Introduction

Zygmunt Otto Roman Lakocinski (1905-87), lecturer in Polish at Lund University, left behind two collections to the university library in Lund. The first was Zygmunt Lakocinski’s personal papers (referred to below as Z.L’s personal papers) which were a gift, and the second was a collection of material called The Polish Research Institute in Lund (referred to below as the PIZ collection) which was a deposition.¹ The PIZ collection consists of two parts: the archive (manuscripts and documents) and printed material. The archive is significant for its unique documentation and the fact that the material is in Sweden. By means of in-depth interviews and documentation of personal experiences from concentration camps, the genocide and Nazi terror in Germany and the German-occupied areas are exposed. The source of the material originated in spring 1945, when Folke Bernadotte’s White Busses and UNRRA’s² transports saved people of different nationalities from the German concentration camps. A large proportion of these survivors came to Sweden. Zygmunt Lakocinski took the initiative to form a working party in Lund that amongst other things carried out in-depth interviews to document ex-prisoners’ experiences of the concentration camps. The interviews (over 500) were made of Polish citizens that were ex-prisoners, irrespective of their religious or ethnic groups, with the purpose of informing coming generations of what had taken place. The interviews were made within 18 months of their arrival in Sweden. What makes these interviews significant is partly that the documentation was made shortly after the respondents were released and partly that the methods of conducting the interviews were reliable. This makes Lakocinski’s work relatively rare from an international perspective, confirmed by that fact that parts of the material were used in connection with trials after the war. In addition to interviews, the working party compiled lists of those executed in the German concentration camps, lists of Polish citizens killed in the war and other information. The archive also contains material relating to the ex-prisoners’ first period in Sweden, translations of the procedures used in the trial in Hamburg 1946-1947 of the staff from the Ravensbrück concentration camp, and records of the trial itself. The archive contains personal recollections and possessions in the form of notes, diaries and recollections, poems, reflections, photographs, drawings and objects³ that the ex-prisoners had with them on arrival in Sweden. The material relates both what happened in the concentration camps and the systematic murder by the Nazi regime of different ethnic groups during the Second World War. The printed material consists of newspapers, magazines, cuttings and propaganda material in different languages. There is also a collection of books describing the situation before, during and after the Second World War.

¹ The deposition was left as a gift to the University library in February 2004
² United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
³ The objects were given to Kulturhistoriska museet (Museum of Cultural History) in Lund in 2004, which already had objects from the Łakociński collection.
Background

Zygmunt Lakocinski was born on 20 June 1905 and died on 1 January 1987. His father was Polish (Józef Lakocinski) and his mother Austrian (Jenny Bohm). Zygmunt Lakocinski (Z.L. below) grew up and went to school in Vienna. At the end of the World War I the family moved to Kraków. Z.L. continued his schooling in the re-united Poland and in 1924 he graduated from school in Lwów (Lviv). In the same year he started reading art history at the university of Kraków. During his time as a student Z.L. spent short periods in Vienna, Berlin and Budapest. In 1932 Z.L. gained a PhD with a thesis on medieval murals. Both during and after his post-graduate studies he worked in different parts of Poland with his study of art history. In 1934 he moved to Sweden to start work as a lecturer in Polish and the life and institutions of Poland at Lund University. The work was jointly financed by Sweden and Poland. Z.L. was keen to strengthen the cultural and scientific ties between Sweden and Poland. He worked actively on various issues with the aim of bringing Sweden and Poland closer to each other. Z.L. continued his travels and visited Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France and Germany. During his stay in Lund in the 1930’s he became engaged to Carola von Gegerfelt, a librarian he had previously met during his stay in Kraków. They were married in 1935 and later had three children (two sons and a daughter). When Poland mobilised in the summer of 1939, Z.L. (who had earlier completed his military service in Poland) was on the way back to Poland to join up. However, he was given orders by the Polish authorities to remain at his post as lecturer in Lund. This decision was based on the opinion that Z.L. would best serve the interests of Poland in his continued work in Lund. Thus, Z.L. remained in Sweden as Hitler attacked Poland on 1 September 1939.4

Zygmunt Lakocinski’s activities between 1939-1945

The outbreak of World War II and the Germany’s attack on Poland in September 1939 initiated the struggle of Polish society against Hitler and his regime. After the occupation of Poland, this struggle was lead by the country’s government in exile under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Władysław Sikorski, first from Paris and later (after the occupation of France in 1940) from London. After Hitler’s attack on Poland in September 1939 the Polish legation in Stockholm took the initiative of forming a network (a working party). Its purpose was to collect information in Sweden about the war and Germany’s crimes in the light of the Nazi regime’s acts of cruelty towards Polish citizens in occupied Poland. It was seen as important from the Polish viewpoint that this compilation of information should take place in Sweden, a neutral country strategically located between eastern and western Europe. Sweden could thus act as a bridge between occupied Poland, the Polish government in exile and the allies in the West. It was felt that Sweden, in the north of Europe, could play a role similar to Switzerland’s traditional role in southern Europe regarding the exchange of information between Polish society and its allies in the West. In the group mentioned above, activated by the Polish legation in Stockholm, there

were three Polish lecturers at universities in Sweden. In addition to Z.L. in Lund there were two others: Józef Trypucko in Uppsala and Zbigniew Folejewski in Stockholm. The primary task of the three lecturers, with their limited resources, was to systematically collect in Sweden printed material related to Hitler’s politics. In the beginning of 1940 the three lecturers met in Stockholm and established the guidelines for their work of collecting materials. They agreed to concentrate on newspapers and magazines, books, different experts’ opinions, public inquiries and so on. They also agreed to found an archive and library in Lund for the purpose of storing all the materials collected. This agreement was the starting point for Z.L.’s systematic work of building up an archive in Lund that would document the politics of Nazi Germany in the occupied countries of Europe. As it later became apparent, this work was to continue after the end of the war.  

