagine the functioning of a society.

In everyday communication, a very important role is also played by the vocative function of proper names, which consists in such nouns being used to attract somebody’s attention, summon them, or call them out. This mainly applies to persons, hence the famous form of address: *Honourable Colonel Wołodyjowski!* We will not really address a police officer by: *Police!* like the poet did: *Lithuania! My homeland!* Theoretically, however, there is such a possibility. Parenthetically, common words can

³ J. Grzenia, *Słownik nazw własnych*, Warsaw 2003, p. 19.

⁴ G. Kędzierska (ed.), *85 lat policji*, Szczytno 2004, pp. 77–87. See also: Policja Państwowa, Komendanci Główni Policji Państwowej, <<http://panstwowa.policja.pl/pp/komendanci-glowni/1,Komendanci-Glowni-Policji-Panstwowej.html>>, 15 April 2019.

also be used in the vocative function, as confirmed, in the police context, by phrases such as: *Officer!* or its contemptuous version: *Pig!*⁵.

The presence of proper names in the language corresponds to the their 'owners' in public life or in human consciousness. Since the so-called public activity of some people or institutions, although significant, may be temporary, one classification of proper names distinguishes timeless and ephemeral ones, i.e. names whose 'owners' quickly cease to participate in public life and are forgotten.

By other classification criteria, there have been distinguished:

- personal names,
- geographical names,
- brand names (names of companies, institutions, product brands),
- others (e.g. names of sports clubs, monuments, cultural facilities)⁶.

As can be seen, the names of police forces in the reborn Poland discussed in this article represent a group of trade names. As for the criterion of time or existence in public life, we hope that by writing about them, we make every effort to ensure that they are not ephemeral, because it is worth noting that in Jan Grzenia's Dictionary of Proper Names published in 2003 there is none of the following entries: 'Police', 'Citizens' Militia' or 'State Police'⁷.

According to Jan Grzenia, a significant part of proper nouns have been derived from common nouns⁸. This observation refers, among others, to the names analysed in this article. The reason for this is that their lexemes are nouns referring to widely understood security and public order, e.g.: *police*, *militia*, *guard* – preceded by adjectives, such as: *civic*, *municipal*, *state*, or *blue*.

The individualising function of proper nouns is connected with the fact that, unlike common nouns, they are capitalised⁹. The same applies to adjectives that are part of the individual name of a given linguistic entity. Therefore, one will say the (what?) *Paris Basin* (speaking of a lowland region in France), but also the *Police Academy in Szczytno*, the (whose?) *Citizens' Militia*, or the (what?) *State Police*. From a formal point of view, this has a certain advantage because in a situation where the common and proper names are built and sound identical, we can discover that when saying 'a *Mexican*', the user means a citizen of the city, and not of the Mexican state.

Proper names are the basis for creating derivative words, most often adjectives and nouns. In case of the analysed names, these will be,

⁵ P. Palka, M. Przetak, *Forma apelatywna "ty" w komunikacji formalnej policjant – obywatel* [in:] E. Pływaczewski, J. Bryk (Edp.), *Meandry prawa. Teoria i praktyka. Księga jubileuszowa prof. zw. dra hab. Mieczysława Goettela*, Szczytno 2017.

⁶ J. Grzenia, *Słownik...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ In order to find out about certain problems related to the spelling of proper nouns see: *ibid.*, pp. 21–27.

e.g. police or militia. Derived from proper nouns, common nouns which designate people (e.g. names of followers of certain ideas, members of social organisations or political groups) are spelt – just like adjectives¹⁰ – in lower case, e.g. piłsudczyk (a follower of Piłsudski), sybirak (a Siberian), peeselowiec (a member of the Polish Peasants' Party), and thus also a militiaman or a policeman.

The State Police — historical comments

The outbreak of World War I caused an increase in the sentiment for independence among the Polish population. Activists of the Polish political parties strived to achieve autonomy or to rebuild the Polish state. As a result of that situation, institutions were established which represented the Polish population in relations with the partitioning authorities, alongside organisations whose task was to ensure public order and safety. The latter included, among others, the Vigilante Groups, which were created, e.g. in 1914 in Zagłębie-Dąbrowskie¹¹. In the same year, work began on the force of the Guard in Warsaw, which ended in 1915¹². Vigilante Groups and other security organisations then started to be set up in other towns of the Congress Kingdom and Galicia¹³. In 1918. The Polish Liquidation Commission began to establish its own security bodies¹⁴. Also in Wielkopolska, the Polish population established urban and rural public order services. In November 1918, a Vigilante Group was formed which in Poznań was headed by Julian Lange. It was thereafter renamed the People's Guard. After the outbreak of the Wielkopolska Uprising, the People's Guard actively participated in the fighting¹⁵.

In the early days of the Polish state's existence, one of the problems was the subordination of the existing law enforcement agencies into the new authorities. The first to be recognised was the People's Militia of the Polish Socialist Party. Its branches functioned in the Radomsko, Kielce and Lublin regions and in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie. On the basis of Józef Piłsudski's decree, the People's Militia was 'nationalised' on 5 December 1918. In the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), a People's Militia

¹⁰ The exception is adjectives derived from persons' names of a possessive nature, i.e. answering the question: whose? or used in the meaning: being the work of/produced by X, e.g. Achilles' bravery, i.e. bravery demonstrated by Achilles.

¹¹ M. Mączyński, *Policja Państwowa w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Krakow 1997, p. 14.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 14. Vigilante Groups were thereafter transformed into Municipal Militia forces. In Łódź, in 1914, the Citizens' Militia was established, followed by the Municipal Guard. See also: P. K. Marszałek, *Prawo Policji Państwowej w II Rzeczypospolitej. Wybór źródeł*, Toruń 2009, pp. 10-11.

¹³ A. Peplowski, *Policja Państwowa w systemie organów bezpieczeństwa Drużej Rzeczypospolitej*, Szczytno 1991, p. 12.

¹⁴ M. Mączyński, *Policja Państwowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁵ P. K. Marszałek, *Prawo Policji Państwowej...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

Department was established to supervise this force. On 13 December 1918, Cpt. Ignacy Boerner was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the People's Militia¹⁶.

