

1
00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:39,260

2
00:00:39,260 --> 00:00:41,240
I'd like you to begin
by just telling me

3
00:00:41,240 --> 00:00:43,213
your name at the time--

4
00:00:43,213 --> 00:00:45,380
you can tell me your name
now-- where you were born,

5
00:00:45,380 --> 00:00:48,140
and what year you were born.

6
00:00:48,140 --> 00:00:49,430
Shall I start, or not?

7
00:00:49,430 --> 00:00:49,970
Yes, please.

8
00:00:49,970 --> 00:00:50,295
[? I shall start. ?]

9
00:00:50,295 --> 00:00:51,570
Make sure you speak to
me me and not the camera.

10
00:00:51,570 --> 00:00:52,580
Very good.

11
00:00:52,580 --> 00:00:56,520
Well, my real name is
Zdzisław Jeziorański.

12
00:00:56,520 --> 00:01:00,500
My present name, Jan Nowak,
was a *nomme de guerre*.

13

00:01:00,500 --> 00:01:04,580

It was the name which I
assumed during the war

14

00:01:04,580 --> 00:01:06,140

to protect my family.

15

00:01:06,140 --> 00:01:10,070

When I was in the West, my
family was still in Warsaw.

16

00:01:10,070 --> 00:01:17,750

I was born in Warsaw in the
first year of World War II

17

00:01:17,750 --> 00:01:20,930

in a pretty well-to-do family.

18

00:01:20,930 --> 00:01:23,660

19

00:01:23,660 --> 00:01:29,390

My mother came from a rather
wealthy Warsaw family.

20

00:01:29,390 --> 00:01:33,950

My father had a travel agency.

21

00:01:33,950 --> 00:01:39,440

He died in 1918 when
I was four years old.

22

00:01:39,440 --> 00:01:43,220

And my mother was
not really prepared

23

00:01:43,220 --> 00:01:47,990

to manage her affairs without
the help of the husband,

24

00:01:47,990 --> 00:01:51,020

so during the big

inflation, hyperinflation,

25

00:01:51,020 --> 00:01:53,480
she lost everything we had.

26

00:01:53,480 --> 00:01:58,740
And we grew up on
the verge of poverty.

27

00:01:58,740 --> 00:02:02,160
In a very neat
family, I was really

28

00:02:02,160 --> 00:02:04,635
brought up by my
grandmother and my mother.

29

00:02:04,635 --> 00:02:07,230

30

00:02:07,230 --> 00:02:09,150
It was a very religious family.

31

00:02:09,150 --> 00:02:13,530
We were we were Catholics,
but my mother and grandmother

32

00:02:13,530 --> 00:02:15,420
were very liberal.

33

00:02:15,420 --> 00:02:16,560
They were very liberal.

34

00:02:16,560 --> 00:02:22,110
And I remember they were always
telling me and my older brother

35

00:02:22,110 --> 00:02:29,020
that any kind of hatred,
or any kind of bias

36

00:02:29,020 --> 00:02:32,210

to other people because
of their different race,

37
00:02:32,210 --> 00:02:36,250
religion, outlook, is a sin.

38
00:02:36,250 --> 00:02:41,140
And that had a big impact on us.

39
00:02:41,140 --> 00:02:46,900
I went to schools in Warsaw.

40
00:02:46,900 --> 00:02:54,160
And after my matriculation,
I left Warsaw

41
00:02:54,160 --> 00:02:59,410
and did study in Poznan, because
I did want to study economy.

42
00:02:59,410 --> 00:03:03,000
And the only faculty of
economy was in Poznan.

43
00:03:03,000 --> 00:03:07,462

44
00:03:07,462 --> 00:03:08,930
Were you going to say something?

45
00:03:08,930 --> 00:03:10,970
Well, OK.

46
00:03:10,970 --> 00:03:16,050
I did want to be a scholar.

47
00:03:16,050 --> 00:03:23,700
And after I finished
my university studies

48
00:03:23,700 --> 00:03:30,090
and got my graduation,

a Masters in economy,

49

00:03:30,090 --> 00:03:33,060

I became what is called
in Poland assistant

50

00:03:33,060 --> 00:03:37,320

to the professor, or if you
like, senior researcher.

51

00:03:37,320 --> 00:03:41,100

And after two years,
the war broke out.

52

00:03:41,100 --> 00:03:47,510

At the time when I was working
on my doctorate thesis,

53

00:03:47,510 --> 00:03:48,320

I was drafted.

54

00:03:48,320 --> 00:03:56,810

I left my writings, my
doctoral thesis, on my desk,

55

00:03:56,810 --> 00:03:58,070

and never saw it again.

56

00:03:58,070 --> 00:04:01,020

57

00:04:01,020 --> 00:04:07,340

I did participate in
the September campaign.

58

00:04:07,340 --> 00:04:13,400

I was in the artillery,
[INAUDIBLE] artillery unit.

59

00:04:13,400 --> 00:04:16,579

And in the middle
of September, I

60

00:04:16,579 --> 00:04:19,310

was taken prisoner by
the Germans at the Battle

61

00:04:19,310 --> 00:04:22,079

of [INAUDIBLE].

62

00:04:22,079 --> 00:04:25,010

It so happened that I
was in the same transport

63

00:04:25,010 --> 00:04:28,296

with the future communist
prime minister of Poland,

64

00:04:28,296 --> 00:04:35,040

Cyrankiewicz And we both jumped
out of the train near Krakow.

65

00:04:35,040 --> 00:04:38,430

And I did go back to
Warsaw at the time

66

00:04:38,430 --> 00:04:41,610

when the Siege of Warsaw ended.

67

00:04:41,610 --> 00:04:44,460

The Germans occupied the city.

68

00:04:44,460 --> 00:04:46,110

And I joined my family there.

69

00:04:46,110 --> 00:04:51,235

That was the beginning of my
life under German occupation.

70

00:04:51,235 --> 00:04:53,910

OK, and I just want to
ask you a few questions

71

00:04:53,910 --> 00:04:55,920

and clarify something.

72
00:04:55,920 --> 00:04:59,790
I think by mistake you
said that you were born

73
00:04:59,790 --> 00:05:01,350
the first year of World War II.

74
00:05:01,350 --> 00:05:03,200
You meant World War I.

75
00:05:03,200 --> 00:05:05,410
Oh, of course.

76
00:05:05,410 --> 00:05:06,450
Should I repeat this?

77
00:05:06,450 --> 00:05:07,670
That's OK.

78
00:05:07,670 --> 00:05:10,050
No?

79
00:05:10,050 --> 00:05:11,600
I wish I would be so young.

80
00:05:11,600 --> 00:05:14,730

81
00:05:14,730 --> 00:05:19,650
The other question I had
for you, before the war,

82
00:05:19,650 --> 00:05:21,225
did you know Jewish people?

83
00:05:21,225 --> 00:05:22,100
Did you have contact?

84
00:05:22,100 --> 00:05:23,100
Oh, yes.

85

00:05:23,100 --> 00:05:29,490

I had many schoolmates,
Jewish [? persons. ?] The man

86

00:05:29,490 --> 00:05:33,750

by the name [? Antek ?]
Rosenthal was my Boy Scout

87

00:05:33,750 --> 00:05:35,230

master.

88

00:05:35,230 --> 00:05:39,510

A very close friend of
mine was Jan Kott, who

89

00:05:39,510 --> 00:05:41,160

is now in the United States.

90

00:05:41,160 --> 00:05:44,610

He's my contemporary,
professor emeritus

91

00:05:44,610 --> 00:05:50,130

of Stony Brook University,
a well-known international

92

00:05:50,130 --> 00:05:51,690

authority of Shakespeare.

93

00:05:51,690 --> 00:05:53,610

He was a very close
friend of mine.

94

00:05:53,610 --> 00:05:59,250

And I had many other
colleagues who were Jews.

95

00:05:59,250 --> 00:06:03,270

Were you aware of
antisemitism before the war?

96

00:06:03,270 --> 00:06:04,710
Not in the schools.

97
00:06:04,710 --> 00:06:06,360
I don't believe
that, for instance,

98
00:06:06,360 --> 00:06:11,460
Jan Kott or Rosenthal, or
[? Anthony ?] [? Tom, ?] who

99
00:06:11,460 --> 00:06:15,960
are Jewish, or [? Yusef ?]
[? Handelsman, ?] they

100
00:06:15,960 --> 00:06:19,350
[? weren't ?] really in any
way felt different from others.

101
00:06:19,350 --> 00:06:21,810
They considered
themselves Poles.

102
00:06:21,810 --> 00:06:25,860
And I didn't witness
any kind of, you know,

103
00:06:25,860 --> 00:06:27,780
unpleasant treatment.

104
00:06:27,780 --> 00:06:29,760
At the university, yes.

105
00:06:29,760 --> 00:06:35,070
Not my university, but the
last years, I mean in the '30s,

106
00:06:35,070 --> 00:06:39,510
there was a lot of antisemitism
at the universities.

107
00:06:39,510 --> 00:06:44,430
And Jewish students

were requested

108
00:06:44,430 --> 00:06:46,200
to sit on a separate bench.

109
00:06:46,200 --> 00:06:48,090
They were humiliated.

110
00:06:48,090 --> 00:06:50,400
And they had a really bad life.

111
00:06:50,400 --> 00:06:54,300
This is the time when I
did witness antisemitism.

112
00:06:54,300 --> 00:06:55,920
Not in the school.

113
00:06:55,920 --> 00:06:59,580
We [? went-- ?] by curiosity,
I remember that we did

114
00:06:59,580 --> 00:07:02,130
go in a small group
to the synagogue

115
00:07:02,130 --> 00:07:03,990
just to see how it is inside.

116
00:07:03,990 --> 00:07:07,320
It was something
very exotic to us.

117
00:07:07,320 --> 00:07:12,240
But I really didn't
see much antisemitism.

118
00:07:12,240 --> 00:07:18,550
I remember when I was bad in
mathematics, and I had to--

119
00:07:18,550 --> 00:07:26,700

my mother had to hire some
student in mathematics

120
00:07:26,700 --> 00:07:28,800
who would help me.

121
00:07:28,800 --> 00:07:31,950
And there was an advertising,
and the young Jew

122
00:07:31,950 --> 00:07:35,460
from the ghetto, from the
Jewish district, came.

123
00:07:35,460 --> 00:07:38,760
And he asked, do
you mind I'm a Jew?

124
00:07:38,760 --> 00:07:40,890
And I said, it never
even occurred to me.

125
00:07:40,890 --> 00:07:43,980
I mean, of course I don't mind.

126
00:07:43,980 --> 00:07:45,660
But there was a--

127
00:07:45,660 --> 00:07:51,360
this was a different kind of
antisemitism than in Germany.

