

**RATHER DIE
THAN BETRAY THE CAUSE**

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL REMEMBRANCE
COMMISSION FOR THE PROSECUTION OF CRIMES
AGAINST THE POLISH NATION

MAUSOLEUM OF STRUGGLE AND MARTYRDOM AT ALEJA SZUCHA,
LOCAL OFFICE OF THE MUSEUM OF INDEPENDENCE IN WARSAW

WITOLD ŻARNOWSKI

RATHER DIE THAN BETRAY THE CAUSE

The Gestapo Detention Center at Aleja Szucha 25



Museum of Independence in Warsaw is an organizational unit of the Self-Government of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship

WARSAW 2021

Reviewer: **Marek Gałęzowski, PhD**

Consultation: **Joanna Gierczyńska, Julian Borkowski**

Scientific supervision: **Tomasz Sudoł, Maciej Żuczkowski**

Graphic design and cover: **Sylwia Szafrąska**

Translation: **Izabela Seidler**, BT Diuna Arrakis Sp. z o.o.

Proofreading: **MD Online sp. z o.o.**, ul. Kłobucka 7, 02-699 Warszawa

Editor: **Irmina Samulska**

Index of persons: **Łukasz Rybak**

Typesetting: **Sylwia Szafrąska**

Selection of photographs: **Witold Żarnowski, Joanna Gierczyńska**

Photographs come from the collections of:

Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, East News Agency (Janina Zgrzemska's collections), Institute of National Remembrance, Museum of Independence in Warsaw, Museum of the History of the Polish Peasant Movement in Warsaw, Museum of Warsaw, Museum of the Warsaw University of Technology, National Digital Archives, Synod Library of the Polish Reformed Church, Fotopolska. Polska na fotografii (<http://fotopolska.eu>), and Julian Borkowski, Wiesław Budzyński, Żaneta Govenlock, Krystyna Kukiela

Printing and binding in Poland.....

Copyright © 2021 by The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation & The Museum of Independence in Warsaw

ISBN 978-83-8229-103-2 (druk)

ISBN 978-83-8229-104-9 (pdf)

ISBN 978-83-66640-26-9 (MN)

Visit our websites:

www.ipn.gov.pl

www.ipn.poczytaj.pl

MAUSOLEUM OF STRUGGLE AND MARTYRDOM

Branch of the Museum of the Pawiak Prison

Local office of the Museum of Independence

Exhibition

Aleja Szucha – The Gestapo Detention Center

Script: Magdalena Woltanowska, Joanna Gierczyńska, Witold Żarnowski

Artistic design: Żaneta Govenlock, Violetta Damięcka

Short film studies, visualization, sound production: Żaneta Govenlock, Rafał Kowalski,
Jacek Chojecki, Robert Sajewicz

Multimedia historic presentation: Jan Rusiński, Me & My Friends – Creative Studio

Production of multimedia project: Piotr Pawlik, Grzegorz Bujanowski

Narrative of the introduction and the testimony of truth:

Actors: Stanisław Banasiuk, Maria Reif, Sławomir Holland

Voice-over: Siegfried Schmidt (German), Graham Carr (English)



MAUZOLEUM
WALKI I MĘCZEŃSTWA
Oddział Muzeum Niepodległości

C CONTENTS

Introduction	9
The Nazi Policy of Terror in Occupied Poland	11
The Polish Underground State	20
The German Police District	23
During the Warsaw Uprising	27
Interrogations	29
Escaping from Aleja Szucha	40
Operations of the Polish Underground State Against the German Police Officers	42
Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom	44
“Aleja Szucha – the Gestapo Detention Center” Multimedia Exhibition	47
Biographical Notes of the People Imprisoned at Aleja Szucha	49
List of Abbreviations	106
Bibliography	108
Index of Persons	113
Illustrations	121



INTRODUCTION

During the occupation, even the words “Aleja Szucha” inspired terror among the citizens of Warsaw, as they were associated with the suffering of victims and the cruelty of Gestapo tormentors. In the first few days of occupation, Aleja Szucha and the nearby streets were converted into a police district, while the monumental building of the Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment at number 25 (now the Ministry of National Education) was transformed into the headquarters of the German Security Police. From 1940, almost all political prisoners from Warsaw were interrogated at this address.

Aleja Szucha was the place where thousands of Poles, Jews, and people of different nationalities, social groups and political views were tortured. They were united in mass cells, sharing the traumatic prospect of being interrogated and tormented, and had to experience weeks of solitary confinement, interrupted by endless interrogations. Every one of them suffered during these interrogations, with brutal beatings carried out daily. They often shared the same fate – the death with which many interrogations ended.

Soon after the war ended, a decision was made to commemorate Aleja Szucha, and the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom was created on the premises of the former Gestapo detention center at Aleja Szucha 25, on the ground floor of the building. This is one of the few places in Warsaw where the original cells with messages scraped on the walls by prisoners have remained unchanged since World War II. A modern multimedia exhibition was created there in 2008, designed for the younger generations who are also the target audience of this

study, which depicts the barbaric methods of the Gestapo, illustrated through the example of 63 people murdered or tortured savagely during the interrogations at Aleja Szucha. Among them were the soldiers of the Home Army, scouts of the Gray Ranks, and people who belonged to different military organizations and political conspiracy groups: messengers, cichociemni (“Silent Unseen”), leaders of underground structures, and representatives of numerous professions (doctors, teachers, historians, lawyers, writers, actors, architects, journalists, builders, craftsmen, sportsmen, etc.).

This publication is supplemented with more than 100 archive pictures. Our intention was to commemorate and honor the heroes tortured and abused at Aleja Szucha by the Nazi occupants who, while invading the territory of Poland to look for “living space”, led a violent fight with Polish society.

We hope that this publication will also contribute to the dissemination of knowledge about this important historic site and encourage more people – not only the residents of Warsaw – to become acquainted with the exhibition in the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom, as well as projects such as the annual Remembrance Days for Pawiak, the annual Museums Night in May or the anniversary of Operation Arsenal.

Witold Żarnowski

THE NAZI POLICY OF TERROR IN OCCUPIED POLAND

After the aggressive seizure of the Polish lands by Germany and the USSR in September 1939 and demarcating the Eastern border (the German–Soviet border and commercial agreement from 28 September, 1939), the Germans divided the occupied territory in two. The Greater Poland, Silesia, Łódź Voivodeship, Pomerania, Northern Masovia and the Suwałki region were affiliated to the German Reich, while the remaining territories – parts of Masovia, Kielce and Lublin Voivodeships, and Lesser Poland – formed the so-called General Government (GG), to which the Galicia district was affiliated after the German attack (part of the Lviv, Stanisławów and Tarnopol Voivodeships), with its capital in Lviv. The main task of the General Government was to provide the German economy with a workforce. From the beginning of war until 1944, over 900,000 Poles and Jews were moved to the General Government, deported to do hard physical work, or expelled from their hometowns. Following operations carried out across the whole territory affiliated to the Reich, hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens, particularly residents of the Silesian and Kashubian regions, were forced to sign the German People's List and to accept German citizenship (deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit).

From the beginning of occupation, an unprecedented policy of terror and repression was waged against all of society, especially against the Polish intellectual and political elites. The ultimate goal of this policy was to destroy the Polish nation. In the context of total war, this



The Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment at Aleja Szucha 25 in 1932.
(Photo by Henryk Poddębski, Krystyna Kukiela's collection.)



The courtyard of The Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment at Aleja Szucha 25 in 1932.
(Photo by Henryk Poddębski, Krystyna Kukiela's collection.)

was primarily carried out throughout the activities of the complex political police force, mass executions, and the system of concentration and labor camps. Polish education was completely abandoned in the areas that had been incorporated into the Reich, and in the General Government areas it was reduced to primary and vocational schools. Polish social, self-governing and cultural organizations were eliminated and all signs of independent life of the Polish society were being destroyed. Shortly after the September Campaign of 1939, the Germans carried out a planned looting of works of art. In the last phase of war in 1944 and 1945, the withdrawing German troops were looting on a massive scale. The Germanization of Polish children recognized as “valuable” in terms of race and forcefully taken away from their parents and given to families in the German Reich, was supported by the Nazis and carried out primarily by the Lebensborn organization (Fount of Life).

During the first weeks of occupation, offices of Commanders of the Security Police and Security Service were created in every district of the General Government. Approximately 2,000 officers served in the offices and in subordinate institutions. The Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD), which operated within these offices, played a decisive role in the fight against all forms of resistance, and prepared plans of operations against the Polish society. One of the SD’s main tasks was to supervise the German population in the General Government. In principle, the SD would not participate directly in repressive operations against Poles – that was operated by and remained under the control of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo), which included the Secret State Police (Geheime Staatspolizei, the Gestapo) and the Criminal Police (Kripo). The task of the Gestapo was to fight the Polish conspiracy and all forms of independent activity of the Polish nation, its surveillance, infiltration, and combating espionage. A system of prisons and detentions was created, directly subordinate to the Gestapo, in Kielce, Kraków, Lublin, Nowy Sącz, Radom, Tarnów, Warsaw, Wiśnicz, Zakopane, and Zamość, where the people connected with underground activities were interrogated, tortured, and murdered, captured in street roundups or as part of the elimination of the Polish elite.

On 6 November 1939, within the operation code-named Sonderaktion Krakau (Special Operation “Kraków”), 183 professors, mainly from the Jagiellonian University (UJ) and University of Science and Technology (AGH), along with members of their families, were arrested in Kraków,



SS-Oberstgruppenführer Kurt Daluge (a war criminal responsible for among others the pacification of Lidice), head of the Order Police (Orpo) in front of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District at Aleja Szucha 25,9 July 1941. (http://fotopolska.eu/232724_foto.html?o=b54847)

and on 28 November were deported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin. This event was a prelude to AB-Aktion (Ausserordentliche Befriedungsaktion, Extraordinary Operation of Pacification), which began on 30 March 1940 and was aimed at the physical elimination of the Polish elite and people suspected of having ties with the underground movement. Many cities witnessed mass arrests of political and social activists, prominent representatives of the elite, and people connected with the underground movements that fought for independence, including Catholic priests, insurgents from Silesia and the Greater Poland, lawyers, doctors, representatives of the judiciary, teachers, and civil servants, who underwent a mass extermination or were sent to Nazi concentration camps. The largest execution took place in Palmiry near Warsaw, between 20 and 21 June 1940, where at least 362 people were killed, including Sejm

Marshal Maciej Rataj and Janusz Kusociński, a world champion in athletics and member of the underground military organization “Wilki” (“Wolves”). It is estimated that at least 6,500 people were murdered within the entire operation.

The policy of exterminating the Polish elite also continued until the end of the German occupation in the territories of the Polish East, which had been seized as a consequence of the aggression against the Soviet Union in 1941. The countless crimes committed by the Nazis included an operation in Lviv in July 1941, when Polish professors from the Jan Kazimierz University and the Lviv Polytechnic (among them writer Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, as well as former Prime Minister Kazimierz Bartel) were shot dead. The executions, initially mostly secret, were carried out without a court order but according to decisions made by the police.

Other operations included mass pacifications and displacing Polish people from villages, which involved executions, burning, and looting; as a result, many villages were completely ravaged. In April 1940, pacification was intensified in the Kielce Voivodeship to eliminate the supply base for Polish partisans, and this lasted from the autumn of 1942 until the expulsion of the Germans, primarily in Lublin and Kielce Voivodeships. Between 1940 and 1944, thousands of Poles were displaced from Radom, Tarnobrzeg, Mielec, Niska, and Dębica, in order to clear the land for military training areas. Particularly painful was the pacification in Zamość carried out between November 1942 and late 1943, during which 100,000 people were displaced because of German colonization. It is estimated that 8,000 people were killed in executions that accompanied the pacification and deportation, and 4,500 children were separated from their parents and subjected to Germanization.

Another form of repression aimed at the biological extermination of the Polish nation was forced labor. This was obtained both by administrative means, for instance through introducing compulsory labor, and by roundups, i.e. raids, especially common in Warsaw, which resulted in the arrested people being sent to forced labor camps in Germany. Some estimates indicate that this form of repression affected approximately 1,300,000 people from the General Government and hundreds of thousands from the lands annexed to the Reich.

The system of concentration, extermination, penal and forced labor camps played a major role in the realization of Nazi policy in Poland. There were more than 2,000 German camps in

Poland, in which approximately 5,000,000 people were imprisoned. We do not know the exact number of victims of the German terror regime aimed at the Polish nation, but it can be assumed that during World War II around 5,700,000 Polish citizens were killed by the Germans, including 2,700,000 people of Jewish origin.

A separate aspect of the German policy implemented in Poland was the extermination of Jews. After the Polish territory was seized, all Jews from the Greater Poland area were moved to the General Government. In late 1939 and early 1940, in the Łódź Voivodeship and on the territory of the General Government, Jewish ghetto districts started to emerge, the number of which grew to 500. Inhumane conditions, large population density, reprehensible sanitary conditions, lack of food and pharmaceuticals, unemployment, and at the same time prohibition on leaving the ghettos and contacting the outside world, resulted in high death rates, and starvation was also taking its toll. In January 1942, after the highest German authorities adopted the Final Solution to the Jewish Question – complete extermination of Jews – Aktion Reinhardt (Operation Reinhardt), aimed at liquidation of the ghettos, was launched in the General Government. This also included the Białystok district and ghettos in the Łódź Voivodeship (1944 in Łódź). Under this operation, by spring 1943 the Germans had murdered a total of 2,700,000 Polish Jews: approximately 700,000 people were killed in collective and individual executions, 600,000 in ghettos, and 1,400,000 in German extermination camps in Chełmno on the Ner river, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka, as well as in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek camps. The Romani people shared a similar fate: around half of those living in Poland were murdered in the Nazi extermination camps.

On the map of the Nazi terror, Warsaw – formally reduced to the rank of a provincial town – remained the center of underground life of the occupied Polish territory. The main executive offices of the Polish Underground State (PPP) were located there, as well as political and military conspiratorial groupings, and thousands of Warsaw residents were involved in the fight with the enemy and in secret work for the sake of education and culture. For that reason, the office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District was the biggest office in the General Government, and every day its officers arrested Warsaw citizens, as well as numerous messengers and couriers coming from distant areas of occupied Poland.

During the German occupation, the Warsaw population sustained enormous losses: at least half a million citizens died, including 300,000 Jewish people (in 1939, there were 350,000 Jews living in Warsaw). In total, 901 mass executions were recorded in the capital (within the present boundaries of the city) and in the so-called “Warsaw ring of death”, where Varsovians and the captives of Warsaw prisons were murdered. The list is still growing and most probably there were many more places of executions we do not know about. During the first period, in 1939–1940, secret mass executions of the Polish intelligence, political and cultural elites were conducted – especially in the gardens of the Sejm, in Palmiry, and in the Kabacki Forest. This led to the deaths of thousands of people (most died in the AB-Aktion in 1940, and in Palmiry alone approximately 1700 were killed). Between 1942 and July 1944, the Germans were gradually developing the spiral of terror, murdering not only members of underground organizations but also – especially in Pawiak – hostages and people seized during the roundups. From 16 October 1943 to 15 February 1944 numerous public executions were performed as intimidation tactics. In the executions that took place during the liquidation of the ghetto (22 July to 21 September 1942, and 19 April to 16 May 1943) more than 14,000 Jews were shot dead. From mid-1942 until the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising, the ghetto – and later its ruins – was the main place used for executing Warsaw residents and the prisoners of Pawiak and Aleja Szucha, the ghetto fugitives, and Poles seized by Germans in the roundups (especially in the vast roundups of 1943). Meanwhile, people were continually transported from Warsaw to execution locations in the city suburbs, such as the Chojnowski, Kabacki, and Kampinos Forests. During the Warsaw Uprising, approximately 150,000 people were killed. About 63,000 civilians died in the registered 565 mass executions and in numerous independent murders committed by the German soldiers. It is estimated that 16,000–18,000 insurgents were killed and thousands of others died as a result of bombardings and military operations.

The data concerning the Warsaw Jews is particularly disturbing. Between November 1940 and July 1942, around 100,000 people died of starvation and disease in the Warsaw ghetto created by the Germans in 1940. Then, between July 1942 and May 1943, 324,000 of the ghetto inhabitants were transported to the concentration camp in Treblinka (Jews from other Polish and European cities were also brought to Warsaw) and almost all of them were murdered.

From May 1940, Warsaw citizens were transported to concentration camps and by September 1944, there had been a total of 96 such transports. Camps were not the only places Poles were transported to, as thousands were sent to the Reich for forced labor. The transports to camps and to forced labor consisted mainly of prisoners of Pawiak, Aleja Szucha, and the prison in the Mokotów district and at Daniłowiczowska Street, but from January 1943, this frequently included people seized in the roundups. Some estimations indicate that approximately 60,000 Varsovians were transported to the Reich.

The Generalplan Ost (Eastern General Plan) stipulated the displacement of around 51,000,000 Poles, Czechs, Belorussians and Ukrainians to Western Siberia after a victorious German campaign. The area from Lake Ladoga on the North to the Black Sea on the South was intended to serve as German “living space”, and the plan was to let between 3 million and 4.8 million Poles stay in the area as slaves of the German settlers.

T THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE

After annexing of the whole territory of Poland by the occupants, and establishing the Polish government-in-exile, it was essential to create underground structures that could secure the continuity of power and build social acceptance at the same time. The bases of the Polish Underground State were established in September 1939, when upon the authorization of the highest military structures the political and military conspiratorial organization Service for Poland's Victory was constituted (commander General Michał Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz).

Alongside Service for Poland's Victory (SZP), a representation of the conspiratorial political parties was created – the Main Political Council. As a result of a decision by the Polish government-in-exile, in November 1939 structures were divided into military and civil. The Union of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) was established as part of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland (commander General Stefan Rowecki "Grot"), along with the Political Consultative Committee, a representation of parties that in March 1943 was converted into the Home Political Representation (Krajowa Reprezentacja Polityczna), and, after the number of members in 1944 was increased, into the Council of National Unity. On 14 February 1942, after integration with military organizations that were working in the underground, the Union of Armed Struggle was converted into the Home Army, which by definition was intended as the only military structure of the Polish Underground State. The commanders were General Stefan Rowecki "Grot" until his arrest on 30 June 1943, then divisional General Tadeusz Komorowski "Bór"; from 30 October 1944 to 19 October 1945, and Brigadier General Leopold Okulicki "Niedźwiadek".



Anchor painted by Jan Bytnar on the pedestal of the airman's monument at Plac Unii Lubelskiej, during the night of 2 May 1942. (Photo by Stefan Bałuk, 1944, Museum of Independence.)

The office of the Government Delegation for Poland was established and formed the forefront of the Polish underground administration. The position was held, in turn, by Jan Skorobohaty-Jakubowski, Cyryl Ratajski, Jan Piekalkiewicz, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, Stefan Korboński, and Jerzy Braun. The activity of civil and military structures covered all areas of life, especially the civil and military fight with the enemy and the preparation of administrative structures that could take the lead after the expected defeat of Germany.

The Polish Underground State structures did not involve the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and the political and military formations connected with it, particularly the People's Guard, some other left-wing organizations, and also the right-wing National Armed Forces and the "Piłsudski Conspiracy". Their influence on society was much smaller, however. From the beginning of 1944, the PPR started creating a pro-Soviet center of power, which included the State National Council and the Home Army (based on the former People's Guard). These enabled the communists to take over power in the second half of 1944, enforced by the Soviet Union.

T THE GERMAN POLICE DISTRICT

On 1 October 1939, the action group of the Order Police (Einsatzgruppe IV, EG IV), commanded by SS-Brigadeführer Lothar Beutel stepped into Warsaw and few days later it took over the building of the Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment at 25 Szucha Ave. Once the establishment of civil administration was complete, at the end of October the group was converted into the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District (Der Kommandeur Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für den Distrikt Warschau), subject to the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) via the Commander of the Order Police and Security Service in the General Government.

The building at Aleja Szucha 25 was built between 1927 and 1930 for the needs of the Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment (MWRiOP). It was the first newly built ministry headquarters in the independent Poland, designed in 1925 in the studio of a widely known architect, Professor Zdzisław Mączyński. The building was recognizable due to its raw monumental form and high-quality finish. The Art Deco interiors were designed by Wojciech Jastrzębowski, a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. In late 1939 and early 1940, along with ministerial acts of MWRiOP (some stored in attics and backyards during the first few days of the German police duty), the library collections were also transported. At the beginning of 1940, the Germans barred the windows in the building. The ground floor, where the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom is currently located, in late 1939, was converted into



The German checkpoint office at the entrance to the police district, separated from the city with fences, at Plac Unii Lubelskiej near the end of Aleja Szucha. (Photo by Stefan Batuk, 1944, MN.)

a “house arrest” (Hausgefängnis) space. This consisted of four mass cells with no doors, locked with enormous bars, the duty officer’s room, and ten solitary cells, which replaced the previous storehouse for ministerial magazines. The first floor was occupied by the administration, and the next three floors by the largest department – the Gestapo. The Security Service was also located on the fourth floor.

In the Warsaw District, the commanders of the Security Police were SS-Standartenführer Josef Meisinger (late October 1939 to February 1941) and SS-Sturmbannführer Johannes Müller (the acting commander, March to July 1941); the commanders of the Security Service were SS-Standartenführer Dr Ludwig Hahn (31 July 1941 to December 1944), and SS-Sturmbannführer Dr Siegmund Buchberger (from December 1944, on duty in Sochaczew).

The seat of MWRIOP, converted into the headquarters of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District, became part of the police district, demarcated with the following streets: Aleje Ujazdowskie, Klonowa, Flory, Marszałkowska, and 6 Sierpnia (the present Aleja Wyzwolenia).

Aleja Szucha was the center of the district. According to German plans, the police district was meant to be part of a German residential area, including the southern part of Śródmieście and part of the Mokotów district. The surrounding buildings were part taken over by the police and the SS, and part adapted for apartments of the German officers. Polish institutions and citizens were finally removed in 1940. At the beginning of that year, Aleja Szucha and the adjacent streets were closed to Poles, and in 1943 they were completely cut off from the rest of the city, with the so-called “chevaux de frise”. In 1941, Aleja Szucha was renamed Strasse der Polizei (Police Street).

In the building of the Supreme Audit Office at Aleja Szucha 23 (at present the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), neighboring the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service, the headquarters office of the Order Police in the Warsaw district (Ordnungspolizei,



Aleja Szucha renamed Strasse der Polizei by the German authorities in 1941. (MN)

Orpo) was established and, subject to it, the Security Police headquarters in the Warsaw district (Schutzpolizei), the command of the SS police regiment (SS-Polizei-Regiment-Warschau, from July 1942 SS-Polizei-Regiment 22) and the command of the Gendarmerie in the Warsaw district (Gendarmerie). The police district also included the headquarters of the SS and police leader in the Warsaw district in the Leszczyński palace (also known as the Gawroński mansion) at Aleje Ujazdowskie 23, the directorate of the Criminal Police in Warsaw at Aleje Ujazdowskie 9a, the office of the Criminal Police at 7/9 Koszykowa Street (at the corner of Aleje Ujazdowskie) and the so-called Educational Labor Camp of the Security Police (Arbeitserziehungslager der Sicherheitspolizei Warschau, AEL) at 14 Litewska Street (in the building of a pre-war Bauman orphanage), shifted here from Gęsia Street in November/December 1943.

German guards from Pawiak, who also served as sentries in the police district, were garrisoned at Aleja Szucha, and from March 1942 they were joined by Ukrainian guards who worked in Pawiak. There was also a German medical outpatient department there and a casino close to plac Na Rozdrożu (in the building of the former garrison casino at Aleja Szucha 29).

The Polish Underground conducted several combat operations within the police district, such as bombing of the casino at Aleja Szucha on 19 May 1942 carried out by the Polish Socialists' Sabotage Department, and – the most well-known – the assassination of the commander of the SS and police in the Warsaw district, Franz Kutschera, carried out by a diversion force of Kedyw (Directorate for Subversion) of the Home Army Supreme Command “Pegaz”.

D DURING THE WARSAW UPRISING

On 1 September 1944 – during the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising – soldiers of the Home Army (AK) from the 7th group “Ruczaj” and the 1st Division of the 7th Regiment of Lublin Uhlans of AK “Jeleń”, attacked the German posts in the police district, planning to take over the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District. The whole territory was defended by around 800 police officers. Despite having poor military equipment and suffering heavy losses, the insurgents succeeded in seizing the casino at Aleja Szucha 29, parts of the General Inspector of the Armed Forces (GISZ), and garages at Bagatela Street. They also mortared the building at Aleja Szucha 25. After two hours, the insurgents ran out of ammunition and the Germans performed an easy counterattack. They destroyed the troops of “Ruczaj” in the casino area, and ousted the remaining Polish troops from the district. That same day, they shot dead all inhabitants in the houses at 5, and 9 Flory Street, which were abandoned by the insurgents.

During the Warsaw Uprising, the building at Aleja Szucha 25 served as a rallying point for people from southern districts of Warsaw controlled by the Germans. People were squeezed into cells, corridors and the yard of the building, as well as in the yard of the south wing of the General Inspector of the Armed Forces (at present the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland) and adjacent areas. The bodies were burned. Some of the prisoners were used as human shields by the Nazi units attacking the barricades of insurgents; others were transported to the temporary camp in Pruszków and then to German concentration camps or to forced labor in far Germany; women, children, and the elderly were sent to different places in the General Government. The scale of

the crimes committed here is documented in a protocol from June 1946, created by the Warsaw branch of the Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes: human ashes weighing 5.5 tons were found in a makeshift crematory set up by the Germans in the basements of GISZ.

In early September 1944, commander SS-Standartenführer Ludwig Hahn and most of the officers withdrew to Sochaczew, leaving in Warsaw a small unit for intelligence operations. What happened to the documentation created by the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District is yet unknown, including the files of prisoners and investigation records.



INTERROGATIONS

The Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District employed several hundred officers. In autumn of 1943, there were about 600 (in Warsaw itself). Investigations were conducted exclusively for people who were suspected of underground activity and other political crimes. The detainees were usually imprisoned in Pawiak (at the beginning of the occupation they were also kept at the prisons at ul. Daniłowiczowska and Rakowiecka); and often they were brought for interrogations at Aleja Szucha after days or even weeks of imprisonment. Up to 100 people were interrogated every day, sometimes even twice a day, and usually 30–50 people were transported from Pawiak at a time. Sometimes those captured by the Gestapo during operations against the Polish underground or during roundups were sent straight to Aleja Szucha and detainees from other prisons and detention centers of the Warsaw District were also interrogated there. On the ground floor of the detention center, prisoners were held waiting for interrogations in four windowless mass cells, called “trams” (they resembled tramcars, because of the seating arrangement). They were forced to sit motionless, in silence, one by one, back to the entrance, facing only a sign in German: “Sprechen und rauchen streng verboten!” (Talking and smoking strictly prohibited). Even the smallest movement resulted in a beating from a guard. After an interrogation, the prisoners were sent back to Pawiak. Those who had played a major part in the underground movement or who were to undergo especially harsh interrogations were kept in ten isolation cells.



The corridor leading to isolation cells at the detention center at Aleja Szucha 25, 1945. (AIPN)



■ One of the four mass cells called “the trams”, where prisoners from Pawiak were awaiting interrogations. (MN)

■ A radio used for obscuring the screams of tortured people. (From an exhibition in 1964, MN.)

“On 2 May 1943, Zygmunt Piwnicki, a prisoner in his mid-twenties, member of the Home Army, was brought to Pawiak with burned hair and severely burned face. He had been ‘interrogated’ already on his way to Pawiak – the Gestapo officers poured petrol on his head and lit it. After two days, suffering from the burns, he was taken for interrogation to Aleja Szucha where, ultimately, he was murdered” (L. Wanat, *Za murami Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1985, p. 171).

Interrogations, combined with elaborate tortures, were held in the Gestapo rooms on the upper floors of the building or – occasionally – in the administrative office of the Gestapo officer on duty, next to the basement cells. The “investigations” carried out in the torture chamber at Aleja Szucha were an unspeakable act of torment. The immense pain that the prisoners suffered is documented by 1260 pieces of writing by them on the walls and floors of the cells: words of prayers, reflections on life and death, thoughts of Poland, requests to have the family informed, crosses, calendars, names and initials. These are a testimony to the courage and patriotism of the people detained there, many of whom were tortured to death during the interrogations.

The method of interrogation was aimed at bringing prisoners to physical and psychological breakdown. Law was replaced by the torturers’ terror. Cruel “investigations” were almost always enacted with torture, and were one of the most terrible experiences for the prisoners, often ending with disability or death. During the interrogations, the prisoners were beaten with truncheons, whips and springs, they were de-nailed, smothered with broken gas masks, hung with their hands tied behind their back (the so-called “pole”) or with their head down, almost drowned by having liters of water poured through the nose to lungs, baited by specially trained dogs, their fingers were crushed with pliers, their eyeballs were damaged, they were electrocuted (by standing on a live plate), they were burned with hot irons...

“During the interrogations both at Aleja Szucha and in Pawiak, the most common investigation practice was brutal beating, beginning with a regular beating of the face, which involved cutting the lips, crushing the nose, and knocking the teeth out, and ending with an ordinary beating with a rubber truncheon. A detainee was usually laid prone on a stool, with one of the tormentors holding his head between his knees, others holding his arms and legs, as the rest of them started the

beating. This method usually resulted in enormous hematomas, especially in the area of buttocks and the back, however the injuries were frequently more spread and serious. The elderly people, in particular, had their ribs broken by being beaten with rubber but very hard truncheons. Sometimes the long bones or the skull were broken, or the prisoners suffered from hematomas in the area of kidneys, with subsequent anuria, or hematomas in the peritoneal cavity. Shocks caused by such injuries were very serious and they often resulted in death.

During the interrogations, the Gestapo officers would sometimes come up with and implement more sophisticated tortures. They simply had more free time and were bored, so they sought some kind of diversion. This usually involved young, good looking female prisoners. On the pretext of conducting an investigation, the officers were arranging erotic spectacles. They told the women to take all their clothes off and to testify facing coarse gestures, laughter, pinches, or slapping; then the women were beaten” (F. Loth, *Byłem lekarzem na Pawiaku* in *Pamiętniki lekarzy*, Warsaw 1968, p. 343).

“One evening a young, well-built boy in his early twenties was stretchered straight from the car which had brought prisoners from Aleja Szucha after an interrogation. He was lying naked, partially covered with a rag. Distracted eyes, clenched jaw, foam at the mouth [...]. Removing the rag revealed a body covered with round speckles. The neck, the chest, the arms, the abdomen, the thighs and even the penis and the scrotum were covered with dark spots of approximately 1 centimeter in diameter. At first, I could not understand what it might be. [...] After a more careful observation I realized that those were burns... Imagine how many times someone had to light a cigarette in order to cover the whole body of an adult man in this way and how long it must have taken.

