

A r o l s e n
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International Center
on Nazi Persecution



Beyond Europe

Findings on the International
Refugee Organization (IRO)

in Africa and Asia, 1947–1951

Edited by Christian Höschler
and Akim Jah

The Arolsen Archives are an international center on Nazi persecution with the world's most comprehensive archive on the victims and survivors of National Socialism. The collection has information on about 17.5 million people and belongs to UNESCO's Memory of the World. It contains documents on the various victim groups targeted by the Nazi regime and is an important source of knowledge for society today.

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Edited by **Christian Höschler**
and **Akim Jah**

on behalf of the Arolsen Archives

Bad Arolsen, 2021

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Introduction

The historical documents held by the Arolsen Archives, the world's largest collection on the victims of Nazi persecution, are commonly divided into three thematic groups: (1) records on incarceration in concentration camps, ghettos and prisons during the Nazi era; (2) employment files and registration cards that were created for forced laborers during World War II; (3) documents on the liberated survivors, whom the Allies referred to as Displaced Persons (DPs).¹ Being true for the majority of the holdings, this description is indeed a good starting point for anyone interested in examining the documents in more detail. However, given that 14 years have passed since the predecessor of the Arolsen Archives – the International Tracing Service (ITS) – made the collections accessible for researchers, continued research has managed to show that the records are in fact more diverse than is generally known. In other words, they contain files that do not exactly match the aforementioned three-fold classification and even extend beyond Nazi victims as the focus of the records kept in Bad Arolsen.

In this sense, this new publication within the *Findings* series serves as an example that may challenge previous notions of the Arolsen Archives as a thematically clear-cut repository. It deals with the work of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) – the largest international relief agency between 1947 and 1951 – outside of Europe and thereby significantly departs from the geographical focus commonly associated with the IRO, namely its work in caring for DPs in postwar Europe, and occupied Germany in particular.

Based on two contributions addressing IRO documents kept in the Arolsen Archives, as well as their historical context, the publication at hand explores the breadth of migration-related administrative records created in the postwar years by looking at Africa and Asia as hitherto relatively unknown fields of IRO operations with regard to: (1) Polish nationals who in 1940/41 were deported from Eastern Poland to the Soviet Union and who later were

¹ Arolsen Archives: "Documentation and Archiving". Available at: <https://arolsen-archives.org/en/about-us/what-we-do/documentation-and-archiving/>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

transferred to British colonies in Africa, and (2) DPs who, having originally arrived in Germany, Austria and Italy from Central and Eastern European countries, accepted immigration offers into Pakistan in 1949 and 1950. In order to understand how these activities fit into the bigger picture, the following overview provides an insight into the history of Displaced Persons, refugees, and the international relief agencies caring for them in the postwar period.

After World War II, the Allies faced the enormous task of looking after about 10 million DPs in Europe alone. DPs were defined as “civilians outside the national boundaries of their country by reason of the war,” who were “[d]esirous but unable to return home or find homes without assistance.”² The vast majority were former victims of Nazi persecution: they had been deported for forced labor, or incarcerated in concentration camps. Among them was a notable number of Holocaust survivors. After the end of the war, the DPs were housed primarily in the Western zones of occupied Germany, but also in Austria and Italy in specially established DP camps, where they were generally looked after by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), founded in 1943. The DPs were supposed to stay there temporarily only and prepare for repatriation, i.e. return to their respective countries of origin.³ And by late 1945, most DPs were indeed repatriated. At the beginning of 1946, though, about a million DPs had remained in the camps because they – mostly for political or economic reasons – could not or did not want to return to their countries of origin, mainly in Central and Eastern Europe. For many Jewish DPs, a permanent return to their various home countries was inconceivable due to the destruction of the Jewish communities and the murder of their family members by the Germans and the persistence of antisemitism in those countries. Also in response to this altered situation, the work of UNRRA, that fulfilled its mandate of solving the DP challenge by focusing on repatriation only, was discontinued in 1947 and taken over by a successor organization, the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Just like UNRRA, the IRO was affiliated with the United Nations, but it was not supported by the Soviet Union, which continued to insist on the repatriation approach. The IRO was founded at the end of 1946 and began its actual work in July 1947. Unlike UNRRA, the IRO was responsible not only for taking care of and repatriating DPs, but also for organizing their emigration to a third party country if that was their desire. The UN General Assembly had already decided in February 1946 that “[n]o refugees or displaced persons who have finally and definitely, in complete freedom [...] expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin [...] shall be compelled to return to their country of origin.”⁴

² SHAEF Administrative Memorandum No. 39, Revised Version, 16.04.1945, 6.1.1/82495539/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

³ On the history of UNRRA, see George Woodbridge: *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. For a general introduction to the history of DPs in the postwar years, see Mark Wyman: *DP: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*, Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1989.

⁴ “Report of Third Committee of the General Assembly on the Question of Refugees, including the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 12 February 1946 (A/45)”, in Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ed.): *The Question of Refugees: Documents for the Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons*, s.l., 1946, 1–2, here 2. See also Gerard Daniel Cohen: *In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order*, Oxford: OUP, 2012, 26–27.

So already during the last few months of UNRRA's existence, the course started shifting from repatriation to emigration: in August 1946, before the IRO was established, the British government decided on a scheme to recruit female DPs from the three Baltic countries for work in British sanatoria to meet the country's demand for labor.⁵ In the months and years to follow, thousands of DPs entered the UK under this program and another one called *Westward Ho*, which also included men. As they provided for a time limit on the stay in the respective target country, these recruitments and other programs, e.g. in France and Belgium, were not designed to be permanent.⁶ The goal of the IRO, on the other hand, was not only to find host countries on a temporary basis, but to place DPs willing to emigrate in countries all over the world and to integrate them there on a long-term basis, i.e. to provide them with a job and to naturalize them. This objective was facilitated by the widespread shortage of labor that many countries suffered from after the war. In particular, "manual laborers and agricultural workers, with the exception of a few categories of technicians, engineers and the like"⁷ were sought after. These countries were willing to accept the DPs stranded in Europe under certain conditions, which varied from country to country: "The receiving countries in Western Europe based their settlement policy on their own labor requirements, and they used strict control mechanisms. While the US, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia were more liberal, generally the same rule applied: younger, healthy, single and educated people were more wanted than old, sick, married people, etc."⁸ In addition, there were maximums and quotas for national backgrounds, and the founding of the IRO alone did not ensure that all emigration requests could be met. Entry into the USA, which was one of the more desirable destinations, only became possible for a larger number of people with the passing of the DP Act in 1948 and its amendment in 1950.⁹ In addition to the countries mentioned, states in South America among others also acted as destinations.

The IRO was not only responsible for placing the DPs in the receiving countries, but also for getting them there. The organization negotiated with accepting countries, maintained offices all over the world, organized the selection of future immigrants and chartered ships and planes. For all this, the IRO had its own budget to work with.

⁵ Emily Gilbert: *Rebuilding Post-War Britain. Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Refugees in Britain, 1946–51*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2017, 75–76. See also Tillmann Tegeler: "Esten, Letten und Litauer in Nachkriegsdeutschland. Von rechtlosen Flüchtlingen zu heimatlosen Ausländern", in Christian and Marianne Pletzing (eds.): *Flüchtlinge aus den baltischen Staaten in Deutschland*, Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2007, 13–27, here 24.

⁶ See Diana Kay: "Westward Ho! The Recruitment of Displaced Persons for British Industry", in Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth (eds.): *European Immigrants in Britain 1933–1950*, Munich: K. G. Saur, 2003, 151–170; Cohen, *War's Wake*, 105–107.

⁷ Louise W. Holborn: *The International Refugee Organization: A Specialized Agency of the United Nations. Its History and Work, 1946–1952*, London/New York/Toronto: OUP, 1956, 426. On Australia, see, for example, Andrew Markus: "Labour and Immigration 1946–9: The Displaced Persons Program", in *Labour History*, 47, 1984, 73–90.

⁸ Roman Smolorz: "Der Alltag der osteuropäischen Displaced Persons 1945–1949 unter dem Einfluss von ost- und westeuropäischen Geheimdiensten", in Corine Defrance, Juliette Denis and Julia Maspero (eds.): *Personnes déplacées et guerre froide en Allemagne occupée – Displaced Persons and the Cold War in Occupied Germany – Displaced Persons und Kalter Krieg im besetzten Deutschland*, Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2015, 199–211, here 200 (translation by the authors). See also Kim Salomon: *Refugees in the Cold War: Toward a New International Refugee Regime in the Early Postwar Era*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1991, 197–217.

⁹ Wyman: *DP*, 195–200.

However, among the people cared for by the IRO were not only former Nazi victims, but an increasing number of refugees from Central and Eastern Europe who had left the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence primarily for political reasons. As early as autumn 1944, tens of thousands of Balts had escaped the advancing Soviet Army and fled to Germany. The fear of having to live under Soviet rule and the expectation of being persecuted or deported for being part of the national intelligentsia were frequent reasons for this.¹⁰

As early as late 1944, a large number of refugees from Hungary arrived in Germany, most of whom stayed in Bavaria. In addition, there were persons who had left Hungary after the end of the war, among other things to avoid military service.¹¹ And in 1948, when the Communist Party seized power in Czechoslovakia, numerous Czech nationals fled to Austria and the Western parts of Germany. Refugees from Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, especially from Russia and the Ukraine, were also among those who came to the West.¹² Refugees' numbers also included former collaborators who had cooperated with the Germans, for example as members of the Latvian and Estonian units of the *Waffen-SS*, the police, the *Einsatzgruppen*, and the *Wehrmacht*. In many cases, they mixed undetected with the DPs and were able to secure assistance from the IRO, although they were not actually eligible for it.¹³

Although many of these refugees from Central and Eastern Europe initially expected to return to their countries of origin soon after the political situation had changed, most of them found it inconceivable to be repatriated to and stay in a Communist country. Instead, they wanted to emigrate to a third country with the help of the IRO. The emerging Cold War facilitated that desire, as the Western Allies were unwilling to extradite citizens of forcibly annexed areas to the Soviet Union against their will or to send refugees back to Communist countries.¹⁴

That is to say that the IRO, apart from recognizing DPs who were 'genuine' victims of Nazism and who had already been the focus of UNRRA's work as eligible for assistance, also supported anti-communist dissidents as refugees.¹⁵ When the IRO was founded, its founding members actually distinguished between DPs and refugees – at least formally in the organization's Constitution. However, in the practice of day-to-day work with the DPs and refugees – e.g. in the specially established camps – IRO staff used the terms inconsistently or often synonymously. Considering that formal terminology played a subordinate role in IRO's real work on the ground, historical research focusing on the organization's activities in the field rarely addresses this point. More crucial was the question of whether the persons concerned would be considered eligible for IRO's

10 Gilbert, *Rebuilding Post-War Britain*, 43–48; Pauli Heikkilä: "Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania", in Anna Mazurkiewicz (ed.): *East Central European Migrations During the Cold War: A Handbook*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, 45–67, here 46–48.

11 Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, 182–183; Katalin Kádár Lynn: "Hungary", in Mazurkiewicz, *East Central European Migrations*, 168–192, here 169–173.

12 Beatrice Scutaru: "Romania", in Mazurkiewicz, *East Central European Migrations*, 243–285, here 247–248; Anna Firi: "Ukraine", in Mazurkiewicz, *East Central European Migrations*, 286–325, here 293–297.

13 Gilbert, *Rebuilding Post-War Britain*, 32–42.

14 Tegeler, *Esten*, 17.

15 Jayne Persian: "Displaced Persons and the Politics of International Categorisation(s)", in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 58/4, 2012, 481–496, here 491.

assistance or not.¹⁶ With the continuation of the Cold War, a general liberalization of recognition practices came about. From 1949, the IRO also helped many people to emigrate, who, from the organization's point of view, were less considered political dissidents than "adventurers with transatlantic aims."¹⁷

World War II saw displaced persons or refugees not only in Europe, but also, with very different persecution or flight backgrounds, in Africa and in Asia, where the war did not end before September 1945. In aftermath studies, they are only marginally considered, if at all.¹⁸ Most of the refugees in Asia and Africa did not fall under the mandate of the IRO, which was focusing on the care of refugees and DPs in Europe, as implied in the Annex of the IRO Constitution.¹⁹

The best-known place of refuge in general memory probably is former Palestine. Against the will of the mandate power Great Britain and before the founding of Israel, thousands of Jews found shelter there after the end of the war, and sometimes even earlier.²⁰ The public at large is less familiar with the flight of Europeans to various other countries in Africa and Asia, where they mostly stayed for a limited time. During the war, at least 18,000 German Jews fled to Shanghai, which was one of the last legal places of refuge.²¹ Like other Europeans who fled to China, including a large number of Russian emigrants as well as around

16 On the genesis and discussion of the terms 'displaced persons' and 'refugees', as well as their implications and differences, see Christoph Rass: "Vom 'Displacement of Populations' über 'Displaced Persons' zu 'Internally Displaced Persons'. Überlegungen zur Geschichte einer Schlüsselkategorie der Gewaltmigration im 20. Jahrhundert". Available at: <https://ngm.hypotheses.org/2462>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

17 Cohen, *War's Wake*, 51. See there (and the following pages) also on the issue of distinguishing between political and economic refugees and the impact of this differentiation on the decades that followed.

18 This is also reflected in the historiography of World War II: The course of the war on the two continents, the fact that people from there fought as soldiers, as well as the victims, are barely remembered by Europeans in particular. In Germany, for example, the fate of the countries of the Global South from 1939 to 1945 wasn't given much thought until the book "Unsere Opfer zählen nicht" ("Our victims don't count") was released in 2005, followed by a traveling exhibition based on the book, which appealed to a broader audience. See Rheinisches JournalistInnen Büro and Recherche International e.V. (eds.): "Unsere Opfer zählen nicht": Die Dritte Welt im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Berlin/Hamburg: Assoziation A, 2005. The so-called Pacific War, which was a central component of World War II, not only included Japan as the aggressor and the Japanese-occupied countries throughout Southeast Asia. Rather, the British colony of India at the time was also involved in the war by sending soldiers. Parts of North Africa were also a direct theater of war due to the German invasion. See, for instance, Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers: *Halbmond und Hakenkreuz: Das Dritte Reich, die Araber und Palästina*, Darmstadt: WBG, 2006.

19 Constitution of the International Refugee Organization and Agreement on Interim Measures, Geneva, 1947, 26–28. Available at: <https://digital-library.arsen-archives.org/content/titleinfo/7254173>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021. The lack of support primarily affected people who had fled during subsequent conflicts, especially the millions of refugees who found themselves in the independent states of India and Pakistan after mid-August 1947 as part of partition of British India. For a discussion about the South Asian refugees and the international refugee regime, see Pia Oberoi: "South Asia and the Creation of the International Refugee Regime", in *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 19 (5), 2001, 36–45. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.21228>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

20 See, for instance, Klaus Hillenbrand: *Fremde im neuen Land. Deutsche Juden in Palästina und ihr Blick auf Deutschland nach 1945*, Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 2015, 106–109.

21 Dieter Wulf: "Letzte Zuflucht: Shanghai". Available at: https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/juden-im-nationalsozialismus-letzte-zuflucht-shanghai.1079.de.html?dram:article_id=409867. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

10,000 people of Chinese origin who came there during the war from countries mostly in Southeast Asia, and unlike other refugees in Asia, they were covered by the IRO mandate, which ultimately resettled around 20,000 people from China.²²

In North Africa, a large number of refugees, Jews and members of the opposition from Nazi Germany as well as from Spain and occupied France, reached the Moroccan city of Tangier, which in the 1930s had the status of an international zone, and was seized by Spain in June 1940.²³ In addition, several thousand Greeks fled from the Germans to Turkey and subsequently found shelter in refugee camps in various African countries. These included the then Belgian colonies of Congo and Rwanda-Urundi (today: Rwanda and Burundi).²⁴ In 1948/49, the IRO finally arranged for around 2,000 Muslim DPs from Albania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, who were in the Western zones of Germany, Austria and Italy after the war, to resettle permanently in Turkey.²⁵ Turkey had already offered shelter to refugees from Europe during the Nazi era. To a lesser extent, African countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia (today: Zambia and Zimbabwe) were also destinations for migration from Europe after 1945.²⁶

The temporary accommodation of Polish DPs in African countries during the war organized by the British government in 1942 and aimed at moving them as far away as possible from any (potential) war zone has attracted some attention from historical research(ers) in recent years.²⁷ These people had been deported from Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland to the interior of the Soviet Union in 1940/41. From there, about 20,000 of them came with the Anders Army to Iran in the first half of 1942. Finally – and partly via the then Indian Karachi –, they were transferred to Tanganyika (today: Tanzania), Northern and Southern Rhodesia and other British colonies in East Africa, where they were housed in camps. The first article in this publication deals with this special group of people: *Julia Devlin* uses and analyses selected CM/1 files, i.e. applications for assistance by the IRO, which were filled out by the aforementioned Polish DPs after the war and are now kept in the Arolsen Archives. Apart from biographical details, these documents also include information on the Polish DPs' various stations of displacement – from their deportation to the Soviet Union to their accommodation in specially established camps on the African continent. The article also talks about everyday life in the camps as well as the closure of the camps in the

22 Holborn, International Refugee Organization, 172 and 186–187; Jochen Lingelbach: On the Edges of Whiteness: Polish Refugees in British Colonial Africa During and After the Second World War, New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2020, 92. Also see Jochen Lingelbach: Before 1951: Outside Europe. The Pre-History of the Refugee Convention, the IRO, and European Refugees in Africa and Asia. Available at: <https://blog.flucht.forschung.net/before-1951-outside-europe>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

23 Isabelle Rohr: The Spanish Right and the Jews, 1898–1945. Antisemitism and Opportunism, Brighton/Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2007, 19–20 and 104–151.

24 Jochen Lingelbach: "Swimming to Safety". Available at: <https://refugeehistory.org/blog/2020/9/24/swimming-to-safety>. Last accessed: 03.05.2021.

25 Holborn, International Refugee Organization, 388–389.

26 Ibid., 433–436. Conversely, in the years after the war there were also refugee movements from the Middle East to Europe as Jewish refugees from Egypt asked for support from the IRO in Italy. See Akim Jah: "Schriftliche Zeugnisse von Displaced Persons als Zugang zur Auseinandersetzung mit Antisemitismus in der historisch-politischen Bildung", in Anne Broden, Stefan E. Höbl and Marcus Meier (eds.): Antisemitismus, Rassismus und das Lernen aus Geschichte(n), Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2017, 56–66, here 63–64.

27 Julia Devlin: Deportation and Exil: Eine polnische Odyssee im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Berlin: Vergangenheits-verlag, 2014; Lingelbach, Edges.

late 1940s and early 1950s when the resettlement of Polish DPs, particularly to the United Kingdom, became possible.

The British colony of India, along with South Africa, Palestine and Lebanon, also took in part of the Poles originally deported to the Soviet Union.²⁸ Several thousand came to a camp in Valivade near Kolhapur in Maharashtra, and to other camps in India.²⁹ At the beginning of 1948, the IRO took these DPs first to the camps in East Africa and later from there to Great Britain, thus responding to the increasingly worsening political situation associated with the partition of the Indian subcontinent. India was now considered unsafe, and the newly independent state urged for a fast resettlement of the Poles.³⁰ It was only two years later, when the political situation on the subcontinent was still in turmoil, that the IRO, paradoxically enough, facilitated the move of European refugees to South Asia. The organization had negotiated the emigration of 67 DPs from Central and Eastern Europe to Pakistan. These people were doctors and nurses as well as their dependents who were stranded in the Western zones of Germany, in Austria, and Italy and wished to emigrate to a third country. Pakistan, which was desperate for skilled workers, allowed these specialists to enter. The story of these DPs who migrated to Pakistan is the subject of *Akim Jah's* contribution. Although the DPs continued to migrate to other countries, especially the USA, after a few years, this example shows how the resettlement of specialists, for which the IRO had its own program, was organized and which enormous efforts were made to accommodate this difficult-to-place group of people. An investigation of both this program and Pakistan as a host country for European DPs has been so far a research desideratum.