128
00:07:51,360 --> 00:07:56,970
But there were this extremist
students organization

129
00:07:56,970 --> 00:07:59,100
of the right wing.

130
00:07:59,100 --> 00:08:00,810
And that was one of
the reasons why I

131

00:08:00,810 --> 00:08:02,340
didn't want to study in Warsaw.

132

00:08:02,340 --> 00:08:05,313
I didn't like these
kind of things.

133

00:08:05,313 --> 00:08:07,718
[INAUDIBLE]

134

00:08:07,718 --> 00:08:09,642
It's [INAUDIBLE], yeah.

135

00:08:09,642 --> 00:08:11,566
It was pretty loud.

136

00:08:11,566 --> 00:08:12,850
OK, you need to-- yeah.

137

00:08:12,850 --> 00:08:13,710
Do we need to--

138

00:08:13,710 --> 00:08:14,210
We were--

139

00:08:14,210 --> 00:08:16,760
Let's stop a second and wait
till this noise-- what is it?

140

00:08:16,760 --> 00:08:17,640
That was--

141

00:08:17,640 --> 00:08:20,270
It's still going on.

142

00:08:20,270 --> 00:08:22,160
I don't believe you will
hear it on the tape.

143

00:08:22,160 --> 00:08:22,490
There were two things.

144
00:08:22,490 --> 00:08:23,865
One was a plane,
but there's also

145
00:08:23,865 --> 00:08:25,865
wind blowing against
an exterior door, which

146
00:08:25,865 --> 00:08:26,990
I won't be able to control.

147
00:08:26,990 --> 00:08:27,490
OK.

148
00:08:27,490 --> 00:08:29,450
I thought there was
something up above.

149
00:08:29,450 --> 00:08:30,280
Is it gone?

150
00:08:30,280 --> 00:08:31,530
It's behind you and above you.

151
00:08:31,530 --> 00:08:34,010
This is the exterior
door [INAUDIBLE]..

152
00:08:34,010 --> 00:08:37,129
All right, well if you think
it's gone, we can continue.

153
00:08:37,129 --> 00:08:42,828

154
00:08:42,828 --> 00:08:48,200
[? We're still on. ?]

155
00:08:48,200 --> 00:08:51,500
And how much did
you know or think

156
00:08:51,500 --> 00:08:58,980
about what was going on in
Germany, about the Nazism that

157
00:08:58,980 --> 00:09:02,712
was really starting to
take form, about Hitler?

158
00:09:02,712 --> 00:09:03,670
How was that perceived?

159
00:09:03,670 --> 00:09:07,990
Well, I remember when
Hitler came to power,

160
00:09:07,990 --> 00:09:10,230
they were scared.

161
00:09:10,230 --> 00:09:13,350
This was the first
time we realized

162
00:09:13,350 --> 00:09:15,330
that there may be a war.

163
00:09:15,330 --> 00:09:18,450
We knew all he wrote,
I mean, and this

164
00:09:18,450 --> 00:09:22,890
was considered to be a threat.

165
00:09:22,890 --> 00:09:27,990
I do remember,
maybe in '38 or '37,

166
00:09:27,990 --> 00:09:30,870
some Jews who escaped
from Germany into Poland.

167
00:09:30,870 --> 00:09:35,070

I remember when I was
on the train from Poznan

168
00:09:35,070 --> 00:09:39,930
to Warsaw that I talked
to an elderly Jew who

169
00:09:39,930 --> 00:09:43,350
just escaped from Berlin who
was telling me all about it.

170
00:09:43,350 --> 00:09:46,940

171
00:09:46,940 --> 00:09:51,410
What was the general
attitude in Poznan

172
00:09:51,410 --> 00:09:54,680
and in Warsaw toward the Nazis?

173
00:09:54,680 --> 00:09:58,100
Well, you know, to us,
the Nazis were Germans,

174
00:09:58,100 --> 00:10:00,380
and Germans were Nazis.

175
00:10:00,380 --> 00:10:03,080
And Germans were enemies.

176
00:10:03,080 --> 00:10:06,560
Germans were considered
to be enemies.

177
00:10:06,560 --> 00:10:10,460
So at that time, really, we
considered, oh, every German

178
00:10:10,460 --> 00:10:11,750
is a Nazi.

179

00:10:11,750 --> 00:10:12,740
You see?

180
00:10:12,740 --> 00:10:14,240
It was oversimplification.

181
00:10:14,240 --> 00:10:15,710
But this is how we--

182
00:10:15,710 --> 00:10:18,140
and after all, the
support for Hitler

183
00:10:18,140 --> 00:10:21,350
was so overwhelming
in Germany that we

184
00:10:21,350 --> 00:10:23,000
couldn't see any difference.

185
00:10:23,000 --> 00:10:26,930
We considered Germans
as a big threat to us.

186
00:10:26,930 --> 00:10:30,620
And that's from my young
age, because Germans

187
00:10:30,620 --> 00:10:34,730
did want to take back the
territories which they

188
00:10:34,730 --> 00:10:38,810
lost to Poland after the war.

189
00:10:38,810 --> 00:10:42,410
And they were always considered
the greatest threat to us.

190
00:10:42,410 --> 00:10:46,850
But until the end of
the war, really, we

191

00:10:46,850 --> 00:10:49,640
didn't differentiate
much between the Germans

192

00:10:49,640 --> 00:10:51,470
and the Nazis.

193

00:10:51,470 --> 00:10:56,370
And this distrust of
the Germans was really

194

00:10:56,370 --> 00:11:02,310
very separate than their
ideas about genocide and--

195

00:11:02,310 --> 00:11:04,790
Well, you know,
genocide came late.

196

00:11:04,790 --> 00:11:06,540
Remember there were,
of course, victims

197

00:11:06,540 --> 00:11:09,570
of Nazis in Germany itself.

198

00:11:09,570 --> 00:11:12,480
And in Poland, I
mean, the number

199

00:11:12,480 --> 00:11:15,810
of people that were
executed was considerable.

200

00:11:15,810 --> 00:11:23,520
I lost my uncle who was
executed in October '39.

201

00:11:23,520 --> 00:11:28,620
But this was not genocide in
the sense that came later.

202

00:11:28,620 --> 00:11:33,240
The genocide of Jews
did happen in '42.

203
00:11:33,240 --> 00:11:35,880
This is when it started.

204
00:11:35,880 --> 00:11:40,650
There was extermination
of Poles and of Jews.

205
00:11:40,650 --> 00:11:45,840
But this was not the sort
of total extermination

206
00:11:45,840 --> 00:11:50,010
of race or religion of
people who belong to the race

207
00:11:50,010 --> 00:11:51,600
or to a religion.

208
00:11:51,600 --> 00:11:52,830
Many victims.

209
00:11:52,830 --> 00:11:55,020
There was a German terror.

210
00:11:55,020 --> 00:12:00,500
But early on, it was very
clear that the Germans

211
00:12:00,500 --> 00:12:04,250
were going to try to
eliminate Jewish people in one

212
00:12:04,250 --> 00:12:06,250
way or another.

213
00:12:06,250 --> 00:12:14,370
But your distrust of Germans
the Nazis was more territorial.

214

00:12:14,370 --> 00:12:18,630

Well, as far as the Jews are concerned, during the war, no.

215

00:12:18,630 --> 00:12:23,280

Nobody really anticipated that there

216

00:12:23,280 --> 00:12:30,690

would be a sort of a total extermination of every Jew.

217

00:12:30,690 --> 00:12:31,990

That came later.

218

00:12:31,990 --> 00:12:35,940

We knew that Jews are persecuted,

219

00:12:35,940 --> 00:12:41,020

and that they are discriminated, that they are being killed.

220

00:12:41,020 --> 00:12:43,980

But the Final Solution in the sense

221

00:12:43,980 --> 00:12:49,470

that every Jew had to be killed because the crime he committed

222

00:12:49,470 --> 00:12:53,370

was that he was alive, that came later.

223

00:12:53,370 --> 00:12:54,810

Right, I understand that.

224

00:12:54,810 --> 00:12:59,350

I was just trying to distinguish between you, as a Catholic

225

00:12:59,350 --> 00:13:06,380
Pole, disliking or
distrusting or hating

226
00:13:06,380 --> 00:13:09,740
the Germans as a separate--

227
00:13:09,740 --> 00:13:13,190
is something separate than
because they were persecuting

228
00:13:13,190 --> 00:13:16,040
the Jews and other minorities.

229
00:13:16,040 --> 00:13:18,080
Well, they were
persecuting Poles.

230
00:13:18,080 --> 00:13:19,220
They were, of course.

231
00:13:19,220 --> 00:13:21,020
But it was all--

232
00:13:21,020 --> 00:13:22,640
we abhorred it, you know?

233
00:13:22,640 --> 00:13:25,290
This was terrible.

234
00:13:25,290 --> 00:13:28,220
But we-- and in
the first stages,

235
00:13:28,220 --> 00:13:30,500
we considered
persecution of Jews

236
00:13:30,500 --> 00:13:34,820
as the part of
Nazis, of atrocities

237

00:13:34,820 --> 00:13:38,340
they were committing.

238
00:13:38,340 --> 00:13:41,670
And of course I felt
great, great sympathy

239
00:13:41,670 --> 00:13:43,440
for my Jewish friends.

240
00:13:43,440 --> 00:13:48,600
I remember when I
came back from--

241
00:13:48,600 --> 00:13:53,110
when I escaped from
captivity, and we were

242
00:13:53,110 --> 00:13:57,280
living in the apartment block.

243
00:13:57,280 --> 00:13:59,440
And during the war,
people became very close

244
00:13:59,440 --> 00:14:00,360
to each other.

245
00:14:00,360 --> 00:14:01,810
There were no
longer neighbors who

246
00:14:01,810 --> 00:14:04,135
didn't know what the
other neighbor was doing.

247
00:14:04,135 --> 00:14:06,220
We were very close.

248
00:14:06,220 --> 00:14:10,540
And there was an attorney
living in our block of houses,

249

00:14:10,540 --> 00:14:13,270
a very nice man who was Jewish.

250

00:14:13,270 --> 00:14:18,370
And then they were all requested
to leave the so-called Aryan

251

00:14:18,370 --> 00:14:22,270
district and to move
to the Jewish district.

252

00:14:22,270 --> 00:14:25,150
And he was struggling
with himself.

253

00:14:25,150 --> 00:14:30,940
Should he go to the Jewish
district, to move there?

254

00:14:30,940 --> 00:14:37,850
Or buy the-- or get the illegal
papers and stay outside?

