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[? Yurek ?] Orwovski Tape three.

When you left the factory, did you still maintain your links with the underground?

Yes, indeed. In fact, that made me even more connected with the underground. And in fact, that's where I began my involvement in earnest, in fact. Still not knowing much about the organization, and not knowing what we represent as a movement. I realized only one thing, that we were working against present occupation.

And this connection with one or two colleagues who used to employ me as their carrying pigeon for various materials and goods during the curfew hours, helped me to establish closer contact with the actual organization, where things were being actually done against Germans.

That brought me, in fact, face to face, with my future commanding officers in the underground movement, and other colleagues which were in the underground movement, of which I didn't know before. In fact, our first meeting, a clandestine meeting, it was in a flat belonging to mother of my good colleague. And there was a big surprise to see that many people were there I knew already.

And obviously, the first task was to acquire a nickname. Nobody was called or asked for in his proper name. So I was given, in fact, I was asked what name I would like to have. And I then quickly choose something. And that was recorded and remembered by everybody present. And no other names were mentioned.

In fact, at our first meeting, I clearly remember it was quite unusual for me and extremely inspiring. Because the commanding person of the unit brought with him another man, which we were told was parachuted from England to Poland, to set up underground movement units. And in fact, he was a paratrooper for the Polish army under British command who came to teach us, trained us, and organized us and began stronger and more versatile units, suitable for possibly to actual fight on the streets and so on.

I remember at this first meeting, we didn't talk about underground. We didn't talk about Germans. We've been all asking, what's going on in England? What England looks like? what do the people talk about there? What do they eat? What clothes they wear? Absolutely thousands of questions, and poor chap for hours was sitting answering questions and various queries from present.

Did you know about the London Polish government?

Oh, yes. Oh, yes. That was well known from the underground press, which we by then read for a good year or so.

And was there contact? Was the contact maintained between the underground and the London government?

Yes, in fact, the officer I'm talking about, this parachute officer, he brought with him equipment, radio equipment, and he was one of the leading should I say contacts for information, and transmitted information to London every day, in fact.

What was this organization called then?

Was it still called the little-- I think you said it was Small Sabotage in the beginning it was called?

Yes, it was still called Small Sabotage. And finally, in year or so, that was 1941. Not until '42 or '43 all units were organized under one name, which was Home Army. But in those early days, we had various names. For instance, our little unit was called-- I have to translate clumsily into English. It was called a Company of Bears.

Of Bear?

Yes. Black Bears, in fact. Not white bears, black bears. And we called each other bear, that sort of thing.

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What was your name, if you can say this? What was your fake name?

Yes, it was Lech. Lech, which means Lech was a name of a very early Slav person who in fact, first for the first time, endeavored to establish Slav settlements in Central Europe, and was the first one who also established an identity for a number for Norman-like wandering tribes of Slavs into one unit.

And that name was used quite frequently in Poland as a Christian name for boys. So I took this as my nickname for the whole future encounters in the underground army.

Having that established, shortly afterwards, we were sworn in, quite big ceremony that was, with Bible, and scout-type hand, and we were sworn allegiance to Poland and Polish case, of fighting against Germans, and in fact allegiance to the Polish government in London. Which we all believed and thought and were told anyway it will come down to Warsaw after war is finished. Because that is continuation of the Polish sovereignty.

Now once you were in a unit which normally comprised about 7 to 10 people, from time to time we were given various tasks. Meetings were not frequent. I'd say once in a fortnight at different locations, and mostly in other people's houses and flats. And we were briefed on certain undertakings which would have to be carried out.

And then time was set or times were agreed on. And that was the period of war where I started actively to do something against German occupying forces. And this small sabotage consisted to start with writing slogans on the wall. That's what we call today--

The graffiti.

Graffiti. That was the prototype of graffiti. [LAUGHS] And there was a number of slogans which I remember writing myself, including drawings of gallows with swastika hanging on it, that sort of thing. We didn't have aerosols then. But big brushes with white or black paint, writing on the walls, on the pavements, on the trains, on the trams. And that I think I was involved with for a good six, seven months.

How difficult was it to do that?

Sorry?

How difficult was it to do that?

This had to be done at night.

