

Accession number 8838, roll number 5.

Mr. Bogacki, reel 5. Did the fall of France in 1940 have much effect on your work or not?

1940, it was, as far as I remember, about June or something-- mid-year at that time. So we already had an established link with the outside world from March 1940. As far as I remember, it was the 4th of March, we had our first connection with our embassy or consulate, whatever that was, in Budapest. And at that time, the Polish government in exile was in France in Algeria.

We never got a straight link. No, the answer is rather no. The only thing which affected us was a psychological thing because we believed, the nation believed, every Pole believed that the Western powers, especially France, which was very much historically connected with Poland from before Napoleon, even, will resist.

And the contrary, they fell probably quicker than-- they just didn't want to fight. There were a few Polish divisions there as well, who were probably on the rear guard all the time, just defending the French from-- and let them go away.

This kind of thing I learned from my friends later on. So the effect was, as I said, slightly psychological, but has no effect on us at all. On the contrary, it made us more determined that we have to go on with our work. That's all.

What was the policy of the Germans at that time of the occupation towards apprehending young men of military age like yourself on the street? Could you walk freely on the street? Or would they be very suspicious of young men of military age like yourself? Would they interrogate you?

1939, '40, I-- yes, we could walk freely on the streets. Because there were many, many extra-- they haven't imprisoned every soldier. On the contrary, they let them go home. They kept the officers or the other ranks in the POW camps and probably some quantity of ordinary soldiers. But whoever went home, they just have to be left alone. No, no, we could walk freely on that time at all, no interference.

The only thing which-- this was in autumn, October, I think, or the end of October-- there was a-- they demanded by-- through a certain newspapers at that time or loudspeakers that all officers, professional or reserve, have to report at a certain day, a certain time to the unit so they could be recorded, something like that.

And well, I did report. And when we were on this main place in Poland-- was Kosciuszki Square-- they asked from the hundreds of people there, all professionals, soldiers, come forward and come in. So I went in. And there were behind the desk a few German soldiers who just took note this. And they recorded all your names and this sort of thing.

I told them everything-- who I am, my rank, and my name, I said, except I gave them the wrong address, which saved my life, really-- not my life, but my whereabouts and my imprisonment later on. Because on the day of the beginning of November, one morning, a friend of mine came to me that there were arrests in the morning of other people who were with me at that time. But they gave the right address. They were taken prisoner of war.

So that's the only one where they tried to eliminate us as much as they could from the Polish community the people who might be active, in their point of view. Which they succeeded in a certain way because they took away quite a lot of young men-- intelligentsia and this sort of things. Otherwise, no, there was no harassment, really, in the beginning.

Now I think you wanted to say something about the technical problems which you had in trying to cope with the new situation you found yourself in in the underground.

Yes. From the beginning, I knew that there must-- something must happen. But after the defeat in September 1939, that's not the end of the war. That's the beginning, surely. This was in my mind.

Well, this sounds probably a little-- but being brought up on Polish history-- and I was born on the beginning of the century here, so this was all deep in our education. There were risings in the 19th century. There were some happenings

at the end of the 18th century. Poland was fighting all the time against Russia, Prussia, and Austria at that time. So I had this kind of mindset that something must happen.

I asked a professional signals officer, thought my way that something has to be done. And probably, there will be needed a link with the outside world. This was in my mind. So I gathered around me few young men, well-known to me and I well-known to them. Because I was in command of the last edition in the officer school, signals officer school, from 1937 to 1939.

They just graduated their commission to sublieutenant in 1939-- August. So when I met one in Warsaw, of course, I could freely talk to them what my intention is. And they believe me. And they gathered around me. There were few of them. And that was the beginning.

And now, of course, the main problem was to find the equipment. I knew that I can't use a military equipment, which is bulky. And you can't walk with it or have it on a truck and go through Warsaw from place to place. This was impossible. But luckily, through some acquaintance, I learned-- which I did not know before the war-- that the Polish secret-- military secret service was-- has a connection with a electronic factory, who built-- which built for them small units.