255

00:14:37,850 --> 00:14:40,690
Which he felt was
much more risky,

256

00:14:40,690 --> 00:14:43,270
because this was a
violation of law,

257

00:14:43,270 --> 00:14:47,290
and every Jew that was caught
outside of the district

258

00:14:47,290 --> 00:14:48,970
would be killed.

259

00:14:48,970 --> 00:14:54,490
So I remember how this man
was fighting with himself.

260

00:14:54,490 --> 00:14:59,170
Should he and his family
move to the Jewish ghetto,

261
00:14:59,170 --> 00:15:03,100
or pretend he was a Christian?

262
00:15:03,100 --> 00:15:07,080
And it was-- and he finally
decided to go there.

263
00:15:07,080 --> 00:15:11,590
And probably that was
his end, eventually.

264
00:15:11,590 --> 00:15:13,750
Was there, or would
there have been,

265
00:15:13,750 --> 00:15:18,190
support among the Polish
community for Jewish people

266
00:15:18,190 --> 00:15:19,620
who needed to--

267
00:15:19,620 --> 00:15:24,850
who wanted to stay outside
of the ghetto and hide?

268
00:15:24,850 --> 00:15:30,070
Well, you know, the best
way it was described

269
00:15:30,070 --> 00:15:32,200
was by [? Jan Karski, ?]
who just

270
00:15:32,200 --> 00:15:34,810
said there were
people of bad will,

271
00:15:34,810 --> 00:15:37,390

there were people of good will,
and there were indifferent

272
00:15:37,390 --> 00:15:37,990
people.

273
00:15:37,990 --> 00:15:40,770
And this is exactly
what happened.

274
00:15:40,770 --> 00:15:44,830
The bad people who were
denouncing Jews, very often

275
00:15:44,830 --> 00:15:48,670
for gain, for money, and
people who were risking

276
00:15:48,670 --> 00:15:51,880
their lives to save Jews.

277
00:15:51,880 --> 00:15:54,130
Both were in minority.

278
00:15:54,130 --> 00:15:56,200
The great majority
were indifferent

279
00:15:56,200 --> 00:16:01,330
people, people who cared
only how to survive,

280
00:16:01,330 --> 00:16:04,280
how to survive with
their families.

281
00:16:04,280 --> 00:16:07,060
And this was not
just only in Poland.

282
00:16:07,060 --> 00:16:10,180
I mean, the world
was indifferent.

283

00:16:10,180 --> 00:16:12,760

Even the Jews in [? the US ?]
were indifferent.

284

00:16:12,760 --> 00:16:16,360

But unfortunately, most of the
people cared about themselves.

285

00:16:16,360 --> 00:16:17,920

They were indifferent.

286

00:16:17,920 --> 00:16:22,780

But there were great
efforts to save the Jews.

287

00:16:22,780 --> 00:16:28,770

For instance, I
know somebody who

288

00:16:28,770 --> 00:16:35,220

was active in some organization
that dealt with the Germans.

289

00:16:35,220 --> 00:16:38,640

And he was trying to
get from the Germans

290

00:16:38,640 --> 00:16:43,140

special kind of
permits for Christians

291

00:16:43,140 --> 00:16:44,880

of Jewish background.

292

00:16:44,880 --> 00:16:47,370

And the Germans said, of
course, give us the list.

293

00:16:47,370 --> 00:16:50,170

We will give them
special immunity.

294

00:16:50,170 --> 00:16:52,740

They will be able to move out.

295

00:16:52,740 --> 00:16:54,660

And do you know what happened?

296

00:16:54,660 --> 00:16:56,970

In the best of faith, he
offered them the list.

297

00:16:56,970 --> 00:17:01,200

All of them were
arrested and sent to jail

298

00:17:01,200 --> 00:17:03,270

and probably executed.

299

00:17:03,270 --> 00:17:06,720

But there were
efforts to rescue.

300

00:17:06,720 --> 00:17:09,240

It was not easy,
I will tell you.

301

00:17:09,240 --> 00:17:12,030

I remember my own experience.

302

00:17:12,030 --> 00:17:19,470

In the first year of
war, we had to allow

303

00:17:19,470 --> 00:17:23,160

[? livings, ?] and there was
a tremendous shortage of food.

304

00:17:23,160 --> 00:17:26,880

So everybody was smuggling
food from the countryside,

305

00:17:26,880 --> 00:17:29,310

from peasants.

306
00:17:29,310 --> 00:17:30,850
And I was one of them.

307
00:17:30,850 --> 00:17:36,840
So I traveled to the
estate of my uncle, which

308
00:17:36,840 --> 00:17:41,215
was east from Poland, and
was getting some butter,

309
00:17:41,215 --> 00:17:43,800
or some even vodka,
which I would

310
00:17:43,800 --> 00:17:45,810
change for something else.

311
00:17:45,810 --> 00:17:49,860
And there were trains that
were full of smugglers.

312
00:17:49,860 --> 00:17:54,000
And this was, as I say,
first months of war.

313
00:17:54,000 --> 00:17:59,150
These trains were dilapidated
without windows, where

314
00:17:59,150 --> 00:18:01,650
the [? glasses ?] were smashed.

315
00:18:01,650 --> 00:18:03,600
It was cold and all that.

316
00:18:03,600 --> 00:18:05,790
And I was alone
in my compartment.

317
00:18:05,790 --> 00:18:10,290

But in the next compartment
was a Jewish girl.

318
00:18:10,290 --> 00:18:14,520
And there were some
typical Warsaw hooligans

319
00:18:14,520 --> 00:18:18,180
who started to be aggressive.

320
00:18:18,180 --> 00:18:23,190
And instinctively, she came
to me and said, protect me.

321
00:18:23,190 --> 00:18:24,150
They are hooligans.

322
00:18:24,150 --> 00:18:27,660
And I scolded them and
they left her alone.

323
00:18:27,660 --> 00:18:29,700
She was sitting next to me.

324
00:18:29,700 --> 00:18:35,760
Now at that time, the Jews
were not yet in closed ghettos,

325
00:18:35,760 --> 00:18:39,990
but using of the public
transport was forbidden.

326
00:18:39,990 --> 00:18:46,960
And any Jew caught in the train,
in the bath, would be executed.

327
00:18:46,960 --> 00:18:51,360
And she was a beautiful
girl, maybe 19, 20,

328
00:18:51,360 --> 00:18:55,170
but with very characteristic
Jewish features.

329

00:18:55,170 --> 00:18:59,880

You could-- one look, it was
enough to know she's Jewish.

330

00:18:59,880 --> 00:19:03,930

And she was very thankful,
we talked, and said,

331

00:19:03,930 --> 00:19:07,050

you know, I have to
ask you one more favor.

332

00:19:07,050 --> 00:19:08,550

I said, what is it?

333

00:19:08,550 --> 00:19:11,010

Well, when we come to
[? BiaÅ,a Podlaska ?],,

334

00:19:11,010 --> 00:19:15,120

to the station, we have to go
through the [GERMAN] sperre,

335

00:19:15,120 --> 00:19:16,410

in other words, exit.

336

00:19:16,410 --> 00:19:22,500

And always there was a German
policeman, Schutzpolizei,

337

00:19:22,500 --> 00:19:27,870

who was checking passengers
and documents and all that.

338

00:19:27,870 --> 00:19:30,285

Not everybody, but sporadically.

339

00:19:30,285 --> 00:19:33,360

[? She ?] said, I would
like to take you on the arm

340

00:19:33,360 --> 00:19:36,130
so that we go together.

341
00:19:36,130 --> 00:19:39,810
Now, frankly, you know,
I couldn't refuse,

342
00:19:39,810 --> 00:19:43,200
but I knew I'm
accepting risk of life,

343
00:19:43,200 --> 00:19:45,570
because she would be recognized.

344
00:19:45,570 --> 00:19:52,620
If she was with me, they would
take us to the next police

345
00:19:52,620 --> 00:19:56,640
station and shoot.

346
00:19:56,640 --> 00:19:58,560
But I couldn't refuse, really.

347
00:19:58,560 --> 00:20:02,460
So she took me on
the arm, and I didn't

348
00:20:02,460 --> 00:20:08,370
look at this German
policeman, but I could sense

349
00:20:08,370 --> 00:20:11,400
that he was looking at her.

350
00:20:11,400 --> 00:20:15,900
And it was a moment
of terrific fear.

351
00:20:15,900 --> 00:20:19,020
When we passed,
well, she thanked me.

352

00:20:19,020 --> 00:20:21,870

She kissed me in both my cheeks.

353

00:20:21,870 --> 00:20:26,250

And my knees were
trembling under me.

354

00:20:26,250 --> 00:20:30,110

And later, I smuggled the
compromising materials

355

00:20:30,110 --> 00:20:32,970

across the border
with false documents.

356

00:20:32,970 --> 00:20:36,090

I was never so much
afraid, because it was not

357

00:20:36,090 --> 00:20:39,840

written on my forehead that I
am a member of the resistance

358

00:20:39,840 --> 00:20:43,440

movement, but here it was
enough to look at her.

359

00:20:43,440 --> 00:20:48,090

So I very much appreciate people
who really were heroic enough

360

00:20:48,090 --> 00:20:51,030

to risk not only their
own lives but that

361

00:20:51,030 --> 00:20:55,470

of families, of their
wives, children,

362

00:20:55,470 --> 00:20:58,380

and were offering
hiding to Jews.

363

00:20:58,380 --> 00:21:02,700

It was an act of
outstanding heroism.

364

00:21:02,700 --> 00:21:08,820

And frankly, many of
them lost their lives.

365

00:21:08,820 --> 00:21:12,900

I remember posters
with the names of Poles

366

00:21:12,900 --> 00:21:20,250

who were executed because
they were hiding Jews.

367

00:21:20,250 --> 00:21:22,830

And I don't wonder that
they were in minority,

368

00:21:22,830 --> 00:21:24,090

but there were many of them.

369

00:21:24,090 --> 00:21:29,120

I mean, there are at least
6,000 names, Polish names,

370

00:21:29,120 --> 00:21:30,860

in Yad Vashem.

371

00:21:30,860 --> 00:21:33,080

Only in Poland
people were executed.

372

00:21:33,080 --> 00:21:36,230

In Russia and in Poland,
people who were hiding Jews

373

00:21:36,230 --> 00:21:37,080

were executed.

374

00:21:37,080 --> 00:21:39,890

They were not
executed in Denmark.

375
00:21:39,890 --> 00:21:44,280
They may have been jailed,
but never executed.

376
00:21:44,280 --> 00:21:47,765
It was only in Poland
that anybody hiding Jews

377
00:21:47,765 --> 00:21:48,710
was executed.

378
00:21:48,710 --> 00:21:51,860

379
00:21:51,860 --> 00:21:55,730
Tell me a little bit about the
beginning of the war in Poland,

380
00:21:55,730 --> 00:22:01,300
what you were doing
and what Warsaw

381
00:22:01,300 --> 00:22:04,600
was like during occupation.