So, during the period 1939-1945 materials were collected in Lund under the leadership of Z.L. In addition to the collection of books, newspapers, magazines, cuttings and propaganda pamphlets in various languages there was a survey of how Swedish newspapers reacted to the war. The material collected in Lund contained information about the genocide instigated by Nazi Germany and its destruction of the cultural legacy in Poland and other occupied countries in Europe. Z.L.’s wife Carola von Gegerfelt was actively involved in collecting this material. Her work was made easier by the fact that she mastered Polish. Z.L. and the network of the group of three lecturers also collected information about the propaganda that Nazi Germany was spreading in Sweden during the war and about German sympathisers in Sweden. The collection of German propaganda material was especially important from the beginning of 1944, when the Germans started to buy up part of their earlier propaganda material, full of confidence in their victory. What made Z.L.’s work of collecting materials increasingly difficult, not least in the early 1940’s, was the pressure from the Nazi regime to limit Polish activities. The activities of pro-German groups in Sweden and in Lund were significant in this context. Z.L. and his colleagues were also concerned that geographically, Lund was only separated from Nazi Germany by the Sound between Denmark and the south of Sweden. This meant that the material, in the event of Sweden’s occupation, could quickly fall into the hands of the Nazis. For this reason Z.L. hid the material in Småland in April 1940, after Denmark and Norway had been occupied by Germany. Parallel with his collection of material, Z.L. continuously exchanged information with the Polish government in exile and the Allies. There are letters and documents in Z.L.’s personal papers that were conveyed to him by the governments in London via their diplomatic representatives in Sweden, from refugees, from couriers in the Polish resistance movement and other powers fighting against Nazism. 

The Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs’ Polish working party in Lund, 1945-1946


At the end of the war, when Nazi Germany was close to breakdown, Z.L.’s work changed radically. The background to this change came in the spring of 1945 when Folke Bernadotte’s White Busses saved people of different nationalities from the German concentration camps. A large number of these ex-prisoners came to Sweden, and many to Scania. Many of the survivors were Polish citizens, and so Z.L. started to work as an interpreter when they people were received in Sweden. In addition to his deep humanitarian engagement, Z.L. was very keen to document crimes committed in the Nazi concentration camps. Part of this work was to collect various objects that the ex-prisoners had taken with them from the concentration camps. These objects were often burned by the Swedish authorities to prevent the spread of diseases from the camps. Thanks to the intervention of Z.L. and others, some of the objects were saved, including the ex-prisoners’ personal belongings such as clothes, jewellery and so on. At the same time as he collected these objects, Z.L. started the intensive work of collecting source material, an important part of which were Nazi documents from the concentration camps, such as lists of those executed in the camps. Another important part of the material consisted of the ex-prisoners’ notes, letters, poems and personal records. Z.L. also started making more comprehensive records of crimes committed and drew up a number of lists. The collection of material was made easier by the fact that the survivors often sent information to Z.L. from different refugee camps located all over Sweden. Many letters received by Z.L. were also testimony to what had taken place in different concentration camps. As a result of all the information that came to him, Z.L. started to gain a clearer picture of which individuals could be considered as ”key persons”. These included people that could work with him in his continued task of collecting material as well as people that could be interviewed in his documentation of the crimes committed by Germany under Hitler.  

In late spring 1945, Z.L. took the initiative to attempt to gain funds from the Swedish government to continue his work of collecting material in a more organised fashion. With this end in mind, he contacted the Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs (Utrikespolitiska Institutet -UI) in Stockholm and its director at the time, Sven Dahl. Z.L. knew that there was some interest on the part of the Institute of Foreign Affairs to collect and document the ex-prisoners’ personal experiences and material. Sven Dahl looked favourably on Z.L.’s initiative and in turn contacted the Swedish authorities. The efforts of the Institute of Foreign Affairs were supported by Lund University, and in particular by the historian, Sture Bolin. A positive decision was received from the Swedish Labour Market Commission (Statens Arbetsmarknadskommission) which was prepared to supply funds for the establishment in Lund of a working party within the framework of labour market subsidies. The working party would be a sub-division of the Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs, with Z.L. as supervisor. The other employees in the team would be ex-prisoners (Polish citizens) that were considered to be ”key persons” by Z.L. Their official status would be ”filing clerks”. The purpose of the working party was to collect material and to document ex-prisoners’ experiences from the concentration camps through interviews and witness testimonies. The group was called Utrikespolitiska Institutets Polska arbetsgrupp i Lund (Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs’ Polish working party in Lund), while in Polish it was named Polski Instytut Zródlowy w Lund (The Polish Research

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Institute in Lund) – shortened to PIZ. Sture Bolin worked as scientific advisor when the group decided on a method for interviews and witness testimonies. Z.L. was given the task of presenting a list of possible candidates for the group in the summer of 1945. The criteria for selection were that the candidates should be mentally strong (in view of the nature of the work) and should have an academic education, preferably a higher degree such as a PhD. In summer 1945, Z.L. sent a list of names to Stockholm and at the end of August the Swedish authorities gave the go-ahead to make preparations for founding the group. 8