At that time, this was already under German occupation. There was a so-called Treuhander or supervisor. But the old-- how do you-- keeper-- doorkeeper or whatever, he was still employed by them.

So I got contact to him. And I was let in some evening to the factory. And I found a few units there, quite in good, perfect order, which I took away. And that was the beginning of our unit, really, where we got the equipment-- the right equipment to start with.

The next step of course, we had no experience at all with these kind of reflected waves connection or thousands of kilometers, this sort of thing. This wasn't our military aim. We've had a straight connection from the division to the regiment, this sort of thing, a few hundred meters or a few kilometers on this, straight on through a so-called ground waves.

Well, to get, now, say, outside the 1,000 kilometers away, first, to get a correspondence working, you have to have a communication with them, establish signals. And at the time, signal-- that means a few letters and so on-- and a certain time and the frequency-- that's the three elements which could be only exchanged by a courier.

At the beginning of 1940, I think it was January, the Polish commanding officer of the so-called underground movement on, at that time, the very nucleus of it, sent a courier to Budapest. And Budapest was, at that time, still a free country. Well, I think I told you already about this first connection with Budapest, exchange of elements, and so on.

Now, my real problem was lack of experience, how to get over it, and how to find out about the movement of radio waves or reflected radio waves, which depend very much from the period of the year for the time of the day-- is it midday or is it sunrise or sunset? They act completely different, which I learned later on.

But I had nobody, really, to act-- to ask about these things because this wasn't my line. I wasn't trained in that way. Of course, I had the theoretical certain knowledge because we were, in general, educated as far as the radio communication concerned.

So I thought, the most safe one-- and this helped me, also, that I got a certain frequency quartz, which established the frequency of the amateur range, about 7,000 kilohertz. And the time, I thought, well, remembering, in the afternoon, sometimes before sunset. And this worked. So these difficulties, we had to overcome.

Then, of course, we did not know how far does the groundwave goes from that little secret service apparatus. Because a groundwave helps to find out the units which want-- goniometry units which want to-- which can establish exactly the position. There were difficulties.

And in 19-- end of that-- I think I told you that already, when we established our place in one of the suburbs of Warsaw, we found out that the military goniometers were already around the corner. We easily could distinguish them. This was a military-- some kind of car or caravan with little antennas and directory antennas trying to get it. But they were very primitive.

Once we spotted them, we always stopped our correspondence. And then if I have mentioned, I don't remember-- they made a more sophisticated approach by small, slow-running airplanes, like Cessna or something like that, at that time, over our place, which we found later on, when they surrounded us in the beginning of 1941 February-- that there was a German, if I may say so, air force officer who was directing and indicating exactly the house, which wasn't ours.

He made a mistake a few hundred yards or meters from us, which gave us a lot of breathing time and saved, probably, our lives. Although they looked through our house, but not so exactly as the other one, which they nearly stripped to piece, as far as decorations are concerned. This was a thing to find aerials or something.

So these were the little difficulties in the beginning. But we went on. From that time, when we had this first attack by the Germans, as I mentioned, in February, we had to change our method. This was a stationary place, which, of course, I realize is wrong. Because once you are in one place, never move, and once you put the key-- Morse key down, you are in the air, and indicating quite clearly to the enemy, here I am.

So from that time, I introduced a correspondence by changing places in Warsaw and outside Warsaw. And of course, this could be-- could have been done only with the help of local underground units in the terrain, for which I had to go through the top of our organization to the terrain.

And they had an order to help us to find the place, find the house. Because not every householder wanted to have strangers in their house because they were in danger, probably sometimes more than we were. We could run away, but they couldn't. And this happened later on in a few cases. They were arrested. And what happened to them, I don't know.

So now, in this period of the first half of 1941, the Germans were making preparations to attack Russia, from-- for which Poland was obviously going to be one of the launching pads. What-- did the invasion of Russia come as a surprise to you? Or had you seen any military signs of German military movements which might indicate that they were going to invade Russia beforehand?