382
00:22:04,600 --> 00:22:07,460
But I know that you were
in a battle, initially.

383
00:22:07,460 --> 00:22:09,330
Well, I was in the
battle initially,

384
00:22:09,330 --> 00:22:14,460
but I was taken prisoner,
escaped, got back to the city,

385
00:22:14,460 --> 00:22:17,460
and lived in the city.

386

00:22:17,460 --> 00:22:22,410

Well, you know, first of all,
it was a city of unemployed,

387

00:22:22,410 --> 00:22:26,550

because all people who
were employed by the state

388

00:22:26,550 --> 00:22:32,790

lost their jobs, and they had
to find some means of living.

389

00:22:32,790 --> 00:22:37,920

The rations, the coupons,
were totally inadequate.

390

00:22:37,920 --> 00:22:43,050

Nobody could live just
from the bread and butter

391

00:22:43,050 --> 00:22:45,900

and so on that you
could buy for a coupon.

392

00:22:45,900 --> 00:22:48,090

So the initial
main preoccupation

393

00:22:48,090 --> 00:22:52,110

was how to get food.

394

00:22:52,110 --> 00:22:55,450

The winter was terrible.

395

00:22:55,450 --> 00:22:57,520

What about heating?

396

00:22:57,520 --> 00:23:01,900

There was no coal.

397

00:23:01,900 --> 00:23:08,640

So these elementary needs

of people were occupying us.

398

00:23:08,640 --> 00:23:11,820

But I was trying to
get in touch with

399

00:23:11,820 --> 00:23:13,650

some underground organization.

400

00:23:13,650 --> 00:23:18,720

We did all have a great need
to fight on with the Nazis

401

00:23:18,720 --> 00:23:22,320

after our defeat in September.

402

00:23:22,320 --> 00:23:26,760

But it was only in '41,
really, at the spring of '41,

403

00:23:26,760 --> 00:23:30,420

that I joined the
Polish Home Army.

404

00:23:30,420 --> 00:23:34,050

It was a matter of
accident, because you

405

00:23:34,050 --> 00:23:38,970

had to find somebody in the
underground who would trust you

406

00:23:38,970 --> 00:23:42,630

and would get you in
touch with some people.

407

00:23:42,630 --> 00:23:46,465

And as far as I'm concerned, it
happened in the spring of '41.

408

00:23:46,465 --> 00:23:50,580

409

00:23:50,580 --> 00:23:53,670

We all lived with--

410

00:23:53,670 --> 00:23:56,430

nobody knew if you would
live to the end of the day,

411

00:23:56,430 --> 00:23:58,200

because there was
a German terror.

412

00:23:58,200 --> 00:24:01,220

And it was a blind terror.

413

00:24:01,220 --> 00:24:07,100

The Germans would arrest
100 people because of what?

414

00:24:07,100 --> 00:24:11,630

Because some German was
killed or something happened.

415

00:24:11,630 --> 00:24:13,860

And they would be executed.

416

00:24:13,860 --> 00:24:16,820

So people came to a
conclusion very soon,

417

00:24:16,820 --> 00:24:19,160

it doesn't matter if you
are in the underground

418

00:24:19,160 --> 00:24:21,980

or not, if you are
passive or if you

419

00:24:21,980 --> 00:24:27,140

are active in the
anti German movement.

420

00:24:27,140 --> 00:24:28,670

It's a matter of accident.

421
00:24:28,670 --> 00:24:32,800
You may be surrounded
on the streets,

422
00:24:32,800 --> 00:24:36,260
they [? were ?] this,
and either deported

423
00:24:36,260 --> 00:24:40,220
to Germany as forced
labor or to Auschwitz.

424
00:24:40,220 --> 00:24:48,110
Oświęcim Auschwitz was
established in 1940 as a camp

425
00:24:48,110 --> 00:24:50,450
for Polish inmates.

426
00:24:50,450 --> 00:24:53,540
The first 700
inmates of Auschwitz

427
00:24:53,540 --> 00:24:57,890
were Poles, mostly
Polish intelligentsia.

428
00:24:57,890 --> 00:25:01,500
But we got used to the terror.

429
00:25:01,500 --> 00:25:03,170
Very few people
were really afraid,

430
00:25:03,170 --> 00:25:05,960
because it was daily bread.

431
00:25:05,960 --> 00:25:11,360
You simply had to coexist
with the possibility

432

00:25:11,360 --> 00:25:14,810

that you may be arrested,
killed, and all that.

433

00:25:14,810 --> 00:25:18,200

It became something
part of life.

434

00:25:18,200 --> 00:25:23,520

Was there much evidence
of brutality [INAUDIBLE]??

435

00:25:23,520 --> 00:25:24,790

There was.

436

00:25:24,790 --> 00:25:25,570

There was.

437

00:25:25,570 --> 00:25:29,100

The people were beaten on the
streets and the police would--

438

00:25:29,100 --> 00:25:30,810

Gestapo would come to the house.

439

00:25:30,810 --> 00:25:34,290

They would start
by beating people.

440

00:25:34,290 --> 00:25:38,205

Of course the worst of all
was the treatment of Jews.

441

00:25:38,205 --> 00:25:43,260

I mean, it was gradual, you see?

442

00:25:43,260 --> 00:25:50,730

First, they were requested to
wear David stars, yellow band.

443

00:25:50,730 --> 00:25:55,050

Then they were requested to

move to the Jewish district.

444

00:25:55,050 --> 00:25:59,490

But the Jewish district
was not yet closed,

445

00:25:59,490 --> 00:26:02,610

so they lived there, but
they could move around.

446

00:26:02,610 --> 00:26:04,680

Later, it was closed.

447

00:26:04,680 --> 00:26:07,890

A wall was built
around the ghetto.

448

00:26:07,890 --> 00:26:12,180

And initially,
Christians were not

449

00:26:12,180 --> 00:26:16,980

allowed without a special
pass to go into the ghetto.

450

00:26:16,980 --> 00:26:21,780

But the street cars were
crossing the ghetto in transit

451

00:26:21,780 --> 00:26:24,100

to other districts of the city.

452

00:26:24,100 --> 00:26:28,080

And I do remember, you know
this was the time when--

453

00:26:28,080 --> 00:26:30,360

probably '41--

454

00:26:30,360 --> 00:26:32,670

when the ghetto was isolated.

455

00:26:32,670 --> 00:26:35,280
And people in the ghetto
were simply hungry.

456
00:26:35,280 --> 00:26:37,170
They were starving.

457
00:26:37,170 --> 00:26:43,770
And the streets were covered by
corpses, covered by newspapers.

458
00:26:43,770 --> 00:26:48,060
People who died from
spotted fever, mostly,

459
00:26:48,060 --> 00:26:49,290
or from starvation.

460
00:26:49,290 --> 00:26:53,250
And the family had no
means to bury them.

461
00:26:53,250 --> 00:26:56,460
They would just put the
body on the pavement,

462
00:26:56,460 --> 00:27:00,690
cover it with the
newspaper, and the car

463
00:27:00,690 --> 00:27:04,500
would come, simply from
municipal authorities

464
00:27:04,500 --> 00:27:05,140
[INAUDIBLE].

465
00:27:05,140 --> 00:27:08,640
Piles of these bodies
were put on the car

466
00:27:08,640 --> 00:27:12,570
and taken to some common grave.

467
00:27:12,570 --> 00:27:14,360
But the view was terrible.

468
00:27:14,360 --> 00:27:16,110
There were people who
were like skeletons.

469
00:27:16,110 --> 00:27:23,070
Young Jews who really
looked awful, I mean, living

470
00:27:23,070 --> 00:27:23,910
skeletons.

471
00:27:23,910 --> 00:27:27,980
You could see that the
people were starving.

472
00:27:27,980 --> 00:27:31,550
When you went through the
ghetto on the streetcar,

473
00:27:31,550 --> 00:27:35,840
did people ever try
to call out for help?

474
00:27:35,840 --> 00:27:39,230
No, because streetcars
were going pretty fast.

475
00:27:39,230 --> 00:27:41,330
There was no chance
to do anything.

476
00:27:41,330 --> 00:27:47,990
But some Jews were, in spite of
the great risk of losing life,

477
00:27:47,990 --> 00:27:51,620
they were coming for help.

478

00:27:51,620 --> 00:27:54,210
I remember, and I
will never forget it.

479
00:27:54,210 --> 00:27:56,540
I will never forget it.

480
00:27:56,540 --> 00:27:59,510
Probably it was '41,
when we were living

481
00:27:59,510 --> 00:28:02,510
in a good residential area.

482
00:28:02,510 --> 00:28:06,230
And a Jewish girl who
was no more than 10

483
00:28:06,230 --> 00:28:11,030
came with a small brother
who was five and said,

484
00:28:11,030 --> 00:28:13,980
we are very hungry.

485
00:28:13,980 --> 00:28:15,740
And it was something
I will never

486
00:28:15,740 --> 00:28:21,660
forget, to see the
child say, I'm hungry.

487
00:28:21,660 --> 00:28:26,322

488
00:28:26,322 --> 00:28:28,280
Were you able to help her?

489
00:28:28,280 --> 00:28:31,200
My mother gave her
bread, soup, and all

490

00:28:31,200 --> 00:28:34,570
that, come whenever you want
to, whenever you are hungry.

491

00:28:34,570 --> 00:28:36,240
They never came back.

492

00:28:36,240 --> 00:28:37,650
Nobody knows what happened.

493

00:28:37,650 --> 00:28:41,590

494

00:28:41,590 --> 00:28:44,710
Did you have any
other experiences

495

00:28:44,710 --> 00:28:48,660
in seeing what was
happening in the ghetto,

496

00:28:48,660 --> 00:28:50,190
or knowing about it?

497

00:28:50,190 --> 00:28:53,160
Well, we knew, but
later we were isolated.

498

00:28:53,160 --> 00:28:57,080
I mean, you could see
the groups of Jews

499

00:28:57,080 --> 00:29:03,160
who were mostly under the escort
of the police going to work.

500

00:29:03,160 --> 00:29:05,890
And of course they were
trying to get food.

501

00:29:05,890 --> 00:29:08,080
And they were getting

food, [? meat, ?]

502

00:29:08,080 --> 00:29:10,480

potatoes, and
bread and all that.

503

00:29:10,480 --> 00:29:13,540

But the police, German police,
would take away everything

504

00:29:13,540 --> 00:29:16,840

from them and beat them
when they were coming back.

505

00:29:16,840 --> 00:29:20,280

Still they were trying
to get food coming back.