The group started its work in the end of October 1945. Those appointed as filing clerks in autumn 1945 were: Helena Dziedzicka, Krystyna Karier, Bozyslaw Kurowski, Helena Miklaszewska, Luba Melchior and Józef Nowaczyk. In February 1946 three more were appointed, namely Ludwika Broel Plater, Irena Jaworowicz and Halina Strzelecka. It was thus a total of nine people, fewer than Z.L. had initially planned. The reasons for this limitation to nine employees were that the Swedish Labour Market Commission did not make more funds available and that no other potential candidates received work permits from the Swedish authorities. To carry out the collection of material efficiently, there was a division of tasks within the group. Ludwika Broel Plater drew up a list of vocabulary from the concentration camps (considered important since many of the words used in the camps reflected the conditions that prevailed). Helena Dziedzicka translated correspondence to and from English and French. Irena Jaworowicz typed out all the documents for the group. Krystyna Karier was in charge of all the minutes of the group’s meetings and financial matters. Bozyslaw Kurowski worked with legal issues. Helena Miklaszewska was responsible for accounting and listing the prisoners that died, while Luba Melchior worked with the group archive and was responsible for Jewish issues. Józef Nowaczyk mapped out places that were connected with the concentration camps. Halina Strzelecka produced different card index registers. All of the staff except Irena Jaworowicz also worked with witness testimonies and the exchange of letters related to each testimony. 9

The testimonies of witnesses through in-depth interviews of ex-prisoners were considered to be a reliable form of documentation by the group and the Institute of Foreign Affairs. The idea was that these testimonies would constitute evidence of the crimes committed and could be used in the future by courts and historians. It was felt important that the documentation should take place as soon as possible after the liberation of the prisoners and that the method of collecting the testimonies should be reliable. A meeting was held on 22 November 1945 between the staff of the group and the Lund historian Sture Bolin (S.B. below) to ensure that this would be the case. S.B. had overall responsibility for the method guidelines when collecting witness testimonies. S.B. emphasised in this meeting that the writing of the history of the Second World War should be based on the current methods used in the science of history. According to S.B. however, witness testimonies required a further development of these existing methods. These testimonies would be a combination of outlines and verbatim witness accounts, which would then be substantiated by other witnesses. When all of this was completed the testimonies could be

accepted as a historic source. S.B. stressed that work with testimonies demanded that those involved should consciously strive to remain impartial to propaganda or their own values. It was important that the collection of information should be as far as possible objective and impartial. S.B. emphasised that during the interview itself, it was necessary to distinguish between facts and the interviewee’s emotions. To achieve this, it would be essential to note names, places and expressions mentioned by the interviewee and to stick to the framework of chronology and the division of events into periods. The psychological factor would emerge in the interview in order to make the account as authentic as possible. If the interviewee should find it difficult to talk, orientation questions would be put to remind the interviewee of certain facts but without coercing an opinion from the person. After the interview, the transcript would be signed by the interviewee and the interviewer.

The guidelines presented by S.B. regarding interview work corresponded by and large to the earlier ideas of Z.L. and his staff members. The difference lay in S.B.’s methodical thoroughness and consistency. Every witness testimony would have its own number and if the interview information did not correspond to known facts it would be checked (verified). All German words used by the interviewee would be written down as spoken (i.e. phonetically). S.B. felt that the staff in the group should write down their own recollections from concentration camps before they started work with witness testimonies. S.B. also thought that during the work with witness records, the interviewers should bear in mind a number of general questions: for example, which nationalities were murdered and who assisted in their murder; what significance political factors had outside the camps for developments in the camps; what decisions were made by the Nazi authorities and how they were applied in the different camps. S.B. did not attend any other meetings regarding the methods, but the work with witness records was intensified after his presentation. During the period 1945-1946 the group held a number of meetings on methods used in order to discuss them further and maintain their stringency. This work continued until autumn 1946 when Swedish financial support was terminated.

The question of methods was not the only issue of importance regarding witness records. There were a number of other questions that the group was forced to consider in carrying out the interviews. Many of the potential witnesses were in very poor shape physically. The most important and urgent question was whether they would survive, rather than whether they were well enough to be interviewed. Some were on their way to other countries and the time factor was a primary consideration in these cases. The survivors were spread over large parts of southern Sweden. Thus the problems were both the geographical distances between Lund and the witnesses, and the limited financial resources for the group to visit witnesses. In spite of many problems, the group succeeded in making over 500 witness records in the space of just over a year. Every record had a number and date, contained personal information regarding the interviewee and was signed by both the interviewee and the interviewer. Most of these witness reports

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10. PIZ archive: volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volume 46, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations in Sweden, volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z.
11. PIZ archive: volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volume 46, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations in Sweden, volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 42-44
12. PIZ archive: volume 36, Material from concentration camp ex-prisoners, their journey and first time in Sweden 1945, volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z; Interview with Bozyslaw Kurowski 15.5.2002; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 49-50
were between 5 and 10 handwritten pages. There were typed transcripts in addition to the handwritten records. A register of names and an alphabetical register of the witness records were drawn up.\textsuperscript{13}

The activities of the group were not limited to witness records however. A large part of their work was to collect and systematise different types of material about the concentration camps. Material about concentration camps is divided chiefly into two sub-types. The first type is made up of material that was collected and compiled by the group itself, for example, lists of the different Nazi prisons and concentration camps, and lists of SS officers and other staff in the concentration camps. There are lists of prisoners and their detention in various camps, lists of the dead and executed, and information about the experimental operations in the concentration camps. The material also included a card index and information about vocabulary used in the camps. The group collected and compiled the above information in several ways. Some of the information was based on witness reports, while other information came from letters and details from ex-prisoners that did not take part in the interviews but who were in contact with the group. Staff in the group constituted one further source of information through their own experiences of concentration camps. Some of the information was based on material taken from the concentration camps themselves (see below). The other type of material on concentration camps was that received by the group from institutions working with the collection of material related to crimes committed by Nazi Germany, both in Sweden and abroad. One of these institutions in Sweden was the World Jewish Congress: Historic Commission in Stockholm and abroad Związek Polaków w Lubece (The Polish Association of Lübeck) plus to some extent Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance) in Warsaw. This material (often in the form of copies) is similar to that collected and compiled by the group in Sweden. It contains lists of different concentration camps and lists of executed and dead prisoners. Material from other institutions was intended to be a supplement to the group’s own.\textsuperscript{14}