Soon afterwards, the Municipal Militia was replaced by the self-governed Municipal Police. The decree on the organisation of the Municipal Police was published on 9 January 1919. According to the decree, the Municipal Police was made up of management boards of municipal authorities and district self-government bodies. This service was supervised by the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which on 20 January 1919 was transformed into the General Inspectorate of the Municipal Police¹⁷. The process of establishing the Municipal Police lasted until April 1919. On 4 April 1919, some district headquarters of the Municipal Police, which were not adjusted to the administrative division, were abolished. At the same time, Municipal Militia officers were allowed to move to the Municipal Police. Concurrently, a decision was made to subordinate the People's Militia and the Municipal Police to a single leadership. On 8 April 1919, Cpt. Kazimierz Młodzianowski took up the post of the commander-in-chief¹⁸.

The restoration of Polish statehood after 1918 naturally led, among other things, to the establishment of a uniform police-like institution for all Polish territories. The Ministry decided to create a new service called the Security Guard. On 7 May, a draft law on the Security Guard was adopted. Then the work continued in the Administrative Commission. In the course of the work, it was decided to change the name of the new force to the State Police. The Commission's rapporteur, deputy Leopold Skulski, argued in favour of this change referring to the need to distinguish the new organisation from the previous forces, which were often called guards. Finally, on July 24, 1919, Ustawa o Policji Państwowej (the State Police Act) was passed¹⁹. According to the Act, the State Police was the 'state organisation of security service'²⁰, which was responsible for protecting public order and safety. Pursuant to Article 2 of the Act, the Police was the state organisation of security service and an executive body of the state and local authorities²¹. It was to be organised and trained according to the military model and to be subordinated to the Minister of Internal Affairs²². At the top of the chain of command was the Commander-in-Chief of the Police, who had authority in the

¹⁶ For more information on the People's Militia see: G. Winnicki, *Milicja Ludowa czyli trudne początki państwowej służby bezpieczeństwa w II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 'Kwartalnik Policyjny CSP' 2015, Vol. 4, pp. 103–110.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁸ B. Sprengel, *Policja Państwowa a organy władzy publicznej w polityce ochrony bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Toruń 2011, p. 43.

¹⁹ P. K. Marszałek, *Prawo Policji Państwowej...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–25.

²⁰ Ustawa z dnia 24 lipca 1919 r. o Policji Państwowej (DPPP z 1919 r., Nr 61, poz. 363), Article 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Article 2.

²² *Ibid.*, Article 4.

field of police organisation, administration, armament and training²³. The police were an executive body of government authorities – starosts, voivodes and self-government. Moreover, they followed orders of the prosecution service and courts. A candidate for the Police had to meet certain conditions: 1) to have Polish citizenship, 2) to have an impeccable past, 3) to be 23-45 years old, 4) to have a healthy and strong body and adequate height, 5) to have a good knowledge of the written and spoken Polish language and to be able to count.

The police organisation was based on the administrative division of the country. At the voivodeship level, regional headquarters were established, and at the level of the county, county headquarters. In addition, at the lower level, police stations were formed. The area of their operation could be a town or its districts. Further down, there were police posts, functioning in the area of a commune²⁴. The organisational units of the State Police (regional or county headquarters) were headed by police chiefs, while police posts by police lieutenants²⁵. Under the Act, police officers were divided into a higher and lower corps. The higher one included: a commander-in-chief, a deputy commander-in-chief, the regional police chiefs, deputy regional police chiefs, county police chiefs, deputy county police chiefs, lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and heads of investigation offices. The lower corps included: the senior sergeants, sergeants, senior constables, and constables²⁶.

Until the state authorities subjugated all of the Polish territories forming the Second Polish Republic, local units of the State Police were established primarily on the territories of the former Russian partition²⁷. On the basis of the 20 August 1919 order by the Commander-in-Chief, six regional headquarters were created: City of Warsaw HQ, Warsaw HQ, Łódź HQ, Białystok HQ, Kielce HQ and Lublin HQ. In the following years, further security institutions were unified with the Polish Police. The last stage included the establishment of the 16th Regional State Police HQ with its seat in Vilnius²⁸. Finally, 16 regional police headquarters and the Main Police Headquarters of the Silesian Voivodeship were established. These were the following districts: 1st in Warsaw, 2nd in Łódź, 3rd in Kielce, 4th in Lublin, 5th in Białystok, 6th in the City of Warsaw, 7th in Krakow, 8th in Lviv, 9th in Tarnopol, 10th in Stanisławowo, 11th in Poznań, 12th in Pomerania, 13th in Volhynia, 14th in Polesie, 15th in Novgorod and 16th in Vilnius²⁹.

In the years 1919-1939, the State Police underwent several reorganisations. Finally, it was divided into three main branches: the general police

²³ *Ibid.*, Article 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 10.

²⁷ M. Mączyński, *Policja Państwowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁹ A. Misiuk, *Instytucje bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w Polsce. Zarys dziejów (od X wieku do współczesności)*, Szczytno 2012, p. 219.

– uniformed branch, the criminal police – Investigation Service, and the political police, which was later incorporated into the Investigation Service³⁰. During the Polish-Soviet War in 1920, the public life was militarised, which also applied to the State Police. Officers were forbidden to resign from service under the penalty of law. The State Police units were subordinated to the military authorities and served as military police³¹. In 1923, school units of the police reserve were established as a mobile reserve of the State Police, the aim of which was to restore public order disturbed by riots or protests³².

The State Police was based on three basic principles: uniformity (all officers were bound by the same regulations regarding rights and obligations), apolitical character, and exclusiveness (the State Police was the only executive body responsible for maintaining public order and safety in the country)³³.

By virtue of Rozporządzenie prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z 27 grudnia 1924 r. o reorganizacji okręgowych komend Policji Państwowej (Order by the President of the Republic of Poland on the reorganisation of the State Police district headquarters), the regional headquarters of the State Police were abolished and replaced by voivodeship headquarters³⁴. In the voivodeship, the head of the State Police was a voivodeship police chief, who reported to the commander-in-chief in the following areas: provisions, training, recruitment, armament, discipline and official control³⁵.

During the May Coup in 1926, only a few police forces took direct part in the fighting on the government's side. The majority of police officers in the country took a wait-and-see stance, not taking action against the forces supporting the coup³⁶. The new political situation did not lead to a massive change in the staffing levels within the police force, either. The decruitment involved first of all managerial positions in the National Police Headquarters and local offices. There was also an influx of new military personnel joining the State Police³⁷. The takeover of power by the Piłsudski camp led to a change in the manner in which the state was governed. The role of field managers of state administration authorities increased. Voivodes and starosts were responsible for the control of socio-political relations in their territorial jurisdiction. In the years 1926-1939,

³⁰ A. Pepłoński, *Policja Państwowa ...*, op. cit., p. 71.