Another time a young boy, seriously injured during an action of the previous day, was taken to an interrogation from the hospital. The torturers realized that they could not torture him, because the victim would die immediately and they would learn nothing. So, they went to his apartment and arrested his mother. They beat this fifty-year-old woman in front of the dying boy, to make him testify.

Another time they attempted to bully a sixteen-year-old girl into testifying by making her take all her clothes off and speak in front of a few referees. The other time they brought an elderly man

with fingers in both of his hands crushed. They had squeezed them between a door and the jamb” (Museum of the Pawiak Prison, From Felicjan Loth’s testimony given on 3 August 1946 before the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland).

One of the most common psychological tortures was bringing closest family members – mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, daughters, sons – or those who were previously detained with the prisoner, and interrogating and torturing the prisoner in front of them.

However, the system of torture applied to acquire information from the prisoners often proved useless, because of their heroism. Wanda Ossowska, a nurse and a messenger in the Home Army, imprisoned by NKVD (The People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs) in 1940–1941, was arrested in 1942 by the Gestapo. Secret documents were found in her apartment, and she was “investigated” 57 times at Aleja Szucha. During one of these interrogations she had her skull broken. She tried to poison herself, but was resuscitated. She was sent to the Majdanek concentration camp in Lublin and later to Auschwitz-Birkenau. After the war, she was further imprisoned by the UB (the Communist secret police) yet she survived (see the biographical entry for Ossowska, Wanda).

Janek Bytnar, “Rudy”, arrested in 1943, was also detained at Aleja Szucha. He was the sub-Scoutmaster of the Gray Ranks, and commander of one of the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks (which was also part of platoon “Sad” in the Special Unit “Jerzy”, the future battalion “Zośka”, operating within Kedyw of the Home Army Supreme Command). He was tortured repeatedly, but revealed nothing. While being transported from Aleja Szucha to Pawiak, he was rescued during Operation Arsenal by the soldiers of the Gray Ranks, led by second lieutenant Stanisław Broniewski “Orsza”. He died of injuries sustained during interrogation (see the biographical entry for Bytnar, Jan).

Professor Jan Piekalkiewicz was also interrogated at Aleja Szucha. He was the highest representative of the civil authorities of the Polish Labor Party (SP), the Government Delegate for Poland. He was arrested in 1943 and imprisoned at Aleja Szucha for two months in solitary confinement, where he underwent particularly cruel interrogations and died of sustained injuries (see the biographical entry for Piekalkiewicz, Jan).

Antoni Kocjan, arrested in 1944, was also brutally interrogated at Aleja Szucha. He was an engineer, an excellent pilot and glider constructor, and as the head of the Office of Industrial Study in the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command he played a major role in working out the V-1 and V-2 rockets. He was executed by firing squad on 13 August 1944 (see the biographical entry for Kocjan, Antoni).

Elżbieta Korompay was interrogated and tortured in front of her mother, Mieczysława. Both were messengers in the counter-intelligence of AK, arrested in January 1943. Elżbieta did not reveal anything. On 12 January, she committed suicide in the cell by swallowing cyanide, so as not to betray her colleagues from the underground movement and to save her mother from suffering (see the biographical entry for Korompay, Elżbieta). Mieczysława, tortured physically and psychologically, was transported to KL Auschwitz, where she died in 1944.

“Monday, 20 March [1944]. [...] After an hour [from the morning assembly] the list was checked and we were led to a car. There were about fifty of us. Those who could not fit into the car were squeezed in by the Germans with rifle butts. A young man was hit in his stomach so hard that he fainted. We were led to the building [at Aleja Szucha] in twos, through a long corridor up to a grating which separated the further corridor. As we passed it, we were told to face the wall. Those who were read out were directed to particular cells by the Gestapo officer in charge. There were four of those cells. The so-called niche cells [‘trams’] had no windows and they were separated from the corridor with gratings. I was put in ‘tram’ number two. On each side there were four chairs standing by the wall. You sat down with your face to the wall and with your back to the grating, behind which the Gestapo officer in charge was walking. If there weren’t enough chairs for someone, they had to stand facing the wall. [...] After some time, a young man came back to our ‘tram’; he was beaten. I offered him my chair but he refused. He stood in front of the wall. Blood was trickling down his trousers. After a couple of minutes he fainted. [...] He came round slowly. In a quiet voice he said, ‘I can’t feel my back, bottom, and legs.’ A huge pool of blood clotted on the floor. Before noon, the interrogated were sent back to Pawiak. The ‘trams’ became more spacious. In the afternoon, together with another group of prisoners, soup was brought. After the dinner break, even more beaten people were coming back from interrogations than in the morning. I was interrogated until evening [...]. However [...] I was sent back to Pawiak.

Wednesday, 22 March; just after the morning assembly [in Pawiak] I was called for an interrogation. [...] When [at Aleja Szucha] the hour of the evening departure came, there were still a few people in the ‘trams’, including myself. I was taken for an interrogation. While walking up the stairs, I looked at the clock. It was quarter to five. In the room, two Gestapo officers were sitting by the desk, the same two that had arrested me; there was also a woman at a typewriter. [...] I tried to keep calm but inside I was trembling. [...] I was consecutively asked questions about my job, my salary, and tricky questions like ‘How much do you earn in the organization?’ [...] They started beating me with a square whip that had a lead ball at the end. I fainted. I don’t know how long the carnage lasted. I was coming round slowly, but I couldn’t get up. The same Gestapo officer who had brought me there [from the cell], took me strongly by arm and lead me to the ‘tram’ [...].

Thursday, 23 March. When I came round, I was completely numb. I heard somebody say my name. By the bars I saw the same Gestapo officer that brought me to the ‘tram’ the day before. We entered the same room, the same men were inside. The referee asked me if I had reconsidered my answers and if I was going to tell them the truth. Then they started beating me again with the same whip. It was extremely painful; I blacked out. When I came round, I was lying on a sofa and the referee was walking around the room, dictating to the woman that was typing on the machine. In almost every sentence he repeated the words: ‘Ich bestreite’ (I deny). [...] One of them brought me back to the ‘tram’. Exhausted, shivering, and in great pain, around midnight I laid down on the floor and fell asleep.

It was already Friday, 24 March. They brought a new group of people for interrogations. In the afternoon they read my name from the list of people to be transported to Pawiak. Next to me two heavily beaten men were tottering. Two others lost consciousness while standing by the wall. Using rifle butts, the Gestapo officers forced them to stand up and to get into the car” (J. Jagodziński, *W celi in Pawiak był etapem. Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1987, pp. 400–403).

“I heard that many prisoners jumped from high windows at Aleja Szucha. The consequences were obvious: mangled bones, death on the spot. Those who jumped couldn’t bear the interrogations anymore, they had had enough of being abused and tormented, they would rather die than betray the cause” (L. Wanat, *Za murami Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1985, p. 167).

There are no documents indicating how many people exactly were interrogated and tortured by the Gestapo officers. Nearly all of those interrogated at Aleja Szucha before the Warsaw Uprising were prisoners of Pawiak. Moreover, until 1942 prisoner transports from Pawiak to Aleja Szucha were not organized every day and not always in two shifts, hence we may assume that tens of thousands of people were interrogated from 1 August 1944 (the files of the prisoners of Pawiak and Aleja Szucha, which have been reproduced since the 1960s, contain around 45,000 names).

For many, the basements at Aleja Szucha were the beginning of agony. Apart from the Pawiak prison, the Nazi concentration camps and places of execution were awaiting them. After interrogations, which often lasted for days or even weeks, the prisoners were waiting for further decisions concerning their detention in Pawiak.

Those interrogated at Aleja Szucha had only three options: death penalty, *deportation* to concentration camps or transportation to forced labor in Germany. Occasionally some of the prisoners were discharged because of lack of evidence. Verdicts based on German regulations from 31 October 1939 were formally pronounced by Summary Court-martial of the Security Police (Standgericht der Sicherheitspolizei), but the accused was not allowed to defend himself and the verdict was made in their absence. This public authority was completely fictitious – in reality, the decision was made by the investigating officer who was handling the case at Aleja Szucha, and the verdict become “valid” after being signed by the head of the department and the commander of the Security Police and Security Service. It may be estimated that approximately 20 percent of the prisoners from Pawiak and Aleja Szucha were sentenced to death. Those prisoners were usually held in Pawiak, however sometimes they were driven to their executions directly from Aleja Szucha. The rest of the prisoners were sent to concentration camps: in the beginning to Auschwitz and Ravensbrück in particular, and from 1943 also to Gross-Rosen and Majdanek. A considerable part of prisoners with minor charges or held in a street round-up were sent on police decision to labor camp at Geşia Street (since 1943 at Litewska Street) or directly to Germany.



Interrogation at Aleja Szucha [waterboarding]. (Pen drawing by Stanisław Tomaszewski "Miedza", 1942, MW.)



Interrogation at Aleja Szucha [baiting by dogs]. (Pen drawing by Stanisław Tomaszewski "Miedza", 1940, MW.)

E **ESCAPING FROM ALEJA SZUCHA**

Only two people managed to escape from the police district. Kazimierz Kott achieved this in 1940 (see the biographical entry for Kott, Kazimierz Andrzej). He was a member and commander of the combat division of the Polish People's Action for Independence (PLAN). In 1940, he was arrested and put in an isolation cell at Aleja Szucha. There he was interrogated and beaten by SS-Untersturmführer Alfred Otto, who was sentenced to life imprisonment after the war. On 17 January, around 3 pm, Kott requested to be taken to the bathroom. The guard took off the handcuffs from one of Kott's hands and went to a nearby room. Through a window with no bars, Kott escaped to the courtyard of an adjacent property at Aleja Szucha 23. Wearing a jacket, hands in his pockets, he was not stopped by the sentry standing at the front gate to the building. He passed Aleja Szucha (at that time the traffic was still running smoothly and there were no barricades or police stations at the entrances to the police district), then went toward Aleje Ujazdowskie, down Agrykola Street, and jumped over the fence to the Łazienki Park. As a consequence of this escape, there were arrests for many days and soon all Polish citizens were expelled from Aleja Szucha. Shortly afterwards, windows in the lowest parts of the building were barred.

The second escape took place not long before the Warsaw Uprising, on 17 July 1944. Leon Wanat (1905–1977) was a writer in the prison office at Pawiak, where the new prisoners were received. The Germans trusted Wanat and had no idea that he was cooperating with the prison underground unit, subject to the Department of Security and Counter-Intelligence of the

2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Polish Union of Armed Struggle (later – the Home Army). The Gestapo would often take him to Aleja Szucha on Sundays so he could keep records of the prisoners detained in the Gestapo’s “house arrest”, and he was allowed to walk around the garden and the whole police district under the surveillance of guards. In 1943, he started cooperating with the underground organization of the Polish People’s Army and was responsible for its unit in Pawiak, which enabled him to obtain forged documents of a railway worker before his attempted escape. On the day of the escape, Wanat took advantage of the fact that the guards on duty were drunk and – wearing German clothes – he left the building at Aleja Szucha 25 without being stopped. Accompanied by two of his colleagues from the underground movement, who had documents of the Criminal Police (Kriminalpolizei, Kripo), and covered by two people behind the district barricades, he crossed the gate in the direction of Piusa XI Street (now Piękna Street).

OPERATIONS OF THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE AGAINST THE GERMAN POLICE OFFICERS

Following Operation Arsenal on 26 March 1943, the Directorate of Underground Struggle made a decision to execute two officers from Unit IV (the Gestapo) of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District: SS-Rottenführer Ewald Lange and SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Schultz, who had savagely tortured Janek "Rudy" Bytnar during interrogations at Aleja Szucha. The operation was carried out by the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks: Schultz was executed on 6 May 1943 and Lange on 22 May the same year.

In the autumn of 1943, the Directorate of Underground Struggle decided to execute the German police officers who were notorious for particular cruelty and who posed a threat to the Polish society. From early 1944, this operation was continued as part of Operation Heads (Akcja "Główki") carried out by the Home Army, aimed at eliminating those German officers who showed exceptional zeal in their anti-Polish activity, including the German police and industrialists. In the period between December 1943 and July 1944, on the basis of the Polish Underground State court decision, numerous officers of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District and its subordinates were assassinated:

- SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Schultz and SS-Rottenführer Ewald Lange – shot dead in May 1943.
- SS-Oberscharführer Franz Bürkl, deputy to the commanding officer of Pawiak – shot dead on 7 September 1943.

– SS-Hauptscharführer August Kretschmann, deputy to the commanding officer of the penal camp at Geşia Street, the so-called Geşiówka – shot dead on 24 September 1943.

– SS-Sturmann Ernst Weffels, officer at the women’s unit of Pawiak, the so-called Serbia – shot dead on 1 October 1943.

– SS-Obersturmführer Joseph Lechner, head of the Gestapo Office to Combat Resistance in the Warsaw District – shot dead on 5 October 1943. The targets of the operation were Alfred Milke, a Gestapo officer at Aleja Szucha, whose task was to work out the underground military organizations, and Irena Lis, Gestapo’s secret agent, subordinate to Milke. However, the Underground failed to eliminate them.

– SS-Scharführer Stephen Klein, whose task was to investigate resistance organizations and to supervise the Gestapo’s political organizations at Aleja Szucha – shot dead on 25 October 1943. The target of the operation was SS-Scharführer Engelberth Frühwirth, an officer at Pawiak, but the Underground failed to eliminate him.

– SS-Hauptsturmführer Walter Stamm, head of Unit IV (the Gestapo) of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District – a failed assault was carried out on 6 May 1944.

– SS-Standartenführer Ludwig Hahn, commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District – a failed ambush was carried out in June 1944.

The most prominent operation was targeted at SS-Brigadeführer and Generalmajor der Polizei Franz Kutschera, the SS and the Warsaw District Police commander, who was killed by the Polish Underground on 1 February 1944. After his death, the German terror in Warsaw subsided significantly, for example street executions were discontinued.

All these operations were carried out by “Agat”, a sabotage combat unit of the Directorate of Subversion in the Home Army Supreme Command (code name “Pegaz” until January 1944, in May 1944 the name was changed to “Parasol”).

MAUSOLEUM OF STRUGGLE AND MARTYRDOM

Unfortunately, no detailed documentation was preserved concerning the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom in the period between 1946 and 1964; the individuals involved in the creation of the museum passed away, and our knowledge is therefore limited. According to the decree by the Provisional Government of National Unity from 25 July 1946, the former Gestapo detention center at Aleja Szucha 25 was to remain in an undamaged state, as a place of the martyrdom of the Poles. Visitors were granted access to some rooms on 1 September 1947. The building was an independent facility, initially subordinate to the Ministry of Culture and Art, and later – between the mid-1950s and 1 July 1964 – to the Presidium of the National Council of the City of Warsaw.

The interior was originally exhibited just as the Germans had left it (with prison doors and bars forced open). In October 1947 a contest was held for the project of the building's interior and its façade at Aleja Szucha. The best project, designed by Franciszek Masiak, Kazimierz Kamler, and Henryk Musiałowicz, with the participation of Adam Procki, was realized from 1949. The doors in the isolation cells and the bars in the mass cells (the "trams") were reconstructed to replicate those from the occupation, while the cells were left unchanged. Three stained-glass windows by Musiałowicz, a candle, and stylized swords made by Procki were placed in a vestibule designed as a crypt. The room of the prison's officer on duty (now called the room of the Gestapo officer on duty) was adapted for exhibition purposes, to display the torture devices left by the Germans

during their evacuation in January 1945. However, the project was only partially completed due to hostile attitudes of the Communist authorities toward the Home Army and the Polish Underground State. For example, the anchor – symbol of Fighting Poland (“Polska Walcząca”) – was not placed on the wall in the crypt. The original plan was to adapt the building to a museum of the Polish nation’s martyrdom in the occupation period, as the inscription placed over the entrance read “Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom 1939–1945”. The Mausoleum was opened on 18 April 1952. In late 1957 and early 1958, the exhibition was supplemented with boards and display cases showing the martyrdom of Poles during the war, and placed in the corridor leading to mass cells, parallel to the corridor with isolation cells. The room of the Gestapo officer on duty was arranged similarly to the interrogation rooms located on the upper floors. In the period between 1962 and 1964, photographic documentation was compiled of the 1260 inscriptions the prisoners had made on walls, and in 1966 maintenance of the inscriptions was carried out.

On 1 July 1964, a new exhibition was opened, based on a script by Maria Rutkiewiczowa and Zofia Tkacz and an artistic design by Barbara Cybulska. In October the Mausoleum was incorporated into the Museum of the History of Polish Revolutionary Movement as part of the Pawiak and Aleja Szucha Department. Memories from former prisoners helped with reconstructing the prison cells and the room of the Gestapo officer on duty, and a table was placed in the adjacent corridor with a radio that would have been loud enough to cover up the screams of tortured prisoners. The corridor leading to the mass cells contained exhibition materials about the structure of the Nazi political police in Warsaw, the German execution announcements, underground editions, and the prisoners’ few personal documents and secret messages. The vestibule was changed completely, and an inscription from the isolation cell no. 6 was placed in front of the entrance and became the motto of the Mausoleum:

“It is easy to speak about Poland,
It is harder to work for her,
Even harder to die,
But the hardest is to suffer.”

The inscription was surrounded by a structure made of gas pipes with ever-burning flames (in 1988 these were replaced by electric lamps for safety reasons). After several years a black marble plaque was laid on the floor, with urns containing the ashes of those murdered in the Nazi concentration camps in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen-Gusen, and Gross-Rosen. The exhibition survived until 2007; in 1990 photographs of victims of the Gestapo, from various political groups, were added. In 1988 and then again in 2006–2007 the inscriptions left by prisoners were maintained. In 1990, photographs of victims of the Gestapo, from various political groups, were added. From 1990, the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom was to the Museum of Independence in Warsaw. The exhibition was held until 2007.

"ALEJA SZUCHA – THE GESTAPO DETENTION CENTER" MULTIMEDIA EXHIBITION

On 17 February 2008, a new exhibition was opened, based on a script by Magdalena Woltanowska, Joanna Gierczyńska, and Witold Żarnowski, and on an artistic design by Żaneta Govenlock and Violetta Damińska. The visualization and sound for an etude in the vestibule, introducing the faces of those tortured to death, was designed by the authors of the script, and other etudes by Żaneta Govenlock were produced by Rafał Kowalski, Jacek Chojecki, and Robert Sajewicz.

Visitors can watch five short films depicting the horror of the site of mass executions. The first film – *Faces of the tortured* – presents the names and faces of people interrogated at Aleja Szucha and tortured to death, and is accompanied by a narrative about the history of the site. Four multimedia posts, designed and visualized by Jan Rusiński, were placed in one of the corridors:

- *Defensive war and occupation* shows the German annexations prior to the World War II, the Polish campaign of 1939, the division of Poland between the Third Reich and the USSR, the Nazi policy in the occupied Polish areas, the operation of eliminating the elites, the mass displacement of Poles, and the extermination of Jews.
- *The way from Pawiak to Aleja Szucha*. Almost every prisoner at Pawiak was forced to take this route. This is also an opportunity to see the ghetto where Polish political prisoners and Jews caught on the German side were murdered from 1943, as well as the

most important sites of occupied Warsaw. Some space is dedicated to the "house arrest" at Aleja Szucha, and shows the most important inscriptions left in cells by prisoners, as well as drawings that depict the interrogations. There are also materials related to the transports from Warsaw to German concentration camps.

- The *Terror and resistance* multimedia post, dedicated to the martyrdom of citizens of untamed Warsaw, features a detailed map of the places of executions in the so-called "Warsaw ring of death", the Polish sabotage operations, the assaults on German Nazi officers in Warsaw performed by the Polish Underground, German crimes in the police district at Aleja Szucha committed during the Warsaw Uprising, and trials of the Nazi war criminals, including the leaders of the German occupation authorities in Warsaw.
- *Remembrance* presents biographies and photographs of the prisoners who died during interrogations or due to injuries suffered at Aleja Szucha.

The exhibition presents nearly unchanged mass and isolation cells, the Gestapo detention rooms, the room of the duty Gestapo officer in which interrogations took place, as well as the corridors. The four other short films are *The signs of siege* (footsteps of the Gestapo officers walking behind the windows), *The will to survive* (a falling and rising man), *The traces of torment* (a projection of several dozen of over a thousand inscriptions on the cell walls), and *The pictures of interrogations* (sketches by Stanisław Tomaszewski "Miedza", showing the interrogations at Aleja Szucha). In the corridor adjacent to the isolation cells, a sound transmission *The testimonies of truth* is played, which features secret messages sent by the prisoners to their families containing shocking descriptions of the methods used during interrogations.

Next page: The etude
*Let us remember their
faces* in the vestibule
of the Mausoleum of
Struggle and Martyrdom.
(Photo by Tadeusz Stani,
2011, MN.)

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF THE PEOPLE IMPRISONED AT ALEJA SZUCHA

... Zakucuk Alojz
... Stefan Kot Stan
... Malgorzata Chmiele
... Wacław Lipiński D
... Przymuszyński Al
... Bolesław Lipka S
... Mieczysław Godl
... Danuta Nierzwińska
... mińska H

... Kraszewski Miecz
... Krugłowska Józef SZ
... Brandys Jan Szuleck
... Jadwiga Deneka Ale
... w Kryk Zofia Chojna
... Stefan Wańkowski An
... ózef Orzechowski Mar
... ński Aleksander Wojsi
... Władysław C...

BERKA, WACŁAW RUDOLF, "Brodowicz", "Wacław" (8 July 1894 – August 1944?)

Born in Warsaw. Graduated from Mikołaj Rej's Private Gymnasium for Boys in Warsaw. He was a member of the Polish Rifle Squads, and during World War I he served in the Russian army, then in the Polish I Corps in the East, and from 1919 in the Polish Army (WP). After graduating from the Higher War School in Warsaw (1925), he then worked as an officer in the General Organizational Office of the Ministry of Military Affairs. He was in the 86th Infantry Regiment of the Second Department of the General (Main) Staff of the Polish Army (from 1930), and in the 15th Infantry Regiment (from 1932), was an operations officer in the 19th Infantry Division (from 1934), and an officer in the First Department of the General (Main) Staff (from 1936).

During the September Campaign of 1939, he fought in defense of Lviv. On 20 September, he was taken captive by the Germans, but after a few days he escaped and made his way to Warsaw. He joined the underground movement in October 1939 and until the spring of 1942 was head of the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence, and then, successively, head of the Central Command of the Service for Poland's Victory, the German Occupation Headquarters of the Union of Armed Struggle, and the General Headquarters of the Union of Armed Struggle. In 1940, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

He was arrested in late November of 1943, in Otwock. He was kept in strict isolation at Aleja Szucha, interrogated and tortured. He was probably murdered in August 1944 in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

He was decorated with the Gold Cross of Merit (1938); he received the Cross of Valor three times (posthumously), and was considered for the Order of Virtuti Military, Class V.

BIAŁOKUR, FRANCISZEK (11 February 1869 – 5 May 1942)

Born in Fedorówka, a village in the Zastawski district in the Volhynian Governorate. He was graduate of the Classical Gymnasium in Yalta and the Medical Faculty of the University of Warsaw (1893). As an internist in Crimea, he specialized in the treatment of tuberculosis. During World War I, he was drafted into the Russian army and served in the Yalta spa facilities, militarized during the war. From December 1918, he served in the Polish Army and was Commander of the VIII Corps District Hospital in Toruń; he was promoted to titular Brigadier General in 1928. He worked as a doctor in health insurance and later in social insurance in Warsaw. During the interwar period, he published several works on the history of medicine.



Wacław Rudolf Berka
(A.K. Kunert, *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1987)



Franciszek Białokur,
photograph with an
inscription: "A souvenir",
26 July 1939. (MN)

On 30 April 1942, he was arrested together with his wife Anna in their apartment at 6a Koszykowa Street. After being brutally tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha, he died on 5 May 1942 on the way to Pawiak. The post-mortem showed a broken arm and a number of internal wounds and injuries.

BIAŁOKUROWA, ANNA, née Gilewicz, “H.B.” (1897 – 23/24 May 1942)

Born in Fedorówka, a village in the Zastawski district in the Volhynian Governorate. She probably studied at the University of Kiev, and after moving to Poland she completed the faculty of Polish studies. She worked in the Polish Military Organization (POW) in Zhytomyr. In September 1920 she was arrested by the Bolsheviks, probably in Kiev, and imprisoned in Moscow, but she did not reveal any secrets of the organization. She was released after the ratification of the Treaty of Riga in 1921 and returned to her country. In 1925, she married Franciszek Białokur (see above). Until the outbreak of war, she taught Polish at Queen Jadwiga’s Public Gymnasium for Girls in Warsaw (from 1934 Queen Jadwiga’s Public Gymnasium and High School for Girls in Warsaw), and from the autumn of 1939, she was an underground teacher.

In the underground movement, she worked in the Department of Communication with the prisoner-of-war camps “Iko” of the 1st Organizational Division of the Home Army Supreme Command. She was assigned to the communication department with groups of Poles that had been deported to forced labor in Germany (“the anthills”), and was the editor of *Głos Ojczyzny*, a magazine they published.

On 30 April 1942, she was arrested with her husband in their apartment at 6a Koszykowa Street, probably as consequence of confessions the Gestapo had extracted from one of her colleagues. She was imprisoned in Pawiak. Halina Nieniewska was arrested for the same reason (see below). Białokurowa was tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha, which caused necrosis of skin on her buttocks and in the lower back. She did not give anyone away. She committed suicide on 23 May at night: “After being transported to Pawiak, Anna was placed in an isolation cell in the Serbia unit. Due to her serious condition, the Gestapo – after a strenuous intervention of the medical staff – permitted to move her from the isolation cell to the prison hospital. [...] Professor Białokurowa was struggling with the thought of being responsible for the fate of the arrested youth and when the Gestapo informed her of her husband’s death (he died in prison because of tortures),



Anna Białokurowa (MN)

a few days later, on Zielone Świątki, when the other prisoners in her cell were sound asleep, she hanged herself in the hospital toilet” (A. Czuperska-Śliwicka, *Cztery lata ostrego dyżuru*, Warsaw 1968). Before she died, she sent a secret message to her family, telling them that she was dying like a soldier, and asking to be buried in the military cemetery.

Her niece Henryka Unkiewiczowa née Mianowska (born on 21 July 1912) was arrested at the same time. Henryka was a student at the University of Warsaw, a soldier of the Home Army, and also worked in the “Iko”. On 13 September 1942, she was transported to Auschwitz, where she died from typhus on 28 January 1943. “This case resulted in an arrest of a group of juvenile students who served as messengers in the Gray Ranks. Among them were scouts Maria Adamczyk, Anna Hennel, Irena Przesmycka, and Krystyna Szyłagyi. During the interrogations, the young scouts remained brave and did not admit to being involved in any activities of the resistance movement, despite being harassed and tortured” (L. Wanat, *Apel więźniów Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1969).

She was decorated posthumously with the Cross of Valor.

BIENIEK, ANDRZEJ, “Krawczyk” (17 October 1895 – 26 July 1944)

Born in Bratucice in the Bocheński district. He was a graduate of the classical gymnasium in Biła (now Bielsko-Biała) and the Higher School of Economics in Warsaw (1931). From 1927, he worked as a researcher in the Higher School of Economics (later called the Warsaw School of Economics, SGH), and as a professor in the Warsaw School of Economics (1939). In 1942, he was appointed chief accountant of the Office of Finance and Control of the VII Division of the Home Army.

On 15 May 1944, he was arrested during a so-called “cauldron” (“kocioł”), a trap set by the Gestapo in the Office’s contact spot at 21, 6 Sierpnia Street (the present Aleja Wyzwolenia) in Warsaw, along with Izabela Łopuska (see below) and others. During interrogations at Aleja Szucha, terrible torture was used against him, including “the pole” (hanging by hands tied behind the back). On 26 July 1944, he was shot dead in the ghetto ruins.

BŁESZYŃSKI, DYONIZY, “Błechwa”, “Tank” (18 September 1895 – 4 April 1943)

Born in Czersk in the Grójec district. He was a graduate of Artur Jeżewski’s Commercial School in Warsaw after it was moved to Moscow. During World War I, he was an officer in the Russian army; in October 1916 he was taken captive by the Germans, and in December 1918 he returned



Andrzej Bieniek
(A handwritten memoir
on the reverse side, no
date, MN.)

to Poland. From May 1919, he served in the Polish Army as an adjutant of the chief of the army's administrative services; then as an army inspector in Lviv and an officer of the 36th Infantry Regiment of the Academic Legion. In 1930, he was moved to the Border Protection Corps (KOP) and later was promoted to captain.

During the September Campaign, he worked as a quartermaster of the 133rd Infantry Regiment of the 33rd Reserved Infantry Division, part of the Independent Operational Group "Narew". From the autumn of 1939, he served in the underground operations of the Home Army, then as an organizational officer, deputy commander and temporary commander of the Sub-district IV of Ochota in the Warsaw District of the Union of Armed Struggle (July 1940). He was transferred to the post of deputy commander of District III of Wola of the Home Army in August 1942 and promoted to major, also in 1942.

As a result of denunciation, he was arrested on 23 March 1943 at the corner of Marszałkowska and Hoża Streets. He was placed in an isolation cell in Pawiak and beaten during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha. He was hanged on 4 April 1943 in a solitary confinement cell in Pawiak by the prison deputy commander SS-Oberscharführer Franz Bürkl.

He was decorated with the Cross of Valor (1921, 1922) and the Silver Cross of Merit (1934).

BŁOŃSKI, Jan EDWARD, "Jan Gierek", "Jan Novak", "Kret", "Sum", "Wąsowicz" (23 October 1912 – 6 February 1943)

Born in Warsaw. He graduated from Edward A. Rontaler's Private Gymnasium for Boys in Warsaw, then studied at the Faculty of Chemistry of the Warsaw University of Technology (PW), but did not receive a diploma. An activist in the Polish Scouting Association and sub-Scoutmaster, from 1937 he belonged to the Mieczysław Bem Group of Instructors, whose members worked among the working-class and rural youth.