In addition to the above material, the group collected and systematised material from concentration camps. This was material that the prisoners had with them when they arrived in Sweden. This material illustrated different aspects of conditions in the concentration camps before the prisoners’ liberation in spring 1945. It relates both what took place in the concentration camps and the systematic crimes committed. Part of the material contains "personal recollections" in the form of notes, diaries and jottings, poems and reflections. The material was hidden away by the prisoners at great personal risk. The material from concentration camps can be chiefly divided into five types. The first is correspondence between prisoners and their relatives and friends outside. This includes letters and cards sent from and to concentration camps, permitted by the Nazis. The most interesting and important type of material is the correspondence that was sent in secret and on pain of death between prisoners and their relatives and friends. These letters constitute an "uncensored" proof of the prisoners’ experiences from the time of the

\textsuperscript{13}PIZ archive: volumes with handwritten testimonies, typed transcripts of handwritten testimonies, Incomplete testimonies (volumes 19-20) and volume 24, Material on testimonies, witness accounts and transports.

\textsuperscript{14}PIZ archive: volumes 25-26, Material on concentration camps. See also volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z, volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volume 46, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations in Sweden, volume 47, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations abroad.
concentration camps. Its content is often very emotional in nature. Cards and stamps that
were kept in secret make up part of this material. The second type of material consists
of prisoners’ notes in the form of notes on sheets of paper or booklets, chronological
descriptions of events in concentration camps, lists of executed prisoners, card registers
of names and other material that documents the situation in concentration camps. The
third type of material is prisoners’ poems, collections of poems, poetry books and prayer
books. The fourth type includes notebooks and lists of vocabulary from secret and
forbidden lessons in French and English from the time of the occupation and in the
concentration camps. This type includes handwritten books for teaching history. The
fifth type contains material that was ”produced” by the Nazi regime and which the
prisoners managed to obtain in different ways, despite this being full of risks. The
material includes maps, newspapers, and other German printed material that was kept
illegally by the prisoners. Special mention should be made of an SS list with names of
prisoners from the concentration camp in Ravensbrück who were sent to a special death
camp for execution in April 1945. This material was sent by the working party to the
Allies’ Commission for Nazi war crimes for the trial in Hamburg (1946-1947) relating to
the concentration camp in Ravensbrück (see below).

The group also collected material about concentration camps and the situation during the
Nazi occupation. Part of the collected material relates to conditions after the occupation.
There are descriptions and records written by different people about the situation in
occupied Poland. Most of these concern the suffering of people as a result of the Nazi
terror and deportations to the concentration camps. The material also describes different
aspects of the Holocaust. Part of this material was sent to the working party of the World
Jewish Congress: Historic Commission (Stockholm). There is also correspondence that
was sent between private people during and after the war. Amongst the material from
the time of occupation and concentration camps there are literary works and poetry,
mainly in the form of papers and notebooks either handwritten or typed in Polish, French
and other languages. The group collected photographs, sketches and drawings from the
war and after its end. Some of the photographs depict scenes from the lives of prisoners,
while others show the destruction in Poland after the occupation and different scenes
from concentration camps after their liberation. The material includes sketches and
drawings illustrating different situations from concentration camps and life during the
occupation. Their form of expression is powerful and evocative. Many of these sketches
and drawings are by the famous Polish artist Jadwiga Simon-Pietkiewicz, a concentration
camp prisoner who stayed in Sweden for some time after the war.

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15 PIZ archive: volume 27, Material from concentration camps, correspondence, volume 31, Material from concentration camps, forms, coupons etc.
16 PIZ archive: volume 30, Material from concentration camps, card indexes, lists etc., volume 29, Material from concentration camps, textbooks and notes.
17 PIZ archive: volume 28, Material from concentration camps, notes and poems.
18 PIZ archive: volume 29, Material from concentration camps, textbooks and notes.
19 PIZ archive: volume 31, Material from concentration camps, forms, coupons etc.
20 PIZ archive: volume 30, Material from concentration camps, card indexes, lists etc.
21 PIZ archive: volume 31, Material from concentration camps, forms, coupons etc.
22 PIZ archive: volume 32, Other material from the occupation and concentration camp issues.
23 PIZ archive: volume 33, Correspondence between private individuals during and after the war.
24 PIZ archive: volume 39, Poetry and other literary works from the occupation and concentration camps.
25 PIZ archive: volume 40, Photographs and pictures from the war and the post-war years.
26 PIZ archive: volume 41, Photographs and caricatures from the war and the post-war years, volume 42, Sketches and drawings from the war and the post-war years.
The archive also contains material describing the ex-prisoners’ journeys and first period in Sweden in 1945. This gives an insight into different aspects of the survivors’ situations from when they left the concentration camps until they were provided with accommodation in various parts of Sweden. The first part of this material concerns their journey and arrival in Sweden. It includes instructions for the journey from the concentration camps to Sweden, passport forms and photographs from the time of their arrival in Ystad. There is a list of the number of survivors from the concentration camp in Ravensbrück who died after their arrival in Sweden. The second part of the material is made up of registers and lists of the different camps, sanatoriums and hospitals where the survivors were placed after their arrival in Sweden, as well as various lists of names of the survivors and their accommodation. This material includes a list of the survivors’ clothes, for example. The third part of the material is different types of information which was given on arrival by the Swedish authorities, such as regulations and different information sheets for the ex-prisoners. There is a copy of a letter of thanks from the survivors to the chief of civil defence in Lund dating from June 1945. The fourth part of the material consists of notes and letters, mainly relating to the possessions of the survivors at the time of their arrival in Sweden. This includes lists of lost property and notes of different individuals’ possessions and the addresses of their accommodation. There are also letters that mainly describe different aspects of the problems mentioned above.26