While the IRO's support of the DPs is common ground of both articles, they differ in terms of time and context: whereas the Polish DPs came to East Africa before 1945 in the hope – for many in vain – of being able to return to Poland after the end of the war, the Central and Eastern European DPs, none of whom, incidentally, came from Poland, went to Pakistan in order to escape the lack of prospects in the European DP camps of the post-war period. The latter were highly educated specialists whose expertise and integration were welcome in the country. On the other hand, the DPs in East Africa were mostly impoverished family members – Jochen Lingelbach describes them as “subaltern whites”³¹ – whose stay was limited from the outset and who were usually housed isolated from the local population.

The resettlement of European DPs in Pakistan was not only chronologically opposite to that of the European DPs in East Africa, but also in relation to those Europeans who had been in the countries of the Global South since the colonial period and who were now returning to Europe in the context of decolonization. The DPs in East Africa, on the other hand, were

28 Lingelbach, Edges, 20. There were also many Jews among the people deported to the Soviet Union. See Atina Grossmann: “Jewish Survivors: Notes on Entangled Stories and Lost Memories”, in Henning Borggräfe, Akim Jah, Nina Ritz and Steffen Jost (eds.): *Freilegungen: Rebuilding Lives – Child Survivors and DP Children in the Aftermath of the Holocaust and Forced Labor*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017, 276–282.

29 Anuradha Bhattacharjee: *The Second Homeland. Polish Refugees in India*. New Delhi: Sage, 2012.

30 Lingelbach, Edges, 56 and 92; Holborn, International Refugee Organization, 418. The DPs left Valivade at the same time as the last British soldiers left India.

31 Lingelbach, Edges, 261.

there at a time when the British colonial power and, with it, Europeans' stay there were increasingly called into question.³²

Both articles not only illustrate the work of the IRO in Africa and Asia, but also exemplify how the paths of DPs from World War II often strayed from the known routes around the world and went beyond 'quintessential' DP biographies. Both articles deal with DPs who, though generally not victims of the Nazis, were assisted by the IRO. The DPs who went to East Africa were primarily victims of Stalinism who had been deported to the Soviet Union and thus displaced. This displacement in fact saved them from being seized by the Germans who attacked Eastern Poland in 1941, which had previously been occupied by the Soviet Union. DPs who had migrated to Pakistan were generally not victims of Nazi persecution. The majority had fled to the West in 1944 or later to escape the Red Army or Communist regimes and were finally recognized by the IRO as refugees.

The two articles focus on two continents usually not associated with National Socialism, World War II, and its aftermath. They also offer a new perspective by tackling the common misperception that emigration always takes place from south to north. Lastly they also remind us that in the not so distant past, countries in the Global South became places of refuge or migration for people from Europe.

The present publication, which draws only broad outlines of the topics of escape and migration from Europe to Africa and Asia before and after the end of World War II, is intended to provide an impetus for further research. The Arolsen Archives keep, for example, IRO documents containing information on refugees who had taken shelter from the Nazis in Shanghai and Tangier. Documents on DPs who migrated to Turkey after 1945 are also preserved in Bad Arolsen and accessible for research.

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Christian Höschler and Akim Jah

³² Ibid., 262.

Safe Haven Africa: Polish Displaced Persons in Africa During and After World War II

When a person is filling out forms, it can be alienating for them to read questions about heinous acts in such a matter-of-fact, bureaucratic tone. Take, for example, the tax return; the text in the sparse lines of the cover sheet reads ‘Widowed since’ and/or ‘Divorced/civil partnership terminated since.’ The annexes for children inquire about the date when a child was put up for adoption or worse. So what was, in fact, a tragedy in one person’s life is reduced to just a few words on a form.

There is a similar sense when reading the Care and Maintenance files of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) from after World War II. On standardized printed forms, names, career paths, and stations of the last few years are requested. What ends up being just a few entries on a form are, in reality, the inconceivable life stories of people who wound up in the tentacles of history.

The Care and Maintenance aid programs were introduced by the Allies for people who were abducted, displaced, or otherwise uprooted during World War II. The Allies referred to them as Displaced Persons (DPs) and granted them protection, support, and help with repatriation, provided by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and, after the dissolution of UNRRA, by the IRO.¹ DPs had to apply for support from the IRO by submitting Care and Maintenance (CM/1) applications. Eligibility officers then checked and decided whether the DP was eligible to receive support.²

The Arolsen Archives hold 706 case files from Polish DPs who filed CM/1 applications in Africa. These people were deported from the eastern part of Poland to the Soviet Union by

¹ On the history of DPs, the UNRRA and the IRO, see the introduction to this volume.

² See Henning Borggräfe: “Exploring Pathways of (Forced) Migration, Resettlement Structures, and Displaced Persons’ Agency: Document Holdings and Research Potentials of the Arolsen Archives”, in *Historical Social Research*, 45 (4), 2020, 45–68, here 50.

the Soviet occupiers in 1940 and 1941 and later reached East Africa via Iran, where they stayed temporarily while the war continued.

In this article, I will first describe these historical events and then use the CM/1 files of the Biegus and Kaskow families to learn about their life stories. We can thus put the sparse information available from the administrative procedures in the CM/1 files into a historical as well as biographical-individual context.

From 1942 to the 1950s, 19,200 Polish people lived in African refugee camps.³ Most of them were from the eastern part of Poland, which was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939 in accordance with the Secret Additional Protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Soviet Interior Ministry (*Narodnyj kommissariat vnutrennich del* or NKVD) deported Polish citizens from there to the Soviet Union – mainly Siberia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and the Arctic Circle – in four waves in 1940 and 1941 on charges of ‘anti-Soviet activities.’ Most of them had to work in prison camps and special settlements of the Gulag system. Others were categorized as ‘free exiles.’ Although they were not subject to forced labor, they had to support themselves and lived under extremely difficult circumstances in the republics of the eastern Soviet Union. All Polish citizens who had been in the civil service of the Second Polish Republic – such as members of the military and the clergy, civil servants, police officers, foresters, and teachers as well as their families, from infants to old people – were considered dangerous to the system and thus subject to deportation. In the third wave of deportations in June 1940, a particularly large number of Jewish Poles were deported, who actually came from the German-occupied western half of Poland and who had fled to the eastern half of Poland from the German troops. The Soviet occupiers thought they were suspicious because they remained in touch with people on the German-occupied side. They were suspected of espionage, or their loyalty was questioned.⁴

Much controversy surrounds the research on how many people had been deported. The estimates vary between 320,000⁵ and 1.5 million people.⁶ When the German Reich attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, alliances changed. The Soviet Union, which went from ally to victim of the German aggression, became a partner in the alliance against Nazi Germany. As a result, diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Poland were resumed, with the British as mediators. In the Sikorski-Majski Agreement, concluded between the president of the Polish government-in-exile and the Soviet ambassador in

3 Jochen Lingelbach: *On the Edges of Whiteness: Polish Refugees in British Colonial Africa during and after the Second World War*, New York: Berghahn, 2020, 20.

4 John Goldlust: “A Different Silence: The Survival of More than 200,000 Polish Jews in the Soviet Union During World War II as a Case Study in Cultural Amnesia”, in Mark Edele, Sheila Fitzpatrick and Atina Grossmann (eds.): *Shelter from the Holocaust: Rethinking Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press 2017, 51–94, here 40–45.

5 Stanisław Ciesielski, Wojciech Materski and Andrzej Paczkowski: *Represje sowieckie wobec Polaków i obywateli polskich*, Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2002, 33.

6 Thomas Lane: *Victims of Stalin and Hitler*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 79.

London, Ivan Majski, on July 30, 1941, the formation of a Polish army and the release of the Polish deportees were agreed (this was referred to as 'amnesty'⁷).⁸

Many of the Poles who were now released made their way to Buzuluk (Orenburg Oblast), near the border with Kazakhstan, where General Władysław Anders assembled a Polish army on behalf of the exiled government.⁹ Because of harsh temperatures, the recruitment centers were relocated to the southern Soviet republics in January and February 1942, mainly to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. The headquarters were located in Jangi-Jul, near Tashkent.¹⁰



Polish soldiers and civilians celebrating Holy Mass in the army camp, presumably in Kyrgyzstan, 1942 | IWM MH 1815

Disagreements between the Polish and Soviet military leadership, the inadequate supply of food, equipment, and medicine, the inhospitable climate, and the outbreak of epidemics prompted General Anders to evacuate the Poles to Iran in March 1942. As Iran had been occupied by Soviet and British military, people there could be more easily supplied via the military supply route, also called the 'Persian Corridor.' In the spring and August of 1942, more than 110,000 Poles were shipped across the Caspian Sea from Krasnovodsk (which is Türkmenbaşy in Turkmenistan today) to Pahlevi (Bandar Anzali today).¹¹ The

⁷ The term 'amnesty' outraged many Poles because it suggested that these people had committed a crime. See, for example, Lucjan Krolkowski: *Stolen Childhood: A Saga of Polish War Children*, Lincoln: Authors Choice, 2001, 26.

⁸ Elżbieta and Janusz Wróbel: *Rozproszeni po świecie: Obozy i osiedla uchodźców polskich ze Związku Sowieckiego 1942–1950*, Chicago: Panorama, 1992, 24–25.

⁹ Władysław Anders: *Bez ostatniego rozdziału: Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1946*, Newton: Montgomeryshire Printing Co., 1949.

¹⁰ Keith Sword: *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939–48*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, 57.

¹¹ Sword, *Deportation*, 66–68.

evacuees were initially cared for by British and Polish humanitarian aid workers, the British Army, and the Red Cross. The health of the evacuees was stabilized to the point where they could be relocated to other refugee camps – especially Tehran, Ahvaz, and Isfahan. All able-bodied men and some women, 74,000 people in total, were first brought to Palestine with the Anders Army for military training and then used as the Second Polish Corps under British command, especially in the Italian campaign.¹² For 37,000 civilians – including women, children, and men who were not fit for military service – the search for a place to live continued. The Iranian government only allowed them to stay temporarily, and the British feared that German troops would also take the war to Iran. The British government went to great diplomatic lengths to move the Polish refugees to other countries. However, the United States, Canada, and several South American countries refused to take them or imposed financial demands that were impossible to meet. Still, in June 1942, an agreement was reached with British colonial governments in India and Africa to accept a limited number of Poles until the end of the war.¹³ Around 9,000 Poles were accepted in Palestine¹⁴ and nearly 4,500 in Lebanon.¹⁵ New Zealand¹⁶ and Mexico¹⁷ also took in Poles but in much smaller groups.

Polish Camps in Africa

In the summer of 1942, the Poles were brought on ships across the Persian Gulf and, from there, across the Arabian Sea to Africa via a transit camp set up by the British in Ahvaz.¹⁸ From the port cities of Beira (Mozambique), Mombasa (Kenya), Tanga, or Dar-es-Salaam (Tanganyika), they were brought to the camps by train or truck. Camps were set up in six countries between the equator and the Cape of Good Hope for a total of over 19,000 people.¹⁹ There were more than 5,000 kilometers between the northernmost camp, Masindi in Uganda, and the southernmost camp, Oudtshoorn in South Africa. The first settlements were built in Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Uganda, and Kenya in the spring of 1942. In 1943, additional camps were established in Southern Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe)

12 The Second Polish Corps fought in the battles for Bologna, Ancona, and Montecassino, among others. See Norman Davies: *Trail of Hope: The Anders Army, an Odyssey Across Three Continents*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016, 428–430.

13 Summary of the procedures in M. Massez, D.P. programmes officer Middle East, to A. Delierneux, Report, 07.11.1945, Item Repatriation of Displaced Persons from the Middle East Problems, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0167-00001, United Nations Archives.

14 Dr. W. Langrod to Mr. J. Roger Carter, Poles in Palestine, 30.01.1946, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0156-00001, United Nations Archives.

15 T.T. Waddington, Chief of Middle East Office, Repatriation Polish Refugees, 30.04.1946, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0156-00001, United Nations Archives; Numerical schedule of Polish Refugees under the care of the Social Welfare Delegation in Beirut, 05.03.1946, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0156-00001, United Nations Archives; Polish Refugees in Lebanon, 1946, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0156-00001, United Nations Archives.

16 Krystyna Skwarko: *The Invited: The Story of 733 Polish Children who grew up in New Zealand*, Millwood: s.n., 1974.

17 Richard C. Lukas: “Polish Refugees in Mexico: An Historical Footnote”, in *The Polish Review*, 22 (2), 1977, 73–75.

18 Sword, Deportation, 85. In Ahvaz, the district where the Poles were housed is still called Campolo today, which refers to Camp Polonia. See Hamid Naficy: *A Social History of Iranian Cinema. Volume 4: The Globalizing Era, 1984–2010*, 33–34.

19 Krolkowski, *Childhood*, 85.

and Northern Rhodesia (today Zambia). The camps varied greatly in size. The largest were Tengeru in Tanganyika and Masindi in Uganda, each with 4,000 residents, as well as Koja in Uganda, with 3,000 residents.



A street in Camp Tengeru (Tanganyika) with Mount Meru in the background (1950) |
Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum – London, Kol. 18/14

The smaller ones included Morogoro and Kondoa in Tanganyika, each with 400 residents, as well as Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia, with 160 people.²⁰ Existing structures were often used for the smaller settlements. Camp Rongai (Kenya) was a former military airport,²¹ Bwana M’Kubwa (Northern Rhodesia) was an abandoned mining settlement,²² and Morogoro (Tanganyika) was a former mission station that temporarily had served as a prison for Italian soldiers.²³ However, other camps, including Tengeru in Tanganyika and Masindi in Uganda, were built from the ground up.

The respective colonial governments were authorized by the British government in July 1943 to establish the camps, set up the infrastructure, and provide the people with food and clothing for the remainder of the war.²⁴ The Polish government-in-exile took charge of education, religion, culture, and sports.²⁵ The administrative center for the camps was the

20 Lingelbach, Edges, 38.

21 Ministry of Education, Committee for the Education of the Poles: Agreement Governing the Use of RAF Camp Rongai, 12.09.1944, ED 128/107, National Archives, Kew.

22 Julia Devlin: *Deportation und Exil: Eine polnische Odyssee im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Berlin: Vergangenheitsverlag, 2014, 91.

23 Lingelbach, Edges, 30, 212.

24 *Ibid.*, 33, 43.

25 Lynne Taylor: *Polish Orphans of Tengeru: The Dramatic Story of Their Long Journey to Canada 1941–49*, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009, 86–87.

East African Relief and Refugee Administration (EARA) in Nairobi, which was under British control. This center handled finances, among other things.²⁶



The 'main street' of Camp Kondoa in Tanganyika. Irena Bartkowiak-Drobek describes the buildings of the Polish settlement: "Barracks made of clay, roofs covered with banana leaves, no windows, only shutters"²⁷ | Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum – London, Kol. 174/4/8

Zdzisława Wójcik, who came to Masindi (Uganda) as a young woman in 1943, described in 1995 how the camps were established: "The Polish refugee camp of Masindi was located in Uganda, halfway between the northern shore of Lake Kioga and Lake Albert, through which the White Nile flows. The first director of the settlement, engineer Jerzy Skolimowski, planned it out and supervised its construction. The main street was laid out so that it ran in the direction of Warsaw. Masindi was the second largest Polish settlement in Africa (over 3,000 residents). It consisted of several villages, each with a central plaza toward which led various streets lined with rectangular houses. Not only the roofs but also the walls of these two-room houses were made of straw or, more precisely, dry elephant grass. Near the plazas were located kitchens, water pumps, washrooms, and usually some object of importance to the life of the entire settlement, such as a community center, school, or store."²⁸

Most large camps were built according to this tried-and-tested method. They consisted of smaller sub-units, the so-called villages. A church, schools, administrative buildings, common rooms, and small businesses were put in central places. Tradespeople – such as bakers, tailors, weavers, butchers, and shoemakers – offered their services.

²⁶ M. Maszez to A. Delieurieux, 07.11.1945, Middle East Office. History, 2, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0167-00001, United Nations Archives.

²⁷ Tadeusz Piotrowski (ed.): *The Polish Deportees of World War II: Recollection of Removal to the Soviet Union and Dispersal Throughout the World*, Jefferson: McFarland, 2004, 160.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.



The church of the small camp Kondoa (Tanganyika) was built by Italian missionaries | Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum – London, Kol. 174/4/12

Farms were established outside the center. They grew vegetables and grain and bred cattle, pigs, and chickens. These undertakings were important not only to help meet their own demand for food and clothing but also to give people work. This gave the DPs not only a sense of independence from the Polish government-in-exile and aid organizations, but also of purpose.²⁹

An active life with churches, cultural, musical, sporting activities, and scout troops developed in these settlements. Camp Tengeru was also home to a synagogue that housed 37 Jews.³⁰ Great emphasis was placed on education to be prepared for life after the war and to make the best of the situation in the meantime. In Camp Tengeru (Tanganyika), for example, 20 buildings were used for a multi-tier school system: elementary school, secondary school, grammar school, and vocational schools.³¹ They had to operate under difficult conditions as they lacked not only teachers but also books and materials. Kazimierz Sosnowski, who went to school in Tengeru, looked back in 1995: “I finished primary school in Tengeru and then went to mechanical school for three years when I was fifteen to eighteen years old. We learnt in very primitive conditions. There were not enough books for twenty-three boys. We had five books on mechanical subjects, three books for mathematics, and the teacher had to have one of these. One teacher was a qualified mechanic. There were two village blacksmiths, one qualified carpenter, one qualified

²⁹ Lingelbach, Edges, 33; Piotrowski, *Deportees*, 139.

³⁰ Lingelbach, Edges, 33, footnote 132.

³¹ Ministry of Education on Education of the Poles, ED 128/100, National Archives, Kew.

joinery maker, two well-qualified fitters. The workshop was very poorly equipped, so we had to make our own tools. We were the first group of boys, so we had to make everything, including our workshops.”³²

This was a time of relief for the adults, but there was also uncertainty about the future. They were also concerned for relatives who were at the front and mourning for friends and family who had perished as a result of the oppression at the hands of the occupiers in Siberia or Central Asia or during the war.

After the War: Dissolution of the Camps

Part of cultural life in the Polish camps was to listen to the radio together in the common rooms. The camp residents regularly gathered around a multi-band radio to get the latest news, especially about the war. February 13, 1945, was a turning point; the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) announced the results of the Yalta Conference. In February 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met in Crimea to negotiate the postwar order in Europe. The dispute over Poland was one of the main issues at the conference. The Soviet Union was given the territory that they had occupied since 1939, with the western border being the so-called Curzon Line. This confirmed the Secret Additional Protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact for the Soviet Union. The so-called Lublin Committee, which was supported by the Soviets and was strongly communist, was recognized by the United States and Great Britain as the legitimate government. The residents at the camps in Africa felt anger, disappointment, and horror. Stefania Buczak-Zarzycka, who found out that the war was over by listening to the radio in Tengeru, remembered: “Thus around my homeland dropped the ‘Iron Curtain.’ For my family and most others, the dream of returning home to Poland, a dream to which we had pinned all of our hopes during our trek through the Soviet Union and the Middle East, was now shattered.”³³ Returning to Poland now seemed difficult because the territory from which most of the displaced Poles in Africa came was lost as a result of the Yalta agreements. A return to a Soviet-dominated Poland was also inconceivable for many after they had already experienced Soviet oppression. Three months later, the war in Europe was over, and the question of ‘Where to?’ was more pressing than ever. Stefania Buczak-Zarzycka described the mood in the camps: “In spite of the ecstatic atmosphere, we grew more and more concerned for our future, and rumours began to fly around the camp. One of these rumours was that the Polish government-in-exile would purchase land in Africa. [...] Representatives of the UNRRA and IRO came to visit us and expressed their concern for our future. They discussed the possibilities open to us. [...] These visitors were followed closely by representatives of the Polish government in Warsaw who staged an open-air meeting, encouraging people to return to Poland because she sorely needed people for postwar reconstruction.”³⁴

32 Maryon Allbrook and Helen Cattalini: *The General Langfitt Story: Polish Refugees Recount Their Experiences of Exile, Dispersal and Resettlement*, Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1995. Available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130103115901/http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/refugee/langfitt>. Last accessed: 07.05.2021.