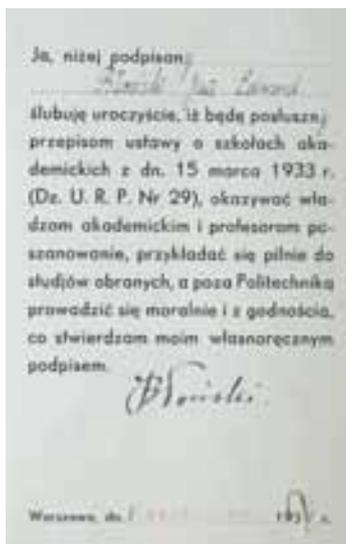
During the September Campaign, he served in the Workers' Battalions for the Defense of Warsaw organized by the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). For his participation in the defense of Warsaw he was promoted to second lieutenant by the military authorities. From November 1939, he was a member of the Polish People's Action for Independence. He adapted his basement to a storage of chemical materials, and these were used by the Minor Sabotage Organization "Wawer", which he was a member of. In the middle of 1942, he executed Stanisław Izdebski, a secret agent of the Gestapo, whose activities led to the dissolution of the Polish People's Independence Action.



Dyonizy Bleszyński (MN)



Jan Błoński (G. Nowik, *Straż nad Wisłą*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2001)



He was arrested late in the evening on 3 November 1942. The next day he was transported to Pawiak and placed in an isolation cell in Ward IV. He was interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha, particularly brutally from 1 to 4 February 1943 – the Gestapo knocked out his teeth, pulled out his tongue, and injured the liver. On 6 February 1943 the following happened, according to testimony by his sister Maria: “Again – as it had happened dozens of times – he returned from the interrogation on a stretcher and was put in an isolation cell; he asked the guard to be taken to hospital – but was denied. An hour later, when an officer on duty came in, my brother was already dead” (Museum of the Pawiak Prison, From Maria Błońska’s testimony given on 11 April 1946 before the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland). His entire family was arrested: his father Edward, his mother Maria (1893–1943) and his sister Stefania (1919–2000). His

father was shot dead on 12 February 1943 in Chojnów Forests (Lasy Chojnowskie) next to Stefanów near Piaseczno; his mother was shot dead on 7 May in the ruins of the ghetto. On 18 January 1943, the sister was transported to the Majdanek concentration camp, in 1944 to Ravensbrück, and then to Buchenwald. After the war she returned to the country and became a theater and film actress.

Błoński was decorated with the Cross of Valor for his participation in the defense of Warsaw in 1939 and was nominated a Scoutmaster, posthumously, in 1943.

BORŻECKI, MARIAN GORGONIUSZ (7 September 1889 – 3 June 1940)

Born in Suwałki. He completed the Faculty of Law at the University of St. Petersburg (1912). From 1919 he was a chief inspector of the Municipal Police, one of the organizers of the unitary State Police, a government commissioner for the Capital City of Warsaw (1921–1922), commander of the State Police (1923–1926), and deputy mayor of Warsaw (1927–1934). He had a law practice in Warsaw. He was an activist of the National Democratic party, initially involved in the Popular National Union, and a member of the Supreme Council of the National Party (SN) (1928–1935). From 1936 he was an active member of Front Morges, founded by General Władysław Sikorski.

 Jan Błoński’s student pledge at the Warsaw University of Technology. (Museum of the Warsaw University of Technology.)



Marian Borzęcki (NAC)

During the September Campaign, he participated in the work of the Citizens' Committee at the "Warszawa" Army headquarters (established by the president of Warsaw Stefan Starzyński and involving the representatives of all political parties), and he was a delegate to the civil commissioner of the Warszawa-Śródmieście district. At the beginning of the German occupation, he was an unofficial representative of Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski in the country. He was a member of the Political Bureau, which conducted the Central Committee of Organizations for Independence (which in turn gathered organizations that were not subject to the Service for Poland's Victory).

On 30 March 1940, he was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in Pawiak. When tortured at Aleja Szucha, he did not give anyone away. On 2 May 1940, he was deported to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, then to the concentration camp in Mauthausen-Gusen, where he died on 3 June 1940.

He was awarded, among others, the Commander's Cross of Polonia Restituta.

BRODZIKOWSKA, ZOFIA, née Hajkowicz, "Basia" (24 February 1912 – 8 January 1944)

Born in Warsaw. She was a graduate of Queen Jadwiga's Public Gymnasium in Warsaw and of the Higher School of Journalism (1938). From 1931, she belonged to the Polish Union of Democratic Youth and the Syndicalist Youth Association, and was an activist in the Polish Anarchist Federation. In the late 1930s, she worked with the syndicalist Stefan Żeromski Labor Institute of Education and Culture and was a chairwoman of the Institute's Youth Department.

From November 1939, she was a member of the Union of Polish Syndicalists and the Polish People's Action for Independence; she led the department of provincial development. In 1940, she joined the leadership of the newly formed Syndicalist Organization "Freedom" (anarcho-syndicalists), responsible for internal communication, transport of weapons, printing of publications, and cooperation with "Żegota" – the Council to Aid Jews – with the Government Delegate for Poland (she was forging documents for Jews).

She was arrested on 23 December 1943 at Koszykowa Street in Warsaw while carrying weapons; it is likely that a Gestapo confidant denounced her. She was put in Pawiak and was tortured during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha. She died on 8 January 1944 as a result of the injuries she had sustained during the interrogation. According to another report, she hanged herself in an isolation cell in Pawiak in January 1944.



Zofia Brodzikowska
(Collections of the Synod
Library of the Polish
Reformed Church).

BYTNAR, JAN, "Czarny", "Janek", "Rudy", "Jan Rudy", "Krokodyl" (6 May 1921 – 30 March 1943)

Born in Kołbuszowa. He was a graduate of the Stefan Batory Public Gymnasium and High School for Boys in Warsaw, where he finished with Krzysztof K. Baczyński. During his school years, he was a member of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association and he earned the rank of Scout of the Republic of Poland (the highest rank for young people).

From the autumn of 1939, he was a member of the Polish People's Action for Independence. He was a messenger in the prison unit of the Union of Armed Struggle from March to June 1940. From March 1941, he worked in the "Górny Mokotów" group of the Gray Ranks, and in the spring of 1942 was nominated commander of the platoon group "Ochota". He completed the underground School for the Infantry Reserve Officer Cadets of the Home Army with the rank of cadet corporal. He was nominated a sub-Scoutmaster (1942). He worked in the Minor Sabotage Organization "Wawer", and undertook many notorious tasks, such as spreading anti-German graffiti, ripping the German flag from the building of Zachęta National Gallery of Art, and hoisting flags on national holidays. From November 1942, he was commander of the group "Południe" (platoon "Sad") of the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks (which were a part of the Special Unit "Jerzy", subject to Kedyw of the Home Army Supreme Command). He participated in Operation Wieniec II ("Operation Garland II") on the night of 31 December 1942, during which a railway culvert near Kraśnik was blown up and a military train carrying weapons for the German army was destroyed. On 18 January 1943, Bytnar took part in the execution of a German officer. On 2 February, during the evacuation of January Błoński's apartment, he supervised protection of the apartment, which had been sealed by the Gestapo.

He was arrested together with his father in the early morning of 23 March 1943 and imprisoned in Pawiak. As recollected by Zygmunt Śliwicki, a doctor from Pawiak: "[...] he underwent immediate interrogation (which happened relatively rarely), a very brutal one. Then he was taken to Aleja Szucha to be confronted with Henryk Ostrowski; the Gestapo continued the cruel tortures. Due to the sustained injuries and general bad condition, on the second day he was admitted to the prison hospital. As he himself told me – he did not give anyone away, and did not even admit knowing the informer. In view of the given evidence, he gave the names of dead or fictitious people. Once more, he was taken for an interrogation from the hospital on a stretcher, despite being in a very serious condition, with slightly visible uraemic symptoms" (Z. Śliwicki, *Meldunek z Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1974).



Jan Bytnar, summer of 1942. (Julian Borkowski's collections.)

On 26 March 1943 he was rescued along with 24 political prisoners during the famous Operation Arsenal (code name “Meksyk II”), carried out by the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks, on his way back to Pawiak from an interrogation at Aleja Szucha. After staying in Professor Gustaw Wuttke’s apartment on Kazimierzowska Street, he was transferred to the hospital on Płocka Street, under the guise of having been injured while stealing coal. He died on 30 March 1943 because of the injuries sustained during interrogations. The Gestapo officers that had interrogated him – SS-Oberscharführer Herbert Schultz and SS-Rottenführer Ewald Lange – were shot dead in May 1943 at the order of the Directorate of Underground Struggle. Bytnar’s liberation became an inspiration for Aleksander Kamiński, who in 1943 wrote *Kamienie na szaniec* [*Stones for the rampart*], a renowned book about occupied Warsaw. The second company of the battalion “Zośka” was code-named “Rudy”.

On 15 August 1943, by the order of the head of the Scouts, he was nominated as a Scoutmaster and posthumously promoted to the rank of second lieutenant, and awarded the Cross of Valor and the Commander’s Cross with Star of the Order of Polonia Restituta “for outstanding contribution to the independence of the Republic of Poland” (2009). His name was used for streets in several cities such as in Warsaw, Opole, and Kołbuszowa, for schools in Warsaw, Kołbuszowa, and other cities, and for Scout groups.



Jan Bytnar with his father on Hala Gąsienicowa.
(Julian Borkowski’s collections.)

CZAKI, HANNA, “Helena” (11 January 1922 – 11 February 1944)

Born in Warsaw. She was a graduate of the Aleksandra Piłsudska Gymnasium and High School for Girls, and a girl scout in the 8th team of the Warsaw Girl Scouts. She passed the secondary school exit exam at clandestine classes and studied sociology at the secret University of the Western Lands.

As a member of the underground movement, she worked among the youth of the Alliance of Democrats. She was a messenger and a secretary of Jerzy Makowiecki, an engineer and head of the Information Department of the Office of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army Supreme Command. Conspiratorial documents were stored in her parents’ apartment at 35 Słowackiego Street in a locker under the floor.



Hanna Czaki (MN)

She was arrested on 5 January 1944 on the corner of Aleja Niepodległości and Rakowiecka Street, while carrying documents in cipher, underground letters, and microforms. At Aleja Szucha, four Gestapo officers beat her for several hours, but she revealed nothing. After being taken to Pawiak in a critical condition, she was put in an isolation cell. In late January she wrote a secret message to Władysław Bartoszewski: "Another interrogation tomorrow – it seems they will be interrogating mother and aunt as well. I wonder if it will be settled by then or not. I'm a bit nervous. Maybe I will write more tomorrow; maybe for some reason I won't. Remember about my parents – both are sick and both will not survive long in prison or in Auschwitz" (W. Bartoszewski, *Alfabet Bartoszewskiego* (I), "Tygodnik Powszechny" 2007, no. 7). She was transported to Pawiak on a stretcher and placed in an isolation cell. She was shot dead on 11 February 1944 in the ruins of the ghetto.

On 5 January 1944, 15 people were arrested in her parents' apartment and imprisoned in Pawiak, including her mother Helena and her father Tytus, an activist of the Polish Socialist Party, Siberian exile associated with Piłsudski's followers and of the underground Social Self-Defense Organization during the occupation. Tytus was shot dead on 24 January 1944 in a street execution, and Helena on 15 February 1944.

In 2005 a street in the Żoliborz district in Warsaw was named after her.

CZUMA, JÓZEF, "Skryty", "Krótki", "Ony", "Piter" (6 February 1915 – approximately 19 July 1944)

Born in Niepołomice in the Bochnia County. He graduated from the King Casimir Gymnasium in Bochnia and the School for the Infantry Officer Cadets in Komorow near Ostrów Mazowiecka. He served as a second lieutenant in the 11th Infantry Regiment in Tarnowskie Góry.

During the September Campaign, he fought in defense of Lviv. He was taken captive by the Germans, but soon escaped, and managed to get through Hungary to the Polish Army units in France, and after its defeat to Great Britain. He served in the battalion of the 14th Regiment of Jazłowiec Uhlans in the 10th Armored Cavalry Brigade.



Hanna Czaki (in the middle) with her friends at a scout camp. (MN)



Józef Czuma (MN)

He volunteered to serve in the country, underwent underground training in sabotage and was sworn in as a *cichociemny* (“Silent Unseen”). He was appointed a lieutenant. During the night of 17 February 1943, he was dropped on the premises of “Puchacz” in the Siedlce County. He underwent an operation due to an injury sustained while landing. In April 1943, he was assigned to the Directorate for Subversion of the Home Army in the Warsaw District as commander of a sabotage unit “Skryty” (during the preparations for the Operation Tempest (“Burza”); from May 1944 the organization of the unit was subject to the VII Sub-district Collar (“Obroża”) of the Warsaw District of the Home Army). In the areas close to Warsaw, Czuma’s unit carried out dozens of military operations aimed at destroying German transports, e.g. in Pogorzela, Stara Wieś, and Celestynów, offices and factories on the route Warsaw–Dęblin, and German trains between Warsaw and Siedlce, e.g. next to Skruda station. “Skryty” participated in a series of attacks on German military convoys and the German Employment Office in Otwock.

After a long search, he was arrested by the Gestapo as Zygmunt Krokowski on 12 July 1944 near the Central Station in Warsaw, as he had been denounced. He was murdered around 19 July 1944 during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha.

He was awarded the Cross of Valor and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously).

DANGEL, STANISŁAW ROMAN, “Junosza”, “Salisch” (29 August 1891 – 26 October 1942)

Born in Kutno. He attended the private Gen. Paweł Chrzanowski Gymnasium in Warsaw and passed his secondary school exit exam as an extern in the VI Russian Gymnasium in Warsaw (1910). He studied philosophy in Kraków, Berlin, and Lviv, but did not finish his studies. During World War I, he stayed in Minsk and served there as a political commander of the Polish military action on behalf of Polish I Corps. From 1918, he worked in the Department of Political Affairs of the Regency Council in Warsaw, then in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was co-founder of the Kresy Guard Association and chief editor of the Association’s French monthly “L’Est Polonais” (“L’Est Européen”), and director of the Polish-Romanian Chamber of Commerce (1930–1934) and of the Supply Center of the Social Insurance Institution (from 1935).

He joined the underground movement in December 1939 and served as a coordinator and chairman to the board of organization “Znak” (political backing of the Secret Polish Army, TAP) and was chief of the intelligence in its headquarters. In January 1941, he became a member of



Stanisław Dangel, approximately 1936. (MN)

the Confederation of the Nation board. In October 1942, he was head of the Finance and Budget Section of the Government Delegation for Poland, and from September he temporarily worked as a deputy to Professor Jan Piekalkiewicz, the Government Delegate for Poland.

He was arrested in his apartment on 26 October 1942 and murdered the same day during interrogations at Aleja Szucha.

His two sons were also members of the Secret Polish Army. Jan (1916–1974) was imprisoned in Pawiak in 1940; on 4 April 1941 he was transported to Auschwitz, and then to the concentration camps in Dachau and Sachsenhausen. Karol Stanisław (1919–1943) was a prisoner of Pawiak three times; he was executed on 16 July 1943.

He was awarded the Cross of Valor (1921), the Cross of Independence (1933), and the Gold Cross of Merit with Swords (posthumously, 1943).

DENEKA, JADWIGA, née Sałek, "Kasia" (1911 – 6 January 1944)

Born in Łódź. She graduated from the Cecilia Waszczyńska High School for Girls in Łódź and studied social sciences at the Free Polish University in Warsaw. From 1933, she worked in "Nasz Dom" ("Our House") Educational Institution in the Bielany district in Warsaw; then, before she was arrested in 1943, in the department of Health and Social Care of the City Board of Warsaw.

In September 1939, she took an active part in defending Warsaw. She joined the underground movement in 1941 and became involved in the organization of the Polish Socialists in the Koło and Wola districts. In 1943, she organized a group of People's Militia of the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (RPPS), which carried out a series of military actions. She worked as a chief of press distribution for the RPPS for the Warsaw District, and participated in the printing of *Reflektor* and *Biuletyn RPPS*. She was involved in helping the Jews, and cooperated with Irena Sendlerowa (see below).

On 25 November 1943, she was arrested in an underground spot at 16 Nowiniarska Street, while preparing copies of *Biuletyn RPPS*. She was incarcerated in Pawiak and tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha, but she did not reveal anything and sent secret messages to warn the people who were in danger. She was shot dead on 6 January 1944 in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was awarded the Order of the Cross of Grunwald (posthumously, in 1946).



Jadwiga Deneka
(*Słownik uczestniczek
walk o niepodległość
Polski 1939–1945*,
Warsaw 1988)

DROBIK, MARIAN EWALD, “Dzięcioł”, “Siwek”, “Witold”, “Wujek” (4 October 1898 – second part of 1944?)

Born in Komarówka, in the Radzyński district. He was graduate of the Stefan Żółkiewski Public Gymnasium in Siedlce. From 1915, he served in the Polish Legions. In February 1918, he joined the Polish Military Organization, and in December joined the Polish Army. He was commander of a company in the 22nd Infantry Regiment in the Polish–Soviet War, 1919–1920, and was wounded three times. In 1928, he graduated from the Higher War School in Warsaw; in 1935 he was promoted to major. He served as a military staff officer of the 27th Infantry Division, as a clerk in the First Department of the General (Main) Staff and as chief of the 3rd Infantry Division of the Polish Legions.

During the September Campaign, he was chief of the 3rd Division of the Operational Group “Silesia” (“Śląsk”). He joined the underground movement in September 1939 and began to establish the Military Organization of Lublin. He was chief of the Lublin District Command of the Service for Poland’s Victory of the Union of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) (from October 1939), an officer in the 3rd Section of Operation and Training of the ZWZ Headquarters, coordinator and head of the 3rd Section of Information and Intelligence of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army Supreme Command. In 1941, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

He was arrested on 8 December 1943 at night, in his sister Czesława Iwanicka’s villa in Podkowa Leśna, under the name of Jan Szawlewicz (he was probably betrayed by Ludwik Kalkstein’s group). He was interrogated at Aleja Szucha and transported to a concentration camp. His fate remains unknown, but he was probably murdered in August 1944.

He was awarded the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (1921), the Order of the Cross of Independence (1937), the Gold Cross of Merit (1938), and – three times – the Cross of Valor (posthumously, in 1944). A street in Siedlce was given his name.

FILLEROWA aka FÜLLEROWA, WANDA STEFANIA, née Klimaszewska, “Dziunia”, “Jola”, “Pani Dziunia” (1915? – 17 December 1943)

Born on the Duksztele farm in the Vilnius district. Her husband, a professional officer in the Polish Army, was held in German custody from 1939.

From the autumn of 1939, she served in the underground movement as a deputy commander and a courier in the foreign communication unit of the Service for Poland’s Victory Headquarters, then



Marian Ewald Drobik
(A.K. Kunert, *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1987)



Wanda Fillerowa (*Słownik uczestniczek walk o niepodległość Polski 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1988)

at the Department of Foreign Communication "Zagroda" of the ZWZ-AK Headquarters. An emissary of the chief of ZWZ-AK in the "Dworzec Wschodni" unit, she traveled on the Warsaw–Vilnius route using forged German documents. She crossed the border between the General Government and Reichskommissariat Ostland (former North Eastern territories of the Republic of Poland) around 100 times. She was a second lieutenant in the Home Army.

In September 1943, she was arrested on a train at the General Government border in Małkinia. On 25 November 1943, she was imprisoned in Pawiak. When tortured during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha she revealed nothing. On 17 December 1943 she was carried to her execution on a stretcher and shot dead in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was awarded the Cross of Valor and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously).

GARDECKI, ZYGMUNT, "Rywal" (29 January 1885 – 15 May 1942)

Born in Warsaw. He was a plasterer and decorator. He co-organized the Military Emergency of the Polish Socialist Party. During the Polish–Soviet war in 1920, he worked in the Workers' Committee for the Defense of Warsaw. In the interwar period, he was a member of the highest authorities of the Polish Socialist Party, and consequently of its faction: the Polish Socialist Party, former Revolutionary Faction. He was also a general secretary of the Central Association of Class Trade Unions board (1928–1930). He belonged to the command of trade unions in the Association of Trade Unions and later, from 1937, he was involved in the pro-governmental movement of the Unification of Polish Trade Unions. He was deputy in the Sejm in 1922–1930 and 1935–1938.

He was arrested on 3 December 1941 in Warsaw and imprisoned in Pawiak, then interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha. On 17 April 1942, he was transported to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, where he died on 15 May 1942.

He was awarded the Order of the Cross of Independence (1931) and the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta.

GIEYSZTOR, STANISŁAW, "Szachowski" (15 September 1891 – 23 November 1940)

Born in Warsaw. He attended the private Gen. Paweł Chrzanowski Gymnasium in Warsaw. He was a member of the Association of the Polish Youth "Zet". Until 1911, he studied at the H. Wawelberg and S. Rotwand School of Mechanics and Technology, and then at the Institute of Electrical and



Zygmunt Gardecki
(*Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919–1927, Warsaw 1928*)



Stanisław Gieysztor,
Warsaw, 1 September
1932. (MN)



Stanisław Gieysztor's funeral, Warsaw, 23 December 1940. (Photo by Władysław Żłakowski, MN.)

Mechanical Engineering in Nancy, France. After the outbreak of World War I, he served in the 3rd platoon of the 1st Cadre Company, and on 24 September 1914 he was wounded in Nowy Korczyn in the battles between the First Legions Infantry Regiment of Józef Piłsudski and the Russians, then in the 2nd Brigade of the Polish Legions. From 1917 to 1918 he was a member of the Polish Military Organization; from 1918 he served in the Polish Army and participated in the battles of Lviv and Kresy Wschodnie. He was an officer in the 2nd Unit of the Lithuanian-Belarusian Front in the Polish–Soviet War in 1919–1920, then commander of the Military Fire Brigade in the 2nd Legions Field Artillery Regiment in Kielce (1921–1925) and of the 1st Heaviest Artillery Regiment in the Praga district, as well as a personal clerk in the 1st Corps District Command in Warsaw. He was promoted to captain in 1930. From 1936 he was a commandant in the Warsaw Fire Guard on 1 Polna Street. He supervised the preparatory works for the defense of Warsaw.

During the September Campaign, he served as commander of fire protection in Warsaw, co-operated with the Warsaw Defense Command, and was a member of Stefan Starzyński's Office of the Civilian Commissar of Warsaw. From December 1939, under the code name "Szachowski", he co-organized the firefighters' Resistance Movement "Skala". He was a deputy to the Chief Commander Colonel Jerzy Lgocki "Jastrzyb".

He was arrested by the Gestapo on 4 June 1940 and imprisoned in Pawiak. When tortured during the interrogations at Aleja Szucha, he did not give anyone away. On 14 August, he was taken to Auschwitz on the first transport and was murdered there on 23 November 1940. The Nazis returned his ashes to his family, which were buried at the Powązki Military Cemetery.

He was awarded the Order of the Cross of Independence, the Silver Cross of Merit, and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (for participating in the defense of Warsaw in 1939).

HISZPAŃSKA, NATALIA, née Eychhorn, "Bury wilk", "Majewska", "Nata" (16 April 1904 – 14 February 1944)

Born in Warsaw. She graduated from the Aniela Werecka Gymnasium. She studied at the Faculty of Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology but did not complete her studies. She joined the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association (ZHP) in her gymnasium years and was an instructor in the Warsaw Unit of the ZHP Scouting Girls Organization, and a founder and commander of the Quarter of Scoutmasters "Wilcze Gniazdo". From 1935, she led the Department of Scoutmasters at the Organization's Headquarters. In 1937, she was appointed a Scoutmaster. She was a member of the Scouting Emergency Services, established before the outbreak of war in 1939.

During the September Campaign, she worked in communications for the Supreme Command and in the Capital Social Self-Help Committee (established in Warsaw during the first days of war and dealing with social aid, particularly with the distribution of ready meals). She joined the underground movement in 1940 and was deputy head of the Industrial Intelligence Department in the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Union of Armed Struggle. She organized hiding places and had access to the underground seat of the head of the department; she also supervised the scouting group "Koty", which was part of the 2nd Division. On 3 May 1943, she was appointed second lieutenant.



Natalia Hiszpańska (MN)

She was arrested on 8 May 1943 in her apartment at 18 Narbutta Street, where the Germans had found weapons. She was held in solitary confinement at Pawiak. She was subjected to the most elaborate tortures at Aleja Szucha: she was beaten with a whip with a lead ball at the end, she was hit in the head, jaws, and ear areas, she was almost drowned by having 6 liters of water poured into lungs through the nose, while with her mouth stuffed full). She did not reveal anything. On 24 August 1943, she was transported to Auschwitz, sentenced to 5 years of forced labor and, consequently, to death. In Auschwitz, she cooperated with the local resistance movement. She died on 14 February 1944 from typhoid.

She was awarded the Cross of Valor and the Silver Cross of Merit.

HORAK, ALOJZY, “Witold Młot”, “Dietrich”, “Nestorowicz”, “Neuman” (10 August 1891 – 12 February 1943)

Born in Kraków. He graduated from King Stefan Batory III Gymnasium for Boys in Lviv and studied history and geography at the Lviv University. He was an activist in the Polish Rifle Squads and in the scouting movement in Lviv. From 1918, he served as an officer in the Polish Army and fought against Ukrainians in the battles of Lviv. He served in the supreme command of the insurgent army in the Third Silesian Uprising (1921). He graduated from the Higher War School in Warsaw (1924) and was promoted to lieutenant colonel (1928). He was chief of the General Organizational Office of the Ministry of Military Affairs (from 1929) and commander of the 73rd Infantry Regiment (1933). In 1935, he retired and became the deputy head of the Military History Office.

During the September Campaign, he served as the chief of the defense staff of the Brest fortress, then as the chief of the staff and commander of the Operational Group “Brest”. Taken captive by the Red Army, he fled to Warsaw. He worked as the commander of the Service for Poland’s Victory in the Warsaw District, then as the chief of staff. He was a commander of the “Morskie Oko” Region in the Warsaw District of the Union of Armed Struggle. In 1940, he was promoted to colonel. After refusing to take the post of commander of the Białystok District, he was transferred to the Military History Office of the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army Supreme Command. He was an inspector and head of the Training Department of the Peasant Battalions Supreme Command; and from the autumn of 1942 he cooperated with the Polish Socialists. He was author of *Kampania wrześniowa w oświetleniu niemieckim* (vol. 1–3, Warsaw 1941–1942).



Alojzy Horak (MN)

He was arrested on 10 November 1942 in the apartment at 24a Żurawia Street (under the code name "Justyn Matecki") and imprisoned in Pawiak. He was subjected to numerous interrogations, during which his real identity was revealed. He was shot dead on 12 February 1943 in the Chojnów Forests (Lasy Chojnowskie) close to Stefanów near Piaseczno.

He was awarded, among others, the Order of Cross of Independence, the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta (1932), the Cross of Valor (1944, three times), the Order of the Cross of Grunwald, Class II (posthumously, 1946).

HORCZAK, JERZY, "Wróbel" (1927 – September 1943)

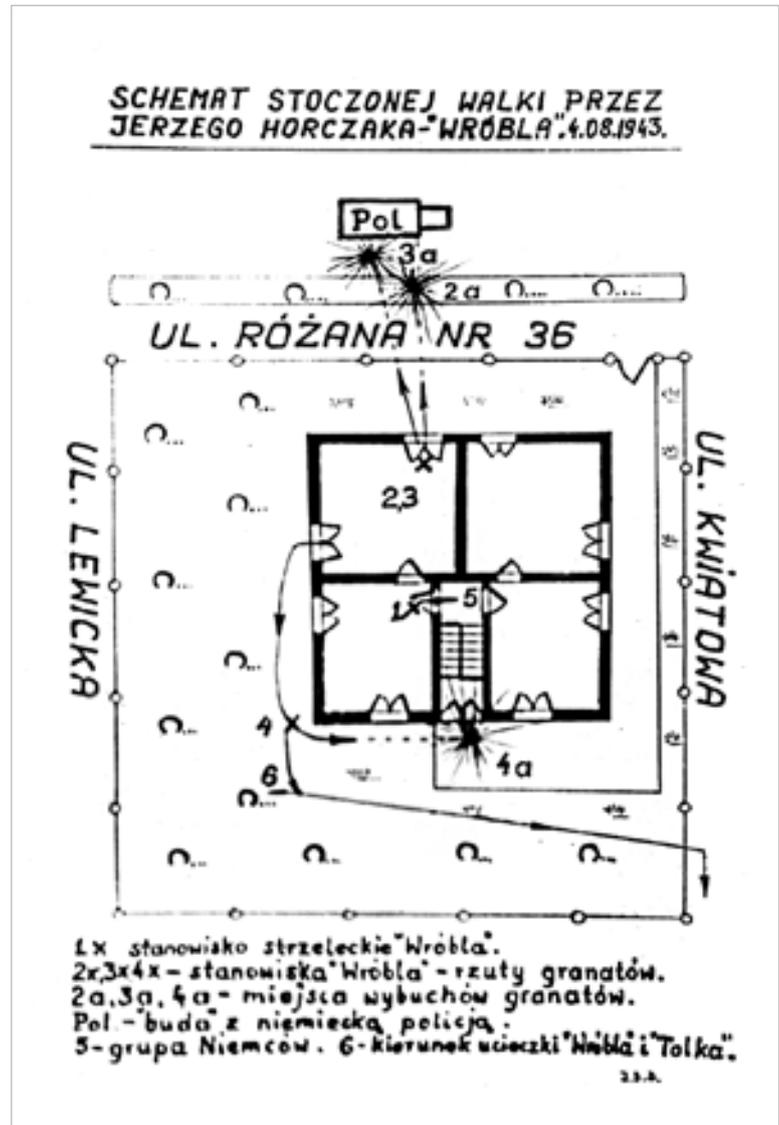
Born in Vilnius. He attended the Tadeusz Reytan Public Gymnasium and High School for Boys in Warsaw (during the occupation – the VII Compulsory Vocational School). His father Józef, a second lieutenant in the reserve forces of the Polish Army, was arrested and died in 1941 in the Auschwitz concentration camp; his mother Maria was arrested in May 1943 and died in Auschwitz in 1944.



Scouts of the "Alek" platoon of the "Rudy" company of battalion "Zośka". From the left: Aleksander Jadach "Olek", Jerzy Horczak "Wróbel", Andrzej Błądowski "Bury". (MN)

He was a scout in the Gray Ranks, a member of the second team of the "Mokotów Dolny" unit (MD-200), then of "Mokotów Górny" (MG-200). He participated in the action of the Minor Sabotage Organization "Wawer", spreading anti-German leaflets and distributing an anti-Nazi magazine in German called *Der Klabaubermann*. From 1942, he was a soldier in platoon "Sad" of the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks, which were a part of the Special Unit "Jerzy", subject to Kedyw of the Home Army Supreme Command, and commanded by Janek Bytnar (see above). His family house at 36 Różana Street served as a storehouse for weapons. He was promoted to corporal. After his mother was arrested, he lived with his 13-year old cousin, Teodor Wołoszczuk, as both were left without adult carers. On 4 August 1943, before midnight, the Gestapo surrounded the building where they lived. After a brief battle, in which five policemen were killed, Horczak and his cousin managed to escape. They were hiding in Kobyłka near Warsaw, in the buildings belonging to Professor Marcel Handelsman.