Oh, yes. Well, we have seen this colossal concentration movement. I had a very close contact with our underground secret service, which used our network to contact or report outside the world to the West-- so England, France, and so on-- not France at that time, but it was after that. England knew exactly from us how the concentration looks like.

I'm sure they had their own secret service there, of which we had no knowledge. But a lot of them went through our network. Yes, we knew about the concentration on the river Bug. This was on the borderline with Russia. The date, of course, was June 22. I think it was 1941.

Well, we were really relieved because remembering the beginning, 17 of September, 1939, where Russia walked on our back, where we had to-- still fighting with the Germans in front, and they came with a knife on the back, as friends, they called, but they were shooting around. And even my close friend was killed there. And so 1941 was just a relief that these two friends now fight each other. And this goes off our back. Again, something must be good from that.

So did the invasion of Russia have any material effect on the position of the Polish underground?

What do you mean material? In what--

Did they-- did it make things harder or easier for you?

Oh, I would have thought rather-- at the beginning, rather easier because all their effort, all their machinery was directed east. Even I would have thought the Gestapo-- this sort of thing was there, they might look on us as on somebody who might try to disturb them. But I don't think there was such a thing because we were pleased that they are fighting the

Russians. And they are losing their manpower. They are losing-- they are weakening their own military strength, the Germans, fighting with the Russians. This was good from the beginning.

Later on, of course, we had-- when they went deep in Russia, and when our underground movement, especially the secret service and the terror movements-- that's probably the right expression-- which we had in our underground, who blew up the railway tracks or whatever, on-- behind the German Army to help later on, this was on order from the West. Well, then, of course, they put their foot slightly down. People were hurt sometimes.

But when the Germans, at first, seemed to have very great success against the Russians, did that worry you at all?

No. No.

Because, I mean, did you think that the Germans might have a very easy victory over Russia, and that that might make your position worse?

Well, in the beginning, we were, as I say, rather pleased. But then we found out very shortly that Hitler made a political blunder. We knew that in the very beginning because-- that you can't win that kind of thing. I tell you why.

The German Army was greeted by the Russians, especially Belorussians, Ukrainians, which were just on the border with us, just the first one they came across-- were suppressed by Stalin fantastically, the Ukrainians. They were just-- in millions were, by arranged hunger in the '30s. So they greeted the Germans. But the Germans neglected them, and suppressed them, and made-- and forced them to fight the Germans again.

So they turned against the Germans and rather went with the rest of Russia, which, of course, at that time, was pronounced as a patriotic war. So that was the blunder, of course. We knew that from the beginning. If he would have approached them friendly, he would have them on his side. He would have walked through.

Well, we observed. That's all we could do at that time. It was 1941, mind you. I talk at the moment. This was a strong fight. They were-- of course, they're walking over the Russian Army, who just surrendered in hundreds of thousands at that time. We have seen them in camps in Poland, treated completely like animals by the Germans-- not even under huts or under [INAUDIBLE], in open-- like cattle, just with barbed wire around.

Did you actually see such a camp?

Oh, yes, yes. It was in the east, slightly east from Warsaw, one of them.

Did you have any contact with the inmates of the camps?

Not me, no, I haven't. It wasn't my home.

Were there any collaborators in the Polish population?

Well, how could I answer that? Not in the extent like Scandinavian Quisling. No. There was nobody on a higher position who would collaborate-- or like Pétain in Vichy or something like that, no. Collaborators on a scale of a street level, surely, there have been there. And I know, later on, where our commanding officer, the general, Grot-Rowecki, was arrested in 1943. He was just a Polish collaborator, given away to the Germans.

Of course, we had to act very, very, very cautiously, especially in the signal, my unit. I separated as much as I could completely from the rest of the underground army. The only contact with the superiors in other departments, if I may say so, was through me personally or through the superior of mine. There's only one.