33 Piotrowski, *Deportees*, 153.

34 *Ibid.*, 154.

During the war, the Polish government-in-exile in London took care of the citizenship issues of the Polish DPs, but after the war was over, the Allies no longer recognized the government-in-exile. The British government was initially responsible for the exiled Poles, followed by UNRRA and, after UNRRA's dissolution, the successor organization, IRO.³⁵

Immediately after the end of World War II, UNRRA started to initiate measures to prepare the Polish DPs for repatriation. The official *Report to Congress on Operations of UNRRA* from June 1945 stated, “[m]eanwhile, 30,000 Poles in Iranian, Indian, and East African camps [...] were being registered as a preliminary step to repatriation.”³⁶ However, the Poles deeply distrusted the Allies, by whom they felt betrayed, and UNRRA, which they considered a ‘stooge’ of the Allies, especially since the Soviet Union was also a member of UNRRA.³⁷ News of the forced repatriation of Soviet nationals immediately after the end of the war had also reached the camps. This policy, which was decided at the Yalta Conference at the urging of the Soviets, caused great consternation among the Poles because their homeland in Eastern Poland was now part of the Soviet Union. What was worse, the new communist Polish government in Warsaw demanded in December 1945 that the Poles be repatriated by UNRRA,³⁸ but few were willing to return to Poland. They suspected UNRRA officials of being agents of the Soviet Union. Many refused to register with UNRRA altogether.³⁹

Dr. W. Langrod, an UNRRA employee, reported the following after visiting Polish camps: “From a psychological point of view, the Polish displaced persons in the Middle East and Africa are very difficult to handle. Their previous sufferings and the years of more or less abnormal conditions of their refugee life have left deep traces in their characters and reactions. They are excitable, suspicious, and subject to mass suggestion. The religious attitude in East African Polish settlements often takes forms of fanaticism and bigotry. The DPs fear above all repatriation by compulsion. They mistrust UNRRA; an attempt to accomplish a preliminary registration in January 1945 in Africa was interrupted by an open, hysterical hostility against the Representative of UNRRA. [...] The refugees have, therefore, to be handled with skill and tact.”⁴⁰

There was also increasing pressure from the host countries to close the camps. They had only agreed to accept the Polish deportees for the duration of the war. For many African countries, an extension was an unwelcome reminder of colonial dependence, and it put their sovereignty into question. India, which had taken in around 6,000 Poles in 1942, was particularly strict. After independence was gained in August 1947, the camps were quickly

35 Dr. W. Langrod to Miss M.L. Gibbons, 16.10.1945, Middle East Repatriation Problems to be discussed with the chiefs of missions, 2, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0167-00001, United Nations Archives.

36 Third Report to Congress on United States Participation in Operations of UNRRA, June 30, 1945, Washington: Congress, 1945, 19.

37 Peter Gatrell: *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 95.

38 Taylor, *Orphans*, 102–103.

39 Miss M. Massez to A. Delierneux, Report Middle East Office, Poles in Middle East, 07.11.1945, unnumbered, S-1450-0000-0167-00001, United Nations Archives.

40 Taylor, *Orphans*, 117.

emptied. The people who were still there in early 1948 were brought from India to the African camps.⁴¹

UNRRA ceased operations in mid-1947. The successor organization, IRO, showed more flexibility; it ignored the absolute repatriation maxim and, in addition to voluntary repatriation, pursued resettlement, which meant helping DPs emigrate to a new country or to settle in their current location ('local integration').⁴²

With the responsible bodies changing, the status of the Poles in Africa also changed. Strictly speaking, they were not refugees initially as they had not escaped persecution or war. They were deportees. After their transfer to Iran, British correspondence referred to them primarily as 'evacuees' but also as 'soldiers' and 'civilians' as the evacuation was subject to clear military interests. The term 'deportees' was avoided because they did not want to affront the Soviet allies. There was also propaganda going around saying that the Poles fled to Russia from the German occupiers, which made them refugees.⁴³

From September 1944 onward, British correspondence referred to the Poles in Africa as DPs. From then on, the British government hoped that UNRRA would take over financial and administrative responsibility for the Polish camps. Initially, UNRRA's mandate only covered those territories that had been liberated by the Allies. However, in September 1944, UNRRA passed a resolution that expanded the mandate of the aid organization to now also support DPs who were not in the former occupied areas and who were not victims of the Nazis but were persecuted by the Soviet Union.⁴⁴

Putting up the Poles of the African camps in a third country was not always easy as many receiving countries had strict immigration criteria. Australia, for example, set clear age limits; single women over 40 years old and single men over 45 years old were not allowed into the country. Also, people who were physically frail stood no chance either because these countries primarily wanted men to perform agricultural and mining work, and women to take up care and housekeeping professions.⁴⁵

Delegations from the traditional pro-immigration countries – Canada, the United States, and Australia – also visited the Polish DP camps in Africa on their tours through the DP camps. People had the opportunity to apply for entry, but the delegations decided who

41 There were several Polish DP camps in India, of which Balachadi and Chela (Navanagar) and Valivade near Kolhapur were the most permanent. Camp Balachadi was set up for orphaned children by the Maharajas of Navanagar. Valivade, founded in June 1943, housed around 5,000 people. In addition, several transit camps existed in India, including Karachi, as a stopover for the Poles evacuated from Iran by land. See India – Polish Refugees, Appendix to Appreciation and Plan for the Care and Maintenance of Polish Refugees Numbering Approximately 10,000 Located in Persia and India. Indexed Extracts of Reports submitted by R.B. Durrant Special Representative UNRRA, 11.04.1945, sheet 7, sheet 31, S-1254-0000-0096-00001, United Nations Archives.

42 Peter Gatrell, *Making*, 90–91.

43 One such example is the contemporary representation by Reuters – Gaumont British Newsreel: "Polish Refugees Flee Poland And Arrive In Refugee Camps In Iran (Persia)", dated January 11, 1943. Available at: <https://www.britishpathe.com/video/vlvaoo9zcq432y8pfpd2hszxs6j0-polish-refugees-flee-poland-and-arrive-in-refugee-camps-in-iran>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021. See also Lingelbach, *Edges*, 70.

44 Taylor, *Orphans*, 93.

45 Allbrook/Cattalini, General Langfitt, chapter 6.

would get a visa. This made many Poles feel like they were being “traded.”⁴⁶ Many families were ripped apart because only younger and healthier members were granted visas, while older, sick, or otherwise unfit relatives had to stay behind. The selection process and emigration to the host countries were coordinated by the IRO Middle East and Africa office in Cairo under Maurice Lush.⁴⁷

Britain was the main destination for Poles from the African camps. Two thirds of them emigrated there. Polish soldiers who had fought under British command and refused to return to a Soviet-ruled Poland were allowed to settle in Great Britain with their relatives. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had already announced this step to the British Parliament during the war, and at the Potsdam Conference on July 18, 1945, he continued to advocate his position with Truman and Stalin, as he writes in his memoir *Triumph and Tragedy*: “There were about 30,000 Polish troops in Germany and a Polish Corps of three divisions in Italy in a highly excited state of mind and grave moral distress. This army, totalling [sic], from front to rear, more than 180,000 men, had fought with great bravery and good discipline, both in Germany and, on a larger scale, in Italy. There, they had suffered severe losses and had held their positions as steadfastly as any troops on the Italian front. The honour of His Majesty’s Government was thus involved. These troops had fought gallantly side by side with ours at a time when trained troops had been scarce. Many had died, and even if I had not given pledges in Parliament, we should wish to treat them honourably.”⁴⁸

To make the transition from military to civilian life easier for soldiers, the Polish Resettlement Corps was founded in 1946 as a unit of the British Army. This facilitated demobilization and social integration under military control. The Polish Resettlement Act of April 1, 1947, also guaranteed the Poles extensive support in Great Britain, guaranteeing the right to accommodation, training, work, unemployment benefits, and a pension. The Polish Resettlement Act was the first legislation in Great Britain to specifically encourage mass immigration of a specific group of people uprooted by the war. This made it easier for the Poles to settle in.⁴⁹

Ex-military personnel were allowed to bring their family members, their dependents, with them. For this family reunification program, under the name *Operation Polejump*, the War Office, together with the Home Office, had defined 19 eligibility criteria or categories for the relocation of relatives. Under *Operation Polejump*, 9,400 people emigrated from Africa to Great Britain between November 1947 and November 1948.⁵⁰ However, many of the Poles who lived in Africa did not meet the requirements.⁵¹ Widows and orphans of Polish soldiers who were not under British command were primarily affected, as well as

⁴⁶ Jurek Biegus: “Siberian Baby”. Available at: <http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/stories/biegus.htm>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

⁴⁷ A.J.M. Lush (ed.): *A Life of Service: The Memoirs of Maurice Lush 1896–1990*, London: Trinity, 1992, 248–257. Also see the article by Akim Jah in this volume for more information on Lush, who subsequently became IRO’s Special Representative for the placement of European DPs in Pakistan.

⁴⁸ Winston S. Churchill: *Triumph and Tragedy*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953, 652.

⁴⁹ Agata Blaszczyk: “The resettlement of Polish refugees after the second world war”, in *Forced Migration Review*, 54, 2017, 71–73.

⁵⁰ Roman Królikowski: “Operation Polejump”, in *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 14, 1968, 150–188, here 184–185.

⁵¹ Królikowski, *Polejump*, 164.

families who were eligible to emigrate to the UK but who had family members who did not fit the bill, such as adult daughters whose husbands had gone missing during the war and who did not want to emigrate without them.⁵²

The camps in Africa were gradually closed after the end of the war. The camps in Northern Rhodesia were closed in December 1948, the camps in Southern Rhodesia in April 1949. The remaining residents were transferred to other camps, but in the spring of 1949, four years after the end of the war, more than 5,000 Poles were still living in Uganda, Tanganyika, and Kenya.⁵³

From 1948 onward, the IRO pressured the British government to expand the criteria for *Operation Polejump* or to include the remaining Poles under the Resettlement Act. In March 1950, the Home Office in London prevailed in allowing the remaining 'hard core' cases to relocate.⁵⁴ This had a direct impact on the Koja (Uganda) and Tengeru (Tanganyika) camps. These were the last two camps that still existed: Koja with 648 inhabitants, and Tengeru with 1,033.⁵⁵ Their numbers quickly decreased within a year; in July 1951, only 152 inhabitants remained in Koja.⁵⁶ Keeping it running was no longer feasible, which is why all the remaining residents were relocated to Tengeru. The population of Camp Tengeru also decreased. It was officially closed as the last Polish camp in December 1951.⁵⁷

The Poles left Africa through the nearest port cities. The residents of the camps in Southern and Northern Rhodesia mostly embarked in Cape Town or Durban, those from Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika in Beira, Dar-es-Salaam, or Mombasa. They were brought to Great Britain on the passenger ships of British shipping companies and troopships.

On August 12, 1950, 1,014 Polish DPs traveled on the steamship *Dundalk Bay* from Mombasa to Kingston upon Hull, England. The trip took three weeks. The British Red Cross and the Women's Voluntary Service supported the authorities in receiving and caring for the DPs. Some stayed with friends or relatives, but most were taken to resettlement camps and hostels.⁵⁸

In the immediate postwar period, the Polish resettlement camps played a major role in housing Polish ex-military and their relatives. Former military settlements or hospitals of the Royal Air Force or the Royal Army, where U.S. and Canadian troops were also stationed in the United Kingdom during the war or where prisoners of war were housed, were converted to accommodate demobilized soldiers and their families.⁵⁹ In October 1946,

⁵² Taylor, *Orphans*, 130.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 129; Lingelbach, Edges, 49.

⁵⁵ Zosia Biegus: "Passenger List SS *Dundalk Bay*". Available at: <http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/passengerlist/koja.htm>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

⁵⁶ Lingelbach, Edges, 58, footnote 159.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 33, 36.

⁵⁸ Biegus, "Passenger List".

⁵⁹ Zosia and Jurek Biegus: *Polish Resettlement Camps in England and Wales 1946–1969*, Ashington: 4edge, 2013, vii.

there were 265 resettlement camps across Great Britain, which initially accommodated 120,000 people.⁶⁰ Their number almost doubled over the next three years as a result of family reunification.

The Biegus Family

One of the families traveling from Mombasa to Hull on *Dundalk Bay* was the Biegus family. Their IRO support application is preserved in the Arolsen Archives.⁶¹ The application form is called the Care and Maintenance (CM/1) form because the DPs used it to apply for care and maintenance from the IRO. These forms were written in different versions, adapted to the requirements in different countries, occupation zones, and languages. The form that the Biegus family filled out is in Polish. It asked for the places of birth of the applicants and their relatives. It also asked about their last 12 years of residence as well as their reasons for relocation, their job, and how much money they made. Their schools, vocational training, language skills, desired country of emigration, and existing contacts there also had to be specified. What information does the Biegus family's Care and Maintenance application provide? The applicant is Jadwiga Biegus, who was 38 years old at the time and applied for care and maintenance for herself, her two children, and her father.



Jadwiga and Jan Biegus on their wedding day, September 19, 1936⁶² |
Private Collection Zosia and Jurek Biegus

⁶⁰ Blaszczyk, *Resettlement*, 72.

⁶¹ CM/1 file Jadwiga Biegus, 3.2.1.6/81314760/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

⁶² Also available at: <http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/stories/biegus.htm>.
Last accessed: 07.05.2021.

The birthplaces of the family are representative of the tumultuous history of the region, which had been integrated into the Danube Monarchy as the crown land of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria when Poland was broken up the first time.

Jadwiga's father, Józef Tuczek, was born in Milatyn Nowy in the Kamionka Strumiłowa district in 1878, which meant that he was Austrian. Jadwiga, born in 1910, was also born as an underling of the emperor of Austria. Her birthplace is Sambor, which became part of the Polish Lwów Voivodeship after the collapse of the Danube Monarchy and the establishment of the Second Polish Republic. Today the city is called Sambir, located in Lviv Oblast in Western Ukraine. Jadwiga's daughter, Krystyna, was also born in Sambor in 1937 and her son, Jerzy, in October 1940 in Nagorny, Kazakhstan.

Category 10 of the CM/1 form asks about places of residency during the last 12 years. Deportations, evacuations, and various DP camps are listed here in just a few lines: deported from Sambor to Kazakhstan in 1940, to Pahlevi and Tehran from 1942 to 1943, to Bwana M'Kubwa in 1944, to North Rhodesia, and then to the "Polish Camp – Lusaka."⁶³

Category 11 asks for employment and salary information for the past 12 years, the place of work, and the reasons for changing jobs. Jadwiga filled it out conscientiously: she and her daughter stayed with her husband in Tarnopol from 1936 to 1939, and from 1940 to 1942, they were in "Russia – Kazakhstan" and performed forced labor in the fields. The reason for the change in employment is "amnesty". From 1942 to 1948, Jadwiga worked as a teacher in Ahvaz, Bwana, and Lusaka. She completed her training at the Sambor seminary in 1933 with a diploma. She listed her sister and brother-in-law – Maria and Michał Łotecka in Hereford, England – as relatives abroad. An attached letter dated June 22nd, 1949, shows that Jadwiga's sister Maria had lobbied for the Biegus family to leave for England.⁶⁴

On August 12, 1950, the family embarked at Mombasa on *Dundalk Bay*. They reached Hull on September 1, 1950. The son of the Biegus family, Jurek, who was born in Kazakhstan, described the history of his family on the website *Polish resettlement camps in the UK* in 2005. This individual account gives life to the few facts contained in the questionnaire. "Kazakhstan in the autumn of 1940 was the last place where my mother wanted to be giving birth to me, her second child,"⁶⁵ Jurek Biegus begins his story. His mother used to work as a teacher in Tarnopol, while his father had finished his military service and was working in a prison. As a reserve officer, he was called to join his regiment when the war broke out. After Poland surrendered, he went into hiding because as a military leader he may have been subject to persecution by the NKVD. Since she was now without her husband, the mother returned to her parents' home in Sambor with her two-year-old daughter Krystyna probably around the end of 1939/the beginning of 1940. She continued teaching to support the family. She was questioned several times by the NKVD about her husband's whereabouts and about her job as a teacher. In March 1940, she was dismissed from her teaching position because she was considered politically unfit.

⁶³ CM/1 file Jadwiga Biegus, 3.2.1.6/81314758/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Jurek Biegus: "Siberian Baby". Available at: <http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/stories/biegus.htm>. Last accessed: 07.05.2021.

Shortly afterward, on April 13, 1940, the second wave of deportations began. Jadwiga Biegus, her little daughter, her parents, and her older sister were arrested, taken to the nearest train station, and deported to Kazakhstan in cattle wagons. Jurek's father, Jan Biegus, then surrendered to the NKVD in the hope that he could stay with his family, but he was not deported. His fate remained unknown for a long time until the family found his name on the list of officers murdered in Katyn – one of 4,400 Polish soldiers who had fallen victim to the mass shootings of the NKVD in the spring of 1940.

Jurek was born in Nagorny, Kazakhstan. The adults worked on a large agricultural collective farm for just a small amount of food in return. After receiving 'amnesty,' the family found their way to Uzbekistan in April 1942 to join the Polish army. The grandmother died of an infection shortly before the family was evacuated to Iran. Once in Tehran, the family could finally relax: "Persia was very welcoming. By the sea in Pahlavi, where we disembarked, a tented city had been set up. This was a transit area where we were registered, given papers, issued with clothes, and allocated to one of three camps on the outskirts of Teheran. Camp II, like the other camps, was under canvas but well supplied, food was plentiful, schools and field hospitals had been set up. Troops were being re-equipped, trained, and made ready for duty. Civilians began the long process of adjusting to a normality in which there was adequate food and even time to attend to their social and cultural needs. My mother particularly recalled a visit to the Shah's palace gardens and walking through the shopping streets of Teheran, although there was still no money for any serious shopping, of course. There was still the reality of war. All the young and able-bodied were expected to join in the war effort, and my aunt joined the Women's Auxiliary Service. This was a particular wrench because it was she who had been the main provider for our family. She was the one who bartered, traded, and stole the food that made the difference between perishing and surviving. Unable to have children herself, she made it her purpose that my sister and I survived where so many children did not."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Ibid.



Jadwiga Biegus, Józef Tuczek (grandfather of Jurek Biegus), Marysia Łotecka (aunt), and the children, Jurek and Krystyna, in Tehran in 1943 | Private Collection Zosia and Jurek Biegus⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Also available at *ibid.*



Jadwiga Biegus, Jurek Biegus, Józef Tuczek and Krystyna Biegus in front of their hut in Lusaka | Private Collection Zosia and Jurek Biegus⁶⁸

The mother worked as a teacher in the school of the Polish camp on the outskirts of Tehran, and because teachers were scarce, she was allowed to choose whether she wanted to go to India or Africa with the family. Finally, they decided on Africa. So Jadwiga, her two children, and her father were driven by truck to Karachi, which was still part of India at the time, and from there, they traveled by ship to East Africa. The last step took them by train to Bwana M’Kubwa in Northern Rhodesia, but she only stayed for a few months because she was supposed to teach in Lusaka.