³¹ A. Misiuk, *Policja Państwowa 1919–1939. Powstanie, organizacja, kierunki działania*, Warsaw 1996, p. 58.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 204–205. As of 1936, following the introduction of the law on the preparatory service for candidates to the State Police, the establishment of a large-scale police reserve unit was started. See also: *Ibid.*, pp. 206–207.

³³ A. Pepłoński, *Policja Państwowa...*, op. cit., pp. 71–72.

³⁴ Rozporządzenie prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z 27 grudnia 1924 r. o reorganizacji okręgowych komend Policji Państwowej) (DzU, Nr 114, poz. 1014).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 2.

³⁶ A. Pepłoński, *Policja Państwowa...*, op. cit., p. 67.

³⁷ See more: A. Misiuk, *Policja Państwowa...*, op. cit., pp. 75–76.

the police authorities became an executive body at the disposal of the voivodes and starosts³⁸.

In connection with the change in the political situation after the May coup, on 8 March 1928, the President of the Republic of Poland signed a new ordinance. The State Police, as a corps organised according to the military model, was tasked with ensuring public order and safety³⁹. As regards public order and safety, it was to be subordinated to the public administration authorities⁴⁰.

The territorial organisation of the State Police was adapted to the administrative division of the state into voivodeships and counties⁴¹. Police officers were divided into commissioned and rank-and-file officers of the State Police. The corps of commissioned officers included: major general, brigadier general, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, lieutenant and 2nd lieutenant. In the corps of non-commissioned officers, there was: senior sergeant, sergeant, corporal and constable⁴².

In 1924, the number of police officers and other employees was at its highest level, and amounted to 49,526⁴³. After 1929, as a result of the economic crisis, the staffing level decreased, and in 1935 it amounted to about 29,000 officers⁴⁴, and in 1939, about 33,000 policemen⁴⁵.

State Police — linguistic commentary

The second word of the analysed proper name (the State Police) seems to symbolically refer to the Polish pre-partition institutions of this type, and more precisely to the Police Department established as part of the Permanent Council as an executive body supporting the monarch Stanisław August Poniatowski or to the Police Commission of Both Nations established by the 24 June 1791 Act passed by the Great Sejm, also known as the Four-Year Sejm.

What is the meaning of the word 'police'?

Xenophon and Aristotle used this term to describe the system existing in ancient Athens. In the eighteenth century, the police began to be identified with administrative activities of the state, hence the terms: construction police or sanitary police. In the following century, the meaning of the word in question was limited to the activities of the administration of internal affairs and the justice system⁴⁶. An example of the use of this

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 123 and 125.

³⁹ Rozporządzenie prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej o Policji Państwowej of 6 March 1928 (DzU, Nr 28, poz. 257), Article 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Article 3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Article 16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Article 32.

⁴³ A. Misiuk, *Policja Państwowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ A. Misiuk, *Instytucje bezpieczeństwa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴⁵ A. Peplowski, *Policja Państwowa ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁶ See: B. Sprengel, *Ustrój organów administracji bezpieczeństwa i porządku publicznego*, Włocławek 2004, p. 49.

lexeme (in the nineteenth-century understanding) can be found in *Pan Tadeusz, or the Last Foray in Lithuania: A History of the Nobility in the Years 1811 and 1812 in Twelve Books of Verse*. Its meaning will be explained to some extent by the word context.

*Too bad you younger men can not recall
just how it was among our turbulent
sovereign nobles. Though arms were held by all,
when true faith flourished, we ruled by consent.
Laws were respected and no need for police;
liberty grew with order, and glory
from abundance--for those were our decrees.
In other lands, I've heard a different story:
the government maintains soldier and gendarme,
constable and police; but it takes the sword
to guarantee one from another's harm;
there is no liberty; please take my word.⁴⁷*

In Samuel Bogumił Linde's dictionary (1858), published in the same century, the entry for 'policya' reads that the word comes from the Greek language, and it means 'the internal disposition of security, peace, quiet, and convenience of towns or countries, the craftsmanship of good economic governance'⁴⁸. The dictionary also mentions the 'komisyia policyi (police commission) established by the Grodno Sejm to maintain the universal order in the country, in terms of safety, order and public convenience'⁴⁹. There is also an entry for 'policyant' (policeman), i.e. 'urzędnik policyi (police official)⁵⁰.

Apparently, the word became well-established in our language, because a lexicographic publication from 1908, which is slightly newer than the one mentioned before, contains a few meanings of the noun 'police'. The first of them is the one which has already been mentioned, i.e. 'managing a town or a state, the artistry of good governance', while the second is: 'politicality, morality, courtesy, good manners'⁵¹. The third one is close to the contemporary meaning of police, hence it is understood as 'the name of an urban or rural institution which watches over public order, comfort and safety, and the exercise of rights (municipal, rural, water, river and medical police)⁵².

A definition of 'police' can also be found in *Podręczny słownik do użytku posłów, urzędników państwowych, członków ciał samorządowych i wyborców*

⁴⁷ A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, Transl. by Leonard Kress, Harrow Gate Press, Book 12, p. 236, lines 143-154.

⁴⁸ P.B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Vol. 4, Lviv 1858, entry: policya, p. 304.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Vol. 4, Warsaw 1908, entry: policja, p. 532.

⁵² *Ibid.* As an example of its use, the dictionary quotes the historian Tadeusz Korzon: 'In order to guard the king's person, the Great Marshal had at his disposal not only the police, but also his Marshal's courts'.

by Joachim Bartoszewicz, published in 1925⁵³. In the dictionary, readers learn that the term originally meant politics as opposed to religion, but also that in 'today's understanding' (i.e. in the understanding from the days when the dictionary was published), the police is an 'executive authority established to provide direct assistance to administrative, political and judicial authorities'⁵⁴, hence its internal diversity of tasks.

Understood in this manner, the 'police' became a part of the name of the newly created force – the first one in the reborn Poland.