And the only contact-- sideways and through an intermediate-- was with the ciphering unit, where we got the telegrams ciphered. That's all. And even-- and radio stations units, of which there were a few, which developed later on in battalion, they did not know one unit, which was a radio station and radio operator, little courier-- little transport and

outlook-- was a compact unit. They did not know the other one, although they were in one unit.

Now, did you have to take any measures against any degree of collaboration amongst the population to try to discourage collaboration?

Well, it's as a general question, not to me--

Yes.

--because this wasn't my-- my objective was to transfer news in the outside the world. Yes, there were measures. There were certain-- there were jury-- how do you call it--

Trials?

--trials, courts. And the people were put-- what's the word in--

Executed?

Well, executed as well, yes. Yes.

Did you personally come across that type of thing?

Not personally, no. This-- we were, as I say, on the sideline. I knew because I had contact with other chiefs of departments. So of course, I knew about this whole thing. And I was invited to a conference, but not-- never involved in that kind of things because we would be against the secret of my unit.

Because one had to remember-- keep in mind, once arrested, your resistance to torture-- human resistance torture is limited. And I never blamed anybody of my, later on, who gave away something. That's why.

He was-- he knew only that what he was essentially-- should essentially know, nothing more. See, he didn't know where I live. He didn't know what I'm doing. Some of them knew me before the war. They knew my name. That's why I showed you that thing. That's what they learned about my name, the German SS.

This is a sheet that you showed me that you obtained a copy of--

That's right.

--in which the Germans had a breakdown of your organization.

There was a breakdown not far-- in Lublin, south of-- they caught quite a lot from the whole organization, including some signalmen. And of course, they were tortured there. And they gave them my crypto name and my name. That's all.

The only thing is my Christian name is wrong there because they came to that-- into that Christian name because I had, in between school times, I had my nickname, to quote [? Mundich. ?] And they thought I am Edmund. I wasn't, of course. That's why there's Edmund there. So that's the way they arrived.

Otherwise, I never-- I was against involvement of any signalmen in anything else. But his work of transforming-- transferring telegrams outside, that's all he had to do. Once I was-- there were a few in items that they were involved in some other things due to patriotism or something like that. I said, or-or-- or you go there, and you want to shoot people, and blow up railways, you go. But you are not the signal.

Did you lose people because they wanted to conduct sabotage?

Not me, personally, but in our unit. Because there were a few departments in our signals. There was the correspondence

unit, there were operational units, there was an educational unit, there were other things there. Yes, some of them were involved in this whole thing and later caught by the Germans and shot. But I disconnected this immediately from our corresponding-- correspondence.

How many men were you in command of personally?

Well it depends from which period. That is of the very beginning we started, very few. There were probably four or five when we started our correspondence in March 1940. This developed slowly. And in 1943, December, which I tell you later, I ceased to operate personally because I was taken prisoner.

There were already-- we called three companies. I couldn't tell you, really, the number of people involved. I could only tell you in what region-- in what capacity they were working. There was a battalion, a radio battalion called in that time. But I'm jumping, of course, at the moment forth.

One was with the correspondence outside the world. There were a few units, the platoons, they were called. There were two or three stations with five or six people in it, platoons, but never connected in between with the outside world.

There was another company which was involved only to receive telegrams from outside, to communicate the West or send meteorological elements of news connected with the airplanes which flew to us and dropped material and people. And then we had the third unit, which I organized, just in the end of late autumn 1943, which-- [AUDIO OUT]

838, roll number 6. Mr. Bogacki, reel 6.

Well, as I said, the third unit of that signals battalion, the underground movement in Warsaw, was created for a purpose of training signal personnel attached to the units all over Poland. Because at that time, preparing, as I said, dossier for the eventual rising against the Germans.

I came to the conclusion that it's impossible to have a central signals unit next to the commanding officer of the Polish underground movement, which the Germans would discover immediately once we all start pressing our keys. So we ask London, could they organize big transmitters and receivers, a big unit, intermittent unit, which would receive our telegrams, and send them immediately to the addressee in a different place in Poland?