And I suppose you weren't working at the factory then. Were you allowed out at night? I was for one reason, that I still had my night pass which was very skilfully copied, in several copies, in fact, where photographs of other people were affixed. Germans swastika stamps were made up from rubber stamps. And in fact, my night pass was a prototype for future night passes for people who used to go and do naughty things at night. [LAUGHS]

And in fact, that led to other more important things. And one of the most important tasks I was involved as a next step was recovery of arms and weapons, which were buried in the soil after the defeat of Polish army in 1939. And in fact, what was happening, particularly in Warsaw and before Warsaw surrender, masses of rifles, and revolvers, and hand grenades, and so on were buried in the soil in squares, and in flowerbeds in the parks, and covered for future use.

This was we were told then. And one of my tasks then was to locate these things with help of other people who knew more or less where they were, and to recover these weapons, refurbished, because most cases they were pretty rusted by then. Some of them were in good condition, some not so good. Some were completely useless. But that was my task in company of say three or four colleagues to go at night to the central park, dig out a big hole, take out these rifles and hand grenades.

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection Sometimes we couldn't find them because the position was taken incorrectly. But if we found, we had to transport these by taxi, by a so-called rickshaw. I don't know what is a rickshaw?

Yes, I understand what a rickshaw is.

Yes.

A cart with someone pulling it. Yes?

Oh, no. That was a different rickshaw. It's a typical wartime rickshaw. It was in fact, a tricycle or a bicycle on three wheels where you had a chain and pedals in the rear, two wheels and axle in front, and there was a wooden box in the front with seats for two or three people.

And because there was no fuel, and particularly Poles were not allowed to use fuel at all, the transport within the town was done by those rickshaws, which people who wanted to earn few pennies pedaled like mad behind. And you were sitting on a bench seat in the front.

And that sort of rickshaw we were using for transporting rifles, and hand grenades, and so on. Normally such a consignment of weapons was taken to a secured clandestine house or flat. And that was task finish for me.

I wouldn't know what happened to it, who took it then, or where it had gone. Frequently, I was landed with one of the items, particularly rusted, and had to take home and clean it up. So that was rather difficult. Because if my uncle caught me doing it, I'll be turfed out immediately from home.

Did he have any idea what you were doing?

Not by that time. Later on, he did. But at that time, my grandmother already knew. And in fact, as far as hiding weapons within the house was concerned, she knew all the best places to put away.

So she supported you, actually?

Oh, yes. Yes. She supported me.

Were you aware at this time of what was happening to the Jews?

Yes. In fact, much earlier to the period I'm talking about, things were happening within the so-called ghetto in Warsaw, which was part of the town assigned to Jewish population. And that part of the town was surrounded by a brick wall, about 12 to 15 feet tall. And there were small towers built where Germans were guarding this area and so on.

It was during the time when I was going to factory. I used to travel right across town at night or by day. But we didn't so much by day because of traffic and so on. But at night, you could see what was happening within ghetto. At certain points, I was able to look in from the higher ground. We saw, for instance, a transport of Jewish people being taken out from ghetto, and sent out to the extermination camps. They're being marched in small detachments with their little belongings.

We weren't sure what's going on. We thought perhaps, oh, they may be going from A to B. Maybe they were crowded in one end of the town. They're going to be sent to somewhere else. Only as time went on, we realized that they were taken to railway station and then transported to concentration camp. In fact, later on, we didn't see that. Because the Germans extended a railway track from the central railway station in Warsaw to ghetto, and they were loading people on trains within the ghetto. So we couldn't see much.

But we did see from time to time houses being burned in the ghetto. There were occasions where we heard shooting. And we then began to hear stories from other colleagues in the underground movement who were already involved in helping Jewish population. But myself personally, I wasn't involved at that stage in this aspect. One of the other interesting tasks which could be quite interesting here was gathering of arms for future actions. We always talked about future actions. That means when Germany will be defeated or withdrawing, we will then help Allies and so on.

I have to come back here to this time when we returned from the Eastern Poland to our home in the country, and when the German unit was stationed at our house. One of the Germans I met was particularly friendly, but nothing spectacular. We knew he liked drinking. That we knew very well, because frequently he was half drunk. And he used to buy drinks on the black market somewhere.

But also we knew that he was inclined to do bartering. And frequently, we were told that things were disappearing from German stores for exchange for goods he could get in the country, like poultry, pigs, and if he was doing this with his commanding officer's blessings, we don't know, possibly not openly. But the whole unit seemed to be benefiting from his trading instincts.