He was arrested on 19 August 1943 by the Criminal Police at the corner of Ordynacka and Nowy Świat Streets and transported to Aleja Szucho. Recognized by the Germans (during the interrogation, the Gestapo had brought him to Różana Street), he was beaten but did not give anyone away. He was murdered in September 1943 during an interrogation.



Scheme of the battle fought by Jerzy Horczak on 4 August 1943. (MN)

He was awarded the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously). In 2001, a plaque was placed on the wall of the house at 36 Różana Street to commemorate his name.

HULEWICZ, WITOLD, "Grzegorz", "G.R.Z.", pen names: "Olwid", "Wit", "Witowt" (26 November 1895 – 12 June 1941)

Born in Kościanki in the Września district. He graduated from the Royal Gymnasium in Gniezno. During World War I, he was conscripted into the German army on the Western Front. As a participant of the Greater Poland Uprising in December 1918, he joined the staff of the Security Guards in Poznań. He was an officer in the Greater Poland Army and served as an adjutant in the I Military District in Poznań. He joined the Polish Army in 1919 and in 1920 became a regulation and training clerk in Air Force section of the II Department of the Ministry of Military Affairs. He was promoted to captain (1921) and transferred to the reserve forces. He studied Polish and Music at the University of Poznań, continued his studies in Paris and received a certificate of completion (without receiving the degree) at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius (1925). He was a literary director at the Reduta Theater in Warsaw, supervised by Juliusz Osterwa. From 1927, he was a program director in the newly formed Polish Radio Wilno; he was also co-founder of Radio Theater. From 1935 he was head of the Literature Department of the Polish Radio Warsaw, and from 1936 was vice-president of the Trade Union of Polish Writers. He was engaged in literary work: he was a translator of German literature; a poet (collections: *Płomień w garści*, and *Miasto pod chmurami*); author of radio plays and literary-musical programs; and a publicist ("Radio", "Pion", "Wiadomości Literackie", "Pamiętnik Warszawski").

In September 1939, he worked as a presenter of programs in German. After the surrender of the capital, he worked as an interpreter in the city council. He probably joined the underground movement in October 1939; he was a member of the underground organization Corps of Poland's Defenders, a publisher and editor of its *Polska Żyje*.

He was arrested by the Gestapo on 1 September 1940 and imprisoned in Pawiak. He was interrogated repeatedly at Aleja Szucha and tortured during interrogations. He was shot dead in Palmiry on 12 June 1941.

He was awarded, among others, the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta and the Medal of Independence (1933).



Witold Hulewicz at the PEN Club Congress in Budapest, 1932. (MN)

IDZIKOWSKA, KRYSZYNA, “Kryśia” (24 February 1921 – 27 June 1944)

Born in the village of Wiskienica Dolna in the Łowicz county. She attended the Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz Public Gymnasium and High School in Łowicz and in 1942 passed her secondary school exit exam at a secret gathering in the Agricultural School for Girls in Dąbrowa Zduńska. She studied Polish at the clandestine University of Warsaw.

From February 1943, she was a messenger at the Peasant Battalions Supreme Command and the People’s Association of Women, and a newspaper distributor of the underground People’s Party (SL) and Peasant Battalions (BCh). Her apartment at 16b, Piusa XI Street (now Piękna Street) served temporarily as a point for newspaper distribution.

She was arrested on 31 May 1944 on a train on the Warsaw–Skierniewice route with a suitcase full of underground newspapers, which she claimed as her own so as not to expose fellow passengers to danger. She was arrested and interrogated by the Gestapo in Skierniewice and in Łowicz, then imprisoned in Pawiak. When tortured during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha, she did not disclose anything. On 27 June 1944, she was shot dead in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was decorated with the Peasant Battalions Cross (posthumously). The High School in Zduny in the Łowicki county was given her name (1973).

KIRCHMAJER, WANDA JÓZEFA MARIA, “Wanda”, “Janka” (9 November 1901 – 29 March 1944)

Born in Majdan Górny in the Nadwórna County in Galicia. She graduated from the Henryk Sienkiewicz IV Public Gymnasium in Kraków and the Warsaw University of Life Sciences (SGGW) as an agronomy engineer (1928).

In the spring of 1940, she became a member of the Secret Military Organization (TOW) and served as deputy head in the Department of Communications of the Supreme Command; she communicated with Kraków and Lublin. After the TOW and the Home Army merged in March 1943, she worked in the Kedyw of the Warsaw District. She was promoted to second lieutenant.

On 7 March 1944, she was arrested at Marszałkowska Street and imprisoned in Pawiak. Tortured during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha, she did not disclose anything. Fearing further torture, she kept asking the Polish medical staff to give her poison. She was shot dead on 29 March 1944 in the ruins of the ghetto ruins.

She was decorated with the Cross of Valor and the Order of Virtuti Militari (posthumously).



Krystyna Idzikowska
(Museum of the History
of the Polish Peasant
Movement.)



Wanda Kirchmajer
(L. Wanat, *Za murami
Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1986)

KLIMOWICZ, WŁADYSŁAW TADEUSZ, "Tama", "Kafar" (3 July 1910 – January 1943)

Born in Szeptyce in the Rudki County in Galicia. He graduated from the Jan and Andrzej Śniadeccy Public Gymnasium for Boys in Lviv and the Faculty of Civil and Hydraulic Engineering of the Lviv Polytechnic, receiving a bachelor degree in hydraulic engineering (1937). He was a second lieutenant in the reserve forces.

During the September Campaign, he was a commander in the 2nd sapper storehouse in Lublin. Interned in Romania, he managed to get to France and from 1940 he served there for the Polish Army. He was evacuated to Great Britain; assigned to the First Polish Independent Parachute Brigade, he volunteered to serve in the country. After training in sabotage, he was sworn in as a cichociemny ("Silent Unseen"). He was promoted to lieutenant (1942). During the night of 1 October 1942, he was dropped on the "Zamek" premises in the area of Dęblin in Poland. He was then assigned to the Union of Retaliation in the Silesian District.

He was arrested in January 1943 in Warsaw in an apartment at Zimorowicza Street just before his departure to "Zamek". He probably poisoned himself in the Gestapo detention center at al. Szucha.

He was awarded with the Cross of Valor (four times).

KOCJAN, ANTONI, "Jankowski", "Korona", "Mączka", "Michał" (12 August 1902 – 13 August 1944)

Born in the village of Skalskie near Olkusz; he graduated from the King Casimir Gymnasium in Olkusz. He served in the Polish Military Organization. In the summer of 1920, he volunteered to join the Polish Army and fought in the Polish–Soviet War with the 11th Infantry Regiment. From 1923, he studied at the Department of Electrical Engineering at the Warsaw University of Technology, and then at the Faculty of Forestry at the Warsaw University of Life Sciences. In 1925, he was hired by the Experimental Aviation Workshops in Warsaw. From mid-1932 he was a co-owner, manager and head constructor in the Glider Works at Pole Mokotowskie, and by 1939 he had independently constructed prototypes of 11 gliders and two motor gliders. Together with Franciszek Żwirko, he set a new international altitude record of 4004 meters with an RWD-2 airplane.

He probably joined the underground movement in the spring of 1940 and worked in the intelligence organization "Muszkietrzy", where he was an active member of the communication intelligence ring ("37").



Władysław Klimowicz
(S. Kopf, S. Starba-Bałuk,
Armia Krajowa, Warsaw
1999)

On 19 September 1940, he was accidentally arrested and stayed in the Auschwitz concentration camp until November 1941. Thanks to the help of the Union of Armed Struggle, he was released and employed as a supplier in a German company Techno-Service (which enabled him to move safely around the General Government). He rejoined the underground movement and worked in the production of weapons and explosives for the Union of Armed Struggle. At the end of 1942, he was head of Air Report of the Office of Industrial Study in the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command. He investigated the German preparations for the production of unmanned V-1 aircraft and the V-2 missiles (information that was sent to London and enabled the British air forces to bomb the V-2 manufacturing facilities in Peenemünde on the island of Usedom during the night of 17 August 1943), and the location of the German experimental center for the V-2 missiles in the Mielec area). For his achievements in the field of intelligence, he was promoted to officer and appointed a lieutenant. When a local Home Army squad seized an unexploded missile during a brave action near the village of Sarnaki (Łosice County), the Air Report, commanded by Lt Eng. Kocjan, determined the principles of its construction, the control mechanism, and the technical data, and transferred them to London.



Antoni Kocjan's student identity card, 1923/1924. (Museum of the Warsaw University of Technology.)



Presentation of the Polish PZL-37 "Łoś" bomber in Belgrade on 18 June 1938. Antoni Kocjan is the fourth person standing from the left, with Boris Cijan, Makomaski, Stanojević, Eugeniusz Przysiecki, Bolesław Orliński, Major Leonid Bajdak, Colonel Edward d'Erceville, certified Lieutenant Colonel Tadeusz Wasilewski, and others. (AAN)

He was arrested on 1 June 1944, after being unmasked in the Secret Military Publishing House no. 4, located in the pre-war basements of the Glider Works at Pole Mokotowskie. His wife Elżbieta was arrested with him and released on 12 July 1944. He was imprisoned in Pawiak and tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha. He was shot dead on 13 August 1944 with a group of the last 40 prisoners of Pawiak.

He was decorated with the Silver Cross of Merit and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously). His name was used for the School Complex in Olkusz and streets in Warsaw, Olkusz, and Mielec. He was depicted as a participant of the working out of German bombs in the war film *The Battle of the V.I* (directed by Vernon Sewell, USA, United Kingdom 1958).

KOJER, ALFRED ZYGMUNT, “Doktór”, “Fred”, “Kruk”, “Myszurski” (10 September 1913 – 7 May 1943)

Born in Warsaw. He graduated from the Mikołaj Rej Private Male Gymnasium of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Warsaw and studied medicine at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius; he obtained his medical diploma in Warsaw during the occupation.

After the annexation of the eastern areas of Poland by the Red Army, he was arrested in Vilnius, transferred to the Germans and sent to a labor camp. He was released because of advanced tuberculosis and then settled in Warsaw. As a lieutenant, he joined the sabotage organization “Wachlarz”, established for operations in the rearguard of the German Army on Soviet Union territory and for organizing protection for a common armed uprising that was to take place on Polish lands. The organization was controlled by the Supreme Command of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army). He served there under Marian Przysiecki (see below).

He arrested by the Gestapo on 7 April 1943 in a group of 30 officers in Saint Florian’s Church in the Praga district of Warsaw during a mass for the soul of Wilhelm Baranowski “Borkowski”, a Polish officer from the “Wachlarz” organization who was executed by the Germans on 15 October 1942. They found him with a weapon designed to kill a Gestapo informer. He was imprisoned in Pawiak. During interrogations at Aleja Szucha his bones were broken and he stayed in the prison hospital. On 7 May 1943, he was taken out on a stretcher and shot dead in a gateway at 27 Dzielna Street.

KOROMPAY, ELŻBIETA, “Grażyna” (8 July 1921 – 12 January 1943)

Born in Przemyśl to a Polish-Hungarian family. She graduated from the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth Gymnasium and High School in Warsaw, and was a girl scout in the 11th Scouting Group for Girls of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association. After passing her secondary school exit exam at the secret gatherings, she started clandestine medical studies at the secret Faculty of Medicine of the University of Warsaw.

She joined the underground movement in 1941 and served as messenger to Lieutenant Colonel Marian Drobik “Dzięcioł” (see above), chief of the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command, then worked at the Department of Security and Counter-Intelligence of the 2nd Division of the Home Army Supreme Command.

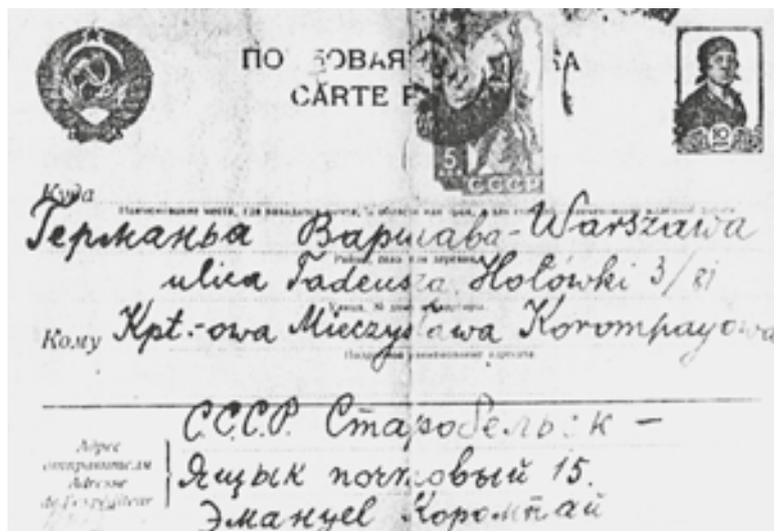
She was arrested on 9 January 1943 in a clandestine apartment with materials that indicated her participation in the underground movement (she was probably betrayed by Ludwik Kalkstein’s



Alfred Kojer (L. Wanat, *Za murami Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1985)



Elżbieta Korompay (MN)



group). She was placed in an isolation cell in the Pawiak prison and chained with handcuffs. Assisted by plain-clothed officers, the Gestapo took her around Warsaw cafés but she managed to warn the people in danger with her behavior. During the night of 11 January 1943, her mother Mieczysława, a messenger in the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command, was arrested. During the interrogation at Aleja Szucha, Elżbieta was tortured several times at night in the presence of Mieczysława, but she did not reveal anything. She was murdered during an interrogation on 12 January 1943, in her mother's presence.

Mieczysława was taken to the Auschwitz concentration camp where she died of typhus on 29 January 1944. Elżbieta's sister Marta, who worked with Mieczysława as a nurse in the Warsaw Garrison Command during the Siege of Warsaw in September 1939, died on 26 September 1939 at the age of 19 under the debris of the European Hotel, where the provision department of the Garrison Command was located. She was buried at the Czerniakowski Cemetery in Warsaw. Her father Emanuel Aladár, a captain in the Polish Army (posthumously a major), author of the first Polish-Hungarian dictionary in Poland, was imprisoned in a camp in Starobiel'sk on 15 November 1939 and was murdered in April 1940 in Kharkiv, in the basement of NKVD.

■ Emanuel Korompay's postcard to his wife Mieczysława, Starobiel'sk, 1939 or 1940. (Wiesław Budzyński's collections.)

■ Emanuel and Mieczysława Korompay (MN)



■ Marta Korompay (MN)

■ Emanuel Aladár
Korompay (Wiesław
Budzyński's collections.)

■ Mieczysława Korompay
(Wiesław Budzyński's
collections.)

KOSZYKOWSKI, IZYDOR, "Czarny" (24 April 1901 – 15 October 1942)

Born in Warsaw; he was abandoned at Koszykowa Street – hence his surname. From 1915, he worked at an engraving and goldsmith workshop of Benedykt Morantowicz in Warsaw, gaining a diploma in 1922. In 1918, he volunteered to join the Polish Army and was taken to the 6th Infantry Regiment of the Polish Legions. He fought in the battles with Ukrainians in Galicia and in the Polish–Soviet War, he completed the whole fighting track of the 6th Infantry Regiment. In 1919, he was awarded a diploma for "Faithful Service for the Homeland" and was promoted to lance corporal. He then worked as a conductor in the Warsaw Trams depot. From 1927, he was a member of the Communist Party of Poland and co-founder of the Train Drivers' Union of the Capital City of Warsaw, led by the Communist Party of Poland. With the help of Tadeusz Strug, his autobiography entitled "Dziedzic ulicy" (after the war – "Dziecko ulicy") appeared in the *Jutro Rzeczypospolitej* weekly in

1932. From 1940, he was a member in the organization Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Council "Hammer and Sickle" and led its group in the tram depot. After the Polish Workers' Party was established (1942), he helped with the creation of its first unit among tram drivers but he did not join the party (he did not consider the Polish Workers' Party a communist party and was waiting for the restoration of the Communist Party of Poland).

He was arrested on 22 June 1942 in a tram in the Powiśle district, betrayed by the Gestapo agent Józef Mützenmacher, who claimed to be a representative of the Comintern. He was imprisoned in Pawiak and interrogated at Aleja Szucha. He was shot dead in a mass execution on 15 October 1942 in the Łuze dunes in Kampinos Forest.

He was decorated with the Order of the Cross of Grunwald, Class III (posthumously, in 1946). The tram depot at Krawczyńska Street in Warsaw (1947) was named after him.



 Izidor Koszykowski
(MN)

KOTT, KAZIMIERZ ANDRZEJ, “Światowid”, “Andrzej Dubiński” (1918 – approximately 1941)

Born in Warsaw to an assimilated Jewish family but several years after the war he converted to Catholicism. He graduated from the Adam Mickiewicz State Gymnasium for Boys in Warsaw. He studied socio-political sciences at the University of Liverpool. He was involved with left-wing groups of Piłsudski’s followers in England and wrote for the *Orka na Ugorze* magazine. After the outbreak of the war in September 1939, he volunteered to join the Polish Army. From October 1939, he was a member of the underground organization Polish People’s Action for Independence (PLAN); he served as a commandant of the Combat Department and took part in propaganda and small sabotage actions.

On 14 January 1940, he was arrested on 32 Złota Street, in the apartment of Jan Lewandowski, a member of PLAN (who was shot dead on 2 April 1940 in Palmiry). The Gestapo arrested his parents, too. He escaped through an unbarred window on 17 January 1940, during a break in the interrogation at Aleja Szucha (for more information, see chapter “Escaping from Aleja Szucha”).

He hid in Warsaw and then, for three months, in Kozieniec near Krasnystaw. On 20 January 1940, Ludwik Landau noted that the Germans hung posters in Warsaw in which “they promised 2000 zlotys for helping to capture Andrzej Kazimierz Kott, a Jew born in 1919 [...], guilty of attempted murder” (L. Landau, *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1962). As part of the repression, the Germans arrested 255 people in the Warsaw ghetto, who were probably shot in Palmiry afterwards. In the spring of 1940, Kott managed to get to Lviv, where he organized sabotage actions against the Soviet freight transports to Germany.

In the late autumn of 1940, he was injured during a roundup conducted by the NKVD and transported to the Brygidki prison in Lviv in a critical condition; he likely either died there of the sustained injuries or was murdered. According to another version, he was sentenced and transported to Kyiv in 1941, and his further fate remains unknown.

His mother Melania was murdered by the Gestapo; his father was sent to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen on 5 May 1940 and died in the Mauthausen camp in 1940 or 1941.

KRAJEWSKA, ANNA, “Hanka” (approximately 1904 – 29 March 1944)

Born in Kraków. She joined the underground movement in the autumn of 1940, and controlled the radio programs for the Intelligence Department of the Kraków District of the Union of Armed Strug-



Kazimierz Andrzej Kott
(MN)

gle/the Home Army. She participated in the release of Tadeusz Orzelski – a prisoner of the Gestapo and activist of the Polish Socialist Party – from Saint Lazarus Hospital in Kraków. In the autumn of 1942, she took the position of the head of field communications in the Department of Offensive Intelligence of the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command.

She was arrested on 14 December 1943, together with Major Otton Pawłowicz "Siostra", to whom she served as messenger, but they were betrayed by Ludwik Kalkstein's group. She was imprisoned in Pawiak and driven to interrogations at Aleja Szucha six times. She was brutally beaten but she did not disclose anything. Because of the beatings, she had to lie on her stomach for several months unable able to move. On 29 March 1944, she was carried to her execution on a stretcher and was shot in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was decorated with the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously).

KRAJEWSKA, ELŻBIETA MARIA ANNA, "Elitka", "Litka", "Granowska" (27 January 1923 – 14 January 1944)

Born in a family estate in Skoraczewo in the Jarocin County; she graduated from the Gymnasium of the Sacré-Coeur Congregation in Polska Wieś near Pobiedziska (1939). In October 1939, together with her family she was placed in the internment camp in Cerekwica, then deported to the General Government, where she stayed with her family in Warsaw at Kazimierzowska Street. She participated in clandestine lessons in the underground Zofia Kurmanowa High School, and in 1942 passed her secondary school exit exam with honors. Talented in writing and arts, she painted, wrote poems, and kept a diary called "Pamiętnik wojenny".

Around 1942, she joined, against her parents' will, the 2nd Scouting Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battery "Żbik". She was promoted to senior rifleman and took part in Operation N, organized by the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army Supreme Command. This was anti-German psychological sabotage specifically targeted at the Wehrmacht soldiers and it involved, principally, illegal press believed to be distributed by the anti-Nazi German underground; in particular, she distributed the "N" prints (code name "Granowska").

She was arrested on 6 June 1943 while planting leaflets in the military area at Wiśniowa Street. A search of her apartment revealed many envelopes addressed to Germans by her sister Halina "Sowa", who was absent at that moment. Elżbieta pleaded guilty of everything. She was



Elżbieta Krajewska (MN)

interrogated and tortured for two days and nights at Aleja Szucha. She was transported unconscious to the prison hospital in Pawiak. After a few days, she underwent another interrogation and was cruelly tortured. She did not disclose anything. She was put in an isolation cell in Pawiak. On a piece of blotting paper, she wrote *The Way of the Cross of Poles in Prisons and Camps* and had it smuggled out; 5,000 copies were secretly published in Warsaw. She carved small figures from bread in which she sent secret messages to her family and friends. On 5 October 1943, she was taken to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, where she died of typhus on 14 January 1944.

Her sister Halina (1924–1944) participated in the Warsaw Uprising as a messenger and died severely injured in a prisoner-of-war hospital in Gross-Lübars near Magdeburg.

KRUGŁOWSKA, IWONA, née Rosen, “Iwa” (1908 – approximately 15 July 1944)

In 1932, she completed Jesuits’ military course in operating the Hughes Telegraph, in Zegrze. She worked as a telegraph operator in Toruń and at the Main Post Office in Warsaw.

She joined the underground movement in November 1939 and worked in the Financial and Economic Bureau of the Service for Poland’s Victory Headquarters, and then in the Bureau of Finances and Control of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army Supreme Command. She distributed money, weapons, and correspondence. She was officially employed as an assistant in the bar “Pod Bokiem” at 2 Daniłowiczowska Street, which served as a front for underground activities. Following the arrest of the bar’s owner Józef Weber, the underground organization was moved to her apartment at 30, Piusa XI Street (now Piękna Street).

She was arrested on 18 May 1944 (betrayed by a messenger tortured during an interrogation) in her apartment, together with her whole family: mother Halina Sawicka (released on 31 July, killed in the Warsaw Uprising), stepfather Lech Paweł (transported to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on 30 June), and half-sister Joanna Sawicka (who died in the concentration camp in Ravensbrück). She was imprisoned in the women’s unit of Pawiak, so-called Serbia, and was tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha: she was smothered with a gas mask, suffered numerous bone fractures, and yet she did not disclose anything. Around 15 July 1944, she was carried from Serbia to her execution on a stretcher and was shot dead in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was decorated with the Cross of Valor (posthumously).



Iwona Krugłowska (MN)

27 May [19]44. To Agnieszka

"Forgive me – I'm writing illegally because I'm lying on my stomach. My back is so beaten I cannot turn around. I have been interrogated at Aleja Szucha several times. Always the same questions – where did I get the furniture with secret compartments, what do I hide in them? I repeat the same thing over and over again: I bought it at Bagno, I didn't know anything about the secret compartments. They beat me a lot. There were three of them, two men and one woman. They put a gas mask on my face, I was suffocating, I fell from the chair – then one of them kicked me in my back, the woman helped him by beating me with a line. Whenever I lost consciousness, they would pour water on me. But you may be sure I won't say anything – mum and Nuna are in another cell. Nuna was tortured with the gas mask too – she didn't tell them anything. I met great people over here. You free people out there; you have no idea what kind of things we experience right here. I don't regret that I'm here. Take care of yourself, old friend, I don't want to see you here, though. Will we see each other again?"

Secret message by Iwona Krugłowska, MN.

KUDELSKI, MIECZYŚLAW ZYGMUNT, "Wiktor" (28 September 1899 – July 1943)

Born in Warsaw. He attended the Second Russian Gymnasium in Warsaw, the Saint Klemens Gymnasium, and completed his sixth year as an extern in the J. Kołodziejczyk Gymnasium. He volunteered to join the Polish Army and served in the artillery. He was injured during the Polish–Soviet War in 1920, a year later he was transferred to the reserve forces as a corporal. From 1928, he worked in the City Board of Warsaw as an administrator of the city shelters. He graduated from the School for the Infantry Reserve Officer Cadets in Zambrów (1932), but in 1933 he was assigned as a second lieutenant to the officer's artillery corps.

During the September Campaign, he was the commander of the 9th Light Artillery Regiment, then a deputy commander of the squadron and a special tasks officer in the 4th Regiment of Uhlans; later he served in the Independent Operational Group "Polesie" commanded by General Franciszek Kleeberg. After the battle in Kock, he was taken captive by the Germans, but he escaped. He joined the underground movement in 1939 and was a member of the Service for Poland's Victory/the Union of Armed Struggle, a co-organizer. From 1942 he was the second deputy commandant of the Organization of Special Combat Actions "Osa" (from March 1943 called "Kosa 30"), the sabotage



Mieczysław Kudelski
(W. Bartoszewski,
*Warszawski pierścień
śmierci*, Warsaw 1970)

unit of the Home Army Supreme Command. He was a commandant in “Zagralin” (a unit of “Osa” that carried out sabotage operations on the territory of the Third Reich and on the Polish territories incorporated into it). He was promoted to lieutenant.

After several dozen of the “Kosa” soldiers were arrested on 5 June 1943, he tried to reestablish the division but on 12 July was arrested by the Gestapo on the corner of Nowogrodzka and Krucza Streets. Soon after the arrest, he was murdered during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha.

He was decorated with the Cross of Valor (around 1922).

KUSOCIŃSKI, JANUSZ, “Kusy”, “Prawdzic” (15 January 1907 – 21 June 1940)

Born in Warsaw. He graduated from the State Horticultural School in Warsaw. He passed his secondary school exit exam as an extern. He graduated from a non-commissioned officer school with the rank of corporal. He was Poland’s greatest athlete of the interwar period: the first Olympic champion in the 10,000-meter run during the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1932; and world record holder in the 3000 meters and 4 miles. Altogether, he set 25 Polish records at different distances. He graduated from the Józef Piłsudski Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw. He was the editor-in-chief of *Kurier Sportowy* and a member of the Polish team preparing for the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1940.



Men's 5,000-meter run – Janusz Kusociński in the lead, followed by Karczewski, at the Polish Army Stadium (Legia Stadium) in Warsaw, June 1934. (NAC)



Janusz Kusociński (second on the left) at the railway station before departing with the Polish representation for the Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles, Warsaw, 30 July 1932. (Photo by Leon Jarumski, NAC.)

In September 1939, he was a volunteer in the machine gun company of the second battalion of the 360th Infantry Regiment, injured twice during the defense of Warsaw (at Fort Czerniakowski at Okrąg Street – and today a commemorative stone in his honor is located there). As a second lieutenant, he was head of the intelligence unit of the Warsaw District Military Organization “Wilki” (an underground military organization 1939–1941, under the command of Lieutenant Józef Ryłski-Brückner). He also worked as a waiter in a sports inn “Pod Kogutem” at Jasna Street in Warsaw.

On 28 March 1940, he was arrested by the Gestapo in an apartment at 16 Noakowskiego Street. He was tortured during interrogations in the Mokotów Prison at Rakowiecka Street, at Aleja Szucha, and in the Pawiak prison, where he was placed in an isolation cell in Ward IV; he did not give anyone away. He was taken in the transport of political prisoners and was shot on 21 June 1940 in Palmiry, together with other Olympians such as Feliks Żuber, Tadeusz Bartodziejski, and Tomasz Stankiewicz.

He was decorated with the Great Honorary Sports Award, the Golden Cross of Merit, the Cross of Valor (twice), the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta for “outstanding achievements for the independence of the Republic of Poland and for sport achievements in athletics” (2009). Since 1954, an annual international athletics competition has been held organized in his honor, called the Janusz Kusociński Memorial. Schools and streets in several dozen towns in Poland named after him.

KWIECIŃSKI, FRANCISZEK “Frankowski”, “Karwat” (13 September 1884 – 28 May 1942)

Born in Głuszyń near Nieszawa; He attended a gymnasium in Warsaw but did not finish. He was an owner of a transport company. In 1915, he moved to Moscow and was active in Polish social and political organizations. He participated in the Third Silesian Uprising (1921). From 1919, he was member of the National Workers' Union (NZR), and in 1920, together with the whole NZR, he joined the newly established National Workers' Party. In 1928 he reached the party's highest authorities. From 1936, he was an active member of Front Morges, co-founded with General Władysław Sikorski. After the establishment of the Labor Party (SP) in 1937, he was a member of the highest authorities.

In September 1939, he took part in the civilian defense of Warsaw. He joined the underground movement in October 1939, and from 1940 he was president of the clandestine Labor Party, the party's representative in the Joint Government Delegation, then in the Political Consultative Committee.

On the night of 19 January 1942, he was arrested as part of mass arrests of the members of the Labor Party in Warsaw, caused by the denunciation of a Gestapo informer. He was imprisoned in Pawiak, and from March he stayed in an isolation cell in Ward I. He was subjected to difficult interrogations at Aleja Szucha, and after being released from the isolation cell, he was treated in the prison hospital. On 28 May 1942, he was shot dead in a mass execution in the Sękociski Forest near Magdalenka.

His daughter Zofia Kwiecińska (1920–1942), a graduate of the Jadwiga Kowalczykówna Gymnasium and High School, was arrested on 23 October 1940 and imprisoned in Pawiak, where she served as a messenger of the prison unit. On 22 September 1941, she was transported to the concentration camp in Ravensbrück, and on 22 September 1942 brought to Pawiak again and shot dead in the same execution as her father.

LEWANDOWSCY, STEFAN and WANDA, Stefan Lewandowski (19 February 1901 – 28 May 1942), Wanda Lewandowska (25 February 1900 –?)

Stefan Lewandowski was a graduate of the Public Piotr Skarga Gymnasium for Boys in Pułtusk and the Warsaw School of Economics in Warsaw. He was vice-president of the General Polish Union Bank in Warsaw.