And because we had not many experienced telegraphists in the terrain-- although, at that time, 1943, quite a few were already dropped to us from England. I sent from my central unit to each military unit in the terrain one fully-trained instructor with the equipment, who trained the other-- the local ones, radio telegraphists, and was helping the local commanding officer to keep link-- radio link with the commanding officer in Warsaw through London.

This worked all the time to the end of the war. And this intermittent link helped very much, all moving units in the partisans and everywhere. Because there are certain radio intricacies, as far as the deflected or reflected waves are concerned. They start from a certain distance, and then you have a dead distance, where the reflected wave jumps further.

And if you are with your radio station in that dead distance, you can't have any link. But on a long distance, like 1,500 miles, more or less, from here to London, this didn't matter at all. And that's why the link was a good and perfect one-- and permanent one.

And this was the unit which those instructors sent in the terrain, was the third unit, called Omnibus, which was a part of the radio battalion in Warsaw. So we equipped-- when the Warsaw rising, in the end, and the whole fight against the Germans, retreating Germans in 1944-- the commanding officer had a really good connection with all the units in terrain.

And he knew what was happening. And he could give orders and receive information that way-- not to mention the secret service, which could, from the terrain, send information not only to the commanding officer in Warsaw, but also to the Allies in the West, as far as the German movements are concerned.

Now, can we pick up the narrative where we left off in 1941? And can you tell me how your work developed over the period of the later parts of 1941 and '42?

So coming back to 1941, after we were surrounded and found out by the Germans-- but they did not find the radio station, neither there were any losses-- I came to the conclusion and I realized that static position of the radio station, which from '40 to '41, was in one place in Warsaw in the suburb is no solution, is no safe way of keeping correspondence because they found us out already, and we have to.

So I said to myself, the only way we have to do is go in the terrain, send the telegram, pack up, and go away. So half an hour, and go away. But easy to said, but not so easy done. Because you had to convince strange people somewhere in the suburbs or even further from Warsaw to let strange people with something in there. And they knew that something dangerous. They didn't know what they were talking about, but what the Germans might object to it.

But to get cooperation, I asked the commanding officer, and through him, went an order to the commanding units in the terrain so they should give us help. So before we went somewhere-- into a village or a small town-- a request went in advance that we want a room with this kind of facilities and a good outlook.

Because there always was outlook around there, if somebody approached in a car or walked suspiciously from, say, 500 meters or something like that-- or a kilometer, and gave us a signal, visual, or some other so we could pack up and go. So there were the difficulties. But from that time, we had no interference from the Germans.

Well, the next thing with that kind of system was to move the equipment. Although this wasn't a big equipment, it could be taken in a briefcase or in a bigger briefcase. But still, the Germans at that time, from time to time, bounced on buses and trains and checked people, whatever they were carrying, because it was forbidden to go outside Warsaw, for instance, to the peasants or-- and to bring food into it. This was forbidden.

And if somebody was caught and had, for instance, meat under his overcoat or something like that, he could land in the concentration camp. But looking after the meat, they might easily find my equipment. So this was a certain problem to move the equipment from place to place and so on.

And all this was done, again, through the local organization, who knew how to move around, who were known there. Because all strange faces always created a certain suspicion, although they were Poles and Poles. But one always was cautious. So this was a little problem.

The next one is every day, there was a link with England, correspondence in the evening, usually at about 6 o'clock. The unit had to receive the telegrams, which they had to transmit to England. And the telegram was sent by messenger. Usually, they were women, who were less suspicious for the Germans. I don't know why women always are less suspicious. But it was like that.

But they never got to the corresponding place because it was my order, they should know, once they were caught, they wouldn't be able to tell anything. There was always an intermittent place where they left something. And from the radio station, somebody came and collected and so on.