506

00:29:20,280 --> 00:29:22,060

But what was inside
the ghetto, we

507

00:29:22,060 --> 00:29:26,050

didn't know, because there
was a wall, total isolation.

508

00:29:26,050 --> 00:29:30,750

509

00:29:30,750 --> 00:29:34,170

Now, your family was
able to stay together.

510

00:29:34,170 --> 00:29:34,680

Yes.

511

00:29:34,680 --> 00:29:37,800

Was there any semblance
of normal life for you?

512

00:29:37,800 --> 00:29:39,600

The life is always normal.

513

00:29:39,600 --> 00:29:41,700
Even life in ghetto was normal.

514

00:29:41,700 --> 00:29:43,980
There were coffee houses.

515

00:29:43,980 --> 00:29:51,930
There were theaters, concerts,
everything in the city.

516

00:29:51,930 --> 00:29:55,200
Condemned to death, life
is always normal, you know?

517

00:29:55,200 --> 00:29:57,150
People, children, were playing.

518

00:29:57,150 --> 00:29:59,640
Also even in the Jewish ghetto.

519

00:29:59,640 --> 00:30:05,490
So there wasn't some
normal life, family life.

520

00:30:05,490 --> 00:30:09,450
Everybody was trying
to get [INAUDIBLE]

521

00:30:09,450 --> 00:30:11,170
and for [? his ?]
life and all that.

522

00:30:11,170 --> 00:30:12,780
It was a normal life.

523

00:30:12,780 --> 00:30:19,110
Life in danger, life in terror,
life in poverty and shortages.

524

00:30:19,110 --> 00:30:23,840
But it was a normal
life, more or less.

525
00:30:23,840 --> 00:30:30,470

526
00:30:30,470 --> 00:30:35,000
Generally, in the
community, not with you

527
00:30:35,000 --> 00:30:39,870
so much when you chose
to go on the underground,

528
00:30:39,870 --> 00:30:46,590
was there any support for
the German occupation?

529
00:30:46,590 --> 00:30:47,730
Very few.

530
00:30:47,730 --> 00:30:50,190
There were always-- you
know, in every community

531
00:30:50,190 --> 00:30:55,920
you have people who will
cooperate, and collaborate,

532
00:30:55,920 --> 00:30:57,900
and denounce people.

533
00:30:57,900 --> 00:31:01,080
But frankly, you know,
it was the Germans

534
00:31:01,080 --> 00:31:11,340
who united people, since
every Pole was also condemned.

535
00:31:11,340 --> 00:31:15,750
People, because of this terror,
they really became very--

536

00:31:15,750 --> 00:31:17,850
they got used to it,
but they were united.

537
00:31:17,850 --> 00:31:22,440
There was a common anti German
front, no question about it.

538
00:31:22,440 --> 00:31:26,730
And we had no quisling
government, for instance.

539
00:31:26,730 --> 00:31:28,650
And collaborators were shot.

540
00:31:28,650 --> 00:31:32,010
I mean, the people who
collaborated with Germans

541
00:31:32,010 --> 00:31:33,840
were killed.

542
00:31:33,840 --> 00:31:37,110
They got sentences of death.

543
00:31:37,110 --> 00:31:39,090
And they were killed.

544
00:31:39,090 --> 00:31:41,880
The underground was very
ruthless with collaborators.

545
00:31:41,880 --> 00:31:46,935
It was a risky thing to
collaborate with the Germans.

546
00:31:46,935 --> 00:31:50,750
And your government was German?

547
00:31:50,750 --> 00:31:54,170
There was, of course,
administration was German.

548

00:31:54,170 --> 00:31:58,970

There were some officers
from [? city ?] offices.

549

00:31:58,970 --> 00:32:00,080

Poles were employed.

550

00:32:00,080 --> 00:32:02,030

Germans had no manpower.

551

00:32:02,030 --> 00:32:07,880

They used their manpower for
war industry and in the front.

552

00:32:07,880 --> 00:32:12,230

So they did use Poles, but
it was a different thing

553

00:32:12,230 --> 00:32:16,400

to work in the administration.

554

00:32:16,400 --> 00:32:18,210

It was not collaboration.

555

00:32:18,210 --> 00:32:20,570

It was not considered
as long as you are not

556

00:32:20,570 --> 00:32:24,470

used as an instrument
to persecute others.

557

00:32:24,470 --> 00:32:28,100

So of course there were
officers, labor officers

558

00:32:28,100 --> 00:32:30,890

or municipal authorities.

559

00:32:30,890 --> 00:32:32,450

The same was in
the ghetto, I mean,

560
00:32:32,450 --> 00:32:38,120
the Jews were employed
by the German authorities

561
00:32:38,120 --> 00:32:41,840
in all kinds of organization.

562
00:32:41,840 --> 00:32:45,680
And your pre-war government?

563
00:32:45,680 --> 00:32:46,910
Was in London.

564
00:32:46,910 --> 00:32:50,710
But we did have
underground authorities.

565
00:32:50,710 --> 00:32:55,970
There was a kind of
underground state, which

566
00:32:55,970 --> 00:32:58,880
was a kind of moral authority.

567
00:32:58,880 --> 00:33:02,180
People did obey the
orders that came

568
00:33:02,180 --> 00:33:06,410
from our underground
government commander

569
00:33:06,410 --> 00:33:10,550
in chief of the Polish Home Army
of the military underground.

570
00:33:10,550 --> 00:33:12,410
And they were a
so-called delegation

571
00:33:12,410 --> 00:33:15,050

of the government in London.

572

00:33:15,050 --> 00:33:20,040

And they did have
considerable authority.

573

00:33:20,040 --> 00:33:22,230

Which was respected by the
whole civilian movement?

574

00:33:22,230 --> 00:33:23,580

They were respected.

575

00:33:23,580 --> 00:33:26,370

They were respected, yeah.

576

00:33:26,370 --> 00:33:29,130

And the underground
worked in conjunction

577

00:33:29,130 --> 00:33:32,010

with the government in London?

578

00:33:32,010 --> 00:33:34,050

Well, there was
daily communication

579

00:33:34,050 --> 00:33:37,530

by secret radios with
the government in London.

580

00:33:37,530 --> 00:33:40,320

There were couriers, emissaries.

581

00:33:40,320 --> 00:33:42,180

So there was a contact.

582

00:33:42,180 --> 00:33:46,960

And above all, you know, Polish
radio from London and BBC.

583

00:33:46,960 --> 00:33:52,140

After all, everybody-- it was
daily bread, news from London.

584
00:33:52,140 --> 00:33:55,030
Information from London, our
programs broadcast from London,

585
00:33:55,030 --> 00:33:56,340
it was a source of hope.

586
00:33:56,340 --> 00:33:59,790

587
00:33:59,790 --> 00:34:03,390
Now can you tell me a little
bit about the circumstances,

588
00:34:03,390 --> 00:34:06,870
how you got involved
with the underground?

589
00:34:06,870 --> 00:34:09,780
Well, first I
established some contact

590
00:34:09,780 --> 00:34:12,540
with some underground paper.

591
00:34:12,540 --> 00:34:15,960
But it was sort of a
conservative paper,

592
00:34:15,960 --> 00:34:19,409
which I didn't like very much.

593
00:34:19,409 --> 00:34:20,920
But there was no choice.

594
00:34:20,920 --> 00:34:23,639
I mean, I had no other contacts.

595
00:34:23,639 --> 00:34:30,330

But in '41, I had met
somebody who had introduced me

596
00:34:30,330 --> 00:34:32,100
to the underground.

597
00:34:32,100 --> 00:34:36,120
And I joined so-called
Akcja N, which

598
00:34:36,120 --> 00:34:39,600
was psychological warfare
against the Nazis,

599
00:34:39,600 --> 00:34:41,520
against the Germans.

600
00:34:41,520 --> 00:34:49,860
We produced German
underground press, which

601
00:34:49,860 --> 00:34:53,580
was prepared by
excellent experts,

602
00:34:53,580 --> 00:35:00,120
mostly by Poles who were
bilingual, spoke as good German

603
00:35:00,120 --> 00:35:02,130
as Polish.

604
00:35:02,130 --> 00:35:05,580
And this was-- we
were pretending

605
00:35:05,580 --> 00:35:08,430
to be German
newspapers, which did

606
00:35:08,430 --> 00:35:11,430
create a sensation in Germany.

607

00:35:11,430 --> 00:35:15,420

And it was never distributed
from hands to hands,

608

00:35:15,420 --> 00:35:19,240

because it would
betray Polish source.

609

00:35:19,240 --> 00:35:24,210

It was distributed by
dropping on the floor

610

00:35:24,210 --> 00:35:29,190

or inside a book,
inside the parcels that

611

00:35:29,190 --> 00:35:33,510

were sent to the soldiers in
the front, in the restaurants,

612

00:35:33,510 --> 00:35:35,010

in the trains.

613

00:35:35,010 --> 00:35:38,700

And my function was to
organize distribution

614

00:35:38,700 --> 00:35:46,800

of this black propaganda
press in Germany.

615

00:35:46,800 --> 00:35:52,860

And I didn't know German
very well, just a few words.

616

00:35:52,860 --> 00:35:56,370

But there were so many
Poles who became German,

617

00:35:56,370 --> 00:36:01,560

some were Volksdeutsche, who
didn't speak good German.

618

00:36:01,560 --> 00:36:05,880

It was not so bad,
as you may think.

619

00:36:05,880 --> 00:36:11,710

So I had to cross the border of
so-called general government,

620

00:36:11,710 --> 00:36:14,370

which was central
Poland isolated

621

00:36:14,370 --> 00:36:20,160

from the rest of Germany
[? or ?] occupied Poland.

622

00:36:20,160 --> 00:36:26,320

And I had to find agents
inside Germany who

623

00:36:26,320 --> 00:36:33,000

were distributing this
subversive literature, usually

624

00:36:33,000 --> 00:36:36,880

a fascinating job.

625

00:36:36,880 --> 00:36:41,890

I traveled under disguise
of a Polish railway man

626

00:36:41,890 --> 00:36:44,500

and then a German
railway man, which

627

00:36:44,500 --> 00:36:49,780

was the safest way to travel,
with forged documents,

628

00:36:49,780 --> 00:36:51,730

of course.

629

00:36:51,730 --> 00:36:57,520
And that lasted until
the spring of '43.

630
00:36:57,520 --> 00:37:02,410
In '43, I discovered
the possibility

631
00:37:02,410 --> 00:37:09,678
to go to Sweden hidden
in the Swedish ship.

632
00:37:09,678 --> 00:37:12,860

633
00:37:12,860 --> 00:37:19,760
Swedes were importing
iron ore to Germans

634
00:37:19,760 --> 00:37:25,310
and were taking
coal from Poland,

635
00:37:25,310 --> 00:37:28,070
from Polish territories.