Camp Lusaka closed in 1950. A government commission from Warsaw came to the camp and campaigned for repatriation, albeit not very successfully. Additional delegations showed up later on: “The Americans came next – followed by the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders – to take their pick of the humanity on offer. In that particular market, my mother – young, intelligent, educated, with two young children who would grow up to be fine citizens of their country – was inundated with offers, but there was a catch. My grandfather was old and might become a burden on the host country, so the offers were

⁶⁸ Also available at *ibid.*

always in these terms: you and the children can come straight away, and in a couple of years' time, you will have settled in and earned enough to bring your father across from wherever he might be at the time. To my mother's eternal credit, she turned these offers down flat. We were the last to leave Lusaka [...]. By this time, my mother was headmistress of the school and responsible for closing it down. She couldn't bear to burn all the books, so we acquired our first proper possessions – a tea chest full of books. She was posted to a camp called Tengeru near Arusha in what is now Tanzania.”⁶⁹

Tengeru was the camp for the remaining 'hard core' DPs, whom the British Home Office only allowed entry to Great Britain after the decision in March 1950. “By early 1950, only those that had been positively rejected by the three commissions or who, like my mother, would not accept the terms that were offered were left in the camp. That's when the British commission arrived. It was different because I think they knew that leaving people in the middle of Africa wasn't an option, and their main concern was to know if anyone had health problems, particularly infectious diseases like TB, and needed either treatment before sailing or special provision on arrival in England. In July, we travelled by rail from Arusha to Mombasa and then sailed on the *Dundalk Bay* to England, arriving in Hull on 2nd September 1950. After a few days in a transit camp near Hull, we travelled in a fleet of coaches to Springhill Lodges camp in the beautiful Cotswold countryside.”⁷⁰



Jadwiga Biegus with her children Krystyna and Jurek and her father Józef Tuczek aboard the *Dundalk Bay* | Private Collection Zosia and Jurek Biegus.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

The Kaskow Family

The Kaskow family was also supposed to be on board the *Dundalk Bay*. They were among the Polish DPs from the dissolved camps in India. Jan Kaskow, the 26-year-old family man, applied for care and maintenance in India for himself, his wife Jadwiga, and their daughter Izabella, who was born in 1946 in the Polish Camp Valivade in India.⁷¹

The family wanted to settle down in England because Jadwiga's brother lived there. Jan Kaskow came from the Galician Stanislawow (today's Ukrainian Ivano-Frankivsk in the Subcarpathian region), Jadwiga from Tarnopol (today's Ukrainian Ternopil). Both were deported in 1940. The CM/1 file merely states "Rosia," which means Russia. A more exact location is not available. Evacuated to "Persia" with the Anders Army after 1942, they lived in Tehran until 1943 and were then taken to India via the land route to the Polish camp Valivade in the state of Maharashtra.⁷²

The educational and professional information on the Care and Maintenance form shows that Jan was a student when he was deported. In Russia, he worked "in agriculture," probably on a collective farm. In Tehran, he had a comparatively well-paid job as a delegate of the Polish *Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego* (MWRIO), which was responsible for religion and education. In India, he worked as an accountant and as a teacher. The family tried to emigrate to England from August 1946 onward, where they had relatives. Jan Kaskow's mother and two brothers as well as Jadwiga Kaskow's mother and two married sisters lived in the south of England and Wales, some of them in Polish resettlement camps. It appears as though they relocated as DPs as well, but an initial request was denied because Jan's brother-in-law was not able to fulfil the necessary guarantees. This was communicated to the family in July 1949 by the IRO.⁷³

After Camp Valivade was closed in 1948, the family was transferred to Camp Koja (Uganda) in Africa. The application for resettlement was ultimately successful as Great Britain now also accepted 'hard core' cases under pressure from the IRO. The family was taken to the *English Point* staging center in Mombasa, where they embarked the *Dundalk Bay* on August 12, 1950. However, Jan, Jadwiga, and Izabella were removed from the passenger list because Jadwiga was pregnant.⁷⁴ On September 19, 1950, twin daughters Maria Jadwiga and Barbara Maria were born in Mombasa. It was not until October 28, 1950, that the family boarded the *Llangibby Castle* to Tilbury in England, where they arrived on November 20, 1950.

⁷¹ CM/1 file Jan Kaskow, 3.2.1.6/81329326–81329330/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Passenger list of SS *Dundalk Bay*, 24.08.1950, 3.1.3.2/81645851/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

The CM/1 files in the Arolsen Archives are documents from an institution that provides politically or administratively relevant information from the point of view of the issuer. Thus, the information provided is inevitably selective and not very complex. Additional historical material must be used to complement the limited data.⁷⁵

In the case of the deported Poles, this is generally possible thanks to excellent sources. Many Poles, including those of the subsequent generation, documented their experiences after the war, initially in print media⁷⁶ and, with the availability of the internet, also in social media.⁷⁷ As shown in the example of the Biegus family, the contents of the CM/1 files could be filled with numerous details and missing information added, but not everyone was able to or wanted to talk about the past. In addition, the first generation often stayed mum on their experiences.⁷⁸ For the Kaskow family, the only information available is the data on the form. What else they experienced or what happened to them is anyone's guess. For example, the trip that was planned for August 12, 1950, and subsequently canceled, raises various questions. The Kaskow couple must have known as early as the summer of 1950 that Jadwiga was pregnant and presumably also that she was expecting twins. Why is the Kaskow family on a passenger list to England on August 12, 1950? The trip lasted three weeks, so there was a good chance that she would have given birth on board. Was this due to an one-size-fits-all implementation of the mass resettlement, overly bureaucratic handling of requirements from the IRO, or were the Kaskow couple so desperate and eager to get to England as quickly as possible that they kept their pregnancy secret and were fine with giving birth on board? In this case, the limited information is all that remains.

Refugees are not an immutable and faceless group. They are treated very differently and have a wide range of liberties depending upon the context. The CM/1 application files also document a complex negotiation process among several actors. On the one hand, we have the applying DPs on the micro level and the eligibility officers who process the applications on site or in London, and on the other hand, we have the UN organizations on the meso level and the Allies on the macro level. The employees of UNRRA and the IRO followed the normative requirements of the United Nations. With the political framework given by the conflict between the Eastern and Western systems, the practice of recognition also changed. DPs of Eastern European descent in particular became political pawns in the Cold War that followed. For example, many Polish DPs who opposed repatriation to Poland were considered by the Western allies to be standing up against Communism, while the Soviet Union

75 See Jochen Oltmer: "Migration aushandeln: Perspektiven aus der Historischen Migrationsforschung", in Andreas Pott, Christoph Rass and Frank Wolff (eds.): *Was ist ein Migrationsregime? / What is a Migration Regime?*, Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018, 239–254.

76 See, e.g., Wesley Adamczyk: *When God Looked the Other Way: An Odyssey of War, Exile, and Redemption*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004; Esther Hautzig: *The Endless Steppe: Growing up in Siberia*, New York: HarperCollins, 1968; Wiesław Stypuła: *We wszystkie światy strony: Kresy-Syberia-Indie-Świat*, Warszawa: Efekt, 2007; Danuta Teczarowska: *Deportation into the Unknown*, Branton: Merlin Books, 1985; Stefan Waydenfeld: *The Ice Road: An Epic Journey from the Stalinist Labour Camps to Freedom*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1999.

77 See, e.g., <http://kresy-siberia.org/muzeum/?lang=en>, Personal Stories. Available at <http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/stories/your%20stories.htm>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

78 Julia Devlin: "In Search of the Missing Narrative: Children of Polish Deportees in Great Britain", in *The International Journal of Information, Diversity, & Inclusion*, 4 (2), 2020, 22–35.

considered them enemies of the system. As a result, opinions differed vastly on who should be recognized as DPs and thus protected, depending on which political camp a person was in.⁷⁹ This confirms that migration is subject to migration regime regulations, yet is also the result of complex negotiations among multiple actors. "Migration is not regulated; it is negotiated."⁸⁰

A lot could be learned about these negotiations by examining the 706 Care and Maintenance files in the Arolsen Archives that were created in connection with the resettlement of Polish DPs in Africa. What arguments did the DPs use to refuse repatriation? Why did they choose which country? How did they react if their wishes were not granted? How do events at the macro level (the worsening of conflict among systems) and the meso level (the restructuring of the international aid organization) affect individual fates?

It would be useful to profile these 'hard core' cases who were repeatedly brushed aside by the aid organizations and receiving countries and therefore remained in the African camps. We could then track where they were born, what schooling they completed, and what activities they pursued during their time in the Soviet Union, Iran, India, and Africa. We may even find out why certain destinations were chosen for resettlement and others were not. It must also be noted that over 100 children who are registered in the CM/1 files were born in Africa and that their further life stories have not yet been researched. An examination of the files could also answer questions about who began relationships and started families in the camp. With the help of geographic information systems (GIS), life stories and migration processes could be illustrated based on empirical material.

In addition, studies on Polish DPs in Africa have the potential to yield important information for general research into (forced) migration by diversifying the common perception of DPs as victims of the Nazis or as refugees in occupied Germany as well as the common European perception of the 'normal' direction of exodus from south to north.

⁷⁹ Michael R. Marrus: *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 340–341; Gatrell, *Making*, 96.

⁸⁰ Christoph Rass and Frank Wolff: "What Is in a Migration Regime? Genealogical Approach and Methodological Proposal", in Pott/Rass/Wolff, *Migration Regime*, 19–64, here 21.

Resettlement of Specialists: European Displaced Persons in Pakistan in the Aftermath of World War II

On December 26, 1949, an aircraft left the Italian capital Rome heading for Karachi. On board were doctors, nurses, and their dependents, a total of 53 people from countries in Central and Eastern Europe who wanted to settle in Pakistan. Other well-educated medical professionals followed in August 1950, making their way to what was then the South Asian country's capital, with Pakistan having gained its independence just three years before.

This article focuses on refugees from Central and Eastern Europe, who, in the years following the end of World War II, traveled to Pakistan as part of the Specialist Resettlement Program by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Prior to that, they were staying in Austria, Italy, and in Germany's Western occupation zones, where they were registered as Displaced Persons (DPs).¹

Although the IRO was primarily founded to support those who had previously been persecuted by Nazi Germany, most of the people emigrating to Pakistan were refugees fleeing communist regimes to the West briefly before and in the years after the end of the war. They were considered eligible for assistance by the Western powers in view of the imminent Cold War and represented a specific group among those individuals looked after by Allied aid organizations after the end of World War II, who are often referred to simply as DPs.²

¹ On the history of DPs and the IRO, see the introduction to this volume.

² On the history of the term DP(s) and its distinction from the term refugee(s), see Christoph Rass: "Vom 'Displacement of Populations' über 'Displaced Persons' zu 'Internally Displaced Persons'. Überlegungen zur Geschichte einer Schlüsselkategorie der Gewaltmigration im 20. Jahrhundert". Available at: <https://ngm.hypotheses.org/2462>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021. Although both the term refugee(s) and DP(s) were defined in the IRO charter, this distinction was not relevant to the resettlement programs (ibid). The two terms were also used inconsistently at the time. As a result, both terms are sometimes used in the sources to refer to the same group of people at the same time. To improve readability, the people relocated to Pakistan by the IRO are referred to as DPs in this text.

There are three dimensions to this article's research interest: Firstly, the idea and practical application of the Specialist Resettlement Program, to which little attention has been paid within research so far, will be presented as a tool of the IRO. Pakistan is particularly well-suited as a case study for IRO emigration policy as it was actually one of the few countries outside Europe in which the IRO resettled a relatively large number of specialists. Secondly, it will be investigated what accepting European DPs meant for the newly created country of Pakistan. Thirdly, the ultimate failure of the Europeans' emigration – most of whom left Pakistan just a few years later – will be discussed.

The primary sources are mainly administrative files from the IRO, which are held by the French National Archives in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, and personal documents, especially Care and Maintenance files, which are kept in the Arolsen Archives.³

The Specialist Resettlement Program

In 1949, there were still several hundred thousand people who were recognized as DPs in Germany's Western occupation zones, in Austria, and in Italy, and who could not or did not want to return to their country of origin. The IRO attempted to find receiving countries in need of workers, to which these individuals could emigrate.

The emigration was initially organized via two different schemes. With the first scheme, the IRO handled mass emigration for specific categories of immigrants: selection committees from the receiving countries came to Germany and Austria to select suitable people who met the specific requirements for workers or the quotas in the respective countries. The IRO then transported these individuals to the destination countries, usually by airplane or on specially hired ships.⁴ With the second program, the IRO supported DPs who had arranged their emigration with the help of welfare organizations or who were able to show they had sponsors in the destination countries. In this case, the IRO mainly took care of their transport to these countries.⁵

A third scheme was added in October 1949 and focused on those who had very low prospects of being resettled via the existing programs due to their professional background.⁶ This involved 26,000 to 60,000 displaced intellectuals⁷ who did not fit under the conditions of mass emigration and who had no friends or relatives abroad who could sponsor them. In a brochure from 1948, the IRO describes their situation as follows:

³ The spelling of names in the personal documents sometimes varies. They are stated as they appear in the sources.

⁴ International Refugee Organization: The Facts about Refugees, Geneva: IRO, 1948, 16 (henceforth: IRO, Facts); Internationale Flüchtlingsorganisation: Emigration aus Europa: Ein Bericht der Erfahrungen, Geneva: IRO, 1951, 22 (henceforth: IRO, Emigration).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ IRO, Emigration, 23; Louise W. Holborn: The International Refugee Organization: A Specialized Agency of the United Nations. Its History and Work, 1946–1952, London/New York/Toronto: OUP, 1956, 303 (henceforth: Holborn, IRO).

⁷ While Cohen refers to 40,000 to 60,000 people, the IRO itself spoke of 26,000 in 1950. See Gerard Daniel Cohen: In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order, Oxford: OUP, 2012, 114; International Refugee Organization: The Forgotten Elite: The Story of Refugee Specialists, Geneva: IRO, 1950, 3.

“[L]awyers, doctors, journalists, engineers, teachers and others whose livelihood depends on intellectual processes present a perplexing problem.” Unlike refugees in trade professions, who perform their job in the same way all over the world and can easily adapt to a new environment, “intellectual qualifications” were considered a “handicap in their efforts to begin a new life.”⁸ There was usually no need for this “forgotten elite”, as they are referred to in the title of another IRO brochure,⁹ in the potential receiving countries.¹⁰ With the Specialist Resettlement Program,¹¹ the IRO aimed to find suitable jobs for these people, thus enabling them to emigrate. The focus here lay on countries that had recently been made independent and so needed highly educated citizens.¹²

With this in mind, professional screening boards at the IRO conducted interviews with the DPs and verified their respective qualification based on available certificates and other documents or by means of an examination through the boards themselves.¹³ Based on these screenings, personal files were created containing recommendations concerning the candidate’s employment options and information about their language skills.¹⁴ Special Representatives of the IRO were then appointed to address governments and public and private organizations “in order to find individual opportunities for resettlement.”¹⁵ The next steps are described in detail in one of the aforementioned IRO brochures: “Once the first few hundred files were compiled, emissaries were sent all over the world to find employers or sponsors for these candidates.”¹⁶ The files were also forwarded to the representatives of interested countries, who then looked for suitable jobs there. In the countries that were willing to accept specialists, the local IRO representative or agents were commissioned with handling the local management and providing support to the emigrants. The search was coordinated by the Resettlement Placement Service led by H.A. Citroen at the IRO headquarters in Geneva.¹⁷

Those concerned also included a large number of doctors and other medical personnel. The IRO developed a “special screening and identification procedure” for DPs in these medical professions, which were considered particularly difficult to place.¹⁸ This included

8 IRO, Facts, 17. See also Holborn, IRO, 302; IRO, Emigration, 23.

9 IRO, Elite.

10 See Cohen, War’s Wake, 113.

11 Within the IRO there was no official name for the program, often only the goal and measures were described, or it was just called the ‘resettlement of specialists’.

12 A.J.M. Lush (ed.): *A Life of Service: The Memoirs of Maurice Lush 1896–1990*, London: Trinity 1992, 266.

13 Holborn, IRO, 304.

14 IRO, Emigration, 39; see also Holborn, IRO, 275, 303 and 428–429. For the composition and work of the boards, see Holborn, IRO, 394.

15 Holborn, IRO, 303. See also *Activities of IRO in Relation to Asia and the Far East*, 07.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

16 IRO, Emigration, 39 (translation by the author).

17 Holborn, IRO, 428–429; IRO, Emigration, 39. The designations of the Resettlement Placement Service vary; the questionnaires from the CM/1 files refer to the Specialist Resettlement Service and Lush sometimes calls the department just the Placement Resettlement Division (IRO to Alington, 14.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine).

18 Holborn, IRO, 304. On the screening process, see *ibid.* See also Press Release IRO Austria, 16.12.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. See also *International Refugee Organization (ed.): Occupational Skills of Refugees/Professions des Réfugiés*, Geneva: IRO, 1948, 8.

an interview by a screening board consisting of expert doctors and the evaluation of certificates and other documents. Following this, in addition to personal files, a medical register was printed listing the names and qualifications of 4,320 doctors, who all came from countries in Central and Eastern Europe.¹⁹

The IRO then called on governments around the world to enable immigration for doctors and to name the conditions under which they could practice their profession in their country. The response to this, and to the Specialist Program as a whole, was nevertheless quite muted. Louise Holborn, author of the 1956 publication *The International Refugee Organization*, states as a reason that “the various national laws governing registration and the right to practice in a community restrict such privileges to graduates of recognized schools.”²⁰ Besides Norway, which was willing to accept dentists, and the US Pacific Islands, there was only Pakistan that sent a positive response with a “scheme for Army medical officers.”²¹

Pakistan after Independence

Pakistan was founded on August 14, 1947, in the context of the partition of British India. While the largest part of the former colony became the new independent Republic of India (Bhārat), which had a Hindu majority, the western provinces and East Bengal came together to form Pakistan. West Pakistan and East Pakistan were thus around 1,600 kilometers (1000 miles) apart. West Pakistan was home to the seaport of Karachi, which was also the capital until 1958, and Rawalpindi with the General Headquarters of the Pakistan Army. East Pakistan, which was identical to the then province of East Bengal, separated from Pakistan in 1971 to become Bangladesh.²² In 1947, the new country considered itself to be a Muslim state with a Muslim majority and thus the home of Indian Muslims. The partition, whose border demarcation had been announced only a few weeks prior to independence, led to a refugee crisis: millions of Muslims attempted to emigrate to Pakistan, while millions of Hindus and Sikhs fled from there to India. The total number of refugees is estimated to have been 12 to 20 million.²³ This was accompanied by pogrom-like

19 International Refugee Organisation [sic]: Displaced Persons Professional Medical Register, Geneva, n.d. (henceforth: IRO, Medical Register). A copy of this register can be found in the online library of the Arolsen Archives. Available at: <https://digital-library.arolsen-archives.org/content/pageview/7262669>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021. See also Holborn, IRO, 427.

20 Ibid., 304.

21 Ibid.

22 The independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan was accompanied by massive violence on the part of the Pakistani military, with millions of people fleeing. See also the analysis by Christian Gerlach: *Extrem gewalttätige Gesellschaften: Massengewalt im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2011, 165–237.