And even units far from Poland, later on, which worked, at that time, already '41, '42-- worked in the forests of Kielce or Radom, which is southeast-- southwest from Warsaw, the delivery of telegrams was quite a problem. Because this could only go by train or something. So we had to acquaint ourselves with the railway personnel, train driver, or-- they were coal engines. So there was this coalmen, whatever you call it, the second man on the railway.

Because there were moments where the Germans just shot and wouldn't allow anybody to travel for a day or two or a week, sometimes, but the telegram had to be there in the forest at that time every day. So we had to solve that problem. So there were these difficulties here and there. And I even had one of my platoon commanders just in that area, southwest of Poland.

He was shot accidentally because he walked-- towards the forest there on a normal road, but had something with him. I don't know what he had at that time. And the Germans just, as they did, stopped anybody, and asked question, where are you going, what are you doing, and so on-- and not always check his body-wise, personally.

But he ran away. And they just shot him, finished. So there were these things which created certain difficulties. So that was the movement in the terrain.

Nevertheless, through all the time, we had undisturbed as far west and our government in exile was concerned, connection, a radio link with them. They didn't know how we do it-- did it. But we had it all the time. If one radio station was called-- but there were a few events by the Germans-- then we had the second one here, second one there. That's why they wondered after the war how we did. And they never could break our connection with the West. Well, that was more or less all the time going round and round the time. So I don't know. I can--

Now, can I ask you about the Warsaw ghetto? Did you have any contact with the Warsaw ghetto at all?

Not personally. I knew it was there. I was not far away. I was traveling, passing by on the tram, but never inside.

Did you know what was going on inside?

Well, I knew because I was in the position where other chiefs of staff would give me the whole thing that I knew what's happening there. Anyway, there was always an upheaval there, especially shortly before the ghetto rising. We knew that they were kept behind walls. They were starved. They were shot and so on. And people are throwing there over the wall some food, potatoes, these sort of things and could land in prison themselves.

Yes, of course, the existence was-- they couldn't conceal it. This was there. The Jews, in the beginning, were walking in the streets with their special armband, with the David Star. And if they found anybody who looked like a Jew without the David Star or they found, in some peculiar way, out-- the soldiers, just they didn't bother, they just shot them on the spot. It was like that, unbelievable.

Did you actually see it?

I have not seen it myself. I have seen people shot, yes, few times. Because I was arrested twice. The first time, I got out, somehow, from the prison. But when I was on this lorry on which they packed few of us-- on the street, just-- they got us on the street.

And somebody said hut-hut, somebody there. He ran away into the house. But before he went into the door, he just-- a machine gun from the lorry, bonk, and he was dead. Not to mention later on, which I have seen through my personal ordeal, when I was arrested, and so on, but this is a different story.

Can we go on now to your arrest? And can you tell me how you were arrested the first time?

Pure accident incident at that time. This was 1943, mind you. You asked me in the beginning, did they harassed us, 1940, '41? But at that time, there was a army still there. And one has to distinguish between the army and the SS, SA, and so on, which were the second echelon occupying Poland or other countries when the army went further on.

Well, they just-- from time to time, we have seen the streets. There were few patrols there, walking, holding everybody, stopping everybody, checking on the side, on the side, on the lorry, in the way. You never seen them again. I must tell you two incidents. Firstly, there is a certain incident, which I was lucky to escape. And the second time, I was arrested.

One day, I was on a tram, approaching from the Old Town of Warsaw-- approaching the center of Warsaw. And there suddenly was a shouting, the Germans, the Germans. They came in the patrols like that. The tram stopped.

So we jumped out of it, patrol on the side street. I went on the side street. And the side street was blocked already there by Germans, keeping anybody. And there was nowhere to run away because there were-- this was in afternoon. And



there were all office blocks. You couldn't go anywhere. So I had sunglasses. It was the summer. I just walked through. They didn't stop everybody, they stopped me.

You walked through the Germans?

Through the German-- this is the patrol. There were two or three Germans, there was, and checked anybody for their documents, the identity cards, this sort of thing. But they looked at me, they didn't stop me. I don't know, I must have looked like a German or something like that. Or they were busy not to worry, not to do that.