It was at the time when I was gathering and cleaning those old rifles, when I met him in Warsaw again, quite accidentally met him on the street. He recognized me. I recognized him. And he told me that he is now out of his unit, and he is now a policeman.

Obviously, he asked me what I'm doing here. He asked about my father whom he knew. Well I had no reason at that stage to distrust him too much. Anyway, I lived openly in Warsaw. And I told him, yes, I'm living in Warsaw. I'm working for my uncle.

So he said, oh yes, I must come up sometime and see you. I must say here he was about 50, 55, while I was 17 or 18, something like that. So he on a personal basis, he was a much should I say older person, and he sometimes treated me as his son, a little down, thumb down a little bit, but bearable.

So I said, fine. I gave him address, uncle's address. And within about three or four weeks, he called on the uncle. I remember he had a dinner with us. And during the conversation he said he will be interested in buying gold, gold, and particularly he said, gold dollars, gold dollar coins.

These were very, very rare in Germany. And he said he could give good money for it. And we said fine, but what can we get? If one locates a golden dollar like that, what can we get from you for it? We don't want money. So he said, well, he could supply shoes. He could supply butter, which was very short at that time he could supply, tea, coffee, even bananas, he said, which were then coming from Africa to Germany.

I went and I think for about a month or two months or maybe longer, I can't remember exactly, but for that period of time this barter went quite happily. He was happy. And we were happy, in fact, not only uncle himself, but uncle friends and other people who had perhaps got bits and pieces too, to exchange for food or something.

And we found that he was fairly secure, because he was doing this on his own accord. He wasn't working for anybody else. He lived in Hamburg. And in fact, he was a policeman before the war in Hamburg.

It would appear then to us that he had some circles, trading circles in Germany, in Hamburg itself, where golden dollars were very well paid for. And he just commuted between Warsaw and Hamburg, taking one way gold, another one any other goods. And in fact, this--

Culminated.

--culminated, yes, in him selling us arms for dollars, for gold dollars. And on one or two occasions, he delivered submachine guns, revolvers, ammunition for the best piece of gold which we sold.

So my task was within the underground to spread news that gold is needed. And if gold is available, we could have weapons whatever we like.

Was he an exceptional case or were there other Germans who would do that?

It would appear later on we learned that there were a number of Germans like that. But within my personal reach and my personal knowledge, he was the exception.

Did you have a pretty clear idea of the whole of the underground movement in Warsaw, or just your particular cell?

Just my particular sector. Well, this trading in arms came one day to quite an abrupt stop, when our German friend disappeared, completely disappeared. We don't know what happened to him. He didn't owe us anything. So that means he didn't take our gold and disappeared with it. In fact, that was balanced quite evenly at the point of his disappearance. And we never heard of him. And we don't know what happened to him.

But my little contact was cut off, and no longer was able to supply these arms for our people.

This underground group you belonged to, was that the only one operating in Warsaw, or were there other--

Oh, no. There were hundreds of others, of various sizes, under various clandestine names. They were mainly led by exofficers or ex-soldiers. And they were all aimed at military training. In fact, we were training at least twice a week.

But were they affiliated to the Home Army, or did they belong--

Eventually.

I see.

There was a date which I can't remember exactly. But it was I think 1943 where the other units were amalgamated, and they were given the name Home Army, AK, which means Armia Krajowa. That means Home Army.

And there was no group apart from that in Warsaw?

There were other groups. There were other groups. In fact, there were two major other groups. One was, in fact, a leftist group, which they called themselves socialists underground movement. And they remained rather separate, as far as I remember all the time.

And there were a number of groups in the country which were for a very long time separate. And they joined the Home Army very late. That means in 1943, '44 almost. But as far as I recollect, the socialists I mean that movement never joined Home Army. They were organized separately.

But that didn't interest us. And that didn't sort of hinder us in any way. And we didn't realize the political aspect of it.

You didn't?

No.

How about the Russians at this time? Because Germany would have invaded Russia of course in 1941. How did you feel when you heard that news? This is going back a bit, of course.

Yes, it goes back a little bit. But to start with, it was immediately obvious to us that this is going to finish Germany. Germany would never win on two fronts, east and west. And we knew that the vastness of Russia, the resources, and the millions of people there who we knew they were slaughtered in the first days or first weeks of war. But there was nothing against the mass of them which remained.