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26PIZ archive: volume 36, Material from concentration camp ex-prisoners, their journey and first time in Sweden 1945.
finishing their work, the group sent copies of the witness reports to the Swedish Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Historic Institute in Lund. The organisational work carried out by the group within the framework of the Swedish government activities between 1945-1946 is relatively well documented. The material consists of minutes of the meetings, different types of letters, financial documents and reports concerning national archive work. There is also correspondence to and from the Labour Market Commission, the Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Refugee Board and the Commission for Aliens.27

The government support stopped at a dramatic point in time, just as the group was preparing for the trial in Hamburg. The accused were personnel from the concentration camp. The trial took place between the beginning of December 1946 and the beginning of February 1947. The group was involved in the trial since they had listed crimes committed by the personnel at the Ravensbrück camp. The War Crimes Investigation Unit visited the group in this connection in 1945-1946. The commission collected evidence against the personnel at Ravensbrück using the group’s witness reports and other material judged to be important. The commission was keen to produce witnesses for the planned trial. This meant that they saw the ex-prisoners of Ravensbrück that were working in the group as potential witnesses, as well as wanting the group’s assistance in their search for more witnesses.28 It was not surprising that when the trial in Hamburg opened, Helena Dziedzicka, who was a member of the group, was the prosecution’s second witness. Helena Dziedzicka made notes of her observations from the trial during her stay in Hamburg. Her handwritten and typed notes together with other papers make up the group’s collection of material on the trial in Hamburg.29

The material on the Ravensbrück trial in Hamburg is varied, and mainly in Polish. It includes lists of the accused: officers, guards, nurses and two ex-prisoners. The latter were charged with crimes against their fellow prisoners in collusion with camp personnel. The material contains reports submitted by the accused before the trial and lists of the judges, defence lawyers and witnesses, as well as trial records of cross-examinations of the accused and the witnesses. The closing arguments of the prosecution and defence and the pronouncement of the verdict are there, alongside information on other trials in Germany concerning crimes at Ravensbrück. There are train tickets, permits from the trial and various photographs from Helena Dziedzicka’s journey and stay in Hamburg. Dziedzicka’s handwritten and typed notes are both an account of the course of events at the trial and a personal description of her impressions from the trial. Parts of her notes are emotionally charged and clearly show that the trial was a traumatic experience for the ex-prisoners of the concentration camp. There are four handwritten letters from the war among Dziedzicka’s notes. These private letters were sent in secrecy by Janina Iwanska, a prisoner at the concentration camp. Parts of the text in the letters are written in urine and can only be read against the light. The letters describe crimes committed daily in the concentration camp.30 Dziedzicka’s notes, together with Iwanska’s letters, illustrate the

fact that the trial materials concern not only the trial itself but to an equal degree the tragedies that lead to the trial.

After the Swedish government’s decision to end financial support, the working party ceased to be a formal organisation. Z.L. and his colleagues, however, wanted to continue their work. Their ambition was first and foremost to complete the work started with witness records, to organise the materials collected and to publish parts of it. It was hoped, with the aid of a new organisation, to build an archive and library so that future generations could use the material. An important condition for succeeding in this project was that the work would have a new organisational base and fresh financial resources. The first step towards new organisational changes came in the beginning of 1947 with the reorganisation of the working party into an institute, within the framework of a financial association. The official name of the institute/association was Polski Instytut Źródlowy w Lund (the Polish Research Institute in Lund) – referred to below as PIZ. PIZ was given regulations, an auditing committee and a board with Z.L. as the chairman. The members of PIZ came from those working in the earlier group and many of those in the network during and after the war. The membership fee of PIZ was a symbolic sum. Their activities could however only continue in practice if they could obtain external financial resources. Z.L. hoped above all to receive funds from different institutions and organisations in Britain and USA. To help continue their work, PIZ received a small sum of money from the Polish Aid Committee in Sweden (Polski Komitet Pomocy w Szwecji) at the end of 1946.31

Between 1947 and 1948 PIZ sought financial support from several different sources. One of the first steps in this work was Z.L. ’s visit to London in spring 1947. The aim of the journey was, among other things, to investigate the prospects of continuing his work in consultation with Studium Polski Podziemnej (The Polish Underground Movement Study Trust) and Instytut Historyczny Generala Sikorskiego (The General Sikorski Historical Institute). The attitude to Z.L.’s work among the Polish institutions in London was very positive. They were well aware of the significance of the PIZ work and wanted to cooperate, with the common purpose of guarding the future of the material. However, in financial terms the visit did not pay off. The fundamental reason for this was that both the Polish institutions and the Polish government in exile in London, after Yalta and Potsdam, no longer received any funds from the Allies, which meant that they were hardly able to finance their own activities let alone support institutions outside Britain. In spite of this situation, Z.L. tried for some time to gain limited financial support from Britain but without success. At the same time, Z.L. contacted a number of organisations in USA. Two of these were based in Chicago, namely the Polish American Congress, Inc. and American Relief for Poland. Both these organisations emphasised in their correspondence to Z.L. that they were very conscious of the historic importance of work by PIZ, but neither of the organisations offered PIZ any financial support. The motivation for this rejection was that the organisations’ funds were intended for humanitarian help to the war victims from Poland. In their continued attempts in USA to obtain funding, Z.L. consulted the Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce (Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America) in New York. Z.L. was recommended via a reference to contact the Institute