23 Jorge Scholz: *Der Pakistan-Komplex: Ein Land zwischen Niedergang und Nuklearwaffen*, Munich/Zürich: Pendo, 2008, 100.

mass killings, in which up to two million people died.²⁴ Even years after partition, up to seven million refugees who had come to Pakistan from India had not yet integrated.²⁵

The new state of Pakistan not only had to struggle with the consequences of partition, which also included the exodus of highly educated Hindus to India, but also had to establish state institutions from scratch. There was a deficiency of manpower in many areas, and a particular lack of experienced administrators.²⁶ An article in the American journal *Life* from 1948 illustrates the explosive situation in which the country found itself: "Of the approx. 70 million Pakistanis more than 80 % are farmers, a very few are wealthy landlords and the rest are shopkeepers and artisans. Nearly all of Pakistan's financial and professional men are among the approximately four million Hindus who fled to India. From India Pakistan got about six million impoverished Moslem peasants, who for the most part, left their agricultural implements behind. In return for freedom, Pakistan has huge transient camps full of landless farmers and an almost complete lack of skilled technicians of businessmen."²⁷ Against this backdrop, Pakistan desperately sought skilled workers, both for the civil and the military sector, and so reached out to the IRO. The Pakistani military played a key role both in making contact and later in accommodating the DPs. The military had emerged from the British-controlled Indian Army, which had fought alongside the Allies in World War II as an all-volunteer force with more than 2.5 million soldiers. Even in the first few years of independence, there were several hundred British officers in the Pakistan Army, which had a shortage of local experienced officers.²⁸

Pakistan Looking for Specialists

In September 1948, just over a year after independence and around a year before the program for the emigration of specialists was launched by the IRO, General Afzul Faruki, General Director of the Medical Service of the Pakistan Army, visited the IRO in Geneva and gathered information about the possible placement of DPs in Pakistan. In March 1949, he renewed his interest and announced that Pakistan was interested in hiring qualified

24 With the aim of researching the history of the division and the effects on those involved, the Partition Archives project based at the University of California in Berkeley conducts interviews with partition survivors and archives their stories. See also *Murder, Rape and Shattered Families: 1947 Partition Archive Effort Underway*. Available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1169309>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021. See *ibid.* for the difficulty in determining the exact number of killed and displaced persons in this conflict. For the character and dynamics of the massacre and its classification in genocide research, see Paul R. Brass: "The partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab, 1946–47: Means, Methods, and Purposes", in *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5 (1), 2003, 71–101.

25 Chaudhri Muhammad Ali: *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan/University of the Punjab, 1983, 274.

26 *Ibid.*, 247.

27 "Pakistan Struggles for Survival", in *Life Magazine*, 05.01.1948, 16–18, here 18.

28 Amna Mahmood Sandhu: "The Royal Indian Army, Evolution & Organisation: 'An Appraisal'", in *Margalla Papers*, Vol XV, Issue II, 2011, 49–72; Rheinisches JournalistInnen Büro/Recherche International e.V. (ed.): "Unsere Opfer zählen nicht": *Die Dritte Welt im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Berlin/Hamburg: Assoziation A, 2005, 261–267. See *ibid.* on the rejection of participation in the war by leading Indian politicians and (from 255 onward) on Indian collaborators of Nazi Germany; Ali, *Emergence*, 247.

doctors and nurses.²⁹ Following a further meeting in April 1949, the East Bengali government provided specifics about the desired specialists and requested detailed information on possible candidates in a letter to the IRO in May 1949: "We are in need [...] of doctors, nurses and others. The professorial posts are meant for highly qualified doctors with experience of teaching in colleges. [...] In addition to the doctors we require at least 10 nurses. It is better if full information on the following points is supplied about each candidate: Present occupation, sex, original nationality, dependence, age, education, degrees, language spoken and understood and experience from the time of completing educational career." The letter continues: "We are most anxious to avail ourselves of the opportunity of employing these highly qualified displaced technical personnel. The idea is to keep them on probation, if employed for one year, and then if found satisfactory, to grant them Pakistan nationality. In the first year we are prepared to give them special consideration in view of their strange surroundings, but after they have been granted Pakistan nationality, they will receive no special consideration as they would be Pakistani Nationals."³⁰ A certain urgency can be identified in the correspondence from the East Bengali government, which was also expressed in the fact that, parallel to the IRO, Pakistan also sought specialists from other international organizations as well as bilaterally in other countries, with the intention of them coming to the country on a permanent basis or for a certain period of time.³¹

On June 4, 1949, the IRO approved the resettlement of specialists in Pakistan. At the same moment, it problematized the one-year period formulated by the East Bengali government for granting citizenship. It hence referred to the practice in other countries which guaranteed the immediate naturalization of the immigrants. This concern was partly based on worries about possible uncertainties surrounding residence status and the legal restrictions associated with this for those affected and their families. At the same time, the IRO itself had an interest in the emigrated DPs quickly becoming naturalized as it could only release a person from its mandate once they were firmly re-established.³²

On July 22, 1949, the Health Division of the IRO finally sent the Pakistani Ministry of Health in Karachi a list of names for preselection.³³ In the weeks that followed, Faruki visited various IRO locations in Germany and Austria and ultimately chose 50 professionals, who were offered resettlement in Pakistan and a job in the Army. These were general and specialist doctors as well as some nurses and midwives.³⁴

29 Extract from Letter by Faruki to Nikhil Sen, 23.03.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

30 Government of East Bengal, Health and Local Self Government Department. Medical Branch to Director PCIRO, 06.05.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

31 Government of East Bengal, Health and Local Self Government Department. Medical Branch to Director PCIRO, 08.07.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

32 IRO to Faruki, 04.06.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

33 IRO Director of Health to Minister of Health Services Karachi, 22.07.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. The Health Division of the IRO was initially the point of contact for the Pakistan government (see also Lush, *Memoirs*, 270).

34 IRO to Faruki, 21.09.1949; Press Release IRO Austria, 16.12.1949; Activities of IRO in Relation to Asia and the far East, 07.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

When the selection process was already underway, discussions were held within the IRO regarding to what extent Pakistan would actually be a suitable receiving country and how specialists could be persuaded to emigrate there. Although the particularly precarious political situation that the country found itself in was taken into consideration, the IRO also wanted to take advantage of the opportunities offered there. This discrepancy and what this meant for communication with the DPs willing to emigrate becomes particularly clear in a letter from Citroen, the chief of the program, in November 1949: "Pakistan is in fact offering employment in the Army while the country is at present in a political situation which is delicate enough as regards its relation with its immediate neighbors and a refugee may therefore argue that enlisting in an Army which may any day be called upon to enter into action is not a reasonable offer of resettlement." ³⁵ The IRO, which had at this point generally not yet succeeded in resettling specialists via the third program, was anxious that the DPs who came into consideration actually accepted the offer. In the event of a rejection, those concerned were to be informed that a similarly good opportunity for resettlement was unlikely. ³⁶ Contradicting with this somewhat, Maurice Lush, who was in Pakistan in January 1950 as a Special Representative of the IRO and who will be discussed in more detail later, made on various occasions reference to the "hard life" that the "European refugee" could expect in Pakistan. ³⁷ In a letter to IRO Headquarters he wrote: "In truth anyone coming here in the next few years must come with the pioneering spirit, ready to undergo the hell of a lot of discomfort, to enjoy very few amenities and to work for the very existence for a new state which is by and large ready to forego anything to establish good government. I might be prejudiced, but the Moslem drive behind this new state looks to me good. But we must, we must [sic] warn our people who come out here of what conditions are likely to be at first." ³⁸ In his memoirs, he later problematized the sense in sending further European refugees to the country in addition to the million workless, landless and penniless Indian refugees who were already there. Ultimately, according to Lush who was referring to the overall scheme, this signified "great compassion on the part of the receiving country and great courage on the part of the candidate." ³⁹

Biographical Backgrounds of the DPs

The first 23 doctors and nurses together with their families left Europe on December 26, 1949, on the aforementioned flight from Rome to Karachi. ⁴⁰ Four doctors and two nurses came from DP camps in Austria and two nurses were recruited by the IRO in Italy, while the rest came from Germany's Western zones. One family followed by ship from Genoa on

³⁵ Citroen, Director Resettlement Placing Service, to Individual Migration Frankfurt, Hohermuth, 02.11.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Lush, *Memoirs*, 271.

³⁸ IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Citroen, 20.01.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

³⁹ Lush, *Memoirs*, 266.

⁴⁰ Nominal Roll of emigrants flying from Rome to Karachi on 26th December 1949, 3.1.3.2/81779162/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

January 19, 1950.⁴¹ A further three families with a total of eleven people also flew from Rome to Karachi on August 15, 1950.

As a result, a total of 67 people, including accompanying family members, came to the South Asian country via the *Pakistan Doctors Scheme*, as the resettlement of medical specialists in Pakistan was known.⁴² They originally came from Yugoslavia, Russia, Belarus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, as well as from the three Baltic countries. One doctor originally came from Turkey and another was born in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Some of the spouses accompanying them were German citizens.

Their professional background and vocational experiences differed just as greatly as the countries from which they came. Alongside distinguished doctors and researchers, there was also a multitude of relatively young doctors who had only recently completed their studies. In some cases, couples and families had come to Germany or Austria together; in others, they had only met each other shortly before leaving for Pakistan. Sometimes both married partners applied for the specialist program and sometimes only one of them, whereby it was not always the men who were resettled and brought their families with them, but also women, who came with their dependents. The large number of children and other family members travelling with them is remarkable. Before they departed from Europe, almost all of the doctors and nurses worked for the IRO or for the Allied forces at a DP camp or hospital.

The political context in which the doctors and nurses and their relatives fled their countries of origin or the reason why they found themselves as DPs differed significantly in some cases. The majority had fled from communism and had generally arrived in Germany, Austria or Italy in 1944 or 1945 or in the years that followed.

One of the most renowned doctors to emigrate was undoubtedly Alexander Szatmari, 41 years old, a specialist in neurology and psychiatry and formerly a lecturer at the University of Budapest.⁴³ The screening board described the doctor, who had published numerous scientific papers, as follows: "A neurologist with excellent training, 16 years experience in neurology and psychiatry and most profound knowledge in both these subjects."⁴⁴ Together with his wife, who was born in Dresden and with whom he later emigrated to Pakistan, he arrived in Austria from Hungary in July 1948, due to unknown political reasons, and worked at the DP hospital in Salzburg as well as for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), where he is presumed to have treated survivors of the Holocaust.

41 Nominal Roll of Emigrants departing from Genoa on Star of Suez to Karachi on 19th January 1950, 3.1.3.2/81728728/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file Imre Farkas, 3.2.1.4/80967162–80967167/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; list of UNRRA Team 264, 3.1.1.2/82021745/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

42 As another nine came to Pakistan outside of the scheme, in total the IRO helped 78 DPs to emigrate to the country. This number results both from the evaluation of the CM/1 files in the Arolsen Archives and from Holborn's account (IRO, 442).

43 Press Release by IRO Austria, 16.12.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

44 CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200574/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

Szatmari, who spoke fluent English, was selected by the Pakistan Army to lead a psychiatric service and “to organize the whole field of psychiatry in [the] country.”⁴⁵ He was also to take up a professorship at a medical college that was set to be established.



Janina Jakševičienė (second on the left) with colleagues and patients outside the DP hospital in Kempten, Germany, approx. 1948 | Private Collection Jurate Jaksevicius Mohnen



Janina Jakševičienė (fourth person on the left) with colleagues outside the DP hospital in Kempten, Germany, c. 1948 | Private Collection Jurate Jaksevicius Mohnen

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Janina Jakševičienė, born in 1913, had practiced as a pediatrician in Kaunas and Šiauliai and was, among other things, the chief doctor at a mother and child dispensary. She fled from the Red Army in July 1944; her husband had been a district prosecutor in independent Lithuania and feared persecution by the Soviets as a member of the Lithuanian intelligentsia. In Germany, she traveled to Wrocław (then Breslau), where she had an acquaintance, and gained work at a children's hospital due to a shortage of doctors resulting from the war. She headed west to once again flee from the approaching Red Army and was eventually employed as a doctor again. After the war, she reached Kempten in the Allgäu region in southern Germany, where she worked at a DP hospital. Jakševičienė was accompanied by her husband and two daughters, the youngest of whom was born in Kempten in 1947.⁴⁶

Alena Polesny, born in Prague in 1911, was a stomatologist. She worked at various hospitals before qualifying as a professor in 1941, then opening her own practice. She escaped her country of origin due to the political situation in Czechoslovakia: "On June, 9th, 1949, I crossed the Czech-German border and escaped to US-Zone because I was afraid for persecution from Cz."⁴⁷ Her mother, Marie Provazníková, had defected from the 1948 London Olympics when president of the women's divisions of both the Czechoslovak gymnastics organization and the International Gymnastics Federation, and coach of the gold medal winning Czech Olympic Team and in a leadership position in the Sokol movement.⁴⁸ She was in London in August 1948 and sailed to the USA at the end of the same year, where she was politically active against the communist government in Czechoslovakia,⁴⁹ which Polesny cites as a reason why she fled: "I and my husband have been threatened by the police. [...] I was obliged to escape from my home, where I left a large property."⁵⁰ Her husband, Karel, an ophthalmologist, also worked at various hospitals and published papers. They came to Germany with their three daughters, where they both worked as doctors at the DP camp in Murnau.

Those who fled from Central and Eastern Europe also included 28-year-old Hugo-Eizens Daugavietis, who was accompanied by his mother. In his application for assistance, he stated that he had been a doctor in the Latvian Legion, a formation of the *Waffen-SS*

⁴⁶ CM/1 file Janina Jakševičienė, 3.2.1.4/81018736/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; DP 2 cards of Janina Jakševičienė and Algirdas Jakševičius, 3.1.1.1/67473555, 67473556, 67473557 and 67473558/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; list from Kempten, 2.1.1.3/85931897/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Registration of Displaced persons and foreign workers not residing in camps, 2.1.1.2/70527318/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; IRO, Medical Register, 155. Zoom interview with Jurate Jakševičius Mohen, 01.04.2021; Janina Jakševičienė: "I bow my Head to your University", in Dalia Stakė Anyas, Dalia Cidzikaitė and Laima Petrauskas Vanderstoep (eds.): *We thought we'd be back soon. 18 Stories of Refugees, 1940–1944*, s.l.: Aukso Žuvys, 2017, 118–139.

⁴⁷ CM/1 file Karel Polesny, 3.2.1.4/81136806/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives. Alena Polesny's name after marriage initially was Polesna; later she dropped the female suffix, as it was common for women, who left Central and Eastern Europe, and adjusted it to Polesny.

⁴⁸ New York Times, 19.01.1991; Peter Paul Dusek Jr.: Marie Provaznik. Her Life and Contributions to Physical Education. Dissertation submitted to the College of Health, University of Utah, August 1981, 382.

⁴⁹ Wikipedia entry on Marie Provazníková. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marie_Provazníková. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

⁵⁰ CM/1 file Karel Polesny, 3.2.1.4/81136806/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

consisting of Latvians.⁵¹ Although this collaboration with the Germans should have excluded him from IRO support,⁵² he was nevertheless considered eligible. To what extent his membership was overlooked by the IRO or whether it was intentionally disregarded cannot be determined from the available source materials. And, with Gabor Nagi, who emigrated accompanying his nephew, the group also included a former high-ranking Hungarian official and supporter of the former Regent of Hungary Miklós Horthy.⁵³

With a former forced laborer and a survivor of the Holocaust, the emigrants also included two victims of Nazi persecution. Ognjan Petroff, a 30-year-old doctor from Bulgaria, had been required to perform forced labor for the Ludwigshafen city administration from at least 1943.⁵⁴ Josef Fetzner emigrated with the Estonian doctor Camilla Fetzner, who came to Germany in September 1944 in connection with the fall of Tallinn to the Red Army and whom he had met at the Resettlement Center in Munich. Only fragments are known about Josef Fetzner's background and his persecution in Nazi Germany. The merchant from Munich was sought by the Gestapo between 1937 and 1940 and incarcerated at the internment camp for Jews in Ferramonti di Tarsia, southern Italy, in May 1943. He returned to Munich after the end of the war.⁵⁵

In a press release, the IRO in Austria celebrated the fact that the emigration of the first group in December 1949 marked the first time that specialists with high professional qualifications, who had previously had virtually no opportunity to be resettled in immigrant countries, had left Austria.⁵⁶ There were also reports about the emigration of the doctors to Pakistan in the international press. The *Tennessean* published in the USA bemoaned the restrictive immigration requirements in the USA as there was also a shortage of "gifted and trained experts" there, too.⁵⁷

Independently of the *Doctors Scheme* and the search for specialists by the Pakistani government, five further DPs, as well as four dependents, reached Pakistan from Europe with the help of the IRO between 1949 and 1951. These were comprised of a doctor, who had his own contacts in the country, an architect, and three translators, one being the 26-year-old Waldemar Kroders,⁵⁸ who emigrated to Pakistan with the first group in

51 CM/1 file Hugo-Eizens Daugavietis, 3.2.1.4/80947977/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; IRO, Medical Register, 24.

52 Holborn, IRO, 206–208.

53 CM/1 file Gabor Nagi, 3.2.1.4/81110312–81110314/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

54 Index card of Ognjan Petroff, 2.3.3.1/77755092/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; DP 2 cards of Ognjan Petroff, 3.1.1.1/68589488 and 68589489/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

55 DP 2 cards of Camila Fetzner-Uustalu and Josef Fetzner, 3.1.1.1/67038557 and 67038560/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Identity card of Camila Fetzner-Uustalu, 3.1.1.1/67038559/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file Josef Fetzner, 3.2.1.1/79081562–79081563/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Index card from Gestapo Koblenz on Josef Fetzner, 1.2.3.3/12446380/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Index card of the Italian Red Cross on Josef Fetzner, 1.1.14.6/116814392/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Expanded registration information, Stadtarchiv München, dated 03.02.2021; Index cards for Josef Fetzner/Camilla Fetzner, 24.04.1949, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee New York; Jewish Displaced Persons and Refugee Cards, 1943–1959, accessed at Ancestry.com. Last accessed: 22.02.2021.

56 Press Release IRO Austria, 16.12.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

57 The Tennessean, 02.01.1950, 4.

58 He is not included in the above figure of 53 people who were on board the plane, leaving Rome on 26.12.1949, because he was not a medical specialist.

December 1949. He was born in Riga and was a Latvian citizen. The IRO was obviously unaware at the time, as shown by documents from the Arolsen Archives, that he was an 'ethnic German', had fought in the *Wehrmacht*, and so, like Daugavietis, should have been denied assistance.⁵⁹ In addition, Pakistan also became a destination for a DP from the Far East. Hussain Hozin, a Russian citizen belonging to the Turko-Tartar community, left the Chinese city of Tianjin on June 25, 1951 and reached Karachi via Hong Kong on July 14, 1951.⁶⁰

The DPs in Pakistan

"When we arrived in Pakistan on an SAS-Flight from Rome on August 16, 1950 at 10 o'clock at night, as an eleven year old what struck me was that everyone looked brown skinned", recalls Zuzka Polesny Eggena, who came with her parents to Pakistan. "It was our father who later mentioned in his recorded memoirs the heat and humidity, and the smell of the fires from the encampments near the airport where the refugees from India were using buffalo dung as fuel. He also noted that these fires could be seen from the airplane."⁶¹

The doctors and nurses and their families arrived in Karachi, where they stayed for some time before being distributed to various cities and their places of work. From March 1950, Peggy Alington, the wife of a British accountant, worked as an agent for the IRO in Karachi. Her job was to greet the DPs upon their arrival and represent their interests in Pakistan, inform the Pakistani government about the movements of the emigrants, and report to the IRO in Geneva. Alington also coordinated the further search for jobs for specialists in the country.⁶²

⁵⁹ Registration card for Waldemar Kroders, 2.2.2.1/73197213/ITS Digital Archive Arolsen Archives; DP 2 card for Waldemar Kroders, 3.1.1.1/129801248/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; T/D file Waldemar Kroders, 6.3.3.2/109695534/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; Nominal Roll of emigrants flying from Rome to Karachi on December 26, 1949, 3.1.3.2/81779162/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives. It is not possible to discuss the later whereabouts of this group of people here due to lack of space.

⁶⁰ Individual migration monthly nominal roll month ending June 30, 1951, 3.1.3.2/81719087/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; UNHCR Hongkong file concerning Hozin Hussain, 3.2.3.2/81581608/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

⁶¹ Zoom interview with Zuzka Polesny Eggena, 25.02.2021.