And particularly as we learned that Western Allies are helping and supplying Soviet Union with weapons, arms, and

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How did you help them?

Well there were units specially sent into Eastern Europe from Poland who were in contact with Russian intelligence and Russian underground movement, which was left behind German lines. And these people cooperated in attacking and destroying German resources and transport behind the lines.

[? Yurek ?] Orwovski tape four.

Did you hear anything about the Katyn massacre?

Yes. The fact that the graves of thousands of Polish officers were discovered in Russia by Germans was very heavily publicized by Germans in Poland. And to the extent that people were invited to go there and identify the people, the husbands, the brothers, and so on. Lists were published of names of people that people found there, and relatives were invited to go and witness the things.

I don't think many people went. But I believe one or two or three maybe did so. And I know there was quite a fuss made by Germany, by Germans, to establish the timing and actual methods of killing. And there was a commission, a Red Cross commission from Switzerland at the place, I think for the purpose of establishing actual factual findings which were recorded and brought in files to Switzerland.

This in fact didn't make a very big impact on me personally. Because we, my colleagues and myself, we used to regard this as an act of war. That happened in a war. It doesn't happen now. Because now we're helping them. They're helping us. When you shoot at a time when the Russians invaded Poland in 1939, there were skirmishes between Polish troops and Russian troops. All the Russians said they're coming to make sure that not all Poland will be taken by Germany. We didn't believe that then.

And there were skirmishes between soldiers on both sides. And those who were found dead in Katyn, we thought rather these were the people who were killed then, not cold bloodedly killed two years later, or not exactly two years later. But there were other things which made us less suspicious of Russians.

They were very, very keen to learn how we organized our units, how we train ourselves, who is supporting us. Are we receiving any direct help from the west, how we acquire weapons, and are we politically minded or not? That sort of questions were frequently asked by Russian people or Russian soldiers we met in the country.

I personally didn't have much contacts because I was most of the times in Warsaw. But on one occasion, I took part in blowing up a German train where we cooperate with Russians. And that was one of the occasions I met them on a personal basis. And I must say they didn't leave a good impression on me.

They were very cagey about answering our questions. But they were throwing a lot of questions at us.

Did you speak Russian? Not really, but--

They spoke Polish, did they?

No they spoke Russian. And we spoke Polish and generally, we could understand each other. In many cases there were Ukrainians which it's more like Slav language, with many similarities to Polish. And you could make out the sense of the conversation quite easily.

Did you at that stage think about the post-war world politically? Did you feel that perhaps Russia might want to influence events in Poland?

No. No. Not whatsoever.

Did your colleagues, do you think in the Home Army at that time?

I would doubt it. We discussed most of things between ourselves. But that wasn't discussed at all, in fact. The unit to which I belong this bear detachment, in fact, had a political aspect too. It was on the top of this organization was a man who was conservative as far as politics were concerned, very conservative, in fact very right-wing in the Polish political field.

What was his name? Can you remember?

His name was Piasecki And in fact, after the war, he was very well known in Poland because he turned around 180 degrees and became pro-Russian. But that had nothing to do with me at the time. I never met him. I never heard of him, or I heard his name and I knew he was in presence. But I never had occasion to talk to him or see him.

Now these actions in the country by harassing German rail lines and communication lines, that continued almost to the day when the uprising in Warsaw took place. That means August '44.

During these years, 1942, '43, did you have any contact with the ghetto? Did the Home Army have any contact with the Jewish ghetto?

Oh yes, indeed. The Home Army as such, yes. Yes, in major way. I knew members of the Home Army were in ghetto, helping to organize Jewish resistance. And this was going on I would say quite a large way. But I personally had no contact with this action, with this incident. We knew this is happening because there were explosions in that part of the town. Houses were burned. Day and night there was a cloud of smoke rising from the area.

But as we had no direct interest as far as our union was concerned, we weren't really aware of what actually was happening. We knew that the town is being destroyed and Jewish people were being transported out of town. But where they we going and what for, we never heard of it.

Although not being connected directly with happenings in ghetto, one incident brought to my notice what was actually happening to the Jewish population. This happened during one of the actions in the country where we were cooperating with Russian underground movement and Russian paratroopers in Eastern Poland. On one occasion, there was a skirmish between a German unit and underground movement unit, and a number of German prisoners were taken.