31 PIZ archive: volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volume 46, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations in Sweden, volume 47, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations abroad, volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z; Interview with Bożysław Kurowski, 15.5. 2002; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
of Jewish Affairs in New York. The Institute of Jewish Affairs was considered to have access to considerable funds and at the same time supported work documenting crimes in Nazi Germany. Z.L. had already been in contact with this institute though. Their response was negative. The institute certainly recognised the significance of work at PIZ but stated that at the time they were unable to support them with funds. In summary it can be said that Z.L.’s attempts in 1947-1948 to obtain funds for PIZ did not reap any gains. It was clear in 1948 that work at PIZ with the material collected in Lund could only continue on a voluntary basis, without any financial means of support. Z.L. and his friends had no choice but to hope for more positive developments in the future.32

There were changes within PIZ during this period when Z.L. was attempting, in vain, to obtain funds for their work. The members of staff in the group were forced to apply for and start work in new jobs for financial reasons. Their options were very limited and initially they had to accept ordinary factory work. Their work at PIZ was by 1947 more symbolic than real, meaning that they worked with the institute in their spare time. Most of the members of PIZ wanted to leave the problems of the war behind them and start a new life. Gradually more and more of them left PIZ, either like Helena Dziedzicka to return to Poland to look for her husband and resume her life there, or like Bozyslaw Kurowski to start a new life in Sweden with a family. When Krystyna Karier married in 1949 and moved to Scotland, there were in practice only two members of PIZ from the old group: Z.L. and Ludwika Broel Plater. The financial and personal problems at PIZ brought up the question of the future security of the material. PIZ was keen to save it for future generations and ensure that it did not fall into the wrong hands. There were several threats in this context, such as the developing cold war, Sweden’s minimal interest in the material and the meagre resources of the Polish government in exile to support PIZ. There was a constant fear at the institute that the material could fall into the hands of the Soviet block, not least due to the interest shown in it by the government in communist Poland. In 1948 it was clear that the most important issue for PIZ to solve was the security of the material.33

This threat was averted in 1948-1949 by the deposition of the most important part of the material, namely all the witness records, for a period of 25 years to the Hoover Institution Archives: Stanford University in USA. Z.L. started the first discussions with Hoover as early as the end of 1946. It was not until two years later in 1948-1949, when all other alternatives were exhausted, that Z.L. made the decision to deposit the material in the archive in California. Z.L. felt that the material was far safer there than in Lund. His opinion of the Hoover Institute’s reliability was shared by many others. After the end of the Second World War, much of the Polish London government material was deposited or sold to the Hoover Institution. From the Polish viewpoint, the Hoover Archives were located far away from Europe, so that risks of the material being destroyed or falling into the wrong hands in the event of another war in Europe was relatively small. It was considerations of this type that were the basis of Z.L.’s decision to deposit the material


33Interview with Bozyslaw Kurowski, 15.5.2002; PIZ archive: volume 44, Documents on work at PIZ 1944-1972, volumes 48-49, Correspondence A-M/N-Z, volume 47, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations abroad; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
there. The background to the important role of the Hoover Institution with regard to the
Polish material goes back to the period between the wars. There was already some
cooperation between the Hoover Institution and different institutions and organisations in
Poland. Material saved from destruction during the First World War was deposited at
Hoover, and there were a number of knowledgeable specialists working there with great
interest in the Polish and central European cultural legacy.\footnote{PIZ archive: volume 47, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations abroad; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 86-87. Re. The Polish collections at the Hoover Institution see Władysław Stepiński, Archiwalia Polskie w zbiorach Instytutu Hoovers Uniwersytetu Stanforda, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warsaw 1997.}

After 1949 and until 1972, work with other materials at PIZ in Lund was mainly carried
out by Z.L. and Ludwika Broel Plater. In practice, however, it was Broel Plater who did
most of the work since Z.L. worked and lived in other parts of Sweden for long periods.
At the end of the 1940’s Z.L. returned to his work in the history of art when his post
ended as lecturer in Lund. Broel Plater was already in her 60’s at that time and was able
to support herself in different ways, including translation to and from French, working for
the Institution of History. Much of the work at PIZ from 1949-1972 was done in their
spare time and without any financial resources, trying to organise and list materials and
supplement and exchange information through extensive correspondence. The wide
network of contacts that was created earlier in Sweden and abroad was maintained with
private individuals who had personal experience from the war years and the exchange of
information with many organisations and institutions. Among these were the previously
mentioned World Jewish Congress: Historical commission in Stockholm, War Crimes
Investigation Unit in Germany, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National
Remembrance) in Warsaw, American Relief for Poland in Chicago, Studium Polski
Podziemnej (The Polish Underground Movement Study Trust) and Instytut Historyczny
Generała Sikorskiego (The General Sikorski Historical Institute) in London. There were
others too, for example Interim Treasures Committee for Polish Questions, Polski
Związek Byłych Więźniów Politycznych w Szweacji (Polish Association for ex-political
prisoners), Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów, Oddział Szweacja (Polish
Combattants’ Association in Sweden) – all of these in Stockholm, and the Norsk Samband
de Politiske Fanger (the Norwegian Association of Political Prisoners) in Oslo, Polski
Czerwony Krzyż (Polish Red Cross) in Poland, Związek Polaków w Lübeck (The Polish
Association at Lübeck) in Lübeck and several other organisations in Europe and the rest
of the world. PIZ was in contact with the Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstitning (the
Gothenburg Trade and Shipping Magazine) in Göteborg and a number of magazines in
different parts of the world. During this time PIZ arranged private viewings and
exhibitions on its own initiative. A private viewing was organised for the Polish artist
Jadwiga Simon-Pietkiewicz who exhibited her drawings and sketches after her arrival in
Sweden. There was an exhibition at Kulturen in Lund in 1966 of most of the objects
collected from the ex-prisoners of the concentration camps on their arrival in Sweden.
PIZ deposited these objects with Kulturen at the time of the exhibition. Work at PIZ
decayed more and more during the second half of the 1960’s and the start of the 1970’s.
Broel Plater, and to a lesser extent Z.L., no longer had the energy to continue their work.
The passage of time caused large parts of the network at PIZ to diminish. The last straw
was when Ludwika Broel Plater’s died in 1972. It was then that Z.L., after discussing the