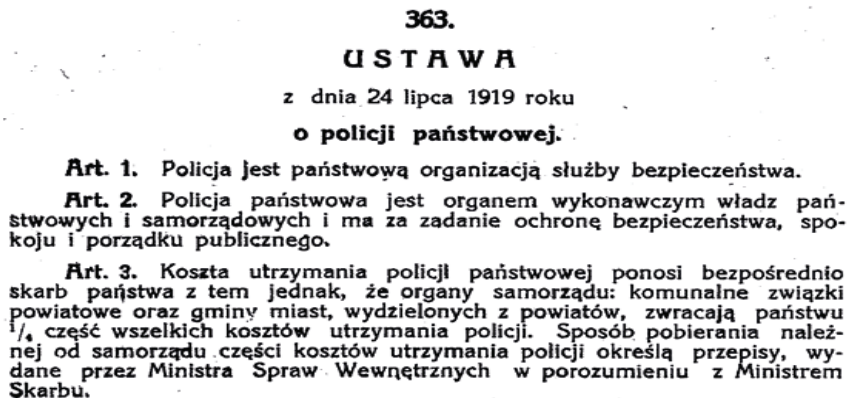
The word *police* was preceded by the adjective *state* because, as Article 1 of the Act which had established it indicated, it was a 'state organisation of the security service'⁵⁵, and – as clarified in Article 2 – 'an executive body of the state authorities'⁵⁶. The State Police was also bound to the State by the fact that, according to Article 3, its maintenance costs were incurred directly by the State Treasury⁵⁷.

This was also in line with the dictionary understanding of the police, which 'is a state force providing that it is subordinated to the highest state authorities'⁵⁸.

It is worth noting that in the text of the Act establishing the State Police (see Fig. 1), or more precisely, in the title of the aforementioned legal act, the words '*police*' and '*state*' were both written in small letters.

Fig. 1

First page of 'Ustawa z dnia 24 lipca 1919 r. o policji państwowej' (the original spelling has been preserved)



Source: Dziennik Praw Państwa Polskiego z 1919 r., Nr 61, poz. 363

⁵³ J. Bartoszewicz, *Podręczny słownik polityczny do użytku posłów, urzędników państwowych, członków ciał samorządowych i wyborców*, Warsaw 1925, pp. 613–614.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 613.

⁵⁵ Ustawa z 24 lipca 1919 r. o Policji Państwowej (DPPP z 1919 r., Nr 61, poz. 363).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ J. Bartoszewicz, *Podręczny słownik...*, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

What can that mean? Maybe that at the beginning, this combination of a noun and an adjective was not treated as a proper name, but as a *nomina appellativa*. For, according to the ‘Główne zasady pisowni polskiej ze słowniczkiem według uchwał Walnego administracyjnego Zgromadzenia członków Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie z dnia 9 lutego 1918 r’, accepted for school use by the Ministry of Religious Faiths and Public Enlightenment, ‘the names of offices, authorities, establishments, institutions and associations’ were written in capital letters⁵⁹. ‘On the other hand, common nouns and adjectives derived from proper nouns [...] are written in small letters’⁶⁰.

In the *Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 6 marca 1928 r. o Policji Państwowej*, which was published less than 10 years later, there is a different spelling – in accordance with the aforementioned principles (see Fig. 2), which is used not only in the title itself, but also in the content of the regulation. In addition, the fact that the word combination is a name is performatively indicated in Article 2 of Chapter I.

Article 2. The name ‘Police’ applies exclusively to the State Police [...] and its members.

Fig. 2

Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej — the first page of ‘Rozporządzenie z dnia 6 marca 1928 r. o Policji Państwowej’ (the original spelling has been preserved)

<p style="text-align: center;">257.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 6 marca 1928 r. o Policji Państwowej.</p> <p>Na podstawie art. 44 ust. 6 Konstytucji i ustawy z dnia 2 sierpnia 1926 r. o upoważnieniu Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej do wydawania rozporządzeń z mocą ustawy (Dz. U. R. P. Nr. 78, poz. 443) postanawiam co następuje:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TYTUŁ I. Organizacja Policji Państwowej.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">R o z d z i a ł I. Postanowienia ogólne.</p> <p>Art. 1. Policja Państwowa jest jednolitym, zorganizowanym na wzór wojskowy korpusem, przeznaczonym do utrzymania bezpieczeństwa, spokoju i porządku publicznego.</p>	<p>W zakresie dochodzenia i ścigania przestępstw organa Policji Państwowej są organami wykonawczymi władz sądowych i prokuratorskich stosownie do obowiązujących ustaw postępowania karnego i przepisów szczególnych.</p> <p>Art. 2. Nazwa „Policja” przysługuje wyłącznie Policji Państwowej, zorganizowanej na podstawie niniejszego rozporządzenia, oraz osobom w jej skład wchodzącym.</p> <p>Art. 3. Policja Państwowa podlega:</p> <p>a) w zakresie wykonywania funkcji określonych w art. 1, ust. 1 władzom administracji ogólnej;</p> <p>b) w sprawach organizacji i administracji wewnętrznej, a w szczególności uzupełnienia, wyszkolenia, zaopatrzenia, uzbrojenia, dyscypliny, kontroli służbowej i technicznego wykonywania służby oraz przysposobienia do zadań, przewidzianych w art. 27 i 28 — swoim policyjnym przełożonym;</p> <p>— w obu kierunkach zaś Ministrowi Spraw Wewnętrznych.</p>
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Source: DzU z 1928 r., Nr 28, poz. 257

To sum up, the name ‘State Police’ – instead of the originally proposed ‘Security Guard’ – points to the dependence of law enforcement bodies on state authorities. It can therefore be assumed that it also has

⁵⁹ L. Rygier, *Główne zasady pisowni polskiej ze słowniczkiem według uchwał Walnego administracyjnego Zgromadzenia członków Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie dnia 9 lutego 1918 r.*, Warsaw 1919, pp. 3–4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

a political dimension, determining the character of the Polish police authorities of that time, in accordance with the idea of the cult of a centralised state and omnipotent state authority (statolatry).

Polish Police and security institutions of the Polish Underground State

Polish Police — historical considerations

The outbreak of war in 1939 and the rapid pace of the German army's attack caused confusion among the Polish authorities. Initially, the authorities ordered the policemen to remain on duty. Only the reserve units started evacuating to the east. On the basis of Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski's decision, officers from the north- and south-western areas were evacuated to the east⁶¹. In addition, Warsaw police officers and officers from parts of the Pomorskie Voivodeship remained where they were stationed. The former took part in the defence of the capital city⁶².