⁶² IRO to Alington, 14.03.1950, and Lush to IRO, 14.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; CM/1 file Vaclav Kalous, 3.2.1.4/81030015/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file Dschi-Yin Kwok, 3.2.1.4/81064336/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.



Part of the Pakistan Army Medical Corps in Peshawar with some of the European doctors and nurses. Middle row, 4th on the right: Alena Polesny; 5th on the right: Zoltan Levay, a general practitioner from Hungary; 6th on the right: Sigrun Paladi, a German-born physician; front row, far left: Karel Polesny, c. 1951 | Private Collection of the Polesny Family

As far as can be seen from the sources, all of the doctors and nurses worked for the Pakistan Army Medical Corps in the cities of Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Karachi, and presumably Lahore. The doctors wore uniforms and had military ranks. They exclusively worked in West Pakistan.⁶³ The Army Medical Corps, which still exists, is a unit that is responsible for the medical care of the military and has several hospitals for this purpose in the country.⁶⁴

Alena Polesny worked as a dentist in the rank of a captain and her husband Karel as an ophthalmologist in the rank of a major in Peshawar. The family lived in a bungalow in the cantonment. Their youngest daughter, Anna VA Polesny, recalls in 2021: “We had a good life there. We had a big house with servants and a big garden. [...] They [her parents] had an incredible social [life] because they didn’t have to do any of the domestic things. They went riding in the morning, there were parties every night, it was lovely. [...] We were very privileged.”⁶⁵ The three daughters attended a boarding school in Murree in the Himalayas,

⁶³ The CM/1 files do not always indicate where the individual people worked. All of those for whom this can be ascertained worked for the Army. Lush (Memoirs, 270) mentions that all “European refugees” who came to Pakistan at the beginning of 1950 were accommodated in the Army.

⁶⁴ Wikipedia entry on Pakistan Army Medical Corps. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_Army_Medical_Corps. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

⁶⁵ Zoom interview with Anna VA Polesny, 01.04.2021.

where there were also other children from the group of DPs.⁶⁶ Like other doctors, the Polesnys also had private patients, whom they received at an adjacent home office in Peshawar.

As a captain, Janina Jakševičienė practiced as a doctor at a hospital in Rawalpindi, where she was responsible for the family ward. Her husband, who found no use for his profession as a lawyer, did the accounts for a Catholic college.⁶⁷ Their daughter, Jurate Jaksevičius Mohen, who was educated in Pakistan, went to a school run by Catholic nuns “down the road from the street from my family.” She remembers that the “servant boy would come on bicycle on lunch with tins to give lunch.”⁶⁸ Janina Jakševičienė was later interviewed about her time in Pakistan when she was in the USA. Although she highlighted the friendships she made in Pakistan, she complained about the relative poverty in which she lived due to her low salary, despite the presence of servants.⁶⁹

For some of the DPs, there is evidence that they actually accepted Pakistani citizenship, as was agreed between the IRO and the government;⁷⁰ others retained their former citizenship or stateless status.



Janina Jakševičienė (fourth on the right) and her husband Algirdas Jaksevičius (side profile on the right) socializing with colleagues of the Pakistani military in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, between 1952 and 1954 | Private Collection Jurate Jaksevičius Mohen

66 Zoom interview with Anna VA Polesny, 22.02.2021. See Wikipedia entry on Convent of Jesus and Mary, Murree. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convent_of_Jesus_and_Mary,_Murree. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

67 Zoom interview with Jurate Jaksevičius Mohen, 01.04.2021; Jakševičienė, *I Bow My Head*, 137.

68 Zoom interview with Jurate Jaksevičius Mohen, 01.04.2021.

69 Jakševičienė, *I Bow My Head*, 137.

70 List of Out-Going Passengers, 22.10.1958, National Archives London, accessed at Ancestry.com. Last accessed: 22.02.2021.



Janina Jakševičienė with her husband and children during a trip to the countryside in Pakistan, c. 1951 | Private Collection Jurate Jaksevicius Mohen

Leaving Pakistan Again

“You will be delighted to hear that General Faruqi [sic] is very satisfied with his D.P. doctors and that at least four of them, whom I have met personally, are equally satisfied with their treatment by him which they ascribe to his personal qualities and not so much to the Pakistan Army or Government.”⁷¹ This letter from IRO representative Lush to Citroen on July 24, 1950 which appears at first glance to be positive, already expresses the dissatisfaction among doctors and nurses of the first group, who had come to Pakistan in December 1949, with the conditions that they found on site. While there appears to be no doubt about Faruki’s personal commitment, the structural possibilities were clearly far below expectations. The Polesnys’ eldest daughter recalls: “It was the very nice Dr. Faruki who ‘promised them the moon’ but when they reported to the military in Peshawar even with his intervention it took well over two months to obtain the equipment that they needed for work.”⁷²

As early as April 1950, Szatmari stated that he was unable to see any prospects for himself in Pakistan. In complete disregard of the fact that it was unthinkable for Szatmari to return to Hungary, Faruki asked the IRO to return him to Europe in this case: “I am afraid that Doctor Szatmari does not feel that he has got enough scope for his specialty in this country besides the climate which does not suit him. He is requesting me to send him back to I.R.O. [sic]. Though I do not agree with him yet I feel that as he has become so much obsessed with the idea returning that he is psychologically morbid. [...] I suggest that he should be returned under the clause of physical and mental unsuitability to settle in his

⁷¹ Lush to Citroen, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

⁷² Zoom interview with Zuzka Polesny Eggena, 25.02.2021.

country.”⁷³ Although the IRO initially suspected that there were also personal reasons for Szatmari’s desire to leave Pakistan, the lack of opportunities that Szatmari found in Pakistan was likely the decisive factor in his desire to leave the country. No funding had yet been agreed for the establishment of the planned psychiatric service, and the founding of the planned Medical College, where he was due to work as a professor, was not yet in sight. Szatmari had clearly been promised too much. The highly professional and also initially motivated scholar was not being challenged sufficiently: He “has become depressed to find himself in a strange [sic] country where there is no scope for his capacity.”⁷⁴ IRO representative Lush described the situation in less flattering terms: “Szatmary [sic] who, being a psycho-analyst himself and finding no one to psycho-analyse, is becoming a psycho-analytical patient [himself] and should, in the opinion of all, including himself, be removed from Pakistan.”⁷⁵ With the help of the Catholic Immigrant Aid Society, the IRO managed to find a place for him at a hospital in Saskatchewan, Canada, where he started to work as an intern, and to organize his emigration there.⁷⁶

Three other doctors also asked the IRO for assistance in emigrating to the USA or Canada. They even named India as a possible alternative, on the assumption that the medical conditions there would be more advanced than in Pakistan.⁷⁷ The two doctors Kuhbacher and Tolgyes gave as “their reasons for wishing to enter the United States or Canada that they are not able to employ their talents here [in Pakistan] because of lack of facilities and equipment.”⁷⁸ In Kuhbacher’s case, the IRO expressed understanding of the situation, but also questioned the accuracy of the information he provided during the selection process: “In the case of Major Kuhbacher, who is Gynecologist [sic], there is little opportunity for him to practice his specialty since male Gynecologists are not generally used here[;] a fact well-known to the Pakistani Military authorities, which raises the question, of whether he made clear his limited field when applying for service.”⁷⁹ The IRO then ordered an internal investigation to clarify whether those concerned had been correctly informed in Germany about the conditions of their work.⁸⁰ Kuhbacher finally left Pakistan in 1958. On October 22, 1958, he found himself, with a Pakistani passport, on a ship from Southampton in the United Kingdom to Montreal in Canada, from where he traveled to Ontario.⁸¹

73 CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200580/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

74 CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200603 and 81200610 (quotation: 81200610)/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

75 Notes on Visit to Punjab and North West Frontier Province, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

76 CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200609, 81200612, 81200554, 81200581, 81200582, 81200613, 81200631 and 81200649/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

77 CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200665/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

78 CM/1 file Ferenc Kuhbacher, 3.2.1.4/81060609/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

79 Ibid.

80 CM/1 file Ferenc Kuhbacher, 3.2.1.4/81060610/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

81 List Out-Going Passengers, 22.10.1958, National Archives London, accessed at Ancestry.com. Last accessed: 22.02.2021.



Alena Polesny (center) at a reception in a private home in Peshawar, c. 1951 |
Private Collection of the Polesny Family



The children of Alena and Karel Polesny: Zuzka Polesny Eggena, Magda Polesny Schay,
and Anna VA Polesny in local Shalwar Kameez dresses, Peshawar, Pakistan, c. 1951 |
Private Collection of the Polesny Family

Alongside the structural problems within the military, there was also the fact that the prospect of permanently staying in Pakistan was not appealing for the doctors and nurses. This was a view shared by the IRO, despite contradicting the entire efforts of the program.⁸² “We cannot really blame them for preferring a permanent future in the USA or Canada, to an uncertain life in the East,” said Alington.⁸³ All of the DPs who came to Pakistan with the *Doctors Scheme* had actually named other countries as desired destinations in their application to the IRO in Europe and it is to be assumed that they sought alternative migration opportunities in parallel to preparing for their stay in Pakistan and during their time there. Anna VA Polesny is thus certain that her parents had viewed their stay in Pakistan as a transitional solution right from the start on their way to the USA to join Marie Provazníková, Alena’s mother. They had submitted visa applications at the DP camp in Germany, but had had to wait due to quotas. “We left Pakistan when we received visas for the USA, after a three year waiting period.” The whole family experienced their time in Pakistan as a “wonderful life, as an adventure” and the memory of it is still vivid in the family decades later, as was evident in their regular preparation of Pakistani dishes.⁸⁴ The Polesny family left Pakistan in mid-1952 and settled on the East Coast of the USA, where the couple both worked as physicians. Alena Polesny died on November 26, 2007, at the age of 96. Her husband, Karel Polesny, died on January 18, 2009, at the age of 100.⁸⁵

Janina Jakševičienė left Pakistan in 1955. “When we were leaving on the train,” said her daughter Jurate Jaksevicius Mohen in 2021, “hundreds of people came and put wreaths of flowers around her.”⁸⁶ She reached the USA with her husband and her younger daughter in July 1955 and moved to Chicago, the city that she had also stated as her desired destination in her DP registration. There was a large Lithuanian community in the city and the family also had relatives there. According to Jurate Jaksevicius Mohen, the family’s aim had always been to move to the USA; Pakistan had only ever been intended as a temporary stop right from the beginning. Attempts to emigrate directly from Germany to the USA, as Jakševičienė said later, were unsuccessful as their older daughter was suffering from encephalitis and thus had not received a visa for the USA. From Pakistan, with the help of a Lithuanian priest in Rome, they were able to get permission for her emigration to Italy, where she was accepted at a social institution for people with disabilities in Rome.⁸⁷

82 Notes on Visit to Punjab and North West Frontier Province, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

83 CM/1 file Ferenc Kuhbacher, 3.2.1.4/81060608/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

84 Zoom interview with Anna VA Polesny, 22.02.2021.

85 Ibid.

86 Zoom interview with Jurate Jaksevicius Mohen, 01.04.2021.

87 Petition for Naturalization by Janina Jaksevicius, 10.01.1961; Arriving Passenger and Crew List, 21.07.1955, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Dataset Janina Jaksevicius, 14.03.2013; US Social Security Administration, Social Security Death Index, accessed at Ancestry.com. Last accessed: 22.02.2021; Zoom interview with Anna VA Polesny, 22.02.2021; Jakševičienė, I Bow My Head, 137–138.



RAWALPINDI.

On behalf of the Government of Pakistan I wish to express my grateful appreciation of the spirit which prompted you to volunteer your services for the Pakistan Army Medical Corps. I thank you for the part you have played in the P.A.M.C. and for the valuable contribution which you have made towards the progress of Pakistan. Now that you are leaving this country I wish you happiness and prosperity for the future.

A. Faruki

Lieut-General.
Director General of Medical Services.

To

Maj. K. Polesny P.A.M.C.
(PEC - 110057)
C.M.H. Peshawar.

Letter of Gratitude for Karel Polesny by General Afzul Faruki, General Director of the Medical Service of the Pakistan Army, 1952 | Private Collection of the Polesny Family

The majority of the other families also emigrated from Pakistan to the USA or Canada between 1952 and 1959. This was possible due to a change in immigration policy, as well as because it had presumably become easier to find sponsors. In the USA, the quotas for accepting European refugees were significantly increased with the *DP Act* passed in 1948 and amended in 1950; also, immigration quotas continued to exist even after the Act expired in 1951. However, the recruitment procedure was very complicated and DPs sometimes spent months in the 'pipeline' before it became possible for them to emigrate.⁸⁸ The passages, which usually took place by ship via England, had to be paid for by the doctors and their families themselves; the IRO, whose mandate generally did not cover the financing of further travel, no longer existed after January 1952. As individual examples show,⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Mark Wyman: *DP: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*, Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1989, 195–200.

⁸⁹ It is not possible to go into further detail at this point for reasons of space.

it can be assumed that the former DPs were not only able to practice their medical professions in the USA and Canada in the medium term, but were also naturalized.

Two of the former DPs emigrated to Australia and the United Kingdom respectively; the Fetzners returned to Germany. The trail of two families and a doctor goes cold in Pakistan, and the whereabouts of four of the nurses are also unclear. However, this does not mean that those concerned remained in the country, but that no sources are available to determine their whereabouts.

Despite all of this, the IRO did not view the temporary accommodation of the doctors in Pakistan as a failure. Even in the letter stated above from July 24, 1950, Lush made this clear: "It is true, that one [of the doctors] has told him [Faruki] that he is making every effort to migrate to Australia, but that to my mind doesn't matter tuppence because, by settling him in Pakistan, we have given him a much better jumping off place for future employment."⁹⁰

The Failure of Further Resettlements

Even during the preparations for emigration to Pakistan, the IRO began a systematic search for other resettlement options for specialists in South and Southeast Asia. With this in mind, the IRO sent the aforementioned former British diplomat Maurice Stanley Lush to the region as its Special Representative at the beginning of December 1949. Lush had been the chief of the IRO's Middle East and Africa office until the dissolution of the IRO office in Cairo at the beginning of 1949. In Cairo he had worked on the resettlement of Polish DPs who had come to East Africa and the Middle East during the war. As Special Representative, he was now responsible for resettling professionals not only in South Asia but also in East and South Africa and in the Middle East. His role in Asia was specifically to negotiate with state institutions, organizations, and individuals on further acceptance and emigration on the basis of the permanent resettlement of specialized DPs, not limited to the medical sector.⁹¹ In reference to Pakistan, Lush described his role as follows: "to acquaint Pakistan of the fact that there is in Europe a large number of experts in practically every art, science and profession who are now displaced persons; to discover the extent to which Pakistan is in need of experts; and to endeavor to provide, from the displaced persons in Europe, well qualified, experienced and English speaking experts to fill such vacancies as cannot be filled by nationals of Pakistan, and to obtain the agreement of the Pakistan Government to the employment of these displaced persons."⁹²

⁹⁰ Lush to Citroen, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

⁹¹ Resettlement Placement Service to P.S. Lokanathan, 25.11.1949, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; UNO to IRO, 13.12.1949, and IRO to Alington, 14.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Lush, *Memoirs*, especially 266. For Lush's duties in relation to the resettlement of Polish DPs in East Africa, see the contribution by Julia Devlin in this volume, as well as Jochen Lingelbach: *On the Edges of Whiteness: Polish Refugees in British Colonial Africa during and after the Second World War*, New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2020. I would like to thank Jochen Lingelbach for the original reference to Lush.

⁹² IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Ismail, Ministry Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, January 1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

At the beginning of 1950 and once again in July 1950, Lush visited numerous universities and departments of the central and provincial government in Pakistan, held a meeting with the Prime Minister, submitted dossiers on possible emigrants, and finally created a list of almost 200 vacant positions, half of which he assumed could be filled by DPs. According to this list, Pakistan in general had a shortage of teachers for economy, physics, chemistry, mechanical engineering, soil chemistry, and languages, and for elementary school teachers. Professors of engineering, botanists, and various technicians were sought in the province of Punjab. East Bengal was looking for university professors and continued to need doctors. For various locations, marine engineers, harbor masters, dredging engineers, and printing experts were needed, and the military reported a shortage of various engineers. Pakistan also showed an interest in professors visiting the country on a short-term basis and lecturing on technical questions such as irrigation, hydro-electric work, etc.⁹³ Even in July 1950, the IRO assumed, “that there is every chance of the settlement of quite a number of people in this country.”⁹⁴

The many letters written by Lush, which were mainly sent to the IRO headquarters in Geneva, not only express his optimism that there were applicable positions in Pakistan, but also clearly show the pressure to find suitable prospects for the specialists and fill the vacant positions.⁹⁵ In attempting to persuade the Pakistani side, he also drew links with the Indian refugees in Pakistan and called for empathy from the Pakistani authorities: “You will be aware, from your own experience of Moslem refugees from India, how anxious are these [sic] people to recover the dignity of work and to find a home.” He continued: “They would come to Pakistan, were they allowed, in the hope, that this country would be their permanent home. I.R.O. [sic] would ask for them no special conditions, except, perhaps, that special consideration should be given to providing them with accommodation, for they will arrive without any resources whatsoever.”⁹⁶ However, elsewhere, Lush relativized the comparison of refugees and questioned self-critically whether it was a good idea to add more refugees from Europe to the millions of refugees already in Pakistan.⁹⁷ And the correspondence from the IRO repeatedly indicated that the resettlement of specialists in Pakistan was not a humanitarian action and Pakistan already had enough to do with the refugees who had fled India. Instead, the focus lay on mutual benefits, and Pakistan would be unable to find its urgently required experts so easily and affordably as from Europe and from among the DPs.⁹⁸

93 Activities of IRO in Relation to Asia and the far East, 07.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; IRO to Alington, 14.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Ismail, Ministry Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, January 1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Notes on Visit to Punjab and North West Frontier Province, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Law and Labour, 16.01.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

94 Lush to Citroen, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

95 IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Citroen, 20.01.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

96 IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Ismail, Ministry Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, January 1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

97 Lush, *Memoirs*, 271.

98 See the sources mentioned in the footnotes above.

Despite Lush's efforts, despite the existing need for specialists, and despite the generally positive response from the Pakistani authorities, the resettlement of other suitable specialists proved to be difficult. Over and over again, Lush made it clear to IRO headquarters, which were sending the dossiers, that Pakistan wanted highly qualified – the highest-qualified – and older professionals with a good standing and long experience, and not semi-qualified persons or persons who had just finished their education. The country had plenty of its own young professionals who had recently completed their studies.⁹⁹ Lush used a particularly drastic comparison to describe the shortage and what he viewed as a lack of qualification among the DPs whose dossiers had been sent, warning that this could have a negative influence on the future resettlement of DPs in the country: "It is very important to remember this [the qualification] and to select dossiers of really good men and women [...]. The presentation of dossiers of second rate experts or of men without the necessary qualifications for the post offered, may do us a great deal of harm at the beginning. [...] If my customer asks for the details of a Hoover carpet machine and you send me an example of a good brush and dustpan, he will not have great confidence in me."¹⁰⁰

What the IRO was offering ultimately did not correspond to the expectations on the Pakistani side, culminating in great disappointment. Despite Lush's efforts to 'sell' the forgotten elite, the authorities were not impressed by the specialists, who were still in the DP camps in Europe, as they were considered under-qualified and it was assumed that "the cream of the DPs has been taken by USA and Western Europe."¹⁰¹ The Pakistani side also viewed the lack of ability to speak fluent English as a further problem. People who only spoke little English should have been completely excluded from the resettlement proposals.¹⁰²

However, there also appeared to be limited willingness among the DPs that remained in Europe to accept a job in Pakistan. The remuneration, which was considered too low, was also an obstacle in going to Pakistan, which somewhat conflicted with Pakistan's desire to only hire the most highly qualified people. In February 1950, Lush informed the IRO in Geneva that it was difficult to find further DPs for Pakistan, particularly due to the lack of English skills.¹⁰³ The resettlement of further DPs ultimately failed from both sides – partly due to the IRO, who had promised too much, and partly due to the Pakistani government, whose requirements were excessively high.