Obviously, this was happening in many places at various times. And there was no special significance for me that a few German prisoners were taken. But there was a new story attached to that. It transpired that when interrogated, these Germans found to be Ukrainians and they're fighting under German command.

And this particular, I think there were three or four, were guards in that concentration camp. In fact, in a camp where Jews were liquidated.

What was the name of that camp?

That camp was called Sobibor. And in fact, the camp as such didn't exist. Jews were arriving and they were so quickly destroyed that there was no need to do any housing for them. In fact, they were arriving at the siding. They were sorted out according to there were women, or men, or children. They had to leave their belongings.

And in fact, most of these people as far as I remember, they were from Belgium and Holland. And they were brought to Eastern Poland under belief that they will be settled there on land. They will be given so much land to cultivate and settle there.

They were allowed to bring only most valuable belongings in small cases. Obviously, there was no furniture taken or any larger pieces of domestic appliances, only personal and jewelry, and so on, that sort of thing they were allowed to

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection bring with them. That was deposited in the camp or a barrack, type wooden barrack type of building. And then they were taken to-- incidentally, we had this story from actual guards. We didn't witness this. I've never been there, but what actually guards told my colleagues and they repeated to me.

They were, as I said, segregated men from women. And they were sent to showers because they said they had very tiring long journey. You need a good wash, perhaps change of clothes or something. And they had really a shower. Their clothes was put on the hangers, metal hangers apparently, and went to special chambers for disinfection and delousing, that sort of thing.

When they had this shower, they were told they have to wait for the clothing to come out. And they were taken to a specially prepared bunker, concrete sort of building, partly on the level of ground, partly underground. And this building was designed as a gas chamber, where people waiting for their clothes were gathered, tightly packed. It was warm. And there was a film being shown, music being played through loudspeakers.

And when the chamber was full they shut the door. And through the vent above, gas was thrown in. And nobody was heard inside because there was a huge thickness of concrete walls and iron doors shut behind them. And these people were in a matter of 10 minutes perhaps they were dead. And what was the most cruel thing about it we thought was that in that chamber apparently there was a sloping floor like in cinema. And that floor was heated like a frying pan.

And these bodies were burnt to cinders, and the fat from the bodies was draining in the corner, one corner, and it was gathered in barrels. And was then sent to Germany for the manufacture of soap, as a raw material for manufacture of soap. And when bodies were burnt and turned to cinders, the doors were open. Hoses were directed on it to cool off. And bones were ground into powder as a fertilizer.

Yes, that was a rather shocking story even for us then when it came to this point of being really cruel. Being killed in battle, being shot on the street, being shot for doing something, one could say all right I've done it, and I got it. But for innocent people led to believe that they're going to be free and better off somewhere else, and the sneaky, nasty way being destroyed like animals that really turned us against Germans. That was the turning point against Germans. And at that point it would make us really hate them.

How did the Germans regard the Poles as a race, in racial terms? Have you any idea?

In what terms?

In racial terms. Have you any idea how they regarded you?

Well, it's a wide spectrum of say contacts and feelings between Germans and Poles. As you know Poland, part of Poland, was annexed by Germany and became proper Germany. But the center of Poland became self-governed under German command and control. There was a German governor. Hence, they needed people to run the internal government.

They managed to gather people who run the day-to-day tasks of non-military obviously nature-- administrative, doctors, dentists that sort of thing. And people who carried those tasks and they had to relay the results of these tasks to Germans, they found them quite reasonable to deal with when those tasks are concerned.

And Germans regarded them as, well, hard-working, honest, and administrative workers, you see. When you look at the relation between, say, average German and working class peasant-- Polish peasants, or farmers, or factory workers--Poles were regarded rather as a much lower intelligent race, and fit only to work.

And in fact, the ultimate thing was to turn the Polish nation into a working nation as a reservoir of labor. And in fact, that's why schools were not opened. Because they said, we don't want you to be mathematicians or technicians. As long as you can read and write, that's enough for us. And they were degrading the nation constantly, all the time while they were there.

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection One of the points which also helped me to turn against Germans was another incident. And it was during the time when Germans were stationed at our house.