636
00:37:28,070 --> 00:37:32,300
And I was put in
touch with some people

637
00:37:32,300 --> 00:37:38,570
from the underground who
could place a blind passenger

638
00:37:38,570 --> 00:37:41,090
in the bunker of coal.

639
00:37:41,090 --> 00:37:44,720
So I reported to my
authorities and volunteered

640
00:37:44,720 --> 00:37:47,250
to go in this manner.

641
00:37:47,250 --> 00:37:48,830
And I became a courier.

642
00:37:48,830 --> 00:37:55,460
I was traveling with
intelligence reports hidden

643
00:37:55,460 --> 00:37:59,330
in the microfilms and
all kinds of objects.

644
00:37:59,330 --> 00:38:04,820
And after some adventures,
I did reach Stockholm.

645
00:38:04,820 --> 00:38:09,890
And that was just at the time
of the uprising in the Warsaw

646
00:38:09,890 --> 00:38:11,750
ghetto.

647
00:38:11,750 --> 00:38:15,710
And I learned about
it by listening

648
00:38:15,710 --> 00:38:19,730
to the Polish radio
in London, which

649
00:38:19,730 --> 00:38:22,920
was in touch with the
secret radio in Warsaw.

650
00:38:22,920 --> 00:38:25,700
So they were getting
daily reports.

651
00:38:25,700 --> 00:38:28,340
And I was very
impressed by this.

652

00:38:28,340 --> 00:38:38,350

And I remember I wrote a
report about genocide of Jews

653

00:38:38,350 --> 00:38:41,800

to the Polish commander in chief
and prime minister, General

654

00:38:41,800 --> 00:38:47,710

Sikorski, and were urging
him that the Allies must

655

00:38:47,710 --> 00:38:53,370

make some kind of
threats of reprisals

656

00:38:53,370 --> 00:38:55,860

to Germans to stop it.

657

00:38:55,860 --> 00:38:59,580

And if they will
not do anything,

658

00:38:59,580 --> 00:39:01,170

well, Poles will be next.

659

00:39:01,170 --> 00:39:06,120

I used this argument, that if
Germans will be completely--

660

00:39:06,120 --> 00:39:14,040

could, without any penalty,
murder 3 million Jews,

661

00:39:14,040 --> 00:39:17,940

then next after
them would be Poles.

662

00:39:17,940 --> 00:39:21,510

And I know that the report
did reach the addressee

663

00:39:21,510 --> 00:39:25,830
and was passed on to Churchill.

664
00:39:25,830 --> 00:39:28,710
And I was told after
the war that it

665
00:39:28,710 --> 00:39:30,030
did have some influence.

666
00:39:30,030 --> 00:39:40,830
I think that this decision
to bring war criminals

667
00:39:40,830 --> 00:39:43,920
before the
international tribunal

668
00:39:43,920 --> 00:39:46,230
was done more or
less at that time.

669
00:39:46,230 --> 00:39:49,230
What I was really
asking for was to have

670
00:39:49,230 --> 00:39:51,960
a kind of bombing,
which would be

671
00:39:51,960 --> 00:39:58,200
declared as a reprisal
for mass murders of Jews.

672
00:39:58,200 --> 00:40:01,590
And I remember I
used the argument,

673
00:40:01,590 --> 00:40:04,710
Americans and British are
going to bomb Germans anyhow.

674
00:40:04,710 --> 00:40:09,990

Why not to say this
is an act of reprisal?

675
00:40:09,990 --> 00:40:12,630
No, nothing like
that ever happened.

676
00:40:12,630 --> 00:40:17,520
So I came back from Stockholm,
and I was immediately

677
00:40:17,520 --> 00:40:22,230
commissioned to go the
same route back to London.

678
00:40:22,230 --> 00:40:26,890
And at that time,
they put me in touch

679
00:40:26,890 --> 00:40:29,860
with a man in the
underground who

680
00:40:29,860 --> 00:40:34,540
was a contact man with the
Jewish militant organization

681
00:40:34,540 --> 00:40:39,770
in the ghetto by the
name of Henryk Wolinski.

682
00:40:39,770 --> 00:40:47,030
And I was under instructions
to get as much briefing about

683
00:40:47,030 --> 00:40:49,970
the Holocaust-- as
it is called now,

684
00:40:49,970 --> 00:40:52,760
we didn't use this
word at the time--

685

00:40:52,760 --> 00:40:58,230
about the Jewish uprising.

686
00:40:58,230 --> 00:41:03,000
And to consider it as sort
of a priority in my mission

687
00:41:03,000 --> 00:41:04,980
to London.

688
00:41:04,980 --> 00:41:09,210
And I did spend much
time with Wolinski,

689
00:41:09,210 --> 00:41:12,660
who told me all
about the problems

690
00:41:12,660 --> 00:41:16,920
with even names
of some militants.

691
00:41:16,920 --> 00:41:19,170
And I got microfilms.

692
00:41:19,170 --> 00:41:24,160
And I was the man who
brought to London a report,

693
00:41:24,160 --> 00:41:28,130
Å»ydowska Organizacja Bojowa, a
Jewish militant organization,

694
00:41:28,130 --> 00:41:30,540
written after the ghetto.

695
00:41:30,540 --> 00:41:35,850
And I remember when I was
boarding a train, on my way

696
00:41:35,850 --> 00:41:46,590
to Port Gdansk to go to Sweden,
the messenger came and gave me,

697
00:41:46,590 --> 00:41:49,740
I believe it was a
battery or something,

698
00:41:49,740 --> 00:41:54,420
you know, a battery
for a torch, and said

699
00:41:54,420 --> 00:41:56,130
you have to take it to--

700
00:41:56,130 --> 00:41:57,450
this is a report.

701
00:41:57,450 --> 00:42:00,000

702
00:42:00,000 --> 00:42:09,270
The story of the extermination
of Jews and of the Warsaw

703
00:42:09,270 --> 00:42:10,590
ghetto uprising.

704
00:42:10,590 --> 00:42:11,700
And it was--

705
00:42:11,700 --> 00:42:14,160
I didn't know,
really, exactly what

706
00:42:14,160 --> 00:42:16,440
it was until I reached London.

707
00:42:16,440 --> 00:42:22,980
Then the film was developed, and
it was a very impressive story

708
00:42:22,980 --> 00:42:30,150
written by the woman writer
called Kahn, K-A-H-N,

709

00:42:30,150 --> 00:42:33,810
in [POLISH] "Na oczach Åwiata,"
"before the eyes of the world."

710

00:42:33,810 --> 00:42:35,790
Which was translated,
but I don't

711

00:42:35,790 --> 00:42:38,880
believe it was
published, because there

712

00:42:38,880 --> 00:42:43,020
was very little interest in
the kind of atrocity stories

713

00:42:43,020 --> 00:42:45,580
at the time.

714

00:42:45,580 --> 00:42:47,900
So this was my mission.

715

00:42:47,900 --> 00:42:52,960
I already knew that
people in the West

716

00:42:52,960 --> 00:43:01,320
do not believe in the genocide
on the scale that took place.

717

00:43:01,320 --> 00:43:10,850
So I approached a British NCO by
the name of Ronald Jeffery, who

718

00:43:10,850 --> 00:43:12,050
is still alive.

719

00:43:12,050 --> 00:43:14,270
He's in New Zealand.

720

00:43:14,270 --> 00:43:17,897

He escaped from the
camp, POW camp in Lodz.

721
00:43:17,897 --> 00:43:18,980
Can we pause for a second?

722
00:43:18,980 --> 00:43:20,287
Yeah, sorry.

723
00:43:20,287 --> 00:43:21,995
This is a particularly
loud plane, sorry.

724
00:43:21,995 --> 00:43:22,850
It's very noisy.

725
00:43:22,850 --> 00:43:23,820
OK.

726
00:43:23,820 --> 00:43:24,650
Some of them are.

727
00:43:24,650 --> 00:43:25,942
We can get by with [INAUDIBLE].

728
00:43:25,942 --> 00:43:27,700
What's all that beeping?

729
00:43:27,700 --> 00:43:28,980
Beeping?

730
00:43:28,980 --> 00:43:29,980
You're not hearing that?

731
00:43:29,980 --> 00:43:31,210
There's kind of a hum.

732
00:43:31,210 --> 00:43:31,990
It's a hum.

733
00:43:31,990 --> 00:43:34,200

No, [INAUDIBLE]
I'm hearing a beep.

734
00:43:34,200 --> 00:43:34,800
Yeah.

735
00:43:34,800 --> 00:43:35,590
That's what you're
talking about?

736
00:43:35,590 --> 00:43:35,880
Yeah.

737
00:43:35,880 --> 00:43:36,220
I don't know where it is.

738
00:43:36,220 --> 00:43:36,772
What is it?

739
00:43:36,772 --> 00:43:37,980
I can't find out where it is.

740
00:43:37,980 --> 00:43:39,022
I don't know where it is.

741
00:43:39,022 --> 00:43:40,400
And it's with regularity.

742
00:43:40,400 --> 00:43:41,280
Yes, it is.

743
00:43:41,280 --> 00:43:44,420

744
00:43:44,420 --> 00:43:46,640
You were talking
about Mr. Jeffery.

745
00:43:46,640 --> 00:43:50,390
Yes, so I did know
that the credibility

746
00:43:50,390 --> 00:43:56,000
of a Pole with the British
may be questionable.

747
00:43:56,000 --> 00:44:02,840
So I approached a friend
of mine, a British NCO,

748
00:44:02,840 --> 00:44:05,255
by the name of Ronald Jeffery.

749
00:44:05,255 --> 00:44:11,420
An extremely brave young man
who escaped from a POW camp

750
00:44:11,420 --> 00:44:15,720
in Lodz, lived in
Warsaw in hiding,

751
00:44:15,720 --> 00:44:17,750
and was very active
in the underground.

752
00:44:17,750 --> 00:44:21,950
He was a man of considerable
courage, spoke fluent German,

753
00:44:21,950 --> 00:44:23,390
and learned Polish.

754
00:44:23,390 --> 00:44:27,350
And I told him,
Ronnie, write a letter

755
00:44:27,350 --> 00:44:34,190
to London Times about the Jews,
about the atrocities and all

756
00:44:34,190 --> 00:44:36,290
that's going on.

757
00:44:36,290 --> 00:44:41,780

And identify yourself, give your number, your regiment and all

758
00:44:41,780 --> 00:44:42,980
that.

759
00:44:42,980 --> 00:44:46,310
And I will ask that
it's microfilmed

760
00:44:46,310 --> 00:44:51,490
and we'll send it
to London Times.

761
00:44:51,490 --> 00:44:53,590
And it was developed.