Even DPs who had already been accepted decided not to emigrate. In summer 1950, shortly before the second group departed – the formalities for entry had already been

⁹⁹ Lush to Citroen, 12.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; IRO New Delhi to IRO Geneva, 12.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

¹⁰⁰ IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Citroen, 08.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

¹⁰¹ Lush to Citroen, Inter-Office Memorandum, 30.08.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

¹⁰² Resettlement Placement Service to Lush, 03.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Resettlement Placement Service to Lush, 18.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; IRO Beirut, Memorandum of Eastern Bengal, Pakistan, 24.07.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; CM/1 file Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200580/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

¹⁰³ IRO Geneva [Lush] to M. Citroen, 08.02.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Resettlement Placement Service to Lush, 18.02.1950 and 03.03.1950, AJ/43/645, Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

completed – one nurse and three doctors decided not to emigrate to Pakistan, instead accepting offers in the USA, Canada, and Venezuela respectively. Two of them had already spent several months waiting to travel to Pakistan and seized their chance when another emigration opportunity became available. The two others were in touch with doctors already in Pakistan, from whom they received discouraging reports about the situation in the country and decided against emigrating.¹⁰⁴ Within the IRO, the last-minute cancellation led to discussions as to whether the *Pakistan Doctors Scheme* was actually still a reasonable offer for resettlement and to what extent the defaulting DPs should face sanctions. A letter from the chief of the Latin America and Asia Branch of the Resettlement Placement Service to Citroen expresses a certain degree of frustration concerning the placement of DPs in countries outside of North America: “Goodness knows it is difficult enough to bring about acceptances of refugees in most of the countries falling within the Latin America and Asia Branch without the additional hazard of knowing the refugees will accept only until such time as the US takes them in.”¹⁰⁵

Final Remarks

With the Pakistan Doctors Scheme, the IRO attempted to permanently resettle hard-to-place doctors and nurses in Pakistan as part of the Specialists Program. Pakistan was the first country to report a shortage of medical experts – even before the program existed – and ultimately accepted a relevant number of specialists.

By October 6, 1950, the IRO in Asia only achieved a total of 216 employment offers for specialists, of which only 54 were accepted, in addition to 127 family members, who also emigrated. With a total of 67 people, Pakistan thus accepted just under half of all of the DPs placed in Asia with the Specialist Program, almost exclusively refugees from communist Central and Eastern Europe. 32 of these were specialists, including five nurses, with the remaining people being family members.¹⁰⁶ The fact that this program also achieved little success overall is evident from the figures worldwide. Only 1,031 specialists with 1,966 relatives had been placed worldwide on the specified key date, mostly in European countries.¹⁰⁷ Compared to the 4,320 doctors listed in the medical register, those placed in Pakistan also appear to be little more than a drop in the ocean.¹⁰⁸ Although the reasons for the modest outcome of the Specialists Program are varied, they are in no small part due to the qualifications of the candidates and the requirements of the receiving countries or their

104 CM/1 file Indrikis Parups, 3.2.1.4/81128654 and 81128656/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file Stanislaw Sekunda, 3.2.1.4/81174531/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file John Halasz, 3.2.1.4/80998268–80998269/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives; CM/1 file Egile Liepa, 3.2.1.4/81075707–81075709/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

105 CM/1 file Stanislaw Sekunda, 3.2.1.4/81174531/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

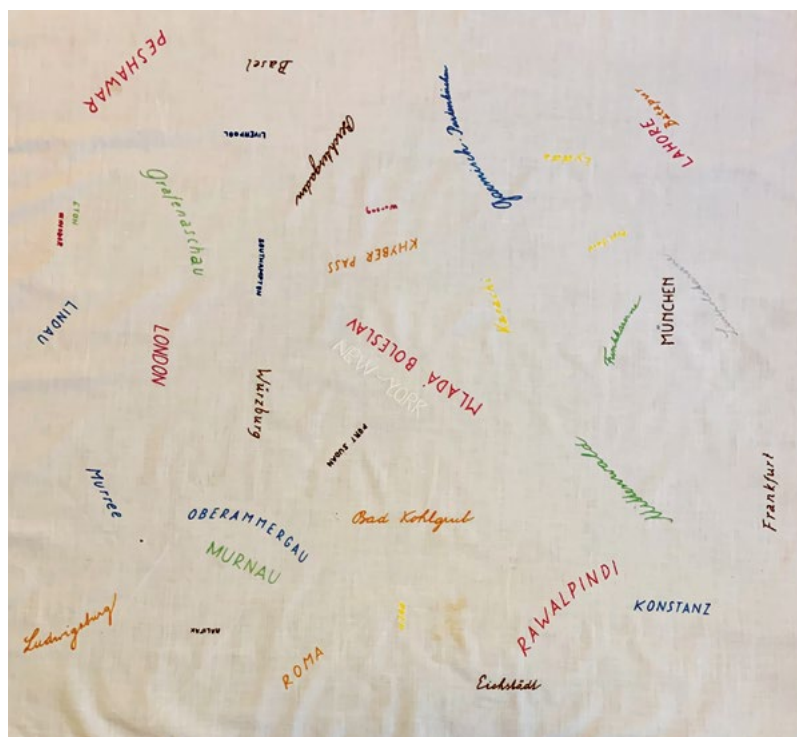
106 Inquiries are still ongoing as to whether or to what extent some of those concerned were involved in war crimes and therefore had great interest in quickly leaving Europe behind. Due to the restricted access of the German Federal Archives during the COVID19 pandemic, it has not yet been possible to conduct this research.

107 Holborn, IRO, 310.

108 Research into the whereabouts of all of the people listed in the register could not only show where the individual people ultimately settled but also the extent to which the Pakistan Doctors Scheme offered advantages for the people who emigrated there. Investigations into the success (or failure) of the program in other countries, which are still needed today, could also make it possible to compare conditions.

low interest. The lack of commitment from IRO in this area ultimately also contributed to the failure: Special Representative Lush was responsible for a huge area comprising Asia and Africa. The aim of using the program to “find far-reaching solutions for the future of its ‘Forgotten Elite’”¹⁰⁹ was not even remotely achieved.

The Specialist Resettlement Program was a laborious measure requiring “long and persistent efforts.”¹¹⁰ Unlike the other IRO programs, it was not the organization of mass emigration that was the challenge here but rather the search for individual prospects, which not only required complex planning but also involved many uncertainties. Not only did the respective person need to be selected and accepted by the receiving party but they also had to accept the offer themselves. The fact that none of the DPs considered Pakistan to be a desired destination, but instead viewed their stay there as an ‘emergency solution’ or temporary option, only served to complicate matters further. As the example of Szatmari shows, the IRO also intensively handled ‘problem cases’ across continents. Nevertheless, for the sample investigated here, the resettlement from Europe to Asia functioned well – until historical developments, i.e. the liberalization of immigration opportunities to Western countries, caught up.



Tablecloth, stitched by Alena Polesny, documenting the places that the family visited on their journey from Czechoslovakia to the US | Private Collection of the Polesny Family

¹⁰⁹ Holborn, IRO, 427.

¹¹⁰ IRO, Emigration, 40.

All of the doctors and nurses, where known, left Pakistan again. Against this backdrop and in view of the lack of further resettlement successes, especially in the non-medical field, there can be no doubt that, even in the case of Pakistan, the permanent resettlement of specialists must be considered a failure. The IRO nevertheless sold the departure of the specialists from Pakistan as a success, as their opportunity for future employment had significantly improved due to their stay in Pakistan. And, as Holborn writes, the emigration via the Resettlement Placement Service program actually represented the only opportunity for many of those concerned to change their situation in the DP camps in the short term and end their refugee status.¹¹¹ The story of the European DPs in Pakistan thus also shows how long it sometimes took before they could finally settle and how their journey covered numerous continents.

For the Pakistani government, which wanted to cater to its need for professionals, the hopes that it placed in the IRO were not fulfilled. As a result, reasons for the failure can also be found on the Pakistani side: besides infrastructural problems, the lack of preparation in order to fulfill the promised conditions, and the sometimes long processing time for visa applications, a further factor was also the high standard set by Pakistan leaders on possible migrants. The impression expressed in this regard that the best qualified were placed in Western countries and not in Pakistan is untenable, considering the high qualifications of the doctors who immigrated in 1949/50. A further reason for the failure lay in the lack of English skills among the DPs from Central and Eastern Europe, which – rightly – was considered a prerequisite for practicing their profession in the country. This indicates a fundamental problem in placing highly specialized professionals in countries where other languages were spoken and therefore calls into question the idea behind the entire program.

It is not possible to make generalizing statements about the integration of the Europeans in Pakistan. We know, however, that even families who left the country again later on were able to integrate very well. Settling may have been facilitated by the existing colonial infrastructure, such as the Christian schools run by Europeans, as well as, despite deprivation in individual cases, the good quality of life in the city cantonments, far above the national average, which hardly conveys the discomfort referred to by Lush. Nonetheless, there was dissatisfaction concerning working conditions. The significant cultural and socio-economic differences and the intense heat, along with the constant threat of war with India, were further factors. For those who only left Pakistan some years later, the reason also seems to have been their long-term goal to emigrate to North America, where they often had relatives or members of the same community. The stay in Pakistan was consequently not a viable long-term solution for any of those concerned.

The choice of Pakistan as a destination country for migration from Europe appears remarkable not only from the current perspective. The ‘developing country’ of Pakistan, which had only recently obtained its independence, was viewed as a realistic emigration destination, although the IRO, which was under pressure to organize the emigration of as many DPs as possible as quickly as possible – and thus also exerted soft pressure on the DPs to accept the offers –, had no illusions whatsoever about the economic and political situation there. The willingness – following initial hesitation – to permanently accept and naturalize

111 Holborn, IRO, 429.

European refugees, however, shows the openness of Pakistan at that time, in contrast to India and what was then known as Ceylon. However, the reception of anti-communist refugees may come as little surprise considering Pakistan's (envisaged) alignment with the USA and its anti-communist and anti-Soviet self-image.¹¹² The acceptance of European refugees in a country that itself had millions of non-integrated refugees – but who were poorly educated and outside the mandate of the IRO – also appears remarkable. This was also acknowledged (self-critically) by the IRO, although the nexus of European DPs or refugees on the one side and the refugee movements in South Asia resulting indirectly from World War II on the other side appeared to be no issue within the IRO, even in view of the mandate of international aid organizations. And finally, the “problem of refugees”, as it was viewed by the IRO and the United Nations, “pertained first and foremost to the complex situation of dislocated Eastern Europeans, even if forced displacement occurred in other parts of the world.”¹¹³

The naturalization of (Christian) Europeans appears, from today's perspective in which a national minority such as the Ahmadiyyas are deprived of their civic rights and their legitimate belonging to Pakistan is constantly called into question, even by official parties,¹¹⁴ astounding, but ultimately reflects the development of the country from the secular understanding of the state by the country's founder Jinnah towards increasing Islamization.

The actual contribution that the DPs made towards nation-building in Pakistan is, however, difficult to ascertain; further research would be necessary here, including a comparison with other Europeans who had lived in the country during the decolonization phase, and considering how – ultimately – temporary international work assignment served or could serve as an example.¹¹⁵ On the surface, the placement of the DPs in Pakistan tends to have more in common with programs within international development cooperation rather than with the other IRO resettlement programs due to its limited duration.

112 Tilak Devasher: *Pakistan: Courting the Abyss*, Noida: HarperCollins, 2016, 348; Tariq Ali: *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power*, New York: William Morrow, 1970; M. Raziullah Azmi: “Introduction”, in M. Raziullah Azmi (ed.): *Pakistan-American Relations: The Recent Past*, Karachi: Royal Book, 1994, 1–10, here 3.

113 Cohen, *War's Wake*, 13.

114 Siobhain McDonagh: *Why do Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan not Have a Vote?* Available at: <https://www.ids.ac.uk/opinions/why-do-ahmadis-muslims-in-pakistan-not-have-a-vote/>. Last accessed: 06.05.2021.

115 Pakistani sources, especially from the Army, which, despite efforts, were not available when writing the present text, would need to be taken into account here.

Two developments that shaped the history of Pakistan can ultimately be seen in the reception of the DPs: the preference given to West Pakistan over the economically and politically disadvantaged East Bengal, and the dominance of the military. The first ultimately led to the independence of Bangladesh.¹¹⁶ The military, which was already dominant when the country was founded,¹¹⁷ developed over the following decades not only into a central political player but, as Ayesha Siddiqa presented in her study “Military Inc.,” also became a comprehensive economic power within the country.¹¹⁸ Today, the military is seen as a synonym for the lack of democratization and partially for support for Islamic terrorism in the country.

The letters and memoirs of Lush and the optimistic and positive view of Pakistan expressed in them, however, represent historical documents on the perception of the country in the first few years after it was founded. They are not yet aware of the political crises that would shape the country, at the latest following the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951.

116 Gerlach, *Gesellschaften*, 165–237.

117 Tariq Ali: *Pakistan: Ein Staat zwischen Diktatur und Korruption*, Bonn: Diederichs, 2008, 62.

118 Ayesha Siddiqa: *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, London/Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007.

Documents from the Arolsen Archives

The following documents from the Arolsen Archives provide an insight into the registration, application for care and maintenance, and resettlement process of DPs in the post-war period. All were mentioned in the previous articles and refer directly to the DPs in Africa and Pakistan. If you are interested in learning more about the original context of the documents, we recommend our e-Guide: <https://eguide.arolsen-archives.org/en>

PCIRO

for Tengom

4th November draft

1. BIEGUS	4. 5.2.1948	5. TG 60075
Nazwisko	Data	numer tożsamości
3.	6.	
inne używane nazwisko lub vel.	Narodowość	
3. B.C. Prot. Jew. Inna	7. S. M. Sep. D. Wid. Un.C.	
Religia	Stan cywilny	

8. Nazwiska	Stosunek pokrewieństwa do głowy rodziny	Data urodzin	Narodowość	Miasto, Województwo i kraj urodzenia
(1) Mężczyzna				
(2) Kobieta				
(3) JADWIGA		11.10.1910	Polish	SAMBOR woj. LWO
(4) KRYSTYNA - córka		5.7.1937	Polish	SAMBOR woj. LWO
(5) JERZY - syn		22.10.1940	Polish	Roya NAGORNE KAZAKSTAN
(6)				
(7)				
9. Inna członkowie rodziny				
a nazwiska i imiona				
b TUCZEK	cjenci	11.2.1878	Polish	Milatyń Nowy-Kamionka Strum.
c JOZEF				
d				
e				
f				
g				

10. Miejsca pobytu stałego za ostatnich 12 lat

Osoba	Daty	Miasto lub wieś, województwo, kraj
2+3+4	1935-1940	SAMBOR-TARNOPOL-SAMBOR
	1940-1942	deportowana U.S.S.R. KAZAKSTAN
	1942-43	PAHLEWI-TEHERAN
	1944	BWANA M. KUBWA-N. Rodexja
	1944	POLISH CAMP-LUSAKA
	1935-1940	SAMBOR-POLAND
J. TUCZEK	1940-42	deportowany U.S.S.R. KAZAKSTAN
	1943	PAHCEWI-TEHERAN-IRAN
	1944	BWANA M. KUBWA
	1944	LUSAKA-POLISH CAMP
JOZEF	1944	LUSAKA-POLISH CAMP

11. Zatrudnienie za ostatnich 12 lat, wliczając obecne

Osoba	Data	rodzaj pracy	plac	pracodawca	miasto, wajew. kraj.	powody zmiany zatrudn.
8/3 8/5	1936-39	PRZY MEZU			TARNOPOL POLSKA	
	1940-42	NA ROLI	PRACOWNIK	PRZYMU	ROSJA - KAZAKSTAN	amnestia
	1942-48	NAUCZYCIELKA			CHWAZ-BWANA - LUSAKA	

12. Wykształcenie

Osoba	Data	typ szkoły	Miasto, Województwo, kraj.
8/3	1933	SEMINARIUM	SAMBOR - LWOW - POLSKA

13. Języki

Osoba	Stopień władania w mowie biegle	w czytaniu		w pisaniu		Język
		slabo	biegle	slabo	biegle	
8/3		NIE	NIE	NIE	NIE	POLSKI
		ANGIELSKI	POLSKI	POLSKI		

14. Źródła finansowe

Osoba	Wlanosc	rodzaj	wartosc	miejsce posiad.
	Gotowka i dochod			
	Pomoc od krewnych			

15. Krewni

Nazwisko i imie	Stopien pokrewienstwa	Dokladny adres
MARIA ŁOTIECKA	SIOSTR	Hereford - Foxley 8 1/2 - England
MICHAŁ ŁOTECKI	SZWAGIER	Hereford - Foxley 8 1/2 - England

16. Pomoc

1. Czy otrzymywales lub otrzymujesz jak rowniez i rodzina jakakolwiek pomoc z UNRRY ; lub Dobrocz

Organizacji ☒ tak ☐ nie : IGC ☐ tak ☐ nie

2. Jezeli otrzymywales lub otrzymujesz pomoc podaj liczbe miesiecy 1

3. Jezeli otrzymywales lub otrzymujesz gotowke podaj jej wysokosc _____

4. Jezeli otrzymywales lub otrzymujesz pomoc z Dobrocz. Organizacji podaj jej brzmienie _____

17. Dokumenty

Osoba	data	rodzaj	miejsce wydania	kto wydal
1/3	1933	DYPLOM	- JAMBOR - SEMINARIUM	NAUCZYCIELSKIE

FRA/223.
TC/JC.

22nd June, 1949.

June 27.6.49.

Dear Mrs. Lotecka,

re: BIEGUS, J.
K.
J.
FUCZEK, J.

This Organisation is anxious to make resettlement plans for your family, the above-named, and we understand that you wish them to join you in this country.

Before an application can be made to the Home Office on their behalf, however, it is necessary for you to undertake to maintain and accommodate them and to produce a letter from your employer, proving your employment, and also from a person who has accommodation available for your family stating this to be so.

If you are able to provide these documents, I should appreciate your advising me of this fact as soon as possible and sending the documents to this Office. I will then put forward the case to the Home Office, who will decide whether or not they are agreeable to your family entering this country, and advise you of their decision.

Yours sincerely,

Trudy Clarfelt,
FOR Sylvia Latham,
Operations Officer.

Mrs. Maria Lotecka,
Foxley Camp,
NR. HEREFORD.

c.c. IRO, Tanganyika ✓
IRO, Nairobi.

Document 2

Letter from Trudy Clarfelt, IRO London, to Maria Lotecka, 22.6.1949, CM/1 file Jadwiga Biegus, 3.2.1./81314758/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

With this kind of letters, the resettlement of the Polish DPs from Africa to Great Britain was prepared.