\footnote{PIZ archive: volume 47, Letters and documents exchanged between PIZ and authorities, institutions and organisations abroad; Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., pp. 86-87. Re. The Polish collections at the Hoover Institution see Władysław Stepiński, Archiwalia Polskie w zbiorach Instytutu Hoovers Uniwersytetu Stanforda, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warsaw 1997.}
situation with others, reached the conclusion that without his close friend and loyal colleague it would be too difficult to continue work with PIZ.\textsuperscript{35}

**Ludwika Broel Plater and Zygmunt Lakocinski: the years between 1947 and 1987**

Ludwika Broel Plater f. Nawroczyńska (1885-1972) was active in her early years in the *PPS* (Polish Socialist Party). At the age of 20, before the First World War, she moved from the Polish part of Russia to Kraków, then under the rule of Austria-Hungary. She started studying languages at university there and continued with her studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. During the First World War she stayed in Paris where she was active in the Polish independence movement, the goal of which was to re-establish an independent and autonomous Poland. She was serving under the Polish army staff on the Western Front under the leadership of General Józef Haller. It was there she met her second husband to be, Józef Broel-Plater, with whom she was married soon after the war and settled down in re-united Poland. At the outbreak of the Second World War, when Poland was occupied by Nazi Germany, Ludwika Broel Plater became a member of Poland’s largest resistance movement, *Armia Krajowa* (AK). She was involved in promoting support for the Warsaw Ghetto and was arrested in 1941 by the Nazis and sent to the notorious prison for members of the resistance, *Pawiak* (her husband was arrested in 1940 and died in 1942 in the Dachau concentration camp). Broel Plater was tortured in *Pawiak*, leading to her having to wear an orthopaedic corset for the rest of her life due to back injuries. Broel Plater was sent from occupied Poland to the concentration camp at Ravensbrück in 1941. She was to remain there until 1945. During her time at the concentration camp she became a leading figure among the Polish and French prisoners. In 1945 she was freed by Folke Bernadotte’s White Buses and came to Sweden in the spring. In the beginning of 1946 she became a member of the staff at the *Institute of Foreign Affair’s Polish Workgroup in Lund* where she worked with witness reports and other material. After the group was wound up, Broel Plater became one of the driving forces in PIZ. She continued her work there with Z.L. until her death in 1972. Her close cooperation with Z.L. during the whole post-war period lead to a very deep friendship between the two of them.\textsuperscript{36}

As regards Z.L., the time after the war brought great changes in his professional life. His lectureship at Lund University could not be financed by the Polish government in exile after 1945 due to their financial plight. Two years later the Slavic Institute and Lund University withdrew from their agreement on Z.L.’s lectureship. It was later said that this decision was influenced by Knut-Olof Falk, professor at the Slavic Institute, who had a critical attitude towards Z.L.’s extensive work outside the university (e.g. PIZ).\textsuperscript{37} In order to support himself and his family, Z.L. went back to his earlier work with art history. This meant in practice that he had to start a new carrier in Sweden. To improve his prospects


\textsuperscript{36}Z.L.’s personal papers, volumes 41-44, *Broel Plater’s private papers* (especially in volume 41: Biographica/In memoriam by Z.L. 26.3. 1972); and volume 48, *Correspondence, A-M* (Ludwika Broel Plater)

\textsuperscript{37}Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, op. cit., p. 103.
on the Swedish labour market, Z.L. took a PhD in 1949 in the History of Art. His thesis was in Swedish and treated the same subject as his Polish thesis. At around this time Z.L. became a Swedish national. From the end of the 1940’s until his retirement in 1972, Z.L. worked in different art and culture administration posts in local government arts and cultural amenities, often as manager, in several locations in Sweden. At the same time, Z.L. was always deeply involved in work at PIZ. With his friend and close colleague Broel Plater he strove to supplement the PIZ material through extensive correspondence, and above all to prevent the material from being forgotten. Z.L. wrote several articles over the years about the work at PIZ. These were published in different periodicals in Sweden and other countries. 38 1972 was a watershed in his life when his wife Carola von Gegerfelts died, his friend and close colleague Ludwika Broel Platers died, and he went into retirement. All of these events influenced Z.L.’s attitude to continued work with PIZ. He decided in 1972 to finally conclude this work and to have the material earlier deposited with the Hoover Institution Archives returned to Sweden. The entire PIZ collection was back in Lund in 1972. Two years later Z.L. decided to deposit the PIZ archive (manuscripts and documents) with the university library (UB) in Lund. During the years to follow, the PIZ collection of printed material was gradually transferred to the university library in Lund. Z.L.’s personal papers were handed over to the university library in Lund as a gift after his death. 39

Summary

Zygmunt Lakocinski (Z.L.) worked as a lecturer in Polish and Polish Social Studies at Lund University in the late 1930’s. When Nazi Germany attacked Poland on 1 September 1939, Z.L. stayed in Sweden and continued his work at Lund University. In September 1939 Z.L. became involved in a lecturer’s group which was founded on the initiative of the Polish legation in Stockholm. The group included, as well as Z.L., the other Polish lecturers at Swedish universities. Their task was to collect material on the politics of the Hitler regime in occupied Europe. The group agreed, under the leadership of Z.L., to establish an archive and library in Lund. From 1939-1945 Z.L. was responsible for collecting printed material in Lund relating to Nazi war politics. In this work Z.L., working with the lecturers’ group and the Polish government in exile in London, set up an extensive network of contacts which continually exchanged information.