Franciszek Kwieciński
(A.K. Kunert, *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1987)



Stefan and Wanda
Lewandowscy on
Kasprowy Wierch. (MN)

He was a member of the underground movement from October 1939, a co-organizer of radio control in foreign languages, and Editor-in-chief of *Biuletyn Informacyjny Agencja Radiowa AR*. He received letters from his friend in Switzerland, which raised the Gestapo's suspicion.

He was arrested on 27 January 1942 after a search at work, where an “AR” bulletin was found. During a search in his apartment at 38 Poznańska Street, a printing machine and a hectograph (a machine for copying documents) were also found. Lewandowski was transported to Aleja Szucha, where he was interrogated and brutally beaten until morning in the presence of his wife, Wanda. On the next day, he was imprisoned in Pawiak and tortured repeatedly over a four-month investigation. On the night of 27 May 1942, he was shot dead in a mass execution in the Sękociński Forest near Magdalenka.

Wanda Lewandowska was involved in the distribution of the “AR” bulletin, and was arrested at the same time as Stefan. “Wanda was heavily beaten during interrogations, but she bore it well. After being released from the isolation cell, she worked with great commitment in the ‘black’ laundry and at the same time as a messenger of the prison unit” (A. Czuperska-Śliwicka, *Cztery lata ostrego dyżuru*, Warsaw 1968). On 5 October 1943, she was transported to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp and in 1944 to the concentration camp in Ravensbrück, where she stayed until the end of the war.

ŁOPUSKA, IZABELA JADWIGA, “Marta”, “Marysia”, “Dr Marta”, “Dr Marysia” (25 May 1908 – 26 July 1944)

Born in the family estate Dobrogosty in the Przasnysz County. She was a graduate of the Klementyna Tańska-Hoffman State Gymnasium for Girls in Warsaw and of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Warsaw (1933). She was a scout in the Warsaw Scouting Group for Girls of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association, and an assistant on the Surgery Ward of the Infant Jesus and the Holy Spirit hospitals.

She joined the underground movement in the winter of 1939/1940 and taught the secret classes with medicine students of the University of Warsaw and the University of Western Lands. In 1940 she was wanted by the Gestapo and moved to underground military work in the courier services of the Union of Retaliation (a military sabotage organization of the Union of Armed Struggle), and in the intelligence and sabotage of the Service for Poland’s Victory/the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army. In July 1940, disguised as Marta Schulz, a German from Wołyń, she voluntarily left to work in Germany in order to organize an economic sabotage.

Arrested on her way back in 1941, she stayed in the prison at 16 Sterlinga Street in Łódź for 4 months and was released afterwards. She came back to work as a courier on the Warsaw–Lviv route. In 1943, she was assigned to the 7th Division of the Home Army Supreme Command and was responsible for the main coffer of the Bureau of Finances and Control. In spite of being in personal danger, she was hiding a Jewish friend in her apartment.

She was arrested on 15 May 1994 with documents in the name of Marta Schulz in the so-called “cauldron” (“kocioł”), a trap set by the Gestapo at the Office’s contact spot at 21, 6 Sierpnia Street (the present Aleja Wyzwolenia) in Warsaw, along with Andrzej Bieniek (see above). She was transported to the Gestapo headquarters at Aleja Szucha and was subjected to elaborate torture such as the “pile”. She tried to commit suicide by swallowing poison but she was resuscitated in the prison hospital in Pawiak. She was transported to Aleja Szucha again but did not disclose anything except her surname (even the address of her apartment, in which the main coffers of the Home Army Supreme Command were stored). She was shot during the night of 25 July 1994 in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was decorated with the Cross of Valor and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously). A street in Konin was named after her.



Izabela Łopuska (MN)

MACKIEWICZ, ALICJA, née Jakubowicz, "Joanna" (12 August 1899 – around 7 June 1942)

Born and lived in Warsaw. She worked in an office and was a member of the Polish Socialist Party and a soldier of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army. She and her daughter Maria Franciszka (Masia) were seized by the German police on 7 June 1942, while carrying a suitcase with a radio transmitter. Both were put in isolation cells in Ward IV of the male unit of the Pawiak prison. Although savagely tortured at Aleja Szucha, they did not reveal anything. Wanda Ossowska wrote that "Masia Mackiewicz, who looked like a child, with her buttocks slashed and oozing with pus... that little child, beaten so horribly, is lying on her stomach on wood dust and enduring her torments silently" (W. Ossowska, *Przeżyłam... Lwów–Warszawa 1939–1946*, Kraków 2009). Alicja committed suicide by hanging herself in the cell, as she was afraid that she would not be able to stand further tortures. Masia attempted to poison herself but was resuscitated in the prison hospital and interrogated again. On 17 January 1943, she was taken to the concentration camp in Majdanek, where she spent the rest of war. In May 1943, Masia's father Czesław was arrested and shot dead on 29 May in the ruins of the ghetto.



Alicja Mackiewicz (MN)

MĘŻYŃSKA, HELENA, née Jeske-Choińska, "Bogna", "Bogna 49" (15 March 1908 – 26 July 1944)

Born in Warsaw, the daughter of Teodor Jeske-Choiński, a writer. She graduated from the Municipal Gymnasium for Girls in Toruń and the Faculty of Polish Studies at the University of Poznań (1931). She was a middle school teacher (in Oborniki, Toruń, and Gdynia).

She joined the underground movement in 1941; she was a messenger and a cryptographer in the 5th Division for Command and Communications of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army Supreme Command. Together with her husband Kazimierz, a PhD in Polish philology, she kept the division's archives. She was a lieutenant in the Home Army.

On 4 July 1944, she was arrested in the so-called "cauldron" ("kocioł"), in a trap set by the Gestapo at an underground spot at Dobra Street. She was carrying letters in cipher, and to save fellow messengers, she took the whole blame. She was tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha but did not reveal anything. After the last interrogation, she was brought back to Pawiak on a stretcher, unconscious, with tissue loss on her buttocks. She was taken on a stretcher from the prison hospital to her execution and was shot dead on 26 July 1944 in the ruins of the ghetto.

She was decorated with the Cross of Valor and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously).



Helena Mężyńska (MN)

NIENIEWSKA, HALINA, “Irena Konarska”, “Iko”, “Iza” (22 February 1890 – 21 May 1942)

Born in Warsaw. She graduated from high school in Switzerland, then she studied French, philosophy, and history at the University in Lausanne. After returning to Poland, she participated in establishing the Women’s League of Military Readiness under the Union of Active Struggle in Kraków. Together with her mother she joined the Voluntary Legion of Women. She participated in the Polish–Soviet War in 1920. After the war she worked as a French teacher in the Queen Jadwiga Gymnasium for Girls in Warsaw and as an inspector in the Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment (1929–1938). She was also a member of the Female Military Training Public Committee.

She joined the underground movement in the autumn of 1939. In her apartment at 56 Raszyńska Street, the members of the Service for Poland’s Victory were sworn in, with General Michał Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz among them. Nieniewska was a member of the underground Alliance of Democrats (“Prostokąt”) and the editor-in-chief of the party’s magazine *Nowe Drogi*. She was involved in the system of secret education in Warsaw.

She was arrested for the first time on 17 July 1940, along with a group of teachers and students at a secret secondary school exit exam in the Queen Jadwiga Public Gymnasium and High School for Girls. She was released after two weeks. From January 1941, she was a co-founder and head of the “Iko” unit of the 1st Organizational Division of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army, responsible for communicating with Poles in prisoners-of-war camps and those who had been sent to Germany for forced labor. She ran a post and money collection point for foreign couriers (the “Import” unit).

She was arrested again on 28 April 1942 in an apartment at 58, 6 Sierpnia Street (now Aleja Wyzwolenia), during a meeting with an “Iko” correspondent, who turned out to be an informer. Anna Białokurowa (see above) was arrested in the same case. Nieniewska was sent to Pawiak prison and was tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha; she did not reveal anything and when faced with evidence she took the whole blame. She was murdered on 21 May 1942 during an interrogation; her mutilated corpse was transported to a mortuary at Oczki Street, where she was identified. The Gestapo stated that heart attack was the cause of her death. Her body was given to her family.

She was awarded the Cross of Independence (1931), the Cross of Valor, and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously). She was posthumously promoted to captain. In 1987, a plaque dedicated to her memory was placed on a wall of the building at 56 Raszyńska Street.



Halina Nieniewska
(*Słownik uczestniczek
walk o niepodległość
Polski 1939–1945*,
Warsaw 1988)

NOWICKA, WANDA, née Mech, "Barbara", "Irena", "Karusia", "Róża", "Zofia" (1909 – February/March 1944)

Born in Kiev. She studied French in Paris. She was a singer and performed for Polish Radio. She cooperated with Halina Kraheńska in the League for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (an organization for protecting politically persecuted people).

She joined the underground movement in March 1940 and was a member of the Union of Retaliation of the Union of Armed Struggle Supreme Command. She was a personal messenger to its chief, Lieutenant Colonel Franciszek Niepokólczycki "Teodor". Nowicka was the head of both the Communication and the Supply and Transport Departments, as well as of the Communications Department of the Sappers Unit in the Operational Department of the Home Army Supreme Command. She also cooperated with Council to Aid Jews "Żegota".

She was denounced and arrested on 26 November 1942 under the name Irena Lewandowska, in a gateway of a house in the Żoliborz district, where she lived. She was transported to Pawiak and managed to send a secret message. Interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha, she did not reveal anything. On 1 December she was placed in an isolation cell. The Germans never managed to establish her true identity. She was probably murdered during an interrogation in February or March 1944 (on 22 March her false name was removed from the prisoners list). An inscription in one of the cells at Aleja Szucha says: "Mech Nowicka Dr Wanda 30 IX 43 – II 44. God will help us. Always think of His grace and His will. Remember, eternal happiness will come after death".

She was awarded the Cross of Valor (1941) and the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously). She was posthumously promoted to captain.

OLKIEWICZ, WIESŁAW, "Pajaczek" (3 July 1920 – 22 June 1944)

Came from Ciechanów. He attended secret classes and was a scout in the 1st group of platoon "Sad" (Sad-100) of the Assault Groups of the Gray Ranks. He graduated from the School for the Infantry Reserve Officer Cadets of the Home Army in Warsaw, run by Jerzy Zapadka "Mirski". He was a soldier of the 2nd platoon in the sabotage combat unit "Agat"/"Pegaz" of the Directorate of Subversion of the Home Army Supreme Command (later the 2nd company of battalion "Parasol"). He was a member of a group that covered the sabotage action "Wilanów", which on 26 September 1943 retaliated against the German colonists by Wilanów for denouncing the members of the Polish



Wanda Nowicka (MN)



Wiesław Olkiewicz (MN)

Underground and executed the Schutzpolizei commandant in Warsaw, police Oberstleutnant Wilhelm Rodewald (on 26 April 1944, police Oberstleutnant Erin Gessler was accidentally killed).

He was arrested on 22 June 1944, while purchasing weapons in a restaurant in the Wola district, and was murdered during an interrogation at Aleja Szucha.

OSSOWSKA, WANDA, “Wanda” (28 April 1912 – 2 May 2001)

Born on a family estate Kunice in Opatowski County. She graduated from the Zofia Wołowska Private Gymnasium for Girls in Warsaw and from a post-secondary Nursing School of the Polish Red Cross in Warsaw (1936). She worked as the head nurse in a Polish Red Cross sanatorium in Lviv.

During the September Campaign, she was assigned to the 604 Military Hospital in Lviv. In October 1939, she joined the Service for Poland’s Victory and then the Union of Armed Struggle. In 1940, the leaders of the Union of Armed Struggle in Lviv sent her to Warsaw to work as a messenger, but on her way back she was arrested by the NKVD and placed in a prison in Rawa Ruska; then in Brygidki and in Zamarstynów in Lviv. She was released by civilians on 26 June 1941, after the German–Soviet war broke out and the guards escaped. Again, she was sent to Warsaw as a messenger. She was head of communication in the offensive intelligence “Stragan” of the Union of Armed Struggle/the Home Army.

She was arrested at night on 26 August 1942 in her apartment at 28 Dzika Street (she had probably been betrayed by Ludwik Kalkstein’s group). During the search, the Gestapo found secret documents with 280 code names of people involved in intelligence activity and a suitcase with money for the spies across the whole of Europe. Ossowska was placed in Pawiak. After several “examinations” at Aleja Szucha, during which she sustained multiple injuries such as skull fracture and an inner ear injury, unable to handle further torture she tried to poison herself. She was rescued and placed in solitary confinement at Aleja Szucha, with her hand cuffed behind her back. She was interrogated 57 times day and night but did not reveal anything. Around 20 December 1942, she was moved to Serbia, the women’s section of Pawiak, where she remained in strict isolation. On 17 January 1943, she was transported to the concentration camp in Majdanek, and sentenced to 2 years of forced labor and death. She was later evacuated to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. One day before her execution, she was transported to the concentration camp in Ravensbrück and then to the one in Neustadt-Glewe in Mecklenburg, where she was set free by the American army on 2 May 1945.



Wanda Ossowska (MN)

After returning to Poland she became involved in the underground movement, and in 1945, she was arrested by Urząd Bezpieczeństwa (UB) for several weeks. From 1946, she worked at Professor Adam Gruca's orthopedic clinic at the Medical Faculty of the University of Warsaw. From 1950 until her retirement in 1986, she worked at the orthopedic clinic of the Medical University of Warsaw. She was the author of a memoir, *Przeżyłam... Lwów–Warszawa 1939–1946* (first published in Warsaw in 1990), in which she described being imprisoned at Aleja Szucha. She died on 2 May 2001 in Warsaw.

She was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the Gold Cross of Merit with Swords, the Cross of Valor, the Auschwitz Cross, the Florence Nightingale Medal, and others. A public primary school in Kunice was named after Wanda and her brother Henryk.

PIASECKI, STANISŁAW, "Stanisław Mostowski", pen name "Arenariusz", "Janicki", "Stop", "Staszek" (15 December 1900 – 12 June 1941)

Born in Lviv to a Polish-Jewish family. He passed his secondary school exit exam at the Private Gymnasium in Zakopane. In 1920, he volunteered to fight in the Polish–Soviet War and then in the Third Silesian Uprising in 1921. He graduated from the Faculty of Law and Economics at the University of Poznań (1925). He was an activist of the national movement and from 1921 a member of the All Polish Youth, then of the Camp of Great Poland. After 1934, he started to support the political views of the National Radical Camp. He was a popular journalist and writer published (in *Gazeta Warszawska*, *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, and *ABC*), a literary and theater critic, and in 1935 he created the literary-artistic magazine *Prosto z Mostu*, which featured famous writers and journalists from different political fractions. He wrote the novels *Związek Białej Tarczy* and *Szerokie dusze*.

From October 1939, he was a member of the underground National Party, and joined its Board and Military Organization, later known as the National Military Organization (NOW). From 1940, he was head of the Fifth Office for Propaganda of the boards of the National Party and the National Military Organization, and editor-in-chief of the central publication of the National Party and National Military Organization – the *Walka* weekly.

He was arrested on 3 December 1940 at night, in his apartment in Warsaw. According to Ferdynand Goetel, "the search apparently revealed nothing and was about to end until Piastecki tried



Stanisław Piasecki (MN)

to quickly throw a sealed envelope under the desk” (F. Goetel, *Czasy wojny*, Kraków 2005). Next morning, the Gestapo searched a popular literary cafe “Arkadia”, run by Piasecki. “The tragedy of ‘Arkadia’ reverberated and moved the Warsaw intellectual elites. The greatest worry concerned Piasecki and his wife, who was imprisoned with him. A number of people took steps to negotiate releasing the prisoners with the German authorities” (Goetel). Until 13 December 1940, Piasecki was imprisoned at Aleja Szucha; then he was placed in Pawiak and repeatedly transported to Aleja Szucha to undergo torture during interrogations. Later he was allowed to work in the prison library, which enabled him to stay in touch with the underground national movement and send articles to *Walka*. He was executed in Palmiry on 12 June 1941.

His wife Irena (1895–1954) was arrested on 5 December 1940 and placed in Serbia, the women’s unit in Pawiak. On 22 September 1942, she was transported to the concentration camp in Ravensbrück. After the war she lived in Poznań.

PIĄTKOWSKA, RADOMIŁA, ZOFIA, née Śląska, “Misia” (22 August 1920 – 7/8 October 1942)

Born in Warsaw. She graduated from Queen Jadwiga’s Public Gymnasium for Girls in Siedlce and studied at the University of Warsaw (history) and at the Higher School of Journalism.

At the beginning of the German occupation, she worked at the local archive in the Warsaw Arsenal and continued her studies at clandestine University of Warsaw; she then taught secret history classes at the Juliusz Słowacki Public Gymnasium and High School for Girls in Warsaw. After her husband, army cadet Wiesław Piątkowski (1918–1941, died in the concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau), was arrested in Warsaw in September 1940, she started to cooperate with the offensive intelligence of the Union of Armed Struggle (intelligence spot of Major Zygmunt Reliszko “Zygmunt”). She was a messenger to Captain Edmund Banasikowski, commander of unit IV of “Wachlarz” (a sabotage organization) in the area of Witebsk and Newla.

She was arrested on 7 October 1942 in Warsaw, interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha. On 7 October, she hanged herself in the Pawiak cell. According to other sources, she was hanged by the prison deputy commander SS-Oberscharführer Franz Bürkl.

She was awarded the Cross of Valor (posthumously).



Radomiła Piątkowska
(Collections of the Synod
Library of the Polish
Reformed Church.)

PIEKALKIEWICZ, JAN, "Juliański", "Wernic", "Wiktor", "Wrocławski" (19 September 1892 – 19 June 1943)

Born in Kursk. He graduated from a Gymnasium in Petersburg and the Faculty of Economics at the local Institute of Technology (1914). During the Polish–Soviet War in 1920, he volunteered to join the Polish Army. He cooperated with the Polish Plebiscite Committee in Bytom (1921). He was one of Poland's best statisticians of the interwar period. In the 1920s, he was an employee at the Central Statistical Office. He received a PhD degree at the University of Poznań, and was chair of the statistics department at the Warsaw School of Politics and a lecturer at the Warsaw School of Economics. In 1926, he joined the Polish People's Party "Piast". After the unification of the people's movement he became a member and an activist of the People's Party authorities.

In late 1939, he joined the underground movement in People's Party "Roch". He was president of the Economic Policy Committee, which operated within the Main Program Committee of the Central Command of People's Party "Roch". On 27 August 1941, he took the post of deputy to the Government Delegate for Poland, from 13 July to 6 August 1942 he acted as the Government



Jan Piekalkiewicz (NAC)



Jan Piekalkiewicz with his family, standing from the left: his brother Włodzimierz with his wife Kazimiera née Tołoczko; Jan's wife – Julia née Krzyżanowska; Jan Piekalkiewicz. His children are sitting: from the left, Lech and Jarosław. The photo was taken in Włodzimierz Piekalkiewicz's apartment in Poznań, in 1928. (MN)

Delegate, and on 5 August 1942 he was appointed the Government Delegate for Poland, officially taking up the post on 17 September.

He was arrested on 19 February 1943 in a tram at Marszałkowska Street (corner of Litewska Street) in Warsaw. He was placed in the detention center at Aleja Szucha and spent two and a half months in solitary confinement as unnamed prisoner "X", tormented at the orders of Ludwig Hahn, chief of the Sicherheitspolizei and Sicherheitsdienst in the Warsaw District; he did not reveal anything. On 30 May 1943, he was transported to Pawiak in a very serious condition. The German authorities did not agree to put him in the prison hospital and placed him in the isolation cell no. 20 in Ward I, where he remained constantly handcuffed. He died on 19 June 1943 of emaciation and injuries sustained during interrogations.

He was decorated with the Gold Cross of Merit with Swords (posthumously) and the Order of the White Eagle for contribution to the independence and glory of the Republic of Poland (1995). Streets in Warsaw and Poznań were named after him.

PIGUŁOWSKI, KAZIMIERZ, "Cezary", "Młot" (3 March 1907 – approximately 22 June 1942)

Born in Warsaw. He graduated from the Kazimierz Nawrocki Private Gymnasium for Boys and the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology (PW, 1936). A second lieutenant in the reserve forces (1933). He worked at the Wola workshop in the Department of City Planning of the City Board of Warsaw.

He joined the underground movement in November 1939 and was a member of the Independent Poland (PN) organization. In January 1941, he became a commandant of District I Warsaw-City. On 18 November 1941, he organized PN's main commandant Józef Suliński's escape from the Pawiak prison.

He was arrested in a roundup on 5 June 1942, while carrying conspiratorial materials at the corner of Aleje Jerozolimskie and Nowy Świat, by the building of Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego. Transported to Aleja Szucha, he was beaten terribly during an interrogation. He died between 20 and 22 June 1942 because of the injuries sustained during the interrogations (his hands were broken and his eye was knocked out).

His father Antoni was arrested the same day and died on 2 November 1942 in the concentration camp in Auschwitz.



Kazimierz Pigułowski
(Museum of the Warsaw
University of Technology.)

PRZEŹDZIECKI, JANUSZ FRANCISZEK, "Pełka", "Płoński", "Prawdźic", "Prus", "Rock" (2 April 1912 – 26 June 1943)

Born in Leśmierz in the Łęczycki district. He graduated from the Public Gymnasium for Boys in Biała (currently Bielsko-Biała) and the Cadet Artillery School in Toruń (1934). He served in the Polish Army in the 14th Light Artillery Regiment, and from 1938 in the 13th Horse Artillery Division of Kresowa Cavalry Brigade in Brody. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1938.

During the September Campaign, together with the artillery division he commanded, he participated in Kresowa Cavalry Brigade operations, and after its disintegration, in the fights in southern Lubelszczyzna. He joined the underground movement in October 1939 and the Secret Polish Army in November the same year. In April 1940, he became commander of the skeleton company of the 1st Battalion (Warszawa-Mokotów). After the Secret Polish Army and the Union of Armed Struggle merged in September 1939, he joined the staff of the sabotage organization "Wachlarz", where he was the commander of the 4th Quartermaster Department (from March 1942) and of the Transporting Department, as well as chief of the legalization unit of the Organizational Department (from September 1942). After "Wachlarz" was dissolved in the early spring of 1943, he remained without function.

He was arrested on 22 June 1943 and interrogated at Aleja Szucha. During an interrogation on 26 June 1943, he gave the Gestapo a number of false and invalid addresses, and he died by suicide swallowing poison during a break in the interrogation.

PRZYMUSZYŃSKI, JOACHIM FELIKS (24 May 1915 – July 1944)

Born in Bremen. In the underground movement he worked as a messenger for the Department of Offensive Intelligence "Stragan", in the 2nd Division for Information and Intelligence of the Home Army Supreme Command. He traveled to Gdańsk, Gdynia, Szczecin, Berlin, and Bremen.

Betrayed by another messenger, he was arrested together with his wife Helena on 6 June 1944 in his apartment at 72 Chmielna Street. Transported to Aleja Szucha, he was brutally tortured and murdered during an interrogation.

His wife Helena was imprisoned in Pawiak, where she remained until the prison was demolished on 21 August 1944. She was transported to Włochy near Warsaw with five other women who survived; she managed to escape from there.



Janusz Przeździecki (MN)



Helena and Joachim
Przymuszyńscy (MN)

PRZYSIECKI, MARIAN, “Grek”, “Marian”, “Stanisław” (21 April 1905 – 7 May 1943)

Born in Mozyrz, Belarus. A graduate of the Władysław Jagiełło Public Gymnasium in Łuniniec. He studied economics at the University of Poznań and at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. He worked in a construction company in Gdynia and Warsaw.

From 1941, he worked for the underground movement in a sabotage organization “Wachlarz”. In mid-February 1942, he was assigned as lieutenant to unit III of “Wachlarz” in Polesie, where he became the administrator of an estate in Kłoby (close to Parchońsk near Pińsk) and the commander of a local base for one of the sabotage patrols. He was responsible for railway sabotage and participated in executing Gestapo informers. He was promoted to captain.

He was arrested on 31 July 1942 in Parchońsk, together with the entire patrol, and placed in a detention center in Pińsk. He managed to escape the same day and release all the fellow prisoners. He co-organized the courageous operation of liberating the officers of the Home Army from the prison in Pińsk (18 January 1943); among them were Captain Alfred Paczkowski “Wania”, Marian Czarnecki “Rys”, and Piotr Downar “Azorek”. The operation was conducted by a cichociemny (“Silent Unseen”) soldier, Major Jan Piwnik “Ponury”.



Marian Przysiecki (MN)

Przysiecki was arrested by the Gestapo on 7 April 1943 in a group of 30 officers in St. Florian's Church in the Praga district of Warsaw, during a mass for the soul of a "Wachlarz" officer Wilhelm Baranowski "Borkowski", who had been executed by the Germans on 15 October 1942. Przysiecki was placed in Pawiak and tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha. Having sustained multiple injuries, primarily broken bones, he was carried to the prison hospital on a stretcher. He was shot dead on 7 May 1943 in the gateway of a building at 27 Dzielna Street.

RATAJCZAK, JÓZEF, "Karol", "Karolczak", "Krauze" (24 February 1897 – 28 May 1942)

Born in Poznań. He worked as a craftsman and electrical engineer. He was a co-organizer of the General Scout Headquarters against the German Reich, established in 1916. He participated in the Greater Poland Uprising in 1918, then became chief of the 1st Scouting Company in the 1st regiment of the Greater Poland riflemen. He was promoted to second lieutenant in 1919. In 1920, along with his regiment, he took part in the Polish–Soviet War, and in 1921 he participated in the Third Silesian Uprising. Under the Polish army, he worked with youths (e.g. as physical education teacher). He was a member of the Second Department of the General (Main) Staff of the Polish Army (the intelligence). From 1922, he was a member of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association and served as deputy commandant of the Poznań and Polesie units (1937–1938). He was appointed as Scoutmaster in 1932. He was a lecturer at the Infantry Training Center in Rembertów, and was promoted to major in 1936. In May 1939, he was appointed a commandant of the Scouting Emergency Service and acted as a commandant of the Warsaw Scouting Unit.

During the September Campaign, he served as commander of the 1st Battalion (later regiment) of the 15th Infantry Regiment. He participated in the defense of Modlin and for a short time stayed in the German prisoner-of-war camp in Działdowo. After being released, he became an organizer and first commandant of the Service for Poland's Victory/the Union of Armed Struggle in Pomerania. Difficulties in legalizing his stay there forced him to command the unit from Warsaw.

During the night of 23 November 1940, he was arrested together with Anna and Henryk Czuperski in Rembertów, as his messenger Józef Olszewski broke down during an interrogation. Ratajczak was imprisoned in Pawiak and tortured during interrogations at Aleja Szucha; his spine was damaged, but he did not give anyone away. According to Dr Zygmunt Śliwicky, a doctor and prisoner in Pawiak, Ratajczak was advised to simulate paralysis, aphasia, and amnesia to avoid



Józef Ratajczak (MN)

further interrogations. He was taken out on a stretcher on 27 May 1942 at night and shot dead in Sękociński Forrest near Magdalenka.

He was awarded with the Cross of Independence, the Gold Cross of Merit, the Order of Virtuti Militari, Class IV and V, and the Cross of Valor (four times).

ROGOWSKI, WŁODZIMIERZ, “Kruk”, “Rogala” (1899 – June 1942)

Born in Warsaw. From 1916 he was a member of the Polish Military Organization and fought in the Polish–Soviet War in 1920. He was an official at the Department of Social Care of the City Board of Warsaw.

During the September Campaign, he served as a lieutenant in the 2nd Armored Train Squadron in Legionowo. He spent time working at the Social Care Center in Nowe Bródno. He joined the underground movement in December 1939 and was a member of the Independent Poland organization, in which he held the post of commanding officer of Sub-district I of District II (the Warsaw Voivodeship) in Jabłonna, creating six districts of the Independent Poland in the Praga district.

On 5 June 1942, he was arrested at the corner of Aleje Jerozolimskie and Nowy Świat Streets while carrying underground documents. He was imprisoned in Pawiak, and was repeatedly interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha, but revealed nothing. He died in the prison ambulance on the way to Pawiak, after being tormented during an interrogation. His body, thrown away by the Germans in the ghetto at Okopowa Street, was buried in an unknown location at the Warsaw Jewish Cemetery.

He was awarded the Cross of Independence.

SENDEROWA, IRENA STANISŁAWA, née Krzyżanowska, “Jolanta” (15 February 1910 – 12 May 2008)

Born in Otwock near Warsaw. She graduated from the Helena Trzcńska Gymnasium in Piotrków Trybunalski and the Faculty of Polish Literature at the University of Warsaw. She was a scout. During her studies, she was suspended for three years because of protesting against the harassment of Jewish students. During her student years she worked in social services for a long time. In 1930, she joined the Polish Socialist Party.

She worked at the Department of Social Care and Health of the City Board of Warsaw and co-organized secret units for helping Jews within the Department. She was a member of the Polish Socialist Party, which functioned under the code name Liberty-Equality-Independence during the



Włodzimierz Rogowski
(MN)



Irena Sendlerowa,
a nurse in the Warsaw
Uprising, 1944. (Janina
Zgrzemska's collections,
East News Agency.)

occupation. She was involved in operations that helped the families of people who had been executed, imprisoned, or who had to be hiding. She was head of the children's section of the Council to Aid Jews, "Żegota", at the Government Delegate for Poland. She cooperated with the Central Welfare Council (an organization of social welfare, which obtained German permission to operate in the General Government), and organized rescuing around 2,500 children from the Warsaw ghetto and placing them in foster families, Catholic convents, and orphanages.

She was arrested on 20 October 1943 at night and imprisoned in Pawiak, where she worked in the so-called "white laundry" (the laundry for the Germans). She was interrogated and tortured at Aleja Szucha, and after three months she was sentenced to death. On 20 January 1944, she was released from Aleja Szucha by the Gestapo officers bribed by "Żegota", and she went into hiding. During the Warsaw Uprising, she worked at the Red Cross hospitals in the Mokotów and Okęcie districts.

After the Germans withdrew from Warsaw in January 1945, she became deputy chief at the Department of Social Care of the City Board of Warsaw (until March 1950). Repeatedly interrogated by Urząd Bezpieczeństwa (UB), she was charged with employing former soldiers of the Home Army. She worked in medical education until her retirement in 1967. She died on 12 May 2008 in Warsaw.

She was awarded the medal of the Righteous Among the Nations, the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the Commander's Cross with Star of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the Order of the White Eagle, and others. The 2009 film *The Courageous Heart of Irena Sendler* told her story (directed by John K. Harrison, Poland, USA). Numerous schools in Poland were named after her.