762
00:44:53,590 --> 00:44:55,030
The microfilm was developed.

763
00:44:55,030 --> 00:44:57,940
And the Polish government
sent it to London Times.

764
00:44:57,940 --> 00:45:00,280
They never published it.

765
00:45:00,280 --> 00:45:07,530
So when I met
Archbishop Temple, who

766
00:45:07,530 --> 00:45:09,960
was the Archbishop
of Canterbury,

767
00:45:09,960 --> 00:45:13,770
the head of the Anglican church,
he was really a good man.

768
00:45:13,770 --> 00:45:16,020
And he was not just
asking what can I

769

00:45:16,020 --> 00:45:20,890
do for you in the sense which
implied I can do nothing.

770

00:45:20,890 --> 00:45:26,370
He just asked the question
in the good sense,

771

00:45:26,370 --> 00:45:27,820
can I do something?

772

00:45:27,820 --> 00:45:30,180
And I said, well,
use your influence.

773

00:45:30,180 --> 00:45:35,790
You are the second
person after the King.

774

00:45:35,790 --> 00:45:39,090
He sent my letter to
the Times and asked

775

00:45:39,090 --> 00:45:40,680
why they didn't publish it.

776

00:45:40,680 --> 00:45:43,500
Use your influence
with the Times

777

00:45:43,500 --> 00:45:46,230
to have this letter published.

778

00:45:46,230 --> 00:45:47,940
And I have his answer.

779

00:45:47,940 --> 00:45:50,160
I have his answer
here in Washington.

780

00:45:50,160 --> 00:45:52,980
The original letter said,

Mr. Nowak, I'm sorry,

781
00:45:52,980 --> 00:45:54,520
nothing to be done.

782
00:45:54,520 --> 00:45:58,140
London Times say they cannot
publish the letter because it

783
00:45:58,140 --> 00:46:02,610
could endanger the men in
Warsaw and the British POWs,

784
00:46:02,610 --> 00:46:04,210
which was nonsense.

785
00:46:04,210 --> 00:46:06,450
I mean, he was
one of the I don't

786
00:46:06,450 --> 00:46:08,580
know how many
thousands of people

787
00:46:08,580 --> 00:46:10,610
living with forged documents.

788
00:46:10,610 --> 00:46:14,220
Nobody could-- how could
the Germans find him?

789
00:46:14,220 --> 00:46:18,090
And I told about
it Walter Laqueur

790
00:46:18,090 --> 00:46:20,850
when he was writing his books.

791
00:46:20,850 --> 00:46:24,240
And he approached
London Times, said

792

00:46:24,240 --> 00:46:27,030
do you have this
letter in the archives?

793
00:46:27,030 --> 00:46:30,850
And they said no, the letter was
destroyed, which is not true.

794
00:46:30,850 --> 00:46:36,120
I mean, a letter smuggled
from the occupied Poland

795
00:46:36,120 --> 00:46:42,240
from a British prisoner
of war was a curiosity.

796
00:46:42,240 --> 00:46:44,010
I'm sure they would keep it.

797
00:46:44,010 --> 00:46:47,490
They didn't want to admit
they had this kind of letter

798
00:46:47,490 --> 00:46:48,510
and didn't publish it.

799
00:46:48,510 --> 00:46:52,160

800
00:46:52,160 --> 00:46:58,220
Now I want to backtrack a
little bit, learn more about

801
00:46:58,220 --> 00:47:01,640
the underground, the
Polish underground.

802
00:47:01,640 --> 00:47:03,523
What motivated you
to get involved?

803
00:47:03,523 --> 00:47:04,565
Can we wait for a second?

804
00:47:04,565 --> 00:47:05,260
Oh, airplanes?

805
00:47:05,260 --> 00:47:05,760
OK.

806
00:47:05,760 --> 00:47:17,013

807
00:47:17,013 --> 00:47:19,959
[INAUDIBLE] be under the flight
path too, [? of the ?] airport.

808
00:47:19,959 --> 00:47:21,450
OK.

809
00:47:21,450 --> 00:47:23,040
What motivated you
to get involved?

810
00:47:23,040 --> 00:47:24,360
Patriotic duty.

811
00:47:24,360 --> 00:47:28,410
I mean, I was a young man.

812
00:47:28,410 --> 00:47:31,230
I was the officer.

813
00:47:31,230 --> 00:47:34,470
I mean, it was my
duty to fight on.

814
00:47:34,470 --> 00:47:36,480
That was the
motivation of people

815
00:47:36,480 --> 00:47:38,109
who joined the underground.

816

00:47:38,109 --> 00:47:43,380

817
00:47:43,380 --> 00:47:46,350
From where did all
of these people come?

818
00:47:46,350 --> 00:47:48,780
All walks of life.

819
00:47:48,780 --> 00:47:52,410
Absolutely all walks of life.

820
00:47:52,410 --> 00:47:57,450
The countryside, the peasants,
were extremely well-organized.

821
00:47:57,450 --> 00:48:03,060
For instance, you know,
parachuting with parachutes.

822
00:48:03,060 --> 00:48:06,940
They got special
committees by the peasants.

823
00:48:06,940 --> 00:48:13,320
There were peasant battalions,
partisan units, guerilla,

824
00:48:13,320 --> 00:48:16,020
intelligentsia.

825
00:48:16,020 --> 00:48:16,790
Everybody.

826
00:48:16,790 --> 00:48:19,800
If somebody was not
in the underground,

827
00:48:19,800 --> 00:48:24,870
he was at least trying to
help in some way or the other.

828

00:48:24,870 --> 00:48:28,380

But it was a conspiracy of the entire nation, I would say.

829

00:48:28,380 --> 00:48:30,720

There were very few people who were not

830

00:48:30,720 --> 00:48:33,600

involved in this or other way.

831

00:48:33,600 --> 00:48:36,060

Which does not mean the organization itself,

832

00:48:36,060 --> 00:48:40,260

probably there were no more than 400, 1,000 people.

833

00:48:40,260 --> 00:48:43,410

But it had a tremendous [? hinterland ?]

834

00:48:43,410 --> 00:48:46,720

of people who were supporting it,

835

00:48:46,720 --> 00:48:52,260

whether by offering a hiding place or helping in any way

836

00:48:52,260 --> 00:48:53,730

they could.

837

00:48:53,730 --> 00:49:00,360

So even if I didn't know a passerby, I could approach him,

838

00:49:00,360 --> 00:49:02,860

say look, I'm [? in. ?] Help me.

839

00:49:02,860 --> 00:49:07,180

And it was a
fantastic experience.

840
00:49:07,180 --> 00:49:12,490
I remember when Germans
closed a street because there

841
00:49:12,490 --> 00:49:16,300
was some attempt on the--

842
00:49:16,300 --> 00:49:20,450
attack on the SA unit
marching through.

843
00:49:20,450 --> 00:49:22,720
A hand grenade was thrown.

844
00:49:22,720 --> 00:49:28,600
And I was inside the apartment
house with some other people

845
00:49:28,600 --> 00:49:31,120
on the conspiracy.

846
00:49:31,120 --> 00:49:35,020
And we were told that everything
is quiet, we can leave.

847
00:49:35,020 --> 00:49:37,840
I was the first one who left.

848
00:49:37,840 --> 00:49:40,510
And when I was
leaving the house,

849
00:49:40,510 --> 00:49:45,220
the Gestapo man
stopped me and he

850
00:49:45,220 --> 00:49:48,820
said, where did you come from?

851

00:49:48,820 --> 00:49:52,510
And I knew that if I
say which apartment,

852
00:49:52,510 --> 00:49:55,750
the rest of my colleagues,
including my fianc e,

853
00:49:55,750 --> 00:49:57,760
was there.

854
00:49:57,760 --> 00:50:02,420
So over his shoulder, I
saw the name of a dentist.

855
00:50:02,420 --> 00:50:06,090
And I said I left
the dentist's room.

856
00:50:06,090 --> 00:50:08,460
And I gave her name.

857
00:50:08,460 --> 00:50:13,140
He took me into the nearest
pharmacy, picked up the phone,

858
00:50:13,140 --> 00:50:19,180
and called the dentist, having
my identity card, and said,

859
00:50:19,180 --> 00:50:22,900
was a man by this
name in your room?

860
00:50:22,900 --> 00:50:24,270
[? And ?] so that's the end.

861
00:50:24,270 --> 00:50:25,270
He put down [INAUDIBLE].

862
00:50:25,270 --> 00:50:26,140
He said you can go.

863
00:50:26,140 --> 00:50:28,640
She said yes, of course he was.

864
00:50:28,640 --> 00:50:30,490
I never saw the lady.

865
00:50:30,490 --> 00:50:32,020
She never saw me.

866
00:50:32,020 --> 00:50:33,670
But she was in this house.

867
00:50:33,670 --> 00:50:35,360
She knew what it's
[? all ?] about.

868
00:50:35,360 --> 00:50:37,190
So yes, of course he was.

869
00:50:37,190 --> 00:50:38,320
He was my patient.

870
00:50:38,320 --> 00:50:40,540
He was in my room.

871
00:50:40,540 --> 00:50:41,050
You know?

872
00:50:41,050 --> 00:50:45,460
This was the kind of
conspiracy where everybody

873
00:50:45,460 --> 00:50:49,070
was trying to help and assist.

874
00:50:49,070 --> 00:50:54,350
I lost a ticket when I was
with my compromising material.

875
00:50:54,350 --> 00:50:58,925
And I approached a worker who

had a season railway ticket,

876

00:50:58,925 --> 00:51:02,120
and asking could you please buy
me a ticket because I cannot go

877

00:51:02,120 --> 00:51:05,120
through the [GERMAN]
sperre without a ticket.

878

00:51:05,120 --> 00:51:07,140
Of course he didn't
know who I was.

879

00:51:07,140 --> 00:51:10,070
He went, bought the ticket,
brought me the ticket.

880

00:51:10,070 --> 00:51:13,730
I left the railway
station safely.

881

00:51:13,730 --> 00:51:17,300
So everywhere there was
some kind of assistance.

882

00:51:17,300 --> 00:51:18,770
That's why we would act.

883

00:51:18,770 --> 00:51:21,398

884

00:51:21,398 --> 00:51:25,560
Did the organization
of the underground

885

00:51:25,560 --> 00:51:29,430
evolve out of pre-war
political organizations?

886

00:51:29,430 --> 00:51:32,020
It evolved spontaneously.

887

00:51:32,020 --> 00:51:36,330

They were-- really,
secret organizations

888

00:51:36,330 --> 00:51:41,670

[? were ?] mushrooming after the
defeat of Poland, everywhere.

889

00:51:41,670 --> 00:51:45,360

At the same time, the
commanding officers

890

00:51:45,360 --> 00:51:50,410

were appointed by our
authorities in London.