In spring 1945 Z.L. started to work in southern Sweden as an interpreter for people saved from the German concentration camps by Folke Bernadotte’s White Buses. Z.L. was deeply committed to helping these people but at the same time he wanted to document crimes committed by the Nazis in concentration camps. His ambition was to collect material in a systematic way from and about the concentration camps. For this reason Z.L. took the initiative in late spring 1945 to obtain funds from the Swedish government for the creation of a working party that would collect information about the concentration camps in a more organised fashion. This working party, under the Swedish name Utrikespolitiska Institutets Polska arbetsgrupp i Lund, (Swedish Institute of Foreign

38Z.L. published several journals at different times. One of these was the journal Polak, issued from July 1945 - November 1946. It was an independent journal that took up different problems facing Polish citizens in exile. The journal was laid down due to lack of funds. For more details see Z.L.’s personal papers, volumes 28-34.

Affairs’ Polish Working party in Lund) started its work under the leadership of Z.L. in autumn 1945. Others involved in the group, apart from Z.L., were ex-prisoners from concentration camps (Polish citizens) who, due to their education, competence and experience, were considered to be key persons in this task of collecting information. *Witness reports*, through in-depth interviews with survivors, were seen by the group as a reliable form of documentation. The intention behind this plan was that the witness reports would constitute evidence of crimes committed and could be used in the future by law courts and historians alike. The feeling was that the documentation needed to take place as soon as possible after the liberation of the prisoners. In spite of many problems, the group succeeded in producing (in Polish) over 500 witness reports in little more than a year.

In addition to the witness reports the group collected *material about the concentration camps* such as lists of Nazi prisons, concentration camps, SS officials and lists of dead and executed prisoners. The group collected and systematised *material from concentration camps*, which ex-prisoners often had on arrival in Sweden. This included correspondence from the concentration camps, prisoner’s notes and books of poetry. There are other personal possessions such as photographs, drawings, sketches and objects. There is also Nazi material that the prisoners managed to obtain in different ways, often risking their lives in doing so. The group also collected *material from the ex-prisoners’ first period in Sweden 1945*. The material provides an insight into different aspects of the survivors’ situation at the time of their arrival in Sweden. The group’s listing of crimes committed in concentration camps was used by the Allies’ *War Crimes Investigation Unit*, in connection with the *trial in Hamburg 1946-1947* of the staff from the concentration camp in Ravensbrück. One of the group members, Helena Dziedzicka, was also a witness in that trial. In the *PIZ archive* there is material from the Hamburg trial, consisting of copies of the trial proceedings and of Helena Dziedzicka’s personal notes from the trial and its events.

At the end of 1946 Swedish government funding for Z.L. and his colleagues came to an end. The group then officially ceased to be a department under the *Institute of Foreign Affairs*. The motivation given for the Swedish authorities’ decision was that the Labour Market Commission could no longer finance the group’s work under the heading of labour market subsidies. Z.L. and his colleagues wished to continue however, their primary goals being to complete the work with the witness reports, organise the material already collected and try to get parts of it published. The first step in this work was taken in the beginning of 1947 with the re-structuring of the working party into an institute under the leadership of Z.L. The official name of the institute was *Polski Instytut Zródlowy w Lund (the Polish Research Institute in Lund)* – abbreviated to *PIZ*. Z.L. hoped above all to obtain financial support for continued work from a number of institutions and organisations in Britain and USA. During 1947-1948, Z.L. contacted these institutions and organisations. Several of them stated that they were well aware of the significance of the work carried out by PIZ. Despite this, PIZ received no support, the motivation being that the institutions/organisations either had no funds or that they were not available at that moment. The consequence was that work at PIZ during the remainder of the time until 1972 could only continue thanks to voluntary and unpaid work by its members. As time went by, members left PIZ and Lund. From 1949 onwards there were in practice only two members, Z.L. and Ludwika Broel Plater. To ensure the security of the most important parts of the material, all of the witness records, Z.L. deposited these with the *Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University* in 1949.
From 1949 to 1972 work continued at PIZ with the other material in Lund. It was mostly Ludwika Broel Plater who did the work during this period, consisting mainly of organising and listing the material and supplementing and exchanging information through extensive correspondence with a wide network of contacts. In the second half of the 1960’s and in the early 1970’s, work at PIZ declined as Broel Plater and Z.L. did not have the same energy as earlier. The end finally came with the death of Ludwika Broel Platers in 1972. It was then that the PIZ project finally came to a close and Z.L. decided to bring back the material deposited with the Hoover Institution Archives. Two years later, Z.L decided to deposit the PIZ archive (manuscripts and documents) with the university library in Lund. After Z.L.’s death in 1987 his personal papers were made over as a gift to the university library in Lund.

In 2004 Zygmunt Lakocinski’s direct heirs made over the whole collection as a gift to the university library.