Anyway, I walked through because I had a meeting on the other part of Warsaw. I walked through three or four patrol points. And none of them stopped me. In the end, when the last soldier was on the end already there, not concerned with that, but still there, he stopped me.

He said, your identity card. I had one. I had a-- was a true one, true identity card. He looked at it. And I said-- because I know that language-- I said-- told him, look, you have seen, I went through there. They all have checked me, and I'm all right. He just looked at me and said, you just look that you disappear-- in German, of course.

He said what?

Look that to-- [GERMAN].

What does it mean?

Well, you just look, and be careful, and run away, or go. Anyway, be happy that you go away. Because he could have kept me. You see, why I said that? Because this is-- deeply in my mind, there is a certain-- I believe in that certain way, in some kind of kismet, or providence, or something like that, you see. Because there was no reason at all why they haven't kept me or could hold me on.

But if your papers were correct--

Doesn't matter. Doesn't matter. If they-- I was a young man at that time, was 30-something.

But what would they have had against you if your papers were correct?

Nothing. They just put me in the prison, and then they find out what it's all about, and they send me to concentration camp. You see, 1939-- oh, sorry, 1940, it was, I had no permanent place. I was a bachelor-- permanent to live. Just I changed places from friend to friend, from acquaintance to acquaintance, and so on.

And I had my school friend there. And he had a villa in Warsaw. At that night, I came to him, and I said, all right, Henry, I'm sleeping here. And that's all right, come on. In the morning, early morning, the knocking on the doors, and his wife-- Germans are here. So I slept on the sofa down in his office, in his lounge there.

So I ran upstairs. And she opened it. And he went down as an owner. And it was ordinary soldier. They just-- this whole [INAUDIBLE], so this whole area, they were surrounding and checking things out. He had all the papers in perfect order. Because his father had a chemical factory in Warsaw, which was, of course, taken away.

And he was, himself, a chemist-- I mean, a chemical engineer, I must say, for the university in Warsaw, working in his father's-- and for the Germans. Yeah. So he had these old military papers.

They took him. He said, never mind. You have to take him, the soldier said. But he never came back. A few months later, he was dead in Auschwitz. You see, there was no reason why you were taken or why not. It was the whim of this particular interviewing or keeping your person.

So you were going to describe how you were first arrested.

No. That-- ah, the first arrest. I went out of my meeting point, one of my company commanders came to me. He wants to see me of some kind of purpose. I said, all right. Let's go out here, not here. So I went out on the street. And I sat on the little square, the Polytechnic. And suddenly, a lorry came out with Germans.

They jumped out and naturally go, halt, halt, halt. And we two were standing in the middle of the square. We can't do anything. Once you run away, you are dead, there's no doubt about it. So they took us on the lorry.

They took us to the prison, so-called Pawiak in Warsaw. And from that, I have seen that they shot other people on the street. And I was freed in about two weeks' time.

And I learned later that once the commanding officer, General Grot, learned that I was in prison, through his secret service, who had some connections with Germans and corrupted them, he said that money is no object, Bogacki must be out. I learned that later. And he got me out. He bought me out through having some connection with some Germans, convincing them that there is nobody there, but he's a family man. They want him, something like that. It's quite a handsome money was paid for me at that time.

What happened to you in German custody at that time?

Nothing. I was in the-- just in the prison. The only thing what I did, I had only one true document. That was the identity card, so-called Kennkarte. But I had fictitious documents that I am employed in the military industry or something like that, war industry, some factory there, which was wrong. This was all right to show on the street. But once in prison, was wrong.

Once I was in the cell with the chap who came with me-- we both were taken-- I sat in the corner. And I said, you just cover me up. There were plenty of people, just like caught in the street in that cell. I put it to-- shredded it to thing, and in between the floorboard, stick it down. So I had only that Kennkarte identity card. It saved me. Because whoever had false documents were shot, simple as that, S-H-O-T, shot in the yard.