The entry of the Soviet army on 17 September caught the Polish authorities off guard. Some officers of the Border Protection Corps and the Police attempted to put up a fight⁶³. The latter took part, among others, in the defence of Grodno, Lviv, Kowel and Lutsk⁶⁴. The number of policemen killed during the war is estimated at about 2,500 to 3,000. The same number may have left Poland. About 10,000 remained in the territories occupied by the Germans and about 12,000 policemen were taken prisoner by the Soviets⁶⁵. The State Police officers were imprisoned in the POW camp near Ostashkov, in the former monastery of Nilov Hermitage, which was located on Stolobny island on Lake Seliger⁶⁶. In April 1940, about 6,364 prisoners of war were imprisoned there (including 240 commissioned officers of police and gendarmerie and 4,924 file-and-rank policemen and gendarmes)⁶⁷.

From April 4, 1940, Ostashkov prisoners began to be transported to Kalinin, now Tver, where a special NKVD (the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) group murdered Polish policemen in the prison. Their

⁶¹ M. Fałdowski, *Zagłada polskich policjantów więzionych w obozie specjalnym NKWD w Ostaszkwie (wrzesień 1939–maj 1940)*, Szczytno 2016, p. 49.

⁶² A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku do współczesności*, Warsaw 2012, p. 149.

⁶³ M. Fałdowski, *Zagłada polskich policjantów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152.

⁶⁵ M. Fałdowski, *Zagłada polskich policjantów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 62. A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku...*, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁶⁶ M. Fałdowski, *Zagłada polskich policjantów...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–144.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

bodies were then transported to Miednoje, where they were thrown into a pit⁶⁸.

The Polish lands occupied by the Germans in September 1939 were divided into two parts. A part of the area was annexed by the Third Reich, while the remaining lands were annexed by the General Governorate. In this area, some Polish institutions functioned, supervised by the occupant. Among others, the General Governor Hans Frank, by decree of 17 December 1939, appointed the Polish Police. This force was commonly called the navy blue police for their navy blue uniforms. Under threat of the death penalty, pre-war police officers were appointed to the service. The institution was subordinated to the German military police and the public order forces. In addition, an investigative division, separated from the Polish Police and the Polish Criminal Police⁶⁹, was established. Some of the navy blue officers took active part in the activities of the Polish Underground State⁷⁰. Officers were actively involved in the resistance movement. In the structures of official institutions, conspiratorial organisations were created. One of them was the State Security Corps, established in 1940 on the initiative of Lieutenant Colonel Marian Kozielski⁷¹.

Another institution of a police nature was the Police Section, code-named 993/P, which was established in the spring of 1941. It included, among others, the officers of the so-called navy blue police and the Criminal Police, which dealt with, among others, exposing persons suspected of collaboration by conducting intelligence in German institutions⁷².

Another organisation was the Guard of Uprising Protection, also known as the Military Guard of Uprising Protection, established in 1941. Its task was to ensure order and safety during the outbreak of the uprising⁷³.

State Police officers were among the Silent Unseen who had undergone training in Great Britain and were dropped into Poland. They were: Colonel Jan Piwnik a.k.a. 'Ponury', Major Zygmunt Milewicz a.k.a. 'Róg', Major Bolesław Kontrym a.k.a. 'Żmudzin', Major Piotr Szewczyk a.k.a. 'Czer', Cavalry Captain Józef Zabielski a.k.a. 'Żbik', Captain Tadeusz Starzyński,

⁶⁸ See more: M. Fałdowski, *Zagłada polskich policjantów...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–291. On March 5, 1940, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decided to murder Polish prisoners of war detained in the camps in: Starobelsk, Kozielsk and Ostashkov. See: A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku...*, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁶⁹ A. Hempel, *Pogrobowcy klęski. Rzecz o policji "granatowej" w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1990, p. 31.

⁷⁰ M. Getter, *Policja Polska w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, "Przeгляд Policyjny" 1999, Vol. 1–2, pp. 83–85. A. Misiuk, *Instytucje bezpieczeństwa...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 253–254.

⁷¹ A. Hempel, *Pogrobowcy klęski...*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 231–232.

⁷³ P. Majer, *Policja Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego – uwagi uzupełniające* [in:] P. Majer, M. Seroka (Eds), *225 lat policji w Polsce. Geneza i ewolucja policji*, Olsztyn 2017, p. 254.

Infantry Captain (Ret.) Franciszek Cieplik a.k.a. 'Hatrak', 2nd Lieutenant Tadeusz Kobyliński a.k.a. 'Hiena', and Staff Sergeant Michał Parada a.k.a. 'Mapa'⁷⁴.

The end of World War II was followed by a period of repressions against the State Police officers. They were forced to undergo a rehabilitation process⁷⁵.

Polish Police — linguistic reflections

As has been mentioned above, superficially, the Polish Police were the continuator of the pre-war State Police – the same offices and buildings, rules and official regulations were preserved. The officers also used the same uniforms, but deprived of elements of Polish statehood (the eagle on the cap was replaced by the coat of arms of the town or commune). Superficially, the adjective (which one?) 'Polish' is also preserved in the proper name. In reality, however, the official name of this force – the Polish Police – was a denial of what this service personified. They remained a division of the German police (*Ordnungspolizei-Orpo*), fulfilling their duty to protect security and public order for Germany under the threat of the most severe penalty.

No wonder, then, that Polish society – without entering into moral dilemmas of the pre-war State Police officers who were conscripted into the Polish police – was extremely critical of the first-mentioned force. Treating the service as a form of collaboration with the occupant, the society did not use the name of the Polish Police, but an unofficial term – the 'navy blue police', from the colour of the uniforms worn by its officers.

From a linguistic point of view, this could be an example of the fact that if a proper name is not adopted, it will be considered inappropriate, not matching the designation, and language users, independent of the state administration, will create an alternative name, more suitable for them.

Citizens' Militia

Citizens' Militia — historical remarks

After World War II, Poland was under the influence of the Soviet Union. During the war, the communists were still in the process of preparing for the liquidation of the pre-war state apparatus, including the State Police. State Police officers were accused of cooperation with the occupier. The name People's Militia appeared in the declaration of the Polish Workers' Party 'What we fight for' of March 1, 1943. The communists in the Soviet

⁷⁴ See more: J. Tucholski, *Cichociemni*, Warsaw, 1988.

⁷⁵ A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku...*, op. cit., pp. 157–158.

Union also intended to dismantle the structures of the pre-war state apparatus. In 1943, Alfred Lampe wrote in his draft programme declaration of the Polish National Committee that public security should be ensured by the Citizens' Militia⁷⁶.

From the very beginning of the construction of the new system, the communists sought to control the entirety of socio-political life. In order to take over power, they needed appropriate institutions that would ensure their control over the Polish nation. The armed branch of the communists was the security authorities, including the Citizens' Militia (Polish acronym – MO).