SOKALÓWNA, ALEKSANDRA, "Malwina", "Malwa", "Władka" (23 October 1912 – 20 June 1943)

Born in Lviv. A graduate of gymnasium in Lublin and the Central Institute of Physical Education in Warsaw. She was a teacher of physical education at the Aleksandra Piłsudska Public Gymnasium and High School for Girls in Warsaw.

During the Warsaw Campaign, she was a nurse in the 3rd battalion of the 360th Infantry Regiment. In the time of the German occupation, she taught clandestine classes. She joined the underground movement in the autumn of 1939 and was a messenger in the 3rd Operational Division of the Supreme Command of the Service for Poland's Victory/the Union of Armed Struggle. In 1942, as a second lieutenant, she held the post of messenger at the Organization of Special



Aleksandra Sokalówna
(MN)

Combat Actions “Osa” (from March 1943 called “Kosa 30”), a sabotage section of the Home Army Supreme Command. In Kraków, she took part in the preparations for an operation to assassinate Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger – a senior SS and police commander in the General Government.

She was arrested on 5 June 1943 at St. Aleksander’s Church at Plac Trzech Krzyży in Warsaw, during the wedding of an officer of “Kosa 30”, Lieutenant Mieczysław Uniejewski “Marynarz”, with Teofila Suchankówna. Incarcerated in Pawiak, Sokalówna refused to reveal information about the underground documents she had been found with. She was transferred to an isolation cell at Aleja Szucha and was subjected to elaborate torture during the interrogations, but she did not reveal anything. On 20 June 1943, after two months of interrogations, she committed suicide by swallowing poison.

She was awarded the Silver Cross of Merit with Swords and The Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V (posthumously).

STAMIROWSKI, KAZIMIERZ (6 February 1884 – 11 October 1943)

Born in Cieciotów near Wieluń. He was a graduate of the Jan Trejdosiewicz Realschule in Warsaw and of S. Rogulski’s Trade Courses. He was a member of the Polish Socialist Party. After the outbreak of World War I, he joined the 1st Uhlan Regiment of the 1st Brigade of the Polish Legions. He was promoted to second lieutenant. In November 1918, he joined the Polish Army and was made an instructions officer by Commandant Józef Piłsudski; later an adjutant of the Chief of State. During the Polish–Soviet War in 1920, he carried out the missions ordered by Piłsudski, and cooperated with the Second Department of the Polish Army Supreme Command. In 1924, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel; in 1926, he fought in The May Coup d’État as the commander of the 7th Regiment of Lublin Uhlans. In 1929, he left the Polish Army (out of service, later in the reserve forces). He was head of the Politics Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, an undersecretary of state, and chair of the National Agricultural Bank.

In September 1939, he was involved in establishing the Service for Poland’s Victory in Warsaw. He was actively involved in the underground affairs of Piłsudski’s followers and co-founded the *Myśl Państwowa* magazine.

He was arrested during the night of 21 November 1941 and imprisoned in an isolation cell at Pawiak. Ferdynand Goetel recollected that “Kazio Stamirowski was very popular and had a lot of



Kazimierz Stamirowski
(MN)



The meeting during the reunion of "Beliniaki" (members of the 1st Uhlans Regiment of the Polish Legions during World War I, called after their original leader Władysław Zygmunt Belina-Prażmowski) in front of the little manor house of Mr and Mrs Zawisza at Goszyce. In the top row from the left: Major Kazimierz Stamirowski, Lieutenant Colonel Ludwik Kmicic-Skrzyński, Colonel Janusz Głuchowski, Colonel Stanisław Grzmot-Skotnicki, Colonel Władysław Belina-Prażmowski. In the middle row from the left: Leon Kozłowski, Edward Dzik-Kleszczyński, Lieutenant Michał Galiński, Wanda Szczepanowska, Stefania Krasowska-Flekówna, Zofia Zawiszanka, Wanda Marokini, Lieutenant Jerzy Jabłonowski. In the first row from the left: Colonel Bolesław Wieniawa-Długoszowski, Anna Kuhn, Maria Gargonówna, Józef Piłsudski, Klara Schrenzel, Alicja Wentkowska-Krzyżanowska. Sitting from the left: Janina Lenartówna and Anna Gąsiorowska, August 1924. (Photo by Kuczyński, NAC.)

friends, not only among Piłsudski's followers. The various attempts to release him at the German authorities failed" (F. Goetel, *Czasy wojny*, Kraków 2005). Subjected to torture during everyday interrogations, he attempted to commit suicide three times. Felicjan Loth, a doctor and a prisoner of Pawiak, wrote the following: "One morning during the assembly he was found unconscious in a pool of blood. He had cut his wrists with a piece of broken window glass, including the tendon on his left hand; the right one had been cut partially. Imagine the determination which had driven him to cut his skin and all the tendons and muscles to the bone with an ordinary piece of glass. [...] The drop of blood pressure caused a blood clot, which prevented him from bleeding to death. I had to amputate his left hand" (F. Loth, *Z przeżyć lekarskich na Pawiaku in Wspomnienia więźniów Pawiaka [1939–1944]*, Warsaw 1964). Another doctor at the Pawiak prison, Zygmunt Śliwicki, recalls: "The Gestapo didn't give permission to have him placed in the hospital. Only a surgery in the operating room of the prison hospital was allowed and afterwards he was immediately transferred to an isolation cell in Ward I" (Z. Śliwicki, *Meldunek z Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1974). On 29 September 1942, he was deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he joined the underground Military Organization Union (ZOW) created by the prisoners. On 11 October 1943, he was executed by firing squad together with 53 other leaders of the Military Organization Union.

He was awarded the Cross of Independence, The Order of Virtuti Militari, Class V, the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, and other.

SZCZUKÓWNA, EUGENIA (1909 – 23 or 25 May 1942)

She lived in Warsaw and completed her pharmaceutical studies in 1934.

She was a member of the Union of Armed Struggle. She was arrested in February 1942 together with her fiancé Sawik and her brother-in-law Walery Halik, and imprisoned in Pawiak. She was repeatedly transported to interrogations at Aleja Szucha and each time she was beaten. The Gestapo usually covered her head with a fur and one of the officers stood on her head and chest, while the other one stamped on her legs. She was admitted to the prison hospital and was diagnosed with lung rupture and kidney and liver injuries. After two months of treatment she was subjected to another interrogation and returned with injuries to her face. Another interrogation took place on 25 May 1942 in Pawiak, and despite numerous injuries, Szczukówna was tied to a stool, beaten with a metal tool and brought round with water alternately: "The last interrogation took place



Eugenia Szczukówna
(MN)

in Pawiak. Whenever she lost consciousness, she was brought round with cold water. Finally, she was dragged to the prison office and died in its corner right in front of my eyes" (L. Wanat, *Za te zbrodnie nie może być przedawnienia*, "Stolica. Warszawski Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1965, no. 12). Her family was officially informed that she had died of heart disease (a typical cause of death given by the German authorities).

Her fiancé and brother-in-law were transported to a concentration camp, where her brother-in-law was murdered.

WAŃKOWSKI, STEFAN, "Marek" (2 February 1905 – 3 December 1943)

Born in Krzywosądz village in the Nieszawski county. Stefan was orphaned at the age of 14. Despite difficult financial conditions he completed two grades of Gymnasium. In 1923, he joined the Polish Navy and became head of the radiotelegraphy station on the Polish Navy ship ORP "Gryf" (a minelayer, one of the biggest battleships of the Navy of the Second Polish Republic); he reached the rank of master seaman.

During the September Campaign, he fought in the battle of Hel until the surrender on 2 October, and afterwards he was held in German captivity until December 1939. At the end of 1941, he constructed (for the Peasant Battalions Supreme Command) a transmitting/receiving station that enabled communication with London, code name "82". He was appointed to supervise a team that handled the radio station, which operated in different districts of Warsaw. The Germans managed to trace the location of the premises at 23 Promenady Street, from where the messages had been broadcast for a long time.

On 27 October 1943, the radio station was found after a few hours of searching and Wańkowski was arrested together with his three co-workers (among others Maria Zalewska, see below) and imprisoned in Pawiak. He was tortured during the interrogations at Aleja Szucha and presumably committed suicide on 3 December 1943 in a Pawiak cell.

WOLSKI, JÓZEF, "Jacek Wolski" (1903 – 28 May 1942)

Born in Hordjówka village in the Zwiahelski county in Wołyń. He was a volunteer in the Polish–Soviet War in 1920, and was injured in the Battle of Borkowo. In 1925, he joined the Polish Army and in 1930 graduated from the Officer Cadet School for Non-Commissioned Officers in Bydgoszcz. He



Stefan Wańkowski
(Museum of the History
of the Polish Peasant
Movement.)



Józef Wolski (MN)

served as a teacher in the 1st Corps of Cadets of Marshal Józef Piłsudski in Lviv and in the 19th Infantry Regiment. He was appointed captain (1938). He was a graduate of psychology at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. In 1939, he was transferred to the Border Protection Corps and was assigned to regiment “Sarny” in Polesie.

During the September Campaign, he served in the Kraków Army; he was injured twice in the battles of Opatów and Biłgoraj. He joined the underground movement in October 1939 and was the commander of the staff of a Secret Polish Army regiment, which formed in Pruszków. After the Secret Polish Army and the Union of Armed Struggle merged in September 1941, he became an officer of the sabotage organization “Wachlarz” (code name “Jacek Wolski”), he organized the underground units of Section I (Eastern Galicia, Southern Ukraine) in Zamojszczyzna, in the Przemysł region, and in Lviv.

He was arrested in late September 1941 in an apartment at 122 Chmielna Street and was imprisoned in Pawiak. He worked at the prison hospital and cooperated with the prison communication unit of the Union of Armed Struggle. He refused to flee, maintaining that it would inevitably cause a retaliatory execution of his fellow prisoners. Despite being repeatedly interrogated at Aleja Szucha, he did not give anyone away. On the night of 27 May 1942, he was shot dead in Sękociński Forest near Magdalenka. During the execution, he exclaimed: “Long live Poland!”.

ZALEWSKA, MARIA, “Pani Maria” (1887 – 31 March 1944)

An underground meeting point was located in her apartment at 23 Promenada Street, where the central transmitting/receiving station of the Peasant Battalions Supreme Command was operated for a long time, with code name “82”. German radio tracking vehicles traced her apartment and the hidden radio station was found, and she was arrested, on 27 October 1943, together with three workers (among others Stefan Wańkowski, see above) and imprisoned for half a year in an isolation cell in Pawiak. Anna Czuperska-Śliwicka, a doctor at Pawiak, wrote that “During the interrogations at Aleja Szucha, she underwent elaborate tortures, e.g. pulling the nails. Despite such cruel methods, during the evidential proceedings she did not give anyone away” (A. Czuperska-Śliwicka, *Cztery lata ostrego dyżuru*, Warsaw 1968).

Maria was shot dead on 31 March 1944 in the ruins of the ghetto.



Maria Zalewska
(*Wspomnienia więźniów
Pawiaka [1939–1944],
Warsaw 1964*)

ŻELKOWSKI, BRONISŁAW, "Dąbrowa", "Jesion" (22 March 1904 – 11 November 1942)

Born in Warsaw. He was a volunteer in the Polish–Soviet War of 1920. He studied at the Adam Mickiewicz Public Gymnasium for Boys in Warsaw but did not pass his secondary school exit exam. He joined the Polish Army in 1924 and graduated from the Officer Cadet School (1927). He served as an officer in the Polish Army and was promoted to captain in 1937. In July 1939, he joined the 2nd Regiment of the Border Protection Corps "Karpaty".

During the September Campaign, he fought in the Lviv and Stanisławowska Lands as a member of the Border Protection Corps. Interned in Hungary, he fled and got to France, where he took on command of the 9th Company of the 10th Infantry Regiment of the 4th Infantry Division. After the Polish divisions were evacuated to the United Kingdom, he served in the 4th Cadre Brigade of Riflemen (in 1941 renamed the 1st Independent Parachute Brigade). Trained in sabotage operations, he was sworn in as a cichociemny ("Silent Unseen"). He was promoted to major. During the night of 1 October 1942, he was dropped into Poland to the "Bór" outpost in the Garwolin area. He was assigned to the Lviv District of the Home Army.

On the night of 10 October 1942 he was arrested, together with his wife, in Wawer near Warsaw, and transported to Aleja Szucha. After the first interrogation he was imprisoned in Pawiak, and swallowed poison on 11 November 1942.



Bronisław Żelkowski
(MN)

A board "No absolution
for the Nazi murderers".
(Part of an exhibition from
1952, MN).

Dargh Fritz G. SS O'Stuf.
 Decker H. SS M'Stuf.
 Deudt K. SS U'Stuf.
 Deukmann H. SS U'Stuf.
 Dierckl F. SS Oecharf.
 Dierckner SS Haupt.
 Coceny E. SS Scharf.
 Demitz A. SS Stecharf.
 Demmel G. SS Oecharf.
 Dieth G. SS Oecharf.
 Duth F. SS
 Ebert G. SS Stecharf.
 Edler B. SS Stecharf.
 Fellhaber SS Scharf.
 Fleck H. SS Uecharf.
 Folta G. SS Hecharf.
 Fychoirt E. SS Uecharf.
 Gieseler H. SS Oecharf.
 Grahm SS U'Stuf.
 Habischt SS Uecharf.
 Ham SS Rottf.
 Hartmann E. SS Hecharf.
 Heise SS U'Stuf.

Hiersemann G. SS Stecharf.
 Hoffmann G. SS M'Stuf.
 Huidt H. SS Oecharf.
 Jopke W. SS O'Stuf.
 Kleist H. SS Stecharf.
 Kollmann SS Scharf.
 Kroll V. SS Oecharf.
 Kohlbrecher SS Uecharf.
 Kuhn G. SS Oecharf.
 Kuhn G. SS Scharf.
 Langen E. SS Scharf.
 Langer SS Oecharf.
 Langer SS Scharf.
 Lats H. SS Rottf.
 Latsch G. SS Oecharf.
 Latsch E. SS U'Stuf.
 Mielke A. SS Strm.
 Moller O. SS Stecharf.
 Miller G. SS Stecharf.
 Menkwitz W. SS Scharf.

Eporra K. SS Hecharf.
 Hemitz S. SS Oecharf.
 Hicelius K. SS O'Stuf.
 Otto A. SS U'Stuf.
 Orf H. SS Scharf.
 Paulitz SS Uecharf.
 Paulitz E. SS Stecharf.
 Reimann SS Stecharf.
 Reehly SS M'Stuf.
 Richter H. SS Stecharf.

niema
 przedawnienia
 dla zbrodniarzy
 hitlerowskich

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAN – Archiwum Akt Nowych – Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw
- AGH – Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza – University of Science and Technology
- AIPN – Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation
- AK – Armia Krajowa – Home Army, Poland
- BCh – Bataliony Chłopskie – Peasant Battalions
- GG – Generalgouvernement – General Government
- GISZ – Generalny Inspektorat Sił Zbrojnych – General Inspector of the Armed Forces
- KOP – Korpus Ochrony Pogranicza – Border Protection Corps
- MN – Muzeum Niepodległości w Warszawie – Museum of Independence in Warsaw
- MW – Muzeum Warszawy – Museum of Warsaw
- MWRiOP – Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment
- NKVD – Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, USSR)
- NAC – Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe – National Digital Archives
- NOW – Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa – National Military Organization
- NZR – Narodowy Związek Robotniczy – National Workers' Union
- ORP – Okręt Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – Polish Navy ship

PLAN	–	Polska Ludowa Akcja Niepodległościowa – Polish People’s Action for Independence
PN	–	Polska Niepodległa – Independent Poland
POW	–	Polska Organizacja Wojskowa – Polish Military Organization
PPP	–	Polskie Państwo Podziemne – Polish Underground State
PPR	–	Polska Partia Robotnicza – Polish Workers’ Party
PPS	–	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – Polish Socialist Party
PW	–	Politechnika Warszawska – Warsaw University of Technology
RPPS	–	Robotnicza Partia Polskich Socjalistów – Workers’ Party of Polish Socialists
SGGW	–	Szkoła Główna Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego – Warsaw University of Life Sciences
SGH	–	Szkoła Główna Handlowa – Warsaw School of Economics
SL	–	Stronnictwo Ludowe – People’s Party
SN	–	Stronnictwo Narodowe – National Party
SP	–	Stronnictwo Pracy – Labor Party, Poland
SS	–	Die Schutzstaffeln der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei (Protective Squadrons)
SZP	–	Służba Zwycięstwu Polsce – Service for Poland’s Victory
TAP	–	Tajna Armia Polska – Secret Polish Army
TOW	–	Tajna Organizacja Wojskowa – Secret Military Organization
UB	–	Urząd Bezpieczeństwa – the Communist secret police
UJ	–	Uniwersytet Jagielloński – Jagiellonian University
WP	–	Wojsko Polskie – Polish Army
ZHP	–	Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego – Polish Scouting and Guiding Association
ZOW	–	Związek Organizacji Wojskowej – Military Organization Union
ZWZ	–	Związek Walki Zbrojnej – Union of Armed Struggle

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bartoszewski W., *Alfabet Bartoszewskiego (I)*, "Tygodnik Powszechny" 2007, no. 7.
- Bartoszewski W., *Krajewska Elżbieta* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15, Wrocław [etc.] 1970.
- Bartoszewski W., *Warszawski pierścień śmierci*, Warsaw 2008.
- Borkowski J., *Jeszcze jedna cegła w budowie Niepodległej Polski – hm. ppor. Jan Błoński w relacji ze spotkania na Pawiaku i al. w Szucha*, "Materiały Historyczne Stowarzyszenia Szarych Szeregów", (Warsaw) 2012, no. 96.
- Borodziej W., *Terror i polityka. Policja niemiecka a polski ruch oporu w GG [Generalnej Guberni] 1939–1944*, Warsaw 1985.
- Boryta-Nowakowska J., *A chciałam być tylko aktorką*, Warsaw 1995.
- Boryta-Nowakowska J., *Aleja Szucha 25. Muzeum Walki i Męczeństwa 1939–1945*, "Barbakan" 1995, no. 14–15.
- Chlebowski C., *'Wachlarz'. Monografia wydzielonej organizacji dywersyjnej Armii Krajowej wrzesień 1941 – marzec 1943*, Warsaw 1983.
- Chrzanowski B., *Ratajczak Józef* in *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji pomorskiej 1939–1945*, part 2, Toruń 1996.
- Czeszejko-Sochacki Z., *Borzęcki Marian* in *Słownik biograficzny adwokatów polskich*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1988.
- Czuperska-Śliwicka A., *Cztery lata ostrego dyżuru. Wspomnienia z Pawiaka 1940–1944*, Warsaw 1989.
- Deczkowski J.B., *'Wróbel' z 'Kamieni na szaniec'*, Warsaw 1999.
- Derda J., *Ratajczak Józef* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 30, Wrocław [etc.] 1987.

- Domańska R., *Pawiak – kaźń i heroizm*, Warsaw 1988.
- Domańska R., *Pawiak. Więzienie gestapo. Kronika 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1978.
- Domańska R., *Policja Bezpieczeństwa Dystryktu Warszawskiego i jej więzienie śledcze 'Pawiak'*, "Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce" 1978, t. 28.
- Drewnowski J., Koźniewski K., *Pierwsza bitwa z gestapo. Wspomnienie Polskiej Ludowej Akcji Niepodległościowej (PLAN)*, Warsaw 1965.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz K., *Warszawa w latach 1939–1945* in *Dzieje Warszawy*, S. Kieniewicz (ed.), Warsaw 1984.
- Engelmayer A., *Wspólny tragiczny los*, "Podkowieński Magazyn Kulturalny" 2010, no. 64.
- Ewangelicy warszawscy w walce o niepodległość Polski 1939–1945* in *Słownik biograficzny*, A.E. z Rudzkich Janowska [et al.] (eds.), vol. 1, Warsaw 2007.
- Gałęzowski M., *Czuperska-Śliwicka Anna Olga* in *Z dziejów walk o niepodległość*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011.
- Gałęzowski M., *Hulewicz Witold* in *Z dziejów walk o niepodległość*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011.
- Gałęzowski M., *Wierni Polsce. Ludzie konspiracji piłsudczykowskiej 1939–1947*, Warsaw 2005.
- Getter M., *Przeździecki Janusz* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 29, Wrocław [etc.] 1986.
- Getter M., *Przysiecki Marian* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 29, Wrocław [etc.] 1986.
- Getter M., *Zarys organizacji policji niemieckiej w Warszawie i dystrykcie Warszawa w latach 1939–1945*, "Rocznik Warszawski" 1967, vol. 6.
- Glass A., *Antoni Koçjan – szybowce i walka z bronią 'V'*, Kraków 2002.
- Gmitruk J., *Jan Piekalkiewicz – bohater zapomniany*, Warsaw 2009.
- Goetel F., *Czasy wojny*, M. Gałęzowski (ed.), Kraków 2005.
- Gorecki J. [Kamiński A.], *Stones for the rampart. The story of two lads in the Polish underground movement*, ill. by A. Horowicz, Lodz–Warsaw 2007.
- Grabowski W., *Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej na Kraj*, Warsaw 1995.
- Grabowski W., *Polska tajna administracja cywilna 1939–1945*, Warsaw 2003.
- Horak A., *Kampania wrześniowa w oświetleniu niemieckim*, vol. 1–3, Warsaw 1941–1942.
- Izdebska B., *Muzeum Więzienia Pawiak*, "Niepodległość i Pamięć" 1995, no. 4.
- Kamiński A., *Kamienie na szaniec*, Warsaw 2011.
- Konarski S., *Nieniewska Halina* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 23, Wrocław [etc.] 1978.
- Kopf S., Starba-Bałuk S., *Armia Krajowa*, Warsaw 1999.
- Koszutski O., *Aleja Szucha w Warszawie – z dziejów Mauzoleum Walki i Męczeństwa*, "Muzea walki" 1986, R. 19.

- Koźniewski K., *Kott Kazimierz Andrzej* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Wrocław [etc.] 1968–1969.
- 'Krysia.' *Wspomnienia o Krystynie Idzikowskiej*, selected and edited by M. Jędrzejec, Warsaw 1972.
- Księga Pamięci. Transporty Polaków do KL Auschwitz 1940–1944*, vol. 1–3, F. Piper, I. Strzelecka (eds.), Warsaw–Oświęcim 2000.
- Kunert A.K., *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944*, vol. 1–2, Warsaw 1987, vol. 3, Warsaw 1991.
- Landau L., *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, vol. 1–3, Warsaw 1962.
- Malinowski K., *Tajna Armia Polska, Znak, Konfederacja Zbrojna. Zarys genezy, organizacji i działalności*, Warsaw 1986.
- Marek P.L., *Na krawędzi życia. Wspomnienia anarchisty z lat 1943–44*, Kraków 2006.
- Matka dzieci holocaustu. Historia Ireny Sendlerowej*, A. Mieszkowska (ed.), Warsaw 2007.
- Mazur G., *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy SZP-ZWZ-AK 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1987.
- Ney-Krwawicz M., *Komenda Główna Armii Krajowej 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1990.
- Ossowska W., *Przeżyłam... Lwów–Warszawa 1939–1946*, Kraków 2009.
- Pacholczykowa A., *Koszykowski Izidor* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Warsaw [etc.] 1968–1969.
- Pamiętniki lekarzy*, selected and edited by K. Bidakowski, T. Wójcik, Warsaw 1968.
- Pawiak 1835–1944. Przewodnik po ekspozycji stałej*, A.K. Kunert, M. Woltanowska, J. Gierczyńska (eds.), Muzeum Więzienia Pawiak, Warsaw 2009 (Polish-English edition).
- Pawiak 1835–1944. Przewodnik po ekspozycji stałej/The guidebook to the permanent display*, A. Stawarz (ed.), Muzeum Więzienia Pawiak, Warsaw 2009 (Polish-English edition).
- Pawiak 1835–1944. Przewodnik po ekspozycji stałej/Museumsführer durch die ständige Ausstellung* [Informationsschrift], A.K. Kunert, M. Woltanowska, J. Gierczyńska, W. Żarnowski (eds.), Warsaw 2009 (Polish-German edition with CD).
- Pawiak był etapem. Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945*, R. Domańska (ed.), Warsaw 1987.
- Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w latach wojny i okupacji 1939–1945. Księga wspomnień*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1994, vol. 2, Warsaw 1995.
- Reński A., *Tramwaj z alei Szucha*, Warsaw 1988.
- Rodzina Korompayów. 'Cała moja rodzina zginęła z rąk najeźdźców'*, A. Wiejak talks to Ilona Korompay, "Nasz Dziennik", 8 September 2009.
- Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1985, vol. 2, Warsaw 1987, vol. 3, Warsaw 1992.

- Słownik biograficzny kobiet odznaczonych Orderem Wojennym Virtuti Militari*, vol. 2, E. Zawacka (ed.), Toruń 2006.
- Słownik uczestniczek walki o niepodległość Polski 1939–1945. Poległe i zmarłe w okresie okupacji niemieckiej*, H. Michalska [et al.] (eds.), Warsaw 1988.
- Smogorzewska M., *Gardecki Zygmunt in Posłowie i senatorowie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919–1939*, vol. 2, Warsaw 2000.
- Stachiewicz P., *'Parasol.'* *Dzieje oddziału do zadań specjalnych Kierownictwa Dywersji Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej*, Warsaw 1991.
- Stawecki P., *Stamirowski Kazimierz in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 41, Warsaw–Kraków 2002.
- Strzembosz T., *Oddziały szturmowe konspiracyjnej Warszawy 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1983.
- Sylwetki kobiet żołnierzy*, K. Kabzińska (ed.), vol. 1, Toruń 2003 ("Służba Polek na frontach II wojny światowej", vol. 7); vol. 2, Toruń 2006 ("Służba Polek na frontach II wojny światowej", vol. 10).
- Szare Szeregi. Harcerze 1939–1945*, vol. 1–2, J. Jabrzemski (ed.), Warsaw 1988.
- Szwedo B., *Na bieżni i w okopach. Sportowcy odznaczeni Orderem Wojennym Virtuti Militari 1914–1921, 1939–1945*, Rzeszów 2011.
- Śliwicki Z., *Meldunek z Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1974.
- Terej J.J., *Piasecki Stanisław in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 25, Wrocław [etc.] 1980.
- Terej J.J., *Piekałkiewicz Jan in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 26, Wrocław [etc.] 1981.
- Tochman K., *Słownik biograficzny cichociemnych*, vol. 1, Kraków 2008, vol. 2, Kraków 2007, vol. 3, Rzeszów 2002.
- Tucholski J., *Cichociemni*, Warsaw 2010.
- Urbankowski M., *Piasecki Stanisław in Encyklopedia 'białych plam'*, vol. 14, Radom 2004.
- Wachowicz B., *Rudy, Alek, Zośka. Gawęda o bohaterach 'Kamieni na szaniec'*, Warsaw 2003.
- Wanat L., *Apel więźniów Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1969.
- Wanat L., *Za murami Pawiaka*, Warsaw 1985.
- Wanat L., *Za te zbrodnie nie może być przedawnienia*, "Stolica. Warszawski Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1965, yr. 20, no. 12.
- Witkowski H., *'Kedyw' Okręgu Warszawskiego Armii Krajowej w latach 1943–1944*, Warsaw 1985.
- Wojciechowski F., *Polska Niepodległa – organizacja konspiracyjna*, Warsaw 1997. *Wspomnienia więźniów Pawiaka (1939–1944)*, S. Płoski (ed.), Warsaw 1964.
- Żarnowski W., *Na rok przed jubileuszem Mauzoleum Walki i Męczeństwa w AI. Szucha*, typescript.