But you were cross-examined, were you?

No. I wasn't examined. They took my card from me. No, I don't remember them. Only one day, I know that people were taken out and released. And one day, I was called in the office. They asked me my name-- this was a false name, of course.

And they looked at me, looked at me, and asked me to go home. Probably the chap who got the money was there, and between them, he looked at me once again. He must have been sure that I am not of any standing or value, especially, otherwise, he wouldn't let me for any money leave. Anyway, that was-- I was freed.

The second time, within the permanent one, well, that's a different kettle of fish.

Could you give me the dates of the two arrests?

Yes. First one was October '43. I couldn't tell you exactly the date. But the permanent one, when I was taken, was the 8th of December night, about 11 o'clock or something, or 11:30 at night, on the 8th of December, 1943.

What happened?

Well, we were in bed. But before I tell you how-- the detail how they came in and how this happened, I must tell you why they came there. You see, it's nothing to do with signals, really. I was married in 1941 to a niece of our chief of our secret service. It was '41. At that time, '43, he was in-- already in big danger.

And in Warsaw, he tried to avoid German arrest. He was even commanded by the commanding officer to go underground somewhere. But he just came to us. We had-- we lived outside Warsaw in a villa. He came there to us to

spend the night, not knowing that he had a trail behind him. He came one night.

The second night, something, was 11 o'clock or 11:30. There was a knock on the door, big lights, reflectors outside on the door. I was with my wife in bed in one room and he was in another room. And his sister, or my wife's mother, was in the third one. She opened the door.

And one thing-- I kept there one of the transceivers, using the receiver as a link, which listened to it. And he got-- he asked me for it. He was in the next room. Listen, once the Germans were there, he had it. He brought it quickly to me before they get in-- got in. And what can I do? I'm standing now. The Germans now going to know. I'm standing here with my unit, transceiver in my hand.

We had here a bed. So I lifted the mattress and put it under the mattress, on the feet side. So I concealed that transceiver under the mattress on the feet side and stood behind there.

No, he went back to bed. And once the Germans came in with a revolver in their hand, directed into us, so asked us to sit up. And so I sat up. My wife sat up in the bed. But in the meantime, the uncle, who was, as I said before, the secret service chief, came out of the next room. And they stood on the edge.

And they spotted him. And I have seen it immediately on their faces and the neck of their head-- [GERMAN]. That's him-- one to another. And he just stood there. He said, hello, which I have nothing, he said. And they took him away.

In the meantime, we had to-- he said to me and to my wife, you get up, get dressed. And they started to look around the house, around the room. So I, knowing that once they start looking into the bed, that's the end. So I had-- near the bed, there were coat hangers there.

And there was my-- I dressed quickly. And I stood-- positioned myself just near the end, on the edge of the bed where that transmitter was under the mattress and put my coat over me. But he said, no, don't put hang some -- don't put the coat over you because he wanted to see my pockets properly. But the other one just was lifting the mattress.

But I put my coat straight, hanging over that edge here, so he couldn't come here. He didn't want to disturb me. Was-- the other one was shouting at me-- and left it. And that's what happened. He never lifted that corner, where that feet was.

Then the other one came to me, took off from me that little fur coat I had, looked in all pockets, but there was the one concealed little pocket in the fur, which he didn't find, where some kind of secret notes I had. Nobody tells me that kismet doesn't exist. It exists. Because they could have found it easily.

Anyway, we dressed. And then they said to the mother, you dress as well. They took us all to the Warsaw SS or Gestapo place in Warsaw after midnight. And then they came out with the uncle, the chief of secret service, out of next room.

They asked him, is that your sister? Yes. Is that your niece? Yes. And this gentleman? That's the gentleman-- that's the husband of her. What is he? Well, he's just nothing. And that's-- they concentrated on him. He didn't know who I am. I was just a husband of his niece. And we came after, let's see, a few days.