On the basis of the decree of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PCNL) of October 7, 1944, the Citizens' Militia was established. This institution was originally established within the structures of the Ministry of Public Security. The Chief Commander of the Citizens' Militia was subordinate to the head of this department. He was appointed and dismissed by the PCNL⁷⁷.

The scope of activity of the Citizens' Militia included: a) protection of safety, peace and civil order; b) investigation and prosecution of crimes; c) performance of orders of administrative authorities, courts and prosecutor's offices within the scope of the law⁷⁸.

The organisational structure of local units was based on the territorial division of the state: voivodeship headquarters, district headquarters, lower ranked stations and Citizens' Militia posts. In 1945, the organisational structure of the voivodeship headquarters was determined⁷⁹. In 1945, the employment level in the Citizens' Militia was about 56,000 officers⁸⁰.

In the years 1944–1949, the main task of the militia was to fight the anti-communist opposition and support the communist authorities. From March 1949, the Citizens' Militia was closely connected with the work of the public security apparatus. Voivodeship and county commanders of the Citizens' Militia were subordinated to the heads of public security offices. From then, they held the position of deputy heads of public security offices for militia matters⁸¹.

On 7 December 1954, following the liquidation of the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of the Interior and the Public Security Committee

⁷⁶ See more: P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska 1944–1957. Geneza, organizacja, działalność, miejsce w aparacie władzy*, Olsztyn 2004, pp. 23–25.

⁷⁷ P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska i Policja w latach 1944–1994. Geneza i podstawowe przeobrażenia*, "Przegląd Policyjny", Vol. 4(36), Szczytno 1994, pp. 61–64.

⁷⁸ Dekret Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z 7 października 1944 r. o Milicji Obywatelskiej (DzU z 1944 r., nr 7, poz. 33), Article 2.

⁷⁹ Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Białymstoku, sygn. 342/647, k. 10. Materiały dotyczące wydarzeń historycznych związanych z wyzwaniem miast woj. olsztyńskiego i tworzenia się organów MO.

⁸⁰ P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska 1944–1957...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–123.

⁸¹ Rozkaz nr 13 ministra bezpieczeństwa publicznego z 18 marca 1949 r. dotyczący zespolenia aparatu bezpieczeństwa publicznego i Milicji Obywatelskiej.

of the Council of Ministers were established. The Citizens' Militia found itself in the structures of the Ministry of the Interior⁸².

In November 1956, the Committee for Public Security at the Council of Ministers was abolished. At the same time, security issues were included in the competence of the Ministry of the Interior and thus in the voivodeship and county headquarters of the Citizens' Militia. Again, the organs of the Citizens' Militia and the political police were merged under the name Security Service⁸³.

During the period of the existence of the People's Republic of Poland, the Citizens' Militia was used by the communists to pacify social speeches addressed against the rulers. After the events in Poznań in 1956, a new force was established – the Motorised Citizen's Militia Reserves (Polish acronym ZOMO). ZOMO units took part in suppressing the speeches of the society dissatisfied with the political and economic situation in Poland. They were used to suppress student protests in March 1968, to pacify workers' speeches in 1970 in Pomerania, and in June 1976 in Radom. In the 1980s, ZOMO troops were used to disperse demonstrations of opposition circles⁸⁴.

The use of force against the 'Solidarity' trade union faced reluctance among the officers, and even hostility. Solidarity was presented by the communist authorities as a dangerous element towards the state, additionally inspired by the so-called capitalist bloc⁸⁵. Nevertheless, the slogans calling for reforms were also heard by part of the militia, which also saw a need for change⁸⁶. Among the Citizens' Militia officers, there were grassroots initiatives calling for the improvement of working conditions, observance of the rule of law, transparency of information concerning socio-political life and current events, and the fight against bureaucracy⁸⁷.

Frustration and the feeling that militia officers were often 'scapegoats' in the struggle between the authorities and the opposition grew in the militia⁸⁸. In the hall of the Patrol Battalion of the Metropolitan Headquarters on June 1, 1981, a project of establishing the National Founding Committee of Trade Unions of Citizens' Militia Officers was initiated⁸⁹. Despite the difficulties encountered, an application for registration of a trade union was filed with the court on 10 June 1981. This application and

⁸² P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska i Policja...*, op. cit., p. 65.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67. P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska w systemie organów władz PRL (zarys problematyki i źródła)*, Toruń 2003, p. 69.

⁸⁴ A. Misiuk, *Historia Policji w Polsce od X wieku...*, op. cit., p. 181.

⁸⁵ W. Mikusiński, *Ruch związkowy funkcjonariuszy MO w 1981 r. Zarys historii*, Warszawa 2015, p. 17.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–58. Lieutenant Wiktor Mikusiński from Warsaw was elected as the chairman.

subsequent applications were returned under the pretext of formal errors, and it was not until 25 July that the application was accepted⁹⁰.

Militia officers took part in the following martial law operations: 'Trapeze', which aimed to occupy key buildings in the country; 'Fir', which aimed to intercept members of the opposition, and 'Clone', during which warning talks were held with persons associated with the opposition⁹¹. During the period of martial law, the strikes were liquidated with the use of militia-military forces. On 16 December 1981, nine miners died as a result of the use of weapons by militia officers. Many were also injured⁹².

Citizens' Militia — linguistic remarks

The new, in comparison with the pre-war, political concept of the state and its individual bodies also concerned the institution that was to perform the functions of order. By abandoning the traditional concept of 'police', the intention was to signal that the new force, when fulfilling its orderly functions, would draw on different patterns than those referred to by the State Police. The noun 'militia' is used in the new force's proper name. Although the words 'police' and 'militia' remain in a close meaningful relationship, this distinction was certainly not accidental. '*Milicja*' (from Latin '*militia*') is a 16th-century borrowing from a Latin miles 'soldier'; historically: corporate army, e.g. municipal, clergyman's army, also the 'personal guard of kings and magnates'; 'voluntary guard'⁹³, 'territorial troops formed from citizens undergoing military training during peacetime, possessing weapons, and being called up only during war'⁹⁴.

By the way: according to the already-mentioned political dictionary, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the militia system was widespread and existed in many European countries, including the former Republic of Poland (it was levy en masse)⁹⁵. Militia, as the only and main system of defence of the country, can suit, according to J. Bartoszewicz, 'only such countries which have perfectly secured natural borders (Switzerland via mountains, England via the sea). Poland cannot build its security on the militia system, but must have a permanent army, well trained and ready to repel an enemy invasion'⁹⁶.