INDEX OF WEBSITES

<http://hej-kto-polak.pl/wp/?p=78175>

<https://olimpijski.pl/?s=kusocinski>

<https://sites.google.com/site/biogramy/home/krajewska-litka>

http://www.hungarystyka.uw.edu.pl/images/pobierz/korompay_pl.pdf

<http://www.kmdg.grudziadz.pl/publikacje/biuletyny/numer/13.242/>

<http://www.polskieradio.pl/39/156/Artykul/1023044,Janusz-Kusocinski-nieugiety-na-biezni>

INDEX OF PERSONS

Adamczyk, Maria 52
Agnieszka 80
Aladár, Emanuel – see Korompay, Emanuel Aladár
“Arenariusz” – see Piasecki, Stanisław
“Azorek” – see Downar, Piotr

Baczyński, Krzysztof Kamil 56
Bajdak, Leonid 72
Bałuk (Starba-Bałuk), Stefan 21, 24, 70
Banasikowski, Edmund 91
Baranowski, Wilhelm (“Borkowski”) 73, 96
“Barbara” – see Nowicka, Wanda
Bartel, Kazimierz 16
Bartodziejski, Tadeusz 82
Bartoszewski, Władysław 58, 80
“Basia” – see Brodzikowska, Zofia
Belina-Prażmowski, Władysław 100
Berka, Wacław Rudolf (“Brodowicz”, “Wacław”) 50
Beutel, Lothar 23
Białokur, Franciszek 50–51

Białokurowa, Anna, née Gilewicz (“H.B.”) 51–52, 87
Bieniek, Andrzej (“Krawczyk”) 52, 85
“Błechwa” – see Błeszyński, Dyonizy
Błeszyński, Dyonizy (“Błechwa”, “Tank”) 52–53
Błędowski, Andrzej (“Bury”) 66
Błońska, Maria, Jan’s mother 54
Błońska, Maria, Jan’s sister 54
Błońska, Stefania 54
Błoński, Edward 54
Błoński, Jan Edward (“Jan Gierek”, “Jan Novak”, “Kret”,
“Sum”, “Wąsowicz”) 53–54, 56
“Bogna 49” – see Mężyńska, Helena
“Bogna” – see Mężyńska, Helena
“Borkowski” – see Baranowski, Wilhelm
Borkowski, Julian 56
Borzęcki, Marian Gorgoniusz 54–55
Boy-Żeleński, Tadeusz 16
“Bór” – see Komorowski, Tadeusz
Braun, Jerzy 22
“Brodowicz” – see Berka, Wacław Rudolf

- Brodzikowska, Zofia, née Hajkowicz (“Basia”) 55
 Broniewski, Stanisław (“Orsza”) 34
 Buchberger, Siegmund 25
 Budzyński, Wiesław 74, 75
 “Bury” – see Błędowski, Andrzej
 “Bury wilk” – see Hiszpańska, Natalia
 Bürkl, Franz 42, 53, 91
 Bytnar, Jan (“Czarny”, “Janek”, “Rudy”, “Jan Rudy”, “Krokodyl”) 21, 34, 42, 56–57, 67
 Bytnar, Stanisław 57
- “Cezary” – see Pigułowski, Kazimierz
 Chojecki, Jacek 47
 Chrzanowski, Paweł 59, 62
 Cijan, Boris 72
 Cybulska, Barbara 45
 Czaki, Hanna (“Helena”) 57–58
 Czaki, Helena 58
 Czaki, Tytus 58
 Czarnecki, Marian (“Ryś”) 95
 “Czarny” – see Bytnar, Jan
 “Czarny” – see Koszykowski, Izidor
 Czuma, Józef (“Skryty”, “Krótki”, “Ony”, “Piter”) 58–59
 Czuperska-Śliwicka, Anna 52, 84, 103
 Czuperski, Henryk 96
- Daluege, Kurt 15
 Damińska, Violetta 47, 164
 Dangel, Jan 60
 Dangel, Karol Stanisław 59–60
 Dangel, Stanisław Roman (“Junosza”, “Salisch”) 59–60
 “Dąbrowa” – see Żelkowski, Bronisław
- Deneka, Jadwiga, née Sałek (“Kasia”) 60
 d’Erceville, Edward 72
 “Dietrich” – see Horak, Alojzy
 “Doktor” – see Kojer, Alfred Zygmunt
 Downar, Piotr (“Azorek”) 95
 “Dr Marta” – see Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga
 “Dr Marysia” – see Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga
 Drobik, Marian Ewald (Szawlewicz, Jan, “Dzięcioł”, “Siwek”, “Witold”, “Wujek”) 61, 73
 “Dubieński, Andrzej” – see Kott, Kazimierz Andrzej
 “Dzięcioł” – see Drobik, Marian Ewald
 Dzik-Kleszczyński, Edward 100
 “Dziunia” – see Fillerowa aka Füllerowa
- Ferenc, Jan 125
 Fillerowa aka Füllerowa, Wanda Stefania, née Klimaszewska (“Dziunia”, “Jola”, “Pani Dziunia”) 61–62
 Filler vel Füller 61
 “Frankowski” – see Kwieciński, Franciszek
 “Fred” – see Kojer, Alfred Zygmunt
 Frühwirth, Engelberth 43
- Galiński, Michał 100
 Gardecki, Zygmunt (“Rywal”) 62
 Gargonówna, Maria 100
 Gąsiorowska, Anna 100
 Gessler, Erin 89
 Gierczyńska, Joanna 47, 165
 “Gierek Jan” – see Błoński, Jan Edward
 Gieysztor, Stanisław (“Szachowski”) 62–64
 Głuchowski, Janusz 100
 Goetel, Ferdinand 90, 91, 99, 101

- Govenlock, Żaneta 47, 127, 164
 “Granowska” – see Krajewska, Elżbieta Maria Anna
 “Grażyna” – see Korompay, Elżbieta
 “Grek” – see Przysiecki, Marian
 “Grot” – see Rowecki, Stefan
 Gruca, Adam 90
 “G.R.Z.” – see Hulewicz, Witold
 “Grzegorz” – see Hulewicz, Witold
 Grzmot-Skotnicki, Stanisław 100
- Hahn, Ludwig 25, 28, 43, 93
 Halik, Walery 101
 Handelsman, Marcelli 67
 “Hanka” – see Krajewska, Anna
 Harrison, John Kent 98
 “H.B.” – see Białokuruwa, Anna
 “Helena” – see Czaki, Hanna
 Hennel, Anna 52
 Hiszpańska, Natalia, née Eychhorn (“Bury wilk”,
 “Majewska”, “Nata”) 64–65
 Horak, Alojzy (Matecki, Justyn, “Witold Młot”, “Dietrich”,
 “Nestorowicz”, “Neuman”) 65–66
 Horczak, Jerzy (“Wróbel”) 66–68
 Horczak, Józef 66
 Horczak, Maria 66
 Hulewicz, Witold (“Grzegorz”, “G.R.Z.”, “Olwid”, “Wit”,
 “Witowt”) 68
- Idzikowska, Krystyna (“Krysią”) 69
 “Iko” – see Nieniewska, Halina
 “Irena” – see Nowicka, Wanda
 “Iwa” – see Krugłowska, Iwona
- Iwanicka, Czesława 61
 “Iza” – see Nieniewska, Halina
 Izdebski, Stanisław 53
- Jabłonowski, Jerzy 100
 Jadach, Aleksander (“Olek”) 66
 Jagodziński, Józef 36
 “Janek” – see Bytnar, Jan
 “Janicki” – see Piasecki, Stanisław
 “Janka” – see Kirchmajer, Wanda Józefa Maria
 Jankowski, Jan Stanisław 22
 “Jankowski” – see Kocjan, Antoni
 Jarumski, Leon 82
 “Jastrzqb” – see Lgocki, Jerzy
 Jastrzębowski, Wojciech 23
 “Jesion” – see Żelkowski, Bronisław
 Jeske-Choiński, Teodor 86
 Jeżewski, Artur 52
 “Joanna” – see Mackiewicz, Alicja
 “Jola” – see Fillerowa aka Füllerowa, Wanda Stefania
 “Jolanta” – see Sandlerowa, Irena Stanisława
 “Juliański” – see Piekałkiewicz, Jan
 “Junosza” – see Dangel, Stanisław Roman
- “Kafar” – see Klimowicz, Władysław Tadeusz
 Kalkstein, Ludwik 61, 73, 78, 89
 Kamiński, Aleksander 57
 Kamler, Kazimierz 44
 Karczewski 81
 “Karol” – see Ratajczak, Józef
 “Karolczak” – see Ratajczak, Józef
 “Karusia” – see Nowicka, Wanda

- “Karwat” – see Kwieciński, Franciszek
 “Kasia” – see Deneka, Jadwiga
 Kirchmajer, Wanda Józefa Maria (“Wanda”, “Janka”) 69
 Kleeberg, Franciszek 80
 Klein, Stephen 43
 Klimowicz, Władysław Tadeusz (“Tama”, “Kafar”) 70
 Kmicic-Skrzyński, Ludwik 100
 Kocjan Antoni (“Jankowski”, “Korona”, “Mączka”, “Michał”) 35, 70–72
 Kocjan, Elżbieta 72
 Kojer, Alfred Zygmunt (“Doktór”, “Fred”, “Kruk”, “Myszur-ski”) 73
 Komorowski, Tadeusz (“Bór”) 20
 “Konarska Irena” – see Nieniewska, Halina
 Kopf, Stanisław 70
 Korboński, Stefan 22
 Korompay, Elżbieta (“Grażyna”) 35, 73–74
 Korompay, Emanuel Aladár 74, 75
 Korompay, Marta 74, 75
 Korompay, Mieczysława 35, 74, 75
 “Korona” – see Kocjan, Antoni
 Koszykowski, Izidor (“Czarny”) 76
 Kott, Kazimierz Andrzej (“Światowid”, “Andrzej Dubiński”) 40, 77
 Kott, Melania 77
 Kott, Kazimierz’s father 77
 Kowalczykówna, Jadwiga 83
 Kowalewski, Jerzy 166
 Kowalski, Rafał 47
 Kozłowski, Leon 100
 Krahelska, Halina 88
 Krajewska, Anna (“Hanka”) 77–78
 Krajewska, Elżbieta Maria Anna (“Elitka”, “Litka”, “Granowska”) 78–79, 148
 Krajewska, Halina (“Sowa”) 78, 79
 Krasowska-Flekówna, Stefania 100
 “Krauze” – see Ratajczak, Józef
 “Krawczyk” – see Bieniek, Andrzej
 “Kreł” – see Błoński, Jan Edward
 Kretschmann, August 43
 “Krokodyl” – see Bytnar, Jan
 “Krótki” – see Czuma, Józef
 Krugłowska, Iwona, née Rosen (“Iwa”) 79–80, 156
 “Kruk” – see Kojer, Alfred Zygmunt
 “Kruk” – see Rogowski, Włodzimierz
 Krüger, Friedrich Wilhelm 99
 “Krysia” – see Idzikowska, Krystyna
 Kuczyński 100
 Kudelski, Mieczysław Zygmunt (“Wiktor”) 80–81
 Kuhn, Anna 100
 Kukieta, Krystyna 12, 13
 Kunert, Andrzej Krzysztof 50, 61, 83
 Kurmanowa, Zofia 78
 Kusociński, Janusz (“Kusy”, “Prawdźic”) 16, 81–82
 “Kusy” – see Kusociński, Janusz
 Kutschera, Franz 26, 43
 Kwiecińska, Zofia 83
 Kwieciński, Franciszek (“Frankowski”, “Karwat”) 83

 Landau, Ludwik 77
 Lange, Ewald 42, 57
 Lechner, Joseph 43
 Lenartówna, Janina 100
 Lewandowska, Wanda 83–84, 157

- Lewandowska, Irena – see Nowicka, Wanda
 Lewandowski, Jan 77
 Lewandowski, Stefan 83–84
 Lgocki, Jerzy (“Jastrząb”) 64
 Lis, Irena 43
 “Litka” – see Krajewska, Elżbieta Maria Anna
 Loth, Felicjan 33, 34, 101
- Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga (Schulz, Marta, “Marta”, “Marysia”, “Dr Marta”, “Dr Marysia”) 52, 85
- Mackiewicz, Alicja, née Jakubowicz (“Joanna”) 86
 Mackiewicz, Czesław 86
 Mackiewicz, Maria Franciszka (Masia) 86
 “Majewska” – see Hiszpańska, Natalia
 Makomaski 72
 Marokini, Wanda 100
 Makowiecki, Jerzy 57
 “Malwa” – see Sokalówna, Aleksandra
 “Malwina” – see Sokalówna, Aleksandra
 Małecki, Justyn – see Horak, Alojzy
 “Marek” – see Wańkowski, Stefan
 “Marian” – see Przysiecki, Marian
 “Marta” – see Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga
 “Marynarz” – see Uniejewski, Mieczysław
 “Marysia” – see Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga
 Masiak, Franciszek 44
 Mączyński, Zdzisław 23
 “Mączka” – see Kocjan, Antoni
 Meisinger, Josef 25
 Mężyńska, Helena, née Jeske-Choińska (“Bogna”, “Bogna 49”) 86
- Mężyński, Kazimierz 86
 “Michał” – see Kocjan, Antoni
 “Miedza” – see Tomaszewski, Stanisław
 Milke, Alfred 43
 “Mirski” – see Zapadka, Jerzy
 “Misia” – see Piątkowska, Radomiła Zofia
 “Młot” – see Pigułowski, Kazimierz
 Morantowicz, Benedykt 76
 “Mostowski Stanisław” – see Piasecki, Stanisław
 Musiałowicz, Henryk 44, 121–123
 Müller, Johannes 25
 Mützenmacher, Józef 76
 “Myszurski” – see Kojer, Alfred Zygmunt
- “Nata” – see Hiszpańska, Natalia
 “Nestorowicz” – see Horak, Alojzy
 “Neuman” – see Horak, Alojzy
 “Niedźwiadek” – see Okulicki, Leopold
 Nieniewska, Halina (“Irena Konarska”, “Iko”, “Iza”) 51, 87
 Niepokólczycki, Franciszek (“Teodor”) 88
 “Novak Jan” – see Błoński, Jan Edward
 Nowicka, Wanda, née Mech (Lewandowska, Irena, “Barbara”, “Irena”, “Karusia”, “Róża”, “Zofia”) 88
 Nowik, Grzegorz 53
- Okulicki, Leopold (“Niedźwiadek”) 20
 “Olek” – see Jadach, Aleksander
 Olkiewicz, Wiesław (“Pajęczek”) 88–89
 Olszewski, Józef 96
 “Olwid” – see Hulewicz, Witold
 “Ony” – see Czuma, Józef
 Orliński, Bolesław 72

- “Orsza” – see Broniewski, Stanisław
 Orzelski, Tadeusz 78
 Ossowska, Wanda (“Wanda”) 34, 86, 89–90
 Ossowski, Henryk 90
 Osterwa, Juliusz 68
 Ostrowski, Henryk 56
 Otto, Alfred 40
- Paczkowski, Alfred (“Wania”) 95
 “Pajęczek” – see Olkiewicz, Wiesław
 “Pani Dziunia” – see Fillerowa aka Füllerowa,
 Wanda Stefania, “Pani Maria” – see Zalewska, Maria
 Pawłowicz, Otton (“Siostra”) 78
 “Pełka” – see Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek
 Piasecka, Irena 91
 Piasecki, Stanisław (“Stanisław Mostowski”, “Arenariusz”,
 “Janicki”, “Stop”, “Staszek”) 90–91
 Piątkowska, Radomiła Zofia, née Śląska (“Misia”) 91
 Piątkowski, Wiesław 91
 Piekalkiewicz, Jan (“Juliański”, “Wernic”, “Wiktor”,
 “Wrocławski”) 22, 34, 60, 92–93
 Piekalkiewicz, Jarosław 92
 Piekalkiewicz, Julia, née Krzyżanowska 92
 Piekalkiewicz, Kazimiera, née Tołłoczko 92
 Piekalkiewicz, Lech 92
 Piekalkiewicz, Włodzimierz 92
 Pieńkowska, Krystyna 157
 Piętułowski, Antoni 93
 Piętułowski, Kazimierz (“Cezary”, “Młot”) 93
 Piłsudska, Aleksandra 57, 98
 Piłsudski, Józef 58, 63, 77, 99, 100, 101
 “Piter” – see Czuma, Józef
- Piwnicki, Zygmunt 32
 Piwnik, Jan (“Ponury”) 95
 “Płoński” – see Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek
 Poddębski, Henryk 12, 13
 “Ponury” – see Piwnik, Jan
 “Prawdzic” – see Kusociński, Janusz
 “Prawdzic” – see Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek
 Procki, Adam 44
 “Prus” – see Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek
 Przesmycka, Irena 52
 Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek (“Pełka”, “Płoński”,
 “Prawdzic”, “Prus”, “Roch”) 94
 Przymuszyńska, Helena 94, 95
 Przymuszyński, Joachim Feliks 94–95
 Przysiecki, Eugeniusz 72
 Przysiecki, Marian (“Grek”, “Marian”, “Stanisław”) 73,
 95–96
- Rataj, Maciej 16
 Ratajczak, Józef (“Karol”, “Karolczak”, “Krauze”) 96–97
 Ratajski, Cyryl 22
 Reliszko, Zygmunt (“Zygmunt”) 91
 “Roch” – see Przeździecki, Janusz Franciszek
 Rodewald, Wilhelm 89
 “Rogala” – see Rogowski, Włodzimierz
 Rogowski, Włodzimierz (“Kruk”, “Rogala”) 97
 Roweki, Stefan (“Grot”) 20
 “Róża” – see Nowicka, Wanda
 “Rudy” – see Bytnar, Jan
 “Rudy Jan” – see Bytnar, Jan
 Rusiński, Jan 47, 162
 Rutkiewiczowa, Maria 45

- Rylski-Brückner, Józef 82
 “Rys” – see Czarnecki, Marian
 “Rywał” – see Gardecki, Zygmunt
- Sajewicz, Robert 47
 “Salisch” – see Dangel, Stanisław Roman
 Sawicka, Halina 79, 80
 Sawicka, Joanna (Nuna) 79, 80
 Sawicki, Lech Paweł 79
 Sawik 101
 Schrenzel, Klara 100
 Schultz Herbert 42, 57
 Schulz, Marta – see Łopuska, Izabela Jadwiga
 Sandlerowa, Irena Stanisława, née Krzyżanowska (“Jolanta”) 60, 97–98
 Sikorski, Władysław 54, 55, 83
 “Siostra” – see Pawłowicz, Otton
 “Siwek” – see Drobik, Marian Ewald
 Skorobohaty-Jakubowski, Jan 22
 “Skryty” – see Czuma, Józef
 Sokalówna, Aleksandra (“Malwina”, “Malwa”, “Władka”) 98–99
 “Sowa” – see Krajewska, Halina
 Stamirowski, Kazimierz 99–101
 Stamm, Walter 43
 Stani, Tadeusz 48, 124, 125, 127–138, 145–147, 158, 159, 163–167
 “Stanisław” – see Przysiecki, Marian
 Stankiewicz, Tomasz 82
 Stanojević 72
 Starba-Bałuk, Stefan – see Bałuk, Stefan
 Starzyński, Stefan 55, 64
 “Staszek” – see Piasecki, Stanisław
 Stawarz, Andrzej 163
 “Stop” – see Piasecki, Stanisław
 Strug, Tadeusz 76
 Suchankówna, Teofila 99
 “Sum” – see Błoński, Jan Edward
 “Szachowski” – see Gieysztor, Stanisław
 Szawlewicz, Jan – see Drobik, Marian Ewald
 Szczepanowska, Wanda 100
 Szczukówna, Eugenia 101–102
 Szylagyi, Krystyna 52
- Śliwicki, Zygmunt 56, 96, 101
 “Światowid” – see Kott, Kazimierz Andrzej
- “Tama” – see Klimowicz, Władysław Tadeusz
 “Tank” – see Bleszyński, Dyonizy
 “Teodor” – see Niepokólczycki, Franciszek
 Tkacz, Zofia 45
 Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, Michał 20, 87
 Tomaszewski, Stanisław (“Miedza”) 38, 39, 48, 133
- Uniejewski, Mieczysław (“Marynarz”) 99
 Unkiewiczowa, Henryka, née Mianowska 52
- “Wacław” – see Berka, Wacław Rudolf
 Wanat, Leon 32, 36, 40, 41, 52, 69, 73, 102
 “Wanda” – see Kirchmajer, Wanda Józefa Maria
 “Wanda” – see Ossowska, Wanda
 Wanda Stefania “Elitka” – see Krajewska, Elżbieta Maria Anna
 “Wania” – see Paczkowski, Alfred

- Wańkowski, Stefan (“Marek”) 102, 103
Wasilewski, Tadeusz 72
“Wąsowicz” – see Błoński, Jan Edward
Weber, Józef 79
Weffels, Ernst 43
Wentkowska-Krzyżanowska, Alicja 100
“Wernic” – see Piekalkiewicz, Jan
Wieniawa-Długoszowski, Bolesław 100
“Wiktor” – see Kudelski, Mieczysław Zygmunt
“Wiktor” – see Piekalkiewicz, Jan
“Wit” – see Hulewicz, Witold
“Witold” – see Drobik, Marian Ewald
“Witold Młot” – see Horak, Alojzy
“Witowł” – see Hulewicz, Witold
“Władka” – see Sokalówna, Aleksandra
“Wolski Jacek” – see Wolski, Józef
Wolski, Józef (“Jacek Wolski”) 102–103
Woltanowska, Magdalena 47, 165
Wołoszczuk, Teodor 67
“Wrocławski” – see Piekalkiewicz, Jan
“Wróbel” – see Horczak, Jerzy
“Wujek” – see Drobik, Marian Ewald
Wuttke, Gustaw 57
Zalewska, Maria (“Pani Maria”) 102, 103
Zapadka, Jerzy (“Mirski”) 88
Zaręba, Leszek 156
Zawiszanka, Zofia 100
Zgrzemska, Janina 97
“Zofia” – see Nowicka, Wanda
“Zygmunt” – see Reliszko, Zygmunt
Żarnowski, Witold 10, 47, 167
Żelkowski, Bronisław (“Dąbrowa”, “Jesion”) 104
Żuber, Feliks 82
Żwirko, Franciszek 70



The Occupation: Martyrdom, Henryk Musiałowicz's triptych. Three stained-glass windows from 1952. (Photo by L. Wdowiński, "Dokoła Świata", 9 VI 1957, nr 23.)



The Occupation: Combat, Henryk Musiałowicz's triptych (cont.).



The Occupation: Victory, Henryk Musiałowicz's triptych (cont.).



The building of the Ministry of National Education at Aleja Szucha 25; during the occupation period, the headquarters of the Office of the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service in the Warsaw District were located there. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2014, MN.)



Urns with the ashes from German concentration camps, where the prisoners of Pawiak and Aleja Szucha were transported. (Part of an exhibition from 1964. Photo by Tadeusz Stani, after 1987, MN.)

Swords referring to the Grunwald swords. (Part of an exhibition from 1952. Photo by Jan Ferenc, MN.)



**MAUZOLEUM
WALKI I MĘCZENSTWA
ALEJA SZUCHA 25**
*The only authentic place of Nazi torture in Warsaw
- the former Gestapo headquarters*



Entrance to the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

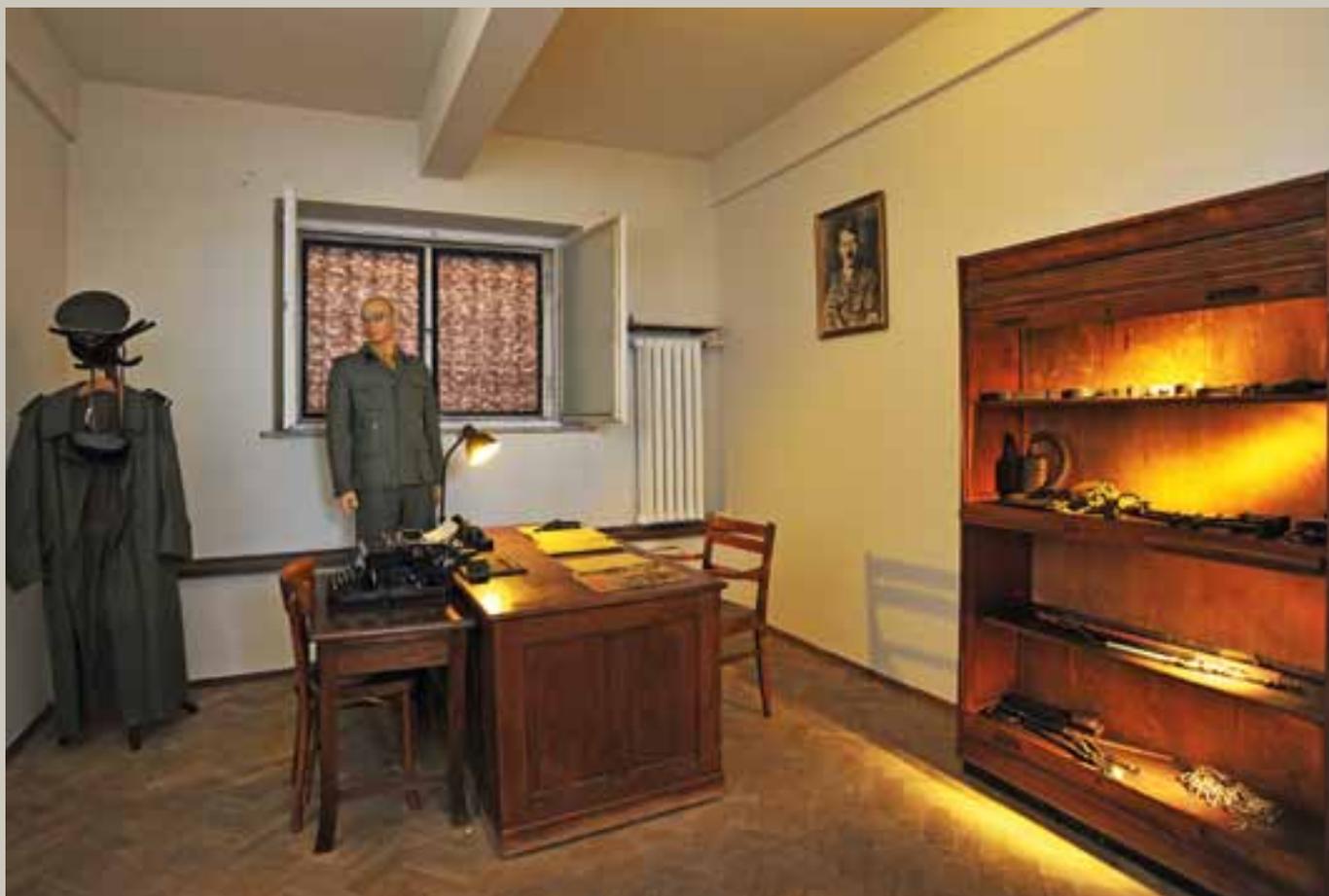
Information board in front of the entrance to the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. (Photo by Žaneta Govenlock, 2011, MN.)



Etude *Let us remember
their faces* in the vestibule
of the Mausoleum of
Struggle and Martyrdom.
(Photo by Tadeusz Stani,
2008, MN.)



Part of a corridor with multimedia posts. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2009, MN.)



The room of the Gestapo officer on duty and the interrogation room.
(Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2018, MN.)



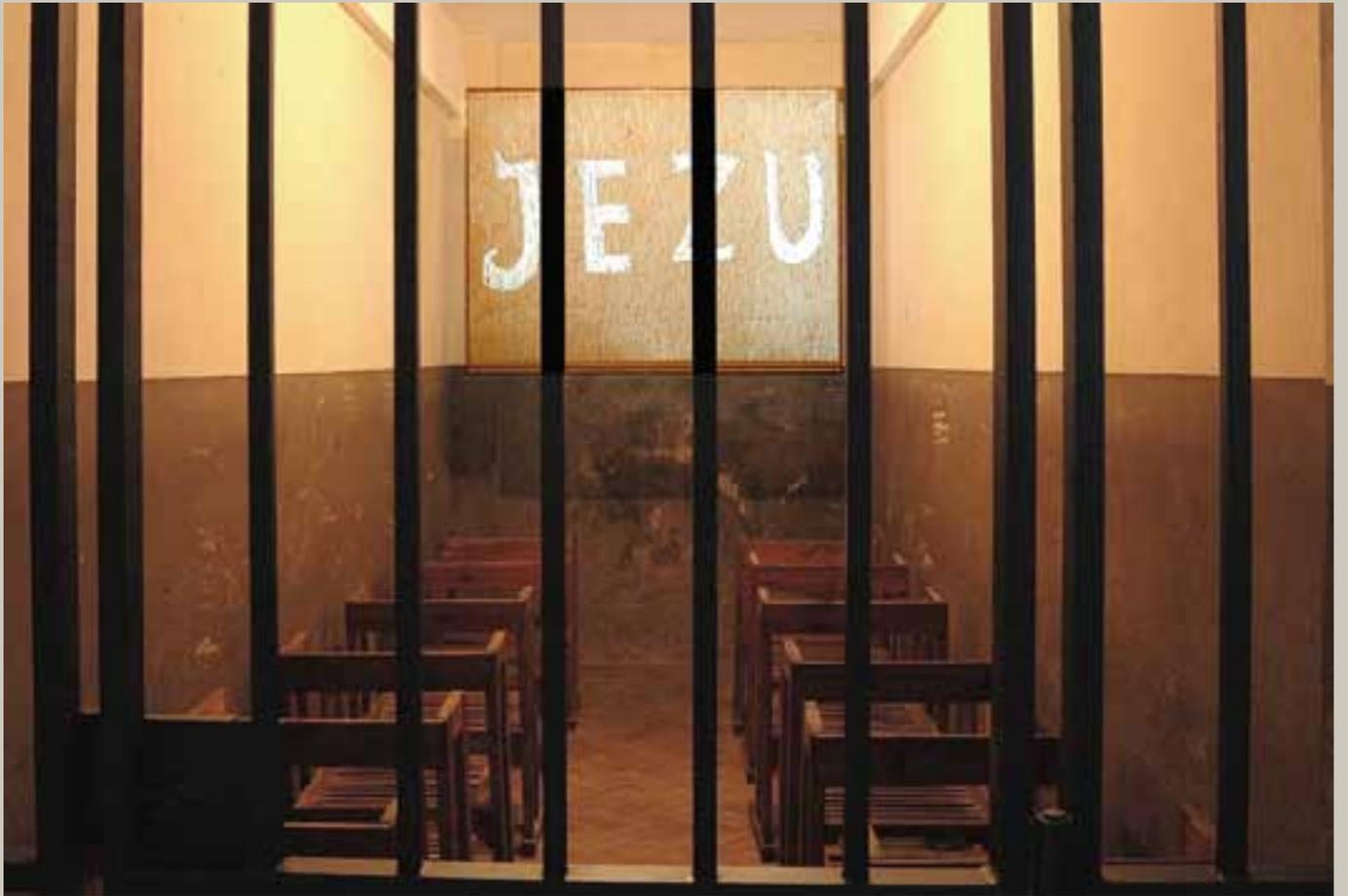
The room of the Gestapo officer on duty and the interrogation room. On the wall, part of the *Pictures of interrogations* etude. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2009, MN.)



Interrogation at Aleja Szucha [waterboarding]. (Pen drawing by Stanislaw Tomaszewski "Miedza", 1941, MW, photo by Tadeusz Stani.)



Corridor in the Gestapo detention center at Aleja Szucha. On the wall on the left, is part of the *Signs of siege* etude [footsteps of the Gestapo officers walking behind the windows], in the front is *The will to survive* [a falling and rising man]. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2014, MN.)