891

00:51:50,410 --> 00:51:53,920

And they were trying to
unite this whole kind

892

00:51:53,920 --> 00:51:59,830

of spontaneous organization
into one underground force.

893

00:51:59,830 --> 00:52:02,240

And they managed to do so.

894

00:52:02,240 --> 00:52:08,000

But the initiative would
come from grassroots.

895

00:52:08,000 --> 00:52:09,710

Were there any Jews
in the underground?

896

00:52:09,710 --> 00:52:10,910

Oh, yes.

897

00:52:10,910 --> 00:52:16,320

I mean, for instance, my
schoolmate, a little older,

898

00:52:16,320 --> 00:52:23,180
[? Lucian ?] [INAUDIBLE]
was very close to me

899
00:52:23,180 --> 00:52:25,190
in the organization.

900
00:52:25,190 --> 00:52:27,710

901
00:52:27,710 --> 00:52:33,620
[? Yusef ?] [? Handelsman, ?]
Professor [? Handelsman, ?] who

902
00:52:33,620 --> 00:52:37,190
was killed by the Germans later.

903
00:52:37,190 --> 00:52:39,410
I could name several people.

904
00:52:39,410 --> 00:52:41,930
Yes, there were some Jews
in the underground movement.

905
00:52:41,930 --> 00:52:43,820
But not a lot.

906
00:52:43,820 --> 00:52:49,110
Not many, because you know
this was a terrific danger.

907
00:52:49,110 --> 00:52:51,560
The man [? Lucian ?]
[INAUDIBLE],, for instance,

908
00:52:51,560 --> 00:52:54,130
had very Jewish features.

909
00:52:54,130 --> 00:52:57,920
Now if he would be caught with
some compromising material

910

00:52:57,920 --> 00:53:01,910
and tortured, he
would betray others.

911
00:53:01,910 --> 00:53:06,800
So it was dangerous to have
a Jew who could be recognized

912
00:53:06,800 --> 00:53:10,750
as a Jew in the organization.

913
00:53:10,750 --> 00:53:13,250
But there were some.

914
00:53:13,250 --> 00:53:16,700
Was there any coordination
between the Polish underground

915
00:53:16,700 --> 00:53:18,740
and the ghetto underground?

916
00:53:18,740 --> 00:53:21,410
Yes, but not from
the very beginning.

917
00:53:21,410 --> 00:53:26,090
Because at the beginning, Jews
like Dr. [? Czerniak³w ?],,

918
00:53:26,090 --> 00:53:31,670
for instance, took a
position that if we resist,

919
00:53:31,670 --> 00:53:35,390
I mean if Jews will
resist, all will be killed.

920
00:53:35,390 --> 00:53:38,990
If we don't resist, if
we simply carry orders,

921
00:53:38,990 --> 00:53:42,060
some will be killed

and some will survive.

922
00:53:42,060 --> 00:53:44,060
This was a wrong philosophy.

923
00:53:44,060 --> 00:53:50,160
And the first really
Jewish militant units

924
00:53:50,160 --> 00:53:55,050
were formed only after this
big wave of extermination

925
00:53:55,050 --> 00:53:57,180
at the end of '42.

926
00:53:57,180 --> 00:54:01,470
And then they were trying
to establish contact with us

927
00:54:01,470 --> 00:54:02,940
and to get weapons.

928
00:54:02,940 --> 00:54:08,250
Now, initially,
the Polish military

929
00:54:08,250 --> 00:54:10,320
were reluctant, because
they were not sure

930
00:54:10,320 --> 00:54:11,400
if they would fight.

931
00:54:11,400 --> 00:54:16,260
But later, they have shown
tremendous determination,

932
00:54:16,260 --> 00:54:18,330
and they did get weapons.

933
00:54:18,330 --> 00:54:20,310

Not enough, not sufficient.

934

00:54:20,310 --> 00:54:24,790

They were always complaining
they don't get enough.

935

00:54:24,790 --> 00:54:27,300

But also, not only
weapons, because we

936

00:54:27,300 --> 00:54:30,600

were very short of
weapons until the British

937

00:54:30,600 --> 00:54:39,810

started really to throw a lot
of weapons since April '44.

938

00:54:39,810 --> 00:54:41,940

But we were-- for
instance, I know

939

00:54:41,940 --> 00:54:44,310

that the Poles were
giving them contacts

940

00:54:44,310 --> 00:54:49,450

to where they could buy
weapons from Germans.

941

00:54:49,450 --> 00:54:50,590

It was a possibility.

942

00:54:50,590 --> 00:54:54,970

There were many German soldiers
who were selling their weapons.

943

00:54:54,970 --> 00:54:58,900

And so whatever they
had, they got from us.

944

00:54:58,900 --> 00:55:01,567

But this was very

poor equipment.

945

00:55:01,567 --> 00:55:02,650

They were poorly equipped.

946

00:55:02,650 --> 00:55:05,180

947

00:55:05,180 --> 00:55:08,630

[INAUDIBLE] pistols

and some few guns.

948

00:55:08,630 --> 00:55:17,610

It was a very small, very
poorly-equipped insurgent army.

949

00:55:17,610 --> 00:55:21,760

Was there any coordination
in terms of information?

950

00:55:21,760 --> 00:55:28,680

There were liaison people who
were coming from the ghetto,

951

00:55:28,680 --> 00:55:33,120

mostly by sewers or other
ways, I don't know what.

952

00:55:33,120 --> 00:55:37,050

One of them was Antek
Zuckerman, but he

953

00:55:37,050 --> 00:55:42,330

was the one who was kind of
a liaison between the ghetto

954

00:55:42,330 --> 00:55:43,980

and the underground.

955

00:55:43,980 --> 00:55:46,410

There were some others.

956

00:55:46,410 --> 00:55:51,060
And there was an organized
transport of arms.

957
00:55:51,060 --> 00:55:54,010
And the man who was really in
touch with them was through

958
00:55:54,010 --> 00:55:57,610
[? Handel Gorinski ?],,
[? who ?] was among others.

959
00:55:57,610 --> 00:56:01,410
He was the one who
was assigned to be

960
00:56:01,410 --> 00:56:04,980
a kind of liaison with Jews.

961
00:56:04,980 --> 00:56:07,990

962
00:56:07,990 --> 00:56:11,870
What were the primary
goals of the underground?

963
00:56:11,870 --> 00:56:13,180
Can you [? sum-- ?]

964
00:56:13,180 --> 00:56:15,520
Fight for freedom.

965
00:56:15,520 --> 00:56:17,230
Fight with the enemy.

966
00:56:17,230 --> 00:56:20,690
Fight with the
Germans for freedom.

967
00:56:20,690 --> 00:56:24,395
That was the goal, as in France,
as in every occupied country.

968

00:56:24,395 --> 00:56:27,210

969

00:56:27,210 --> 00:56:33,760

Did the ways in which you
hoped to achieve that change

970

00:56:33,760 --> 00:56:36,710

or evolve as the war went on?

971

00:56:36,710 --> 00:56:38,660

I didn't get your question.

972

00:56:38,660 --> 00:56:41,510

Well, when you say
fight with the enemy,

973

00:56:41,510 --> 00:56:46,490

obviously you worked in a more
political or propagandist end

974

00:56:46,490 --> 00:56:47,330

for quite a while.

975

00:56:47,330 --> 00:56:49,330

Yeah.

976

00:56:49,330 --> 00:56:54,770

Oh, it was also a kind of
struggle, a very important one,

977

00:56:54,770 --> 00:56:56,030

psychological warfare.

978

00:56:56,030 --> 00:56:59,020

979

00:56:59,020 --> 00:57:03,900

I'm just wondering if the
ways in which you wanted

980

00:57:03,900 --> 00:57:07,920
to achieve this freedom
or independence evolved,

981
00:57:07,920 --> 00:57:12,310
or if you always had kind
of a full scale strategy

982
00:57:12,310 --> 00:57:15,580
in place of how to do this,
both militarily and politically?

983
00:57:15,580 --> 00:57:17,440
Well, of course it
developed gradually,

984
00:57:17,440 --> 00:57:19,540
but the concept was clear.

985
00:57:19,540 --> 00:57:23,380
It was all-out fight
on every sector.

986
00:57:23,380 --> 00:57:26,080
Psychological warfare
was only one of many.

987
00:57:26,080 --> 00:57:30,010
But there was urban
guerrilla, there

988
00:57:30,010 --> 00:57:34,840
were partisan units
in the forests,

989
00:57:34,840 --> 00:57:39,020
there was sabotage of all kind.

990
00:57:39,020 --> 00:57:42,080
It was an all-out fight
with many directions.

991
00:57:42,080 --> 00:57:44,990

There were the units
that were trying

992
00:57:44,990 --> 00:57:53,290
to terrorize the Germans,
who were executing Germans.

993
00:57:53,290 --> 00:57:56,830
It was a very broad
front to inflict

994
00:57:56,830 --> 00:58:02,570
as much damage as possible and
to contribute to the victory.

995
00:58:02,570 --> 00:58:05,800
How much information did you
have about other operations

996
00:58:05,800 --> 00:58:07,630
within the underground?

997
00:58:07,630 --> 00:58:08,620
Not much.

998
00:58:08,620 --> 00:58:11,110
Whatever-- only
what was published

999
00:58:11,110 --> 00:58:15,520
in the underground papers,
because the rule was

1000
00:58:15,520 --> 00:58:22,840
that if you belonged to
one cell or one unit,

1001
00:58:22,840 --> 00:58:27,310
you are not allowed to
involve yourself in any other.

1002
00:58:27,310 --> 00:58:32,590
This was the rule to

protect the organization.

1003
00:58:32,590 --> 00:58:39,470
You shouldn't try to know
more than you have to know,

1004
00:58:39,470 --> 00:58:43,490
because if you are arrested,
you never know how you will--

1005
00:58:43,490 --> 00:58:46,610

1006
00:58:46,610 --> 00:58:50,000
if under torture, if
you will not break down

1007
00:58:50,000 --> 00:58:52,670
and will not betray others.

1008
00:58:52,670 --> 00:58:56,240
It was assumed that the man
who was arrested and tortured

1009
00:58:56,240 --> 00:59:03,630
may tell the Germans, under
torture, things about others.

1010
00:59:03,630 --> 00:59:07,460
So the policy was
that everybody had

1011
00:59:07,460 --> 00:59:09,950
to have his knowledge
as limited as possible.

1012
00:59:09,950 --> 00:59:13,022

1013
00:59:13,022 --> 00:59:16,260
We need to change the tape.

1014

00:59:16,260 --> 00:59:18,740

Can we turn this light--

1015

00:59:18,740 --> 00:59:47,000