Regardless of the above, in the proper name of the new force, the word 'militia' was used, describing it with the adjective 'citizens', with – paradoxically – one of its meanings being: 'organised from private

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–74. In September, the court suspended the union registration procedure until a response was received from the Supreme Court as to whether a militia officer is an employee within the meaning of the Trade Union Act.

⁹¹ P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska w systemie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

⁹³ K. Długosz-Kurczabowa, *Policja i milicja*, <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/policja-i-milicja;9036.html>>, 25 April 2019.

⁹⁴ <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/milicja.html>>, 25 April 2019.

⁹⁵ J. Bartoszewicz, *Podręczny słownik polityczny...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 486–487.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

individuals, volunteers, non-professionals, to help the authorities temporarily as a short-term institution⁹⁷.

Paradoxically, let us repeat, because the Citizens' Militia was not an institution 'unstable, not ready, formed from inhabitants of the country for the duration of war and afterwards dissolved'⁹⁸, in turn, it was the longest operating (in a continuous manner) police force in the reborn Poland.

Paradoxically, also because it was not composed of non-professionals, volunteers, etc., but was instead a professional force.

Paradoxically, after all, because it was not characterised by dictionary citizenship, i.e. 'taking into account the welfare of the country and the duties incumbent on its citizens'⁹⁹, which is confirmed by the fact that a significant number of citizens distanced themselves from it.

The term Citizens' Militia, according to the literature on the subject, which describes the future force ensuring security and public order, was used for the first time in the program declaration of the so-called Polish National Committee, and therefore rightly, according to P. Majer, the authorship of this name is attributed to the communist left wing residing in the USSR¹⁰⁰. Polish communists, forming the Polish Workers' Party, envisaged the name of the future police authority: People's Militia. The literature on the subject also mentions the normative project: Security Service in the Republic of Poland¹⁰¹.

Apart from the indicated above, metaphorically speaking, semantic distortion, the language problems of the Citizens' Militia and the militia were not troublesome, because the spelling was simple. It was not difficult for language users to determine which of the terms represents the class of common nouns (*appellativa*), e.g. *road militia*, *militia's work*, *militia liquidated a den*; and which is the proper name (*nomina propria*) of a uniformed state force of a police nature used to maintain peace and order, fight crime and ensure public safety, operating in the years 1944-1990¹⁰², such as: *the image of the Citizens' Militia*, *service ranks of the Citizens' Militia*.

⁹⁷ P. Dubisz (Ed.), *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN*, Warsaw 2006, Vol. K-Ó, entry: obywatelski, p. 1099.

⁹⁸ J. Bartoszewicz, *Podręczny słownik polityczny...*, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

⁹⁹ P. Dubisz (Ed.), *Uniwersalny słownik...*, *op. cit.*, entry: obywatelskość, p. 1100.

¹⁰⁰ P. Majer, *Od Policji Państwowej do Policji – o nazwach własnych polskich formacji policyjnych i ich symbolice* [in:] G. Kędzierska (Ed.), *85 lat polskiej policji...*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁰¹ See: P. Majer, *Trzy projekty – próby wprowadzenia Milicji Obywatelskiej na grunt prawa stanowiącego w okresie wrzesień 1944-kwiecień 1945* [in:] R. Łaszewski, B. Sprengel (Eds), *Od straży obywatelskich do Policji. Służby porządkowe na ziemiach polskich w XX wieku*, Włocławek 2007, pp. 171-185.

¹⁰² A. Letkiewicz, P. Majer, *Polska policja*, Szczytno 2016, pp. 111-138.

Police

Police — historical remarks

As a result of the political transformation in the second half of the 1980s, the social and political life of individual Eastern Bloc countries became more democratic. As a result of an agreement between the communist authorities and a part of the opposition, elections were held in two rounds on 4th and 18th June, 1989¹⁰³. In August of that year, the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki was formed. It consisted of communist notables and people associated with the opposition¹⁰⁴. On 7th September, ZOMO was transformed into a Riot Squad of the Citizens' Militia¹⁰⁵. The Board for Protection of Officers and the political and educational division were also liquidated¹⁰⁶.

The Parliament adopted the Act on the Police, and the Act on the State Protection Office and the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs on 6th April 1990¹⁰⁷. The Police, as a uniformed and armed force, was designed to protect the safety of citizens and maintain security and public order¹⁰⁸. The police consisted of: criminal police, road traffic and uniformed police, riot squad and anti-terrorist units, specialised police (railway, water, air) and local police¹⁰⁹. The created force referred to its pre-war roots and entered the international structures, opening another page in the history of the Polish Police. The newly established institution, apart from respecting the tradition of the State Police, emphasised its apolitical character and its service to the society.

Police — linguistic remarks

The name of the Police force established on 6 April 1990 was a symbolic reference to the pre-war traditions of the State Police¹¹⁰. It is not difficult to notice, however, that in the history of Polish police services, the force established in 1990 was the first one to be described in a single word. The adjectives used in the proper names usually defined the individual forces. The police were "state", "navy blue" or "Polish", while the militia were "citizens", whereas the "police" remained without a description. The literature on the subject mentions a certain lack of decisiveness in determining the

¹⁰³ See more: A. Dudek, *Reglamentowana rewolucja. Rozkład dyktatury komunistycznej w Polsce 1988–1990*, Krakow 2014.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 406–407.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

¹⁰⁶ P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska w systemie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ Ustawa z 6 kwietnia 1990 r. o Policji (DzU z 1990 r, nr 30, poz. 179).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Art. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Art. 4.

¹¹⁰ B. Sprengel, *Ustrój organów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

political position of the new force¹¹¹. Perhaps it translated into some caution in the formulation of the name of the force discussed, which in turn resulted in language users having problems with ‘police’.

The word, understood as: “1. a state body established to protect public order and security, organised according to the military model; 2. officers of this body, police officers; 3. the building in which the office of this body is located”¹¹² gained a new meaningful element – it became the proper name of the characterised force. According to the spelling rules, “individual (unitary) names of offices, authorities, institutions, schools, organisations [...], enterprises, premises, plants and cooperatives”¹¹³ are written in capital letters. This also applies to the ‘Police’.”