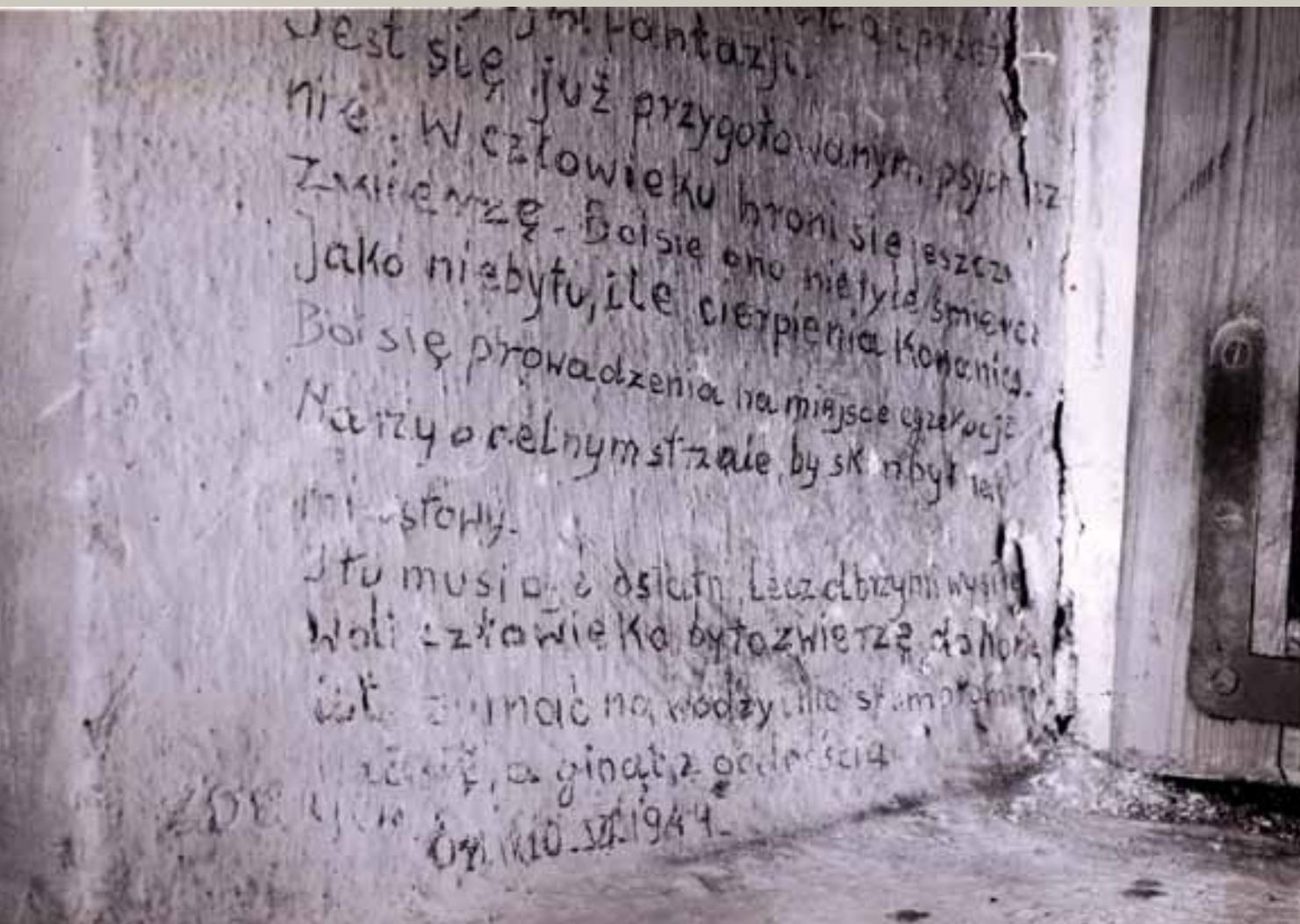
One of the mass cells.
On the wall is part of the
Traces of torments etude.
(Photo by Tadeusz Stani,
2008, MN.)



Corridor in the Gestapo detention center at Aleja Szucha 25, doors leading to isolation cells. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2008, MN.)



One of the isolation cells.
(Photo by Tadeusz Stani,
2008, MN.)



Inscription on a window recess in the isolation cell no. 7, made with a pencil. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)



30-31/VIII/44

LUDZIE

Z (SIELC)

30 osób SIEDZIAŁO

Inscription in the isolation cell no. 9. (Restoration documents of the Polish Studios for Conservation of Cultural Property from 1966, MN.)



A calendar engraved on the wall in the isolation cell no. 9. (Restoration documents of the Polish Studios for Conservation of Cultural Property from 1966, MN.)



Inscription in the isolation cell
no. 1. (Restoration documents
of the Polish Studios for
Conservation of Cultural
Property from 1966, MN.)

P. Białobrzestki.

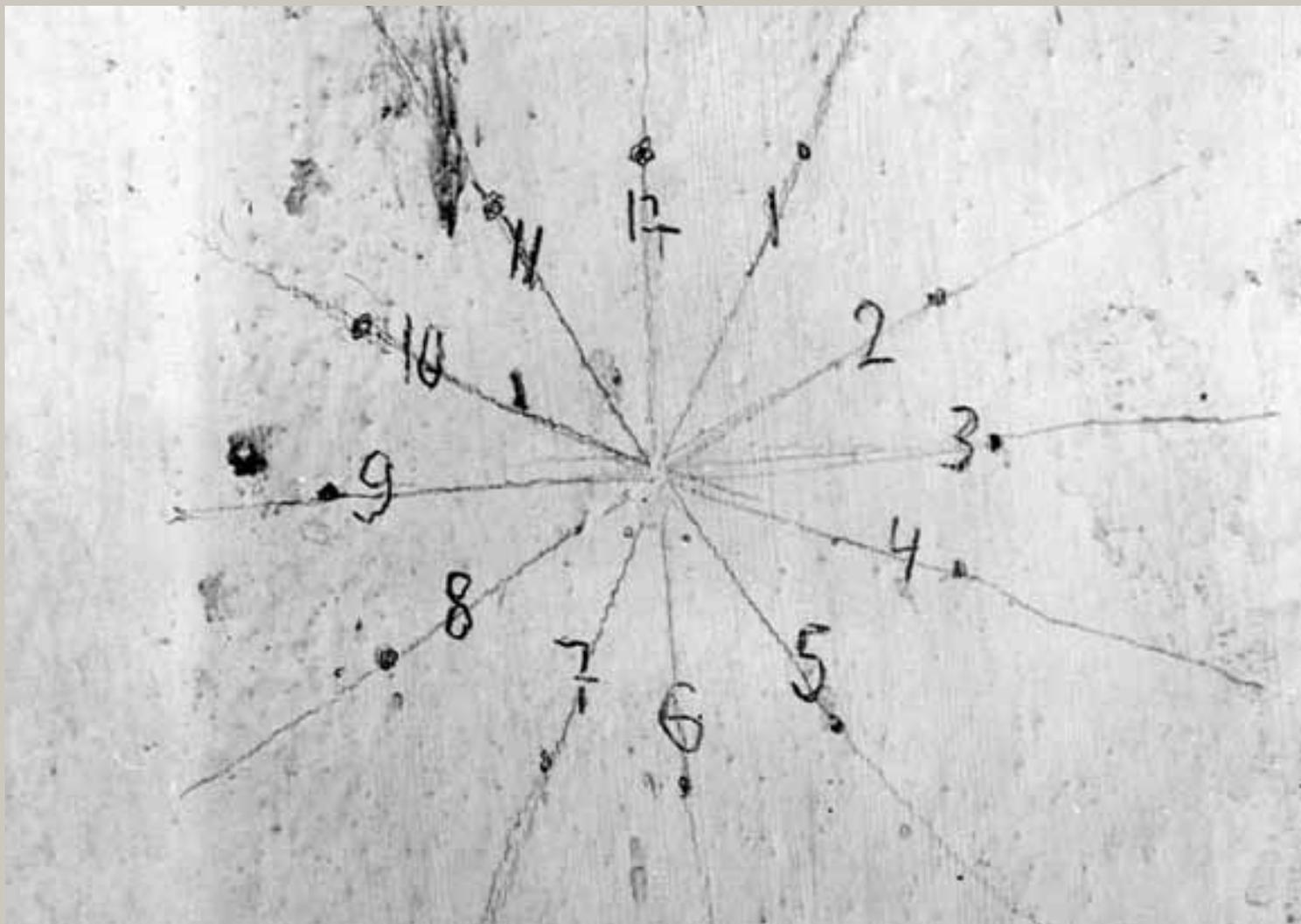
wzrost - 6 - 1920 r

siedzę w czasie powstania

IX . 10-IX . 11-IX . 12-IX . 13-IX .

14-IX

Inscription in the isolation cell no. 6.
(Restoration documents of the Polish
Studios for Conservation of Cultural
Property from 1966, MN.)



A calendar drawn with pencil
on the wall of the isolation cell no. 7.
(Restoration documents of the Polish
Studios for Conservation of Cultural
Property from 1966, MN.)



Inscription in the mass cell no. 2. (Restoration documents of the Polish Studios for Conservation of Cultural Property from 1966, MN.)



Leather whip, length: 106 cm. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

Whip with four isolated wires and a rubber handle. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

Spring stick covered with derma, with a wooden handle, length: 70 cm. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)



Stick made of a twisted steel rope, with a lead ball at the end. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

Handcuffs. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

Stick made of a twisted cable. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)



Legcuffs. (Photo by
Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

Wooden "foot". (Photo by
Tadeusz Stani, 2011, MN.)

DROGA KRZYŻOWA
POLAKÓW
W WIEZIENIACH
.I OBOZACH

(UŁOŻONA I ODPRAWIANA
W MURACH WIEZIENIA
JESIENIA 1943 R.)

W a r s z a w a 1 9 4 4

*The Way of the Cross of Poles in
prisons and camps, written in 1943
by Elżbieta Krajewska in the prison
hospital at Pawiak. Smuggled outside
on blotting paper by the prison
underground unit of The Government
Delegation. (MN)*

MODLITWA WSTĘPNA.

*Panie Boże, w Trójcy Świętej Jedyny, Ojciec
wszystkiego, co ślawnie!*

*Ród ludzki za dar nieśmiertelnego życia i Raj
odpłacił Ci nieskończoną obrazą grzechu pierw-
szego, a za niepojęty cud wcielenia się Syna Bo-
żego, za życie Jego na ziemi pełne dobrodziejstw,
miłość i przebaczenia -- najgorszą w dziejach świa-
ta inęką i śmiercią. Ponad nasze zrozumienie jest
miłostwie Twoje, Panie, żeś tę właśnie mękę u-
czynił zadośćuczynieniem za pierwszą obrazę,
prośbą i zbawieniem dla nas. Za grzech
Adama, za grzechy wszystkich pokoleń i nasze --
ofiarować się raczył sam Syn Boga, gdyż żadna
ludzka pokuta nie starczyłaby na odpłatę. Ofiaro-
wał się wyłącznie z miłości dla nas, czyniąc znacz-
nie więcej niż było potrzeba, boć jedna kropla Jego
kruzi odkupiłaby ludzkość. On zaś wszystką przełat.
A cierpienie odczuwał, jak człowiek, nie znieczulo-
ny bynajmniej Swoją Boską naturą.*

*Panie Jezus, my nie cierpimy niewinnie.
Najlepsi z pośród nas mają mnóstwo win do odpo-
kutowania, a cierpienia nasze są prawie zawsze
przez nas samych spowodowane. Jesteśmy przy tym
tylko ludźmi, nie Bogiem, jak Ty. Więc za to, że
pozwalasz nam cierpieć dla jakiejś idei i znieść
niezasłużone prześladowania, błogosławimy Cię i
wielbimy tym bardziej! O, pomóż nam znieść nale-
życie tę miniaturę Męki Twojej i pozwól przyłączyć
ją do Twojej Ofiary na intencję zwycięstwa Dobra
i przyśpieszenia Królestwa Bożego na ziemi! Amen.*

Stacja I. PAN JEZUS NA ŚMIERĆ SKAZANY.

*Uprzylomnijmy sobie, jak my sami obawiamy
się wyroku w naszej sprawie -- i rozmyślajmy w*

jakich warunkach i jak przyjął ludzki wyrok na siebie -- Bóg. I jaki wyrok! Panie Jezu, przez tę chwilę, w której usłyszałeś decyzję Pilata, racz nam słabym ludziom złagodzić możliwie los ostateczny, a jeśli potrzeba, abyśmy cierpieli, daj nam siły i ufność w momencie wywołania naszego nazwiska dla niewiadomego celu. Módlmy się za jadącymi do obozu i idącymi na śmierć. Ojcze nasz itd.

Stacja II. PAN JEZUS BIERZE KRZYŻ NA RAMIONA SWOJE.

Wyobraźmy sobie, że Pan Jezus, gorzej znacznie zbity niż my, bierze na poranione plecy i ramiona Swoje wielki, ciężki, źle ociosany krzyż i wlecze to drzewo za sobą w upale pod górę, długi kawał drogi. Nam to zostaje zaoszczędzone. Gdy nas niosą na noszach, pomyślmy, że nie musimy nieść krzyża. Za to przyjmijmy bez szemrania i buntu krzyż cierpienia, który się nam dostaje. Módlmy się za tych, którzy podejmują się prac najniebezpieczniejszych z pełną świadomością, co ich za to czeka -- za świeżo aresztowanych i tu przywiezionych. Ojcze nasz itd.

Stacja III. PAN JEZUS UPADA POD CIEŻAREM KRZYŻA PO RAZ PIERWSZY.

Po nocy w Ogrójcu, pojmania, ciemnicy, kilkukrotnych przesłuchiowaniach i katowaniu -- nic dziwnego, że Chrystus mdlał przytłoczony krzyżem. Przypomnijmy sobie sami, jak sprawcy wtedy biją, kopią, wloką. Często jednak pozwalają odproszycielom wstać lub zanieść, gdy wiedzą, że ofiara wstać nie może. Chrystus musiał wstać i z krzyżem iść dalej. Chciał wstać, by na Golgotę dojść i nas zbawić. Módlmy się za tych, którzy po torturach już nie wstają. Ojcze nasz itd.

Stacja IV. PAN JEZUS SPOTYKA NA DRODZE KRZYŻOWEJ SWĄ MATKĘ.

Jeżeli w naszej obecności męczono najbliższych, lub jeśli nas w ich obecności męczono, jeśli mieliśmy widzenia, spotkania, których za cenę życia chcielibyśmy unikać -- to wystawimy sobie w przybliżeniu, czym było to spotkanie dla Chrystusa i Matki Bolesnej. A przecież, nas prześladowają obcy, potępieni i ztęnowidzeni przez wszystkich -- nad Chrystusem zaś, Bogiem dobroczyniącym, znęcał się cały tłum. Przeciw Niemu byli wszyscy rodacy Jego, których miłował i dobrodziejstwami obdarzał. Co czuła, co cierpiała Matka Boża!

Módlmy się za tych, którzy patrzą na mękę najdroższych swoich. Ojcze nasz itd.

Stacja V. SZYMON CYRENEJCZYK DOPO- MAGA P. JEZUSOWI W NIESIENIU KRZYŻA

Oprawcy bali się, że Chrystus nie dojdzie do miejsca właściwej męki, więc pozwolili na pomoc w dźwiganiu krzyża, zmuszając do tego jakiegoś przechodnia. Nie było wtedy chętnych, choć nam się dziś wydaje, że tak byśmy sami chętnie pomogli. Pomyślmy o ile nam lepiej, jak wiele osób ze współczuciem i poświęceniem pracuje dla ulżenia naszej doli. Dziękujmy Bogu za to i módlmy się gorąco za tych wszystkich, którzy śpieszą z pomocą więzionym. Ojcze nasz itd.

Stacja VI. ŚW. WERONIKA OCIERA SKRWA- WIONĄ TWARZ PANA JEZUSA.

Najszczerze objaw współczucia i czci! Wobec nastrojów tłumu, obecności katów i rzymskiej eskorty

ty, czyn Weroniki wymagał odwagi, ale też jakąś łaską został nagrodzony. Panie Jezu, któryś znał wdzięczność ludzi prześladowanych, racz mieć w opiece i błogosław tym, którzy narażają się dla nas, którzy nie mogą nas ratować, przynoszą nam pociechę, leczą i chronią jak mogą. Ojciec nasz itd.

Stacja VII. PAN JEZUS UPADA PO RAZ DRUGI

Pomimo pomocy w niesieniu krzyża, Chrystus coraz bardziej wyczerpany znów pada. O, Boże mój, myśląc, że Ty znosiłeś wysmiewanie, popychanie i szturchanie pospólstwa, przestaniemy się martwić, wstydić lub oburzać, że nas, zwykłych ludzi, popychają kolbą i pięścią, kopią, biją w kark z łada powodu, -- nie będziemy się czuli niedoleźni, upokorzeni z tego powodu. Nasza godność leży w naśladowaniu Ciebie. Módlmy się, aby upadanie Chrystusa chroniło nas od załamania się, upadku wobec wszystkich gróźb i mąk. Ojciec nasz itd.

Stacja VIII. PAN JEZUS POCIESZA PŁACZĄCE NIEWIASTY.

Niewiasty nie zdają sobie sprawy z grozy faktu, że Boga udręcza Jego stworzenie ponad wszystko wyróżnione, ale litują się ludzko nad męką niewinnego człowieka. Chrystus nawet w tej chwili nie myśli o sobie, ale o ich losie, i pociesza je. Dlaczego więc my mielibyśmy wymagać współczucia dla siebie? A jeśli pozostający na wolności troskają się o nas, starają i modlą -- to dziękujmy Bogu. Módlmy się za nasze rodziny i redaków na wolności, żeby się tu nie dostali, żeby im się dobrze dzie-

to, żebyśmy się spotkali z nimi na swobodzie. Oj-
cze nasz itd.

Stacja IX. PAN JEZUS UPADA POD KRZY- ŻEM PO RAZ TRZECI.

Jak bardzo zmęczony był Jezus! Ostatkami sił
jednak, batem cucony, szedł naprzód, pod górę, ku
swojej śmierci. Przez ten swój trzeci upadek racz,
Chryste, wybaczyć tym, którzy się ze słabości zala-
mali, oszczędź im męki sumienia; my im to zapom-
nimy, choćby nawet nam czy innym szkodę przy-
nieśli. A jeśliśmy to my upadli -- pozwól nam na-
prawic to mężną śmiercią lub całą resztą życia i
przebacz nam, bo Ty wiesz najlepiej, w jakich wa-
runkach to się stało! Ojczy nasz itd.

Stacja X. PAN JEZUS Z SZAT OBNAŻONY.

Po dojściu na miejsce stracenia oprawcy, zdzie-
rają z Pana Jezusa przyschnięte do ran szaty i stoi
Chrystus nagi wobec wrzającego Mu tłumu. Panie
Jezu, w imię tego momentu Twej męki, popatrz i
ułtyj tym, którzy są policzkowani, kobietom, którym
do bicia zdzierają suknie, i skazanym na śmierć,
których przed rozstrzelaniem rozbierają do nogal
Zaliez nam to, prosimy, jako pokutę za grzechy i
dołącz ten nasz wstyd do zasługi Twego z szat ob-
nażenia, Ojczy nasz itd.

Stacja XI. PAN JEZUS PRZYBITY DO KRZYŻA

Teraz dopiero zaczyna się prawdziwa męka
Zbawiciela, Obrzękłe plecy, zdrętwiałe ramiona
przyklada do zadziornego drzewa krzyża, tępe

gwoździe przebijają nadgarstki i stopy, potem okrutne szarpnięcie przy podnoszeniu krzyża i zawieszenie całym bezwładem na rozdzierających się ranach. Trudność oddychania, pragnienie, niemożność ułożenia głowy okolonej cierniem. Żadna nasza męka nie może się z tą porównać! Lecz, Boże, któryś tak cierpiał za nasze grzechy, przebacz winy, którym za męstwo -- kości łamią, stawy rozszczepiają, paznokcie zdzierają. Zlituj się, zlituj nad nimi. Ojczy nasz itd.

*Stacja XII. PAN JEZUS UMIERA NA KRZYŻU.

Pan Jezus umiera po trzech godzinach męczarni zbawiających świat. Przedtem przebacza swym katom, obścuduje raj współwizzącemu łotrozi, żegna się z Matką i uczniem. Myśląc o tym, bądźmy kochani nie tylko rodzinę i przyjaciół, ale bądźmy życzliwi niemiłym czy nieprzyjaznym współwizźnikom, a nawet na wrogach mścić się nie bądźmy, zostawiając sąd Bogu i wykonawcom Jego woli, chyba, że my najoezywiściej narzędziami Jego być mamy. A Ty, Boże, racz błogosławić sprawie, dla której gotowi jesteśmy śmierć ponieść. Módlmy się za rozstrzeliwanych i zamęczonych. Ojczy nasz itd.

Stacja XIII. PAN JEZUS ZDJĘTY Z KRZYŻA I ODDANY MATCE.

Męka Pana naszego dobiegła kresu, ale męka Matki Jego potęguje się i trwać będzie jeszcze dwa dni. O ileż cierpienie Jej większe od bólu naszych matek! Wszakże cierpi Najświętsza, a cierpienie Jej spowodowali ludzie, których Jej Syn - Bóg ukochał i których ona kochać musi. Matko Bolesna, módl

zię za nami w najgorzszych chwilach. Połącz szczególnie matki i rodziny, patrzące na śmierć ukochanych, otrzymująca pusłki z popiołami lub świadomości o zgonie. Dołącz ich męczeństwo do naszej wspólnej ofiary! Ojciec nasz itd.

Stacja XIV. PAN JEZUS ZŁOŻONY DO GROBU

Ludzie złożyli w grobie swego Boga, uczynili to w bezmyślnej złości, nie wiedząc, że dokonało się ich odkupienie. Lecz Pan Jezus wraca jeszcze do nich w możnej postaci zmartwychwstały, wraca, by dokończyć dzieła. Panie Jezu, przez święty Grób Twój daj wieczny odpoczynek poległym za Sprawę i zamordowanym bez sądu, wyprowadź jak najprędzej z żywego grobu nas i świat cały. Ojciec nasz itd.

MODLITWA KOŃCOWA.

Panie Boże, nie umiemy należycie rozważać Męki Chrystusowej, lecz jeśli z samej treści naszych rozmyślań, z ich dobrej i szczerzej intencji mogą spłynąć na nas jakieś łaski i odpusty -- to ofiarujemy je dziś szczególnie na intencję...

O łaskę tę prosić Cię będziemy we, dniu i w nocy, narzucając Ci się z uporczywą nadzieją, gwałcąc niebo, błagając w Imię Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego, nie wątpiąc w spełnienie prośby ani na moment, ufając wolą, myślami, uczuciem i wyobraźnią. Choćby wszystko przemawiało przeciw temu. A Ty, Boże, choć nie zasługujemy wcale, spełnij naszą prośbę -- bo tak uczył Zbawiciel, Chrystus Umęczony, i to nam obiecał. Amen.

Druk. W. O.



Wybaw pisy niemywarnie. La luy
na Smolom. Narko take chote.
plecy, ie nie mogg sie odwrócic.
Byłam kilka razy na puc
Tuchaniu na Smolom. Ciggle te
same pytania - skąd meble
ze skrytkami, co w nich było
i jak to powstanam. To samo
kupiłam na Bapim, nie
nie wicowiatam o skrytkach
Borcho bili. Byto ich jony
Pewoch mytrujm i Robiote.
Wytawali maskę p-garow
dusiłam się, padetom.
Jeszcze - wlosy jidm kopat
mnie w plecy, kobieta pomagista
mnie w brzoju linij. Traćtam
pnytomnoti, wlosy obleweli wodą.
Bardziej spokojnie, nie ode mnie
nie wyjdzie - Mama i Tuna
nie są ze mną, ie winny est.
Tuna tu dusiła maskę p-garow
nie nie pośredniata.
Spotkałam tu wspaniałych ludzi
wyłam na wolności nie maie
rozzbia na jakiej p-tanowpim.
to tu nene pniejora - Nie cionij
ie tu jstems. Pilnuf się staranno
nie chce jednak Ceclni tu robawu.
Czy się wosle wlececzym?
27.5.43
Ja Agnieszka

Iwona Krugłowska's
secret letter written in
Pawiak on 27 May 1943.
(Photo by Leszek Zaręba,
1968, MN; see p. 80.)

Dziś ciom na wolności.

Tyle już godzin, tyle dni
Tyle miesięcy obłądził jak rok
O siebie dzieci mas.

Gdzieś w swoim skromnym pokoju
Tam zawsze dzieci między was

M w stajni blisko łoża
M w rogu srebrnej kielich
M w Magdalenie wujem najdroższym,
Najdroższym moim bracie -

Deis zyczeń Wam zasypam
Z za krat - szed miłki piek

By serc naszych nigdy
Nie spanował lek

M idźcie z miarą w życie
Pamięć siebie w jasny dzień

Po znowu wolna barwa już
Dane Biedykiem gościć faj...

W naszym najdroższym, Dziś ciom
na dzień ^{krasie} ^{zobacz} ^{nie}
obcującie się w czasie naszej mi-

Metelka

Pawia 12-16-43

Wanda Lewandowska's
letter sent from Pawiak
to her children in 1943.
(MN, copy from Krystyna
Pieńkowska's collections.)



Urns with the ashes from German concentration camps, where the prisoners of Pawiak and Aleja Szucha were transported, in the isolation cell no. 10. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2018, MN.)



Remembrance plaque commemorating victims of torture and murder carried out in the building at Aleja Szucha 25. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, 2014, MN.)

PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM

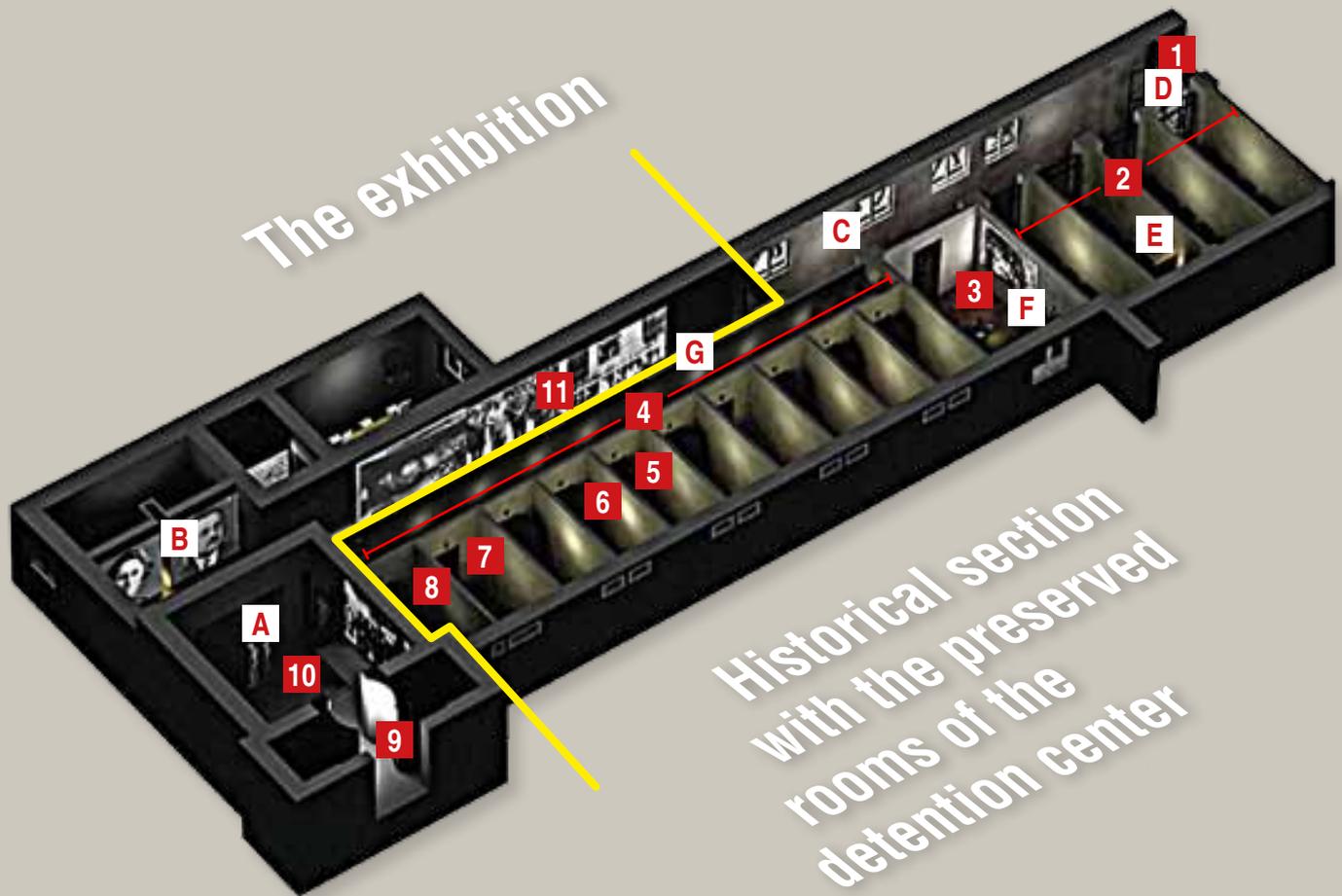


Fig. STUDIO GOVENLOCK, MN

THE MUSEUM SPACE AND THE PRESERVED ROOMS FROM THE PERIOD OF GERMAN OCCUPATION

- 1** Bars separating the detention center from the rest of the building (currently a passage obstructed by a wall), this is the route the prisoners were led to interrogations.
- 2** Mass cells, the so-called “trams”, in which the prisoners awaited interrogations.
- 3** The room of German guards. Exhibition of the preserved torture devices.
- 4** Corridor with isolation cells.
- 5** Isolation cell no. 6.
**“It is easy to speak about Poland,
It is harder to work for her,
Even harder to die,
But the hardest is to suffer.”**
- 6** Isolation cell no. 7. A window recess with a preserved inscription made by pencil by an unknown prisoner awaiting execution.
- Isolation cell no. 9. German guards were shooting at a prisoner through the spyhole, marks on the wall opposite to the door have been preserved.
- 8** Isolation cell no. 10. Urns with the ashes from concentration camps, where the prisoners of Pawiak and Aleja Szucha were transported.
- 9** Entrance to the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom.
- 10** Vestibule with a multimedia introduction.
- 11** Four posts with historical multimedia presentations:
 - *Defensive war and occupation*
 - *The way from Pawiak to Aleja Szucha*
 - *Terror and resistance*
 - *Remembrance.*

SPOTS WITH MULTIMEDIA BROADCASTS

- A** Sound transmission *The place of executions.*
- B** Multimedia introductory transmission: film etude *An eternal flame* and Faces of the tortured, and a sound transmission *Introductory narrative.*
- C** Film etude *Signs of siege.*
- D** Film etude *The will to survive.*
- E** Film etude *Traces of torment.*
- F** Film etude *Images of interrogation.*
- G** Sound transmission *The testimonies of truth.*



The opening ceremony of a new multimedia exhibition in the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom in Warsaw. Director of the Museum of Independence Andrzej Stawarz, PhD, 7 December 2007. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, MN.)



The opening ceremony of a new exhibition in the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. In the front: creators of the artistic design (from the left) Violetta Damińska and Žaneta Govenlock, 7 December 2007. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, MN.)



The opening ceremony of a new exhibition in the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. Presentation by the creators of the exhibition: (from the left) Magdalena Woltanowska and Joanna Gierczyńska, 7 December 2007. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, MN.)



Young people meet the former prisoners at the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. Jerzy Kowalewski, prisoner of Aleja Szucha and Pawiak, talks about this tragic experience, 30 September 2010. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, MN.)



Youths meet the former prisoners at the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. Witold Żarnowski, one of the authors of the multimedia exhibition and director of the Mausoleum, presents his work, 29 September 2011. (Photo by Tadeusz Stani, MN.)

ŁATWO JEST MÓWIĆ O POLSCE
TRUDNIEJ DLA NIEJ PRACOWAĆ
JESZCZE TRUDNIEJ UMRZEĆ,
A NAJTRUDNIEJ CIERPIEĆ.

“It is easy to speak about Poland,
It is harder to work for her,
Even harder to die,
But the hardest is to suffer.”

An inscription made by an unknown prisoner from the isolation cell no. 6, which became a motto of the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom. (Restoration documents of the Polish Studios for Conservation of Cultural Property from 1966, MN.)