One day, I saw one of the people I knew personally cycling along the road. And in opposite direction on the same road, there was a German walking, one of the Germans which was stationed in our house. Now I knew both of them. I don't know what happened.

Did my colleague cycling caught by handlebar the German or that German walked deliberately in his path, anyway, there was a bit of a collision. And my colleague fell off the bike and the German soldier also fell in the dust. And that turned the German into a fury to such an extent that I had to turn around and go away because to take part in it, I had to defend my colleague. If I did that, I would definitely be against those Germans and my father would be involved and everybody will be involved at home.

On the other hand, I didn't want to say to my colleague, well you stupid, why did you run into the German, because he would be thinking I am against, him pro-German. And that made me think then, for the first time in fact, where I stand. I was very sorry for my colleague. But I couldn't do anything about it.

And I didn't show this German that I know this Polish chap, because he would say, well look he ran into me. That was clear intention. He hates Germans. And if he is your colleague with out you, then, it could be a complicating matter very, very, very much. And that would perhaps also complicate relations between my father and the local German administration people.

So I was very ashamed. At the same time very, very angry with this German who ran over my friend or whatever it was.

I wonder if you could describe the living conditions in Warsaw, say previous to the rising in 1944. What was life like?

Warsaw was quite badly destroyed in 1939. I think estimate was about 20% of houses were destroyed. But a specific aspect of these times was that Warsaw under the occupation, the population was under German occupation, was larger than before the war. Many people from the country tried to settle in Warsaw. There were various reasons, perhaps there was one place where you could find work.

There was a center of trade in the country which was very familiar to me then was a place where you could hide from Germans. In fact, you could get lost in Warsaw under an assumed name, changing your addresses, and generally sort of disappearing in a crowd.

This caused several problems for the town, namely housing and food supply. Housing was in such a shortage that people lived in flats which were really overcrowded, friends living with friends, and families joined together in one dwelling.

We were in lucky position. In fact, we lived quite comfortably, if you consider standards then, as far as accommodation is concerned. But food supply was very, very critical all the time. There were a number of reasons.

There were no major suppliers of foodstuffs. The majority of production went to Germany, being more or less confiscated on the spot, 20% for the producer, 80% for the government, then being German government.

Therefore, there was shortage in the country, and even more acute shortage in towns. A lot of black market exists in a way that produces in the country, instead of giving up products to Germans they try to smuggle it to Warsaw, to towns, and sell quite profitably. Because people were prepared to pay for food.

There was state provided food, basics like bread, jams. Meat was very short. I can't remember even that I had many days when we had meat on the table, or meat provided by the state or by the municipal administration of town.

Bread was shocking, always wet and next day it was already green outside, mold. So-called jam was made from beetroot, white beetroot with color in it added. There was no sugar as such. There was plenty of various other substances and ersatz, substitute ersatz. There was ersatz coffee, ersatz tea, ersatz butter, with very, very low calorific values.

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People were getting less nourishment every day. And a number of people were really starving.

But again, luckily, this didn't affect us personally within the family. Having father in the country, who could provide things better than, on average, and being brothers, they help each other. So as far as nourishment is concerned, we were quite well off.

Was there any entertainment in the town at all? Could you, for instance, go to the cinema?

Yes.

Or the theater?

Yes. There was one theater as far as I remember, and about two or three cinemas, showing only German films. But theater was Polish theater, and Polish artists were performing. I don't think I can remember going once even there or being once in theater. But my parents went several times.

And you were still listening to the BBC news at this time.

Yes.

Yes.

Yes, oh yes, that was all the time. And by 1944, that was almost openly listened to.

And did you feel any link with the Polish government in exile in London?

Well, we recognized that this is a government which went abroad and will come back.

And through the BBC, did you feel any contact with the government? Was it sort of made in this way?

Oh, yes. Yes, there were directives that were coming in. They were telling us what's ought to be done, how to behave ourselves. And they were briefed on many aspects of life in the West. No, no. That was a continuous government, but abroad.

How did you feel when Sikorski died? Did he mean anything to you as leader?

No, not really. Personally, it didn't mean to me much because he was a man who became the commanding personality abroad. He wasn't well known to me personally as a leader in Poland before the war. He was one of the people who were in government, and unfortunately had an accident.

Was there anyone in London that had meaning to you, any leader--

No.

--that had significance?

No personalities at all.