Although, as mentioned above, in Jan Grzenia’s *Proper Names Dictionary*, published in 2003, there is no ‘Police’ entry – nor for entries such as ‘Citizens’ Militia’ or ‘State Police’¹¹⁴ – in *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, a note is placed under the ‘police’ entry: “in proper names, write with a capital letter”¹¹⁵. In accordance with the above, it is understandable that it should be written: *Police Headquarters*, *Police Academy in Szczytno*, *Regional Police Headquarters in Rzeszów*, or *Police Station in Korczyna*.

However, doubts regarding correctness may be raised as to when it is necessary to use the word ‘police’ itself. It is then required to decide whether we write about the police as: a building? officers? of an institution in the general, common sense? or of an individual, official name? According to the above-mentioned principle of spelling, in the first three situations, the word ‘police’ should be written in lower case, in the last one, in upper case. Therefore, whenever it concerns, for example, *the activities of the Olsztyn police*, *operational and investigative activities carried out by the police*, or *the effectiveness of the local police*, the noun ‘police’ is written in lower case. However, when we talk about an institution established to protect order and safety, using its full name, we should use a capital letter, e.g. *the Act on the Police*, *organisational structure of the Police in Poland*, *the statutory tasks of the Police*, *the management staff of the Police*, *the Police Commander in Chief*¹¹⁶, *the cooperation of the Police with the Border Guard*, *a Police commissioned officer*, or *service in the Police*.

Unfortunately, it is not always possible to follow the example of how the word ‘police’ is written in the Act on the Police itself, in the Criminal Code, or in the Code of Criminal Procedure, because it is not always written

¹¹¹ P. Majer, *Od Policji Państwowej do Policji...*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹¹² M. Szymczak (Ed.), *Słownik języka polskiego*, Warsaw 1992, entry; policja, p. 782.

¹¹³ E. Polański (Ed.), *Nowy słownik ortograficzny*, Warsaw 1998, p. 43.

¹¹⁴ J. Grzenia, *Słownik nazw...*, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁵ H. Zgólkowa (Ed.), *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, Poznań 2001, Vol. 30, p. 194.

¹¹⁶ For the spelling of names of single-person offices, see: G. Ojcewicz, *Co począć z komendantem (z serii: Poradnik językowy)*, “Policyjny Biuletyn Szkoleniowy” 1993, Vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

in a reflective way in accordance with the above-mentioned principles. More precisely, perhaps for the sake of simplicity, the word is always written in capital letters, e.g.:

*Art. 14. 1. Within the scope of their duties, the Police shall carry out the following activities: preliminary investigation, criminal investigation and administration and order-keeping activities*¹¹⁷.

*Art. 41a. (32) § 1. (33). A court may order a ban on presence in certain environments or places (...). The prohibition or order may be combined with an obligation to report to the Police or other designated authority at specified intervals (...).*¹¹⁸

*Art. 275. § 1. As a preventive measure, the accused may be committed to the surveillance of the Police and, if the accused is a soldier, to the surveillance of the soldier's commanding officer*¹¹⁹.

However, it should be remembered that the use of lower case letters does not condemn either the sender or the recipient of the message to infamy; on the contrary, it proves that they know how to spell and how to use them¹²⁰.

Summary

In general, in the proper names of the key Police forces in the reborn Poland appear (interchangeably) the nouns 'police', and 'militia' together with the adjectives 'state', 'Polish', "citizens'" or (in the case of one of the names) left unspecified¹²¹.

While exploring the topic, one cannot help but notice that the creation of the name of each of the forces discussed in the article was embedded in a particular historical context (euphoria from regained independence in 1919; the dramatic nature of the police service in occupied Poland; the introduction of a competitive political concept of the state in 1945; restoration of sovereignty in 1990) and was also consistent with the obligations the state expected from its police or militia and their officers in the specific time.

Since, in turn, ideals and philosophy of action are important issues for any institution, it is not surprising that the emergence and creation of the

¹¹⁷ Ustawa z 6 kwietnia 1990 r. o Policji (DzU z 1990 r., nr 30, poz. 179).

¹¹⁸ Ustawa z 6 czerwca 1997 r. – Kodeks karny (DzU nr 88, poz. 553).

¹¹⁹ Ustawa z 6 czerwca 1997 r. – Kodeks postępowania karnego (DzU nr 89, poz. 555).

¹²⁰ See: M. Przetak, *Jak traktować "policję" – uwagi o pisowni nazw własnych polskich służb policyjnych* [in:] G. Kędzierska (Ed.), *85 lat polskiej policji...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–33.

¹²¹ The proposal made in the comments to the editorial review of this article to compare the discussed names with those of the security forces operating in other countries at the time seems very interesting. However, due to the substantial complexity and breadth of the issues involved in this proposal, let it be an inspiration to write another article.

title names of the discussed police forces was often accompanied by discussions – not devoid of emotions and differences of views¹²².

From the perspective of time, it turned out that the adopted proper names did not always embody the way the force functioned or its reception by the society of the given period. This is clearly visible, as the article's subchapters emphasised, in the examples of the Polish Police and the Citizens' Militia.

However, regardless of their accuracy and symbolic adequacy, the proper names, being individual names, and names of institutions, ensured that these institutions and the people who created them strongly went down in history. The advantage is that their deeds and actions remain unforgettable, and the possible disadvantage is that their deeds and actions remain unforgettable. History remembers, we can say, by creating an analogy of the words of the Nobel Prize winner¹²³.

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¹²² See: P. Majer, *Trzy projekty...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–185; *idem*, *Od Policji Państwowej do Policji...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51 and 56.

¹²³ Cz. Miłosz, *Który skrzywdziłeś*, <<https://wiersze.annet.pl/w,9456>>, 15 April 2019.

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Summary: The text concerns the names of Polish police forces, their symbols, semantics, etymology and the way they are written down (spelling). The article contains historical and linguistic content.

The reconstruction of the Polish state in 1918 made it possible to establish the police as a typical organisation. The Sejm passed an act establishing a new, uniform police force (the State Police) on 24 July 1919. It was the first Polish police organisation to survive formally until 1944.

In post-war Poland, the traditional functions (tasks) of the police were taken over (performed) by the Citizens' Militia. Contrary to its own name, the militia did not have the status of civic activism for the common good, but was a state body, centralised, hierarchical, rejecting the principle of non-politicality and linked to the security apparatus.

The modern police are the heir not only of the State Police, but also of all previous Polish police forces.

To sum up, the article brings closer and commemorates the important moments of our history, giving an idea of the changing reality of everyday service and the role of police in the various forms of the political system.