PCIRO

1. <u>KASKOW</u> Nazwisko	4. <u>4. VI. 1947</u> Data	5. <u>11160</u> Nr tożsamości
2. <u>KASKOW</u> W innej pisowni, lub drugie nazwisko (nie)	6. <u>Polska</u> Narodowość (obywatelstwo)	
3. <u>Wz. kat.</u> Prot. <u>Mojż.</u> Inne	7. <u>X</u> Wola. <u>X</u> Żon./zam. <u>Sep.</u> Rozw. <u>Wd.</u> Nienalany Stan cywilny	

8. Nazwiska	Stosunek pokr. do gło- wy rodziny	Data uro- dzenia	Narodowość (obywatelstwo)	Miejsce urodzenia (miejsce- wość, województwo, kraj)
(1) <u>JAN</u> Mężczyzna (mąż)	<u>ojciec</u>	<u>18. VI. 1907</u>	<u>Polska</u>	<u>STANISŁAWÓW - POLSKA</u>
(2) <u>JADWIGA</u> Kobieta (żona)	<u>żona</u>	<u>3. IV. 1922</u>	<u>- " -</u>	<u>TARNOPOL - POLSKA</u>
(3) <u>IZABELLA</u> Dzieci	<u> córka</u>	<u>15. VII. 1947</u>	<u>- " -</u>	<u>WALIWABE-KOLHAPUR - INDIE</u>
(4) <u>Maria Jadwiga córka</u>		<u>19. 9. 1950</u>	<u>- " -</u>	<u>Mombasa - Kenja - AFRI</u>
(5) <u>Barbara Maria córka</u>		<u>19. 9. 1950</u>	<u>- " -</u>	<u>Mombasa - Kenja - AFRI</u>
(6)				
(7)				

9. Inni członkowie rodziny			
a Nazwiska i imiona			
b			
c			
d			
e			
f			
g			

10. Miejsce zamieszkania w ciągu ostatnich 12 lat		
Czyje (do kogo odnoszą się te dane)	Daty	Miasto lub wieś, województwo i kraj
<u>JAN</u>	<u>1937 - 1940</u>	<u>STANISŁAWÓW - POLSKA</u>
	<u>1940 - 1942</u>	<u>ROSJA</u>
	<u>1942 - 1943</u>	<u>TEHERAN - IRAN</u>
	<u>1943 - 1947</u>	<u>INDIE</u>
<u>JADWIGA</u>	<u>- " -</u>	<u>TARNOPOL - POLSKA</u>
		<u>ROSJA</u>
	<u>- " -</u>	<u>TEHERAN - IRAN</u>
		<u>INDIE</u>
<u>IZABELLA</u>	<u>1946 - 1947</u>	<u>INDIE</u>
<u>Maria Jadwiga</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>Mombasa - AFRYKA</u>
<u>Barbara Maria</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>Mombasa - AFRYKA</u>

11. Zatrudnienie w ciągu ostatnich 12 lat, łącznie z obecnym

Czyje	Daty	Rodzaj pracy	Zarobki (uposażenie)	Pracodawca	Miejscowość, województwo i kraj	Przyczyna zmiany zajęcia
JAN	1937-1940	student	—	—	STANISŁAWÓW POLSKA	deportacja do Rosji
	1940-1942	praca w fabryce	—	—	Rosja	wyjazd do Persji
	1942-1943	konwojent	460 Rbl/m	Delegat. M. W. i C. R.	Telchew-Persja	— — — — —
	1943-1945	student	—	—	Indie	— — — — —
JAN	1945-1946	uchalc. pom.	5000/m	—	Indie	—
	1946-1947	narozrywch	6600/m	—	Indie	—
JADWIGA	—	inżynierka	—	—	TARNOPOL POLSKA	— 11 —
	—	praca fiz.	—	—	Rosja	— 11 —
	—	uchalc. inż.	sanit. —	—	Telchew-Persja	— 11 —
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	Indie	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—

12. Wykształcenie

Czyje	Daty	Rodzaj szkoły (nazwa)	Miejscowość, województwo i kraj
JAN	1945	licium ogóln.	Włocławek - Kucharska Indie
JADWIGA	1938	3 kl. gimnazjum	Tarnopol - Polska
JADWIGA	—	—	—
	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—
	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—
	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—
	—	—	—
JADWIGA	—	—	—
	—	—	—

13. Znajomość języków

Czyja	Mówi		Czyta		Piśm.		Język
	tylko	stabo	tylko	stabo	tylko	stabo	
JAN	x		x		x		Polski
	x		x		x		Angielski
JADWIGA	x		x		x		Polski
		x		x		x	Angielski
JADWIGA							—
							—
JADWIGA							—
							—
JADWIGA							—
							—
JADWIGA							—
							—

14. Środki finansowe

Czyje	Własność	Rodzaj	Wartość	Lokata
	Gotówka i dochody			
	Pomoc ze strony krewnych			

15. Krewni

Nazwiska i imiona	Stożenie określenie	Dokładny adres
KASZOW, JADWIGA	MOTHER	POLISH HOSPITAL, STYVENAGE PARK, NEWTON ABBOT, DEVON, ENGLAND
KASKOW STANISLAW	brother of the	LANCSDOWN GROVE HOTEL BATH SOMMERSET ENGLAND
DAŁA ANASTAZJA	20-11-1940	TANYAWARTH GARDENS COTTAGE Nr 4
ERBA	31-12-1940	ABERYSTWYTH, WALES, ENG.
KASKOW FRANCISZEK	brother of the	POLISH COLLEGE ENGLAND
MOJZEROWICZ, LAJCHOWICZ	1940-11-1940	ABERYSTWYTH, WALES, TANYAWARTH GARDENS
"	1940-11-1940	ABERYSTWYTH, WALES, TANYAWARTH GARDENS
"	1940-11-1940	ABERYSTWYTH, WALES, TANYAWARTH GARDENS

16. Помощь

1. Czy Pan(i) lub ktoś z Pana(i) rodziny korzystał z pomocy UNRRA _____ V
_____ ; IGC _____ tak
nie tak nie instytucji tak nie
2. Jeśli korzystał(a) Pan(i) z pomocy, proszę podać w ciągu ilu miesięcy march 1946 - June 1947
3. Jeśli otrzymał(a) Pan(i) gotówkę, proszę podać kwotę _____
4. Jeśli korzystał(a) Pan(i) z pomocy jakiejś dobroczynnej instytucji, proszę podać jej nazwę _____

17. Dokumenty

Czyje	Data	Rodzaj	Miejsce wydania	Przez kogo wydane
JAN	23-VI-1945	Przepust	Bombay - Indzie	Konsulat R.P.
JADWIGA	27-IV-1943	" - "	Tehran - Persja	Poselstwo R.P.

18. Przynależność do organizacji

Czyja	Data	Nazwa	Cele

19. Obecny adres

Data	Nr domu, ulica lub nazwa obozu	Miejscowość	Kraj
4.5.1947	Polish Refugee Camp	Kolhapur	Indie

20. Uwagi: (miejsce na dodatkowe dane)

Proszę o wyrażenie zgody na wyjazd do U.K. do braci.
 Mam pracować jako kuchtarz, myjniarz, kowal, mieć
 pracownicę jako gospodynię domową.
 50% utraty zdrowia (niepełna praca waga)

21.

Podpis składającego podanie

22.

Podpis przyjmującego podanie

Data

Document 3

Application (CM/1) for IRO assistance, submitted by Jan Kaskow,
 3.2.1.6/81329327/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

Tel.: GRO. 4636/7/8/9.

Telegraphic Address:

INOREFUG LONDON. (overseas)

INOREFUG AUDLEY LONDON. (inland)



INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

31, DUNRAVEN STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

Your Ref.:-

Our Ref.:- FEA/324.

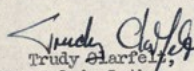
TC/DC

To : I.R.O. Kampala,

Date : 28 July 1949

Subject: KASKOW, Jan, Jadwiga and Isabella.

Further to your memorandum of 20 May, we have been advised by Mr. Mojzesowicz, the claimant of the above-named that he is unable to fulfil the necessary guarantees and I regret therefore that there is no further action which we can take in this matter.


Trudy Clarfelt,
for Sylvia Latham
Operations Officer.

EXTRA STRONG
BOND

Document 4

Letter from Trudy Clarfelt, IRO London, to IRO Kampala, 28.7.1949, CM/1 file Jan Kaskow, 3.2.1.6/81329328/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

With this letter the IRO informed its office in Kampala that the initial request for relocation of the Kaskow family was denied.

THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

MASS RESETTLEMENT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM VIA MOMBASA STAGING CENTRE

MONTHLY ROLL OF REFUGEES FROM KOLA CAMP, UGANDA, E.AFRICA.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Non-Formal Roll No.	Family	NAMES	First	IRE. Sta- tus.	Country of Citizenship (or last Re- gional Re- sidence)	Re- gion	Mar. Stat.	S	Date of Birth	Country of Birth	OCCUPATION	Zone or Field Office of Origin
1.	52377	ADAM	Antoni	"C"	"C"	Poland	R.C. M	M	5.1.1904	Poland	farmer	E.A.F.
2.	"	"	Bronislawa	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	P	15.5.1923	"	Dressmaker	"
3.	"	"	Wanda	"C"	"	"	R.C. S	P	1.9.1946	Uganda		"
4.	11002	ADAMCICZ	Maria	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	P	1.3.1898	Poland	Housewife	"
5.	11004	AUDRAKA	Boleslaw	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	M	14.11.1894	"	farmer	"
6.	"	"	Franciszka	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	P	28.2.1902	"	Housewife	"
7.	52391	ELCICZ	Antoni	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	M	22.11.1909	"	Shoemaker	"
8.	"	"	Wanda	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	P	2.11.1916	"	Housewife	"
9.	"	"	Wanda	"C"	"	"	R.C. S	P	7.11.1941	Russia		"
10.	"	"	Wanda	"C"	"	"	R.C. S	P	5.4.1946	Uganda		"
11.	11011	BALCOWSKA	Anna	"C"	"	"	R.C. M	P	11.10.1902	Persia	Housewife	"
12.	52027	BARCOWSKA	Zofia	"C"	"	"	R.C. S	P	27.1.1911	Poland	farm worker	"
13.	57072	BALAN	Michal	"C"	"	"	R.C. W	M	28.10.1890	"	stone-mason	"
14.	"	"	Henryk	"C"	"	"	R.C. S	M	26.12.1936	"	Student	"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
132.	11149	JAZWILSKA	Apolonia	"C" Poland	R.C.	S F	1.1.1892		Poland	cook		S.F.
134.	11151	JELIŃSKI	Aleksander	"C" "	R.C.	M M	17.2.1897		"	clerk		"
135.	52406	JURCZYŃSKA	Olga	"C" "	R.C.	M F	27.12.1912		"	clerk, typist		"
136.	11152	JURCZYŃSKA	Olga	"C" "	R.C.	M F	17.6.1880		"	cook		"
137.	11156	KUJISER	Hieczysław	"C" "	R.C.	M M	30.11.1913		"	farmer		"
138.	"	"	Helena	"C" "	R.C.	M F	20.3.1925		"	housewife		"
139.	"	"	Józefa	"C" "	R.C.	S F	5.2.1945		India			"
140.	"	"	Bronisława	"C" "	R.C.	S F	18.4.1947		"			"
141.	"	"	Irena	"C" "	R.C.	S F	1.1.1950		Uganda			"
142.	11159	KASKEW	Jan	"C" "	R.C.	M M	18.12.1921		Poland	teacher		"
143.	"	"	Jedwiga	"C" "	R.C.	M F	15.4.1922		"	housewife		"
144.	"	"	Isabella	"C" "	R.C.	S F	25.8.1946		India			"
145.	52412	KUJISER	Teddy	"C" "	R.C.	S F	16.2.1880		Poland	joiner, farmer		"
146.	52137	KUJISER	Teddy	"C" "	Orth	S M	18.10.1911		"	forester		"
147.	57108	KUJISER	Hennigild	"C" "	R.C.	M M	14.8.1884		"	Housewife		"
148.	"	"	Janina	"C" "	R.C.	M F	14.8.1904		"			"
149.	11168	KUJISER	Lubwika	"C" "	R.C.	M F	8.9.1894		"	Nurse		"
150.	52350	KUJISER	Maria	"C" "	R.C.	M F	9.8.1904		"	dressmaker		"
151.	"	"	Florentyna	"C" "	R.C.	S F	19.5.1895		"	nurse		"
152.	11173	KUJISER	Włodzisław	"C" "	R.C.	M F	11.8.1916		"	dressmaker		"
153.	"	"	Janina	"C" "	R.C.	S M	15.6.1925		India			"
154.	"	"	Janina	"C" "	R.C.	S M	1.5.1945		India			"

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Document 5

Extract from a passenger list for refugees from Kojka Camp in Uganda, n.d., 3.1.3.2/81645845 and 81645851/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

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SPORT

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION
INDIVIDUAL RESSETTLEMENT TO PALESTINE
NOMINAL ROLL OF EMIGRANTS FILING FROM HERE TO KIBRAH
ON 22nd FEBRUARY 1945

364

Imm. Roll No.	Family	N A M E	First	Nationality	REL	Status	Sex	Date of Birth	AGE	Country and Place of Birth	EMIGRANT No.	OCCUPATION
EX AUSTRIA												
1.	UZDANIN	Raid		Yugoslav	Yugoslav	M	M	1. 6. 19	30	Yug/Sr. Jovo	68849	Doctor
2.	"	Eay		"	"	M	M	6. 10. 17	32	Austria/Vienna	68850	"
3.	"	Irene		"	"	S	S	20. 9. 47	2	"	65713	Doctor
4.	LEVAY	Zoltan		Hungarian	Prot.	M	M	26. 12. 19	30	Hung/Livizony	65714	"
5.	"	Margarete		"	"	F	F	6. 1. 24	25	" / Budapest	65715	"
6.	"	Karagrote		"	"	S	S	29. 7. 49	5 months	" / Hirschling	1349	Doctor
7.	HEPPEDES	Stefan		"	"	M	M	26. 9. 15	36	" / Hirschling	1350	"
8.	"	Livia		"	"	F	F	11. 4. 17	32	" / Kypocavur	85725	Intelligence
9.	ERENOV	Nikolaj		White Russian	Gr. Ord.	M	M	24. 3. 97	52	Russia/Avul	85726	Nurse
10.	"	Tibeldaine		"	"	M	M	22. 12. 99	50	Austria/Graz	85727	"
11.	"	Nikolaj		"	"	S	S	30. 5. 32	17	Yug/Zagreb	85728	"
12.	"	Marija		Yugoslav	R.C.	S	S	14. 8. 44	45	Yug/Litredia	88071	Nurse
13.	HEMAY GRUETZ	Alexander		Hungarian	R.C.	M	M	23. 2. 08	44	Hungar/Budapest	68870	Doctor
14.	"	Dimitar		"	"	M	M	16. 6. 26	23	Dresden/Germany	65076	"
EX GERMANY (BRITISH ZONE)												
15.	MAURVIMIS	Emilia		Latvian	Prot.	M	M	28. 1. 04	45	Latv/Riga	604279	Housewife
16.	"	Hugo Eisens		"	"	S	S	26. 6. 21	23	"	604280	Doctor
17.	"	Hortens		"	"	M	M	17. 12. 11	38	" / Liepaja	604281	Housewife
18.	"	Gertrude		"	"	M	M	5. 2. 14	35	Camp/Konigsberg	604282	Paup.
19.	"	Gisela		"	"	S	S	25. 8. 32	17	"	604283	"

Imm 6695 Nov.

20	ROBERTS	Arthur H.	Latvian	Pres.	M	29.12.44	45	Latv./Lithuanian	002856	Student
21	"	Jaana J.	"	"	M	13.1.40	39	" / Sigulda	002857	Student
22	"	Jaana J.	"	"	M	21.10.33	16	" / Riga	002858	Student
23	EVALD E	Edvard	"	"	M	21.4.41	68	" / Riga	002859	Housewife
24	"	Kozall	"	"	M	21.10.37	62	" / Ventspils	002860	Housewife
25	"	Soodra	"	"	M	30.6.21	28	" / Riga	002861	Housewife
26	"	Aina	"	"	M	29.5.15	30	" / Riga	002862	Housewife
27	KEORENS	Valdemars	"	"	M	15.2.23	26	" / Riga	002863	Housewife
28	FAKAS	Irma	Hungarian B.C.	"	M	14.2.24	35	Hung./Rus.	002864	Housewife
29	"	Agnes	"	"	M	6.7.19	39	" / Riga	002865	Housewife
30	"	Agnes	"	"	M	26.1.41	35	" / Riga	002866	Housewife
31	FAKAS	Agnes	"	"	M	26.1.41	35	" / Riga	002867	Housewife
32	KARL	Walter	Swedish B.C.	Prov.	M	28.2.10	33	" / Riga	002868	Housewife
33	KUBACHEN	Fernand	Hungarian B.C.	"	M	5.11.14	35	" / Riga	002869	Housewife
34	TALIER	Lilja Beth	"	"	M	8.2.95	34	" / Riga	002870	Housewife
35	"	Igor	"	"	M	8.1.14	35	" / Riga	002871	Housewife
36	STUTZEN	Valentina	Russian	Gr.Orth.	M	26.9.48	31	" / Riga	002872	Housewife
37	"	"	"	"	M	10.6.20	29	" / Riga	002873	Housewife
38	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002874	Housewife
39	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002875	Housewife
40	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002876	Housewife
41	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002877	Housewife
42	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002878	Housewife
43	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002879	Housewife
44	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002880	Housewife
45	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002881	Housewife
46	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002882	Housewife
47	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002883	Housewife
48	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002884	Housewife
49	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002885	Housewife
50	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002886	Housewife
51	"	"	"	"	M	"	"	" / Riga	002887	Housewife

Document 6

Extract from the Nominal Roll of Emigrants flying from Rome to Karachi on 26th December 1949 with the names and the professions of the first specialists, doctors and nurses leaving for Pakistan, 3.1.3.2 /81779161 and 81779162/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

NAME	FIRST NAME	DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION	ZONE ORIGIN & AREA
JAKSEVICIENE	Janina	16.12.1913	Physician (children)		USZG
	Aligirdas (husband)	1912	Jurist		
	Dalia-Maria (daughter)	1941			
	Irene-Jurate (daughter)	1947			

Accepted by *Pakistan* P.T.O.

Passed to Individual Migration Division

for Movement. Date *4.7.50*

Zone Informed

RPS 10026

Despatched to:		Returned from:	
(1) <i>Pakistan</i>	Date	(1)	Date
(2)	Date	(2)	Date
(3)	Date	(3)	Date

JOB OFFER		PROMOTIONAL		EMPLOYMENT		SPONSORSHIP	
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)

REMARKS:

Candidate accepts Pakistan Offer - April 1950.

8

Document 8

Extract of the CM/1-file (application for IRO assistance) on Janina Jakševičienė, with the note "accepted by Pakistan", and confirmation remark, 3.2.1.4/81018737/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

Alena POLESNA, MUDr.
13b, Murnau, Panzerkaserne.
Germany.

Curriculum vitae.

I, the undersigned Alena POLESNA, born Provaznikova, MUDr., graduated doctor of medicine herewith give my career of life in the following:

I was born in Prague in Bohemia, CSR on Jan. 9th, 1911. I am Protestant, Czech brethren of religion, married since Jul. 13th, 1937 with Karel Polesny, MUDr., and have 3 daughters in age of 11, 8 and 6 years.

My mother tongue is Czech, but I speak well French and German and English tolerably.

I attended primary school 1918-1923 in Prague, grammar schools (gymnasium) 1923-1931 in Prague where I completed my maturity. I entered The Charles University, Medical faculty in Prague 1931-1937 where I graduated as Doctor medicinae universae on May/June 30th, 1937.

My Diploma of Physician specialist-Stomatologist I got from Land Office in Prague on Jan. 7th, 1941.

My occupations:

15.8.1937-15.9.1938 State, s hospital in Prague XII, Surg. dep. (Prof. Dr. E. Polak) as externist.

1.1.1939-31.12.1940 Clinic for teeth, jaws and mouth diseases Of University Charles, s in Prague (Leadr prof. Dr. F. Kostecka) as externist.

Since 1.1.1941 I habilitated in Mlada Boleslav (Bohemia) and had my own praxis as a stomatologist.

Since 1.9.1945 till June 1949 I was assistant volontaire on the Teeth clinic II, University Charles, s in Prague (Leader prof. Dr. F. Newwirt), dep. teeth ortopedic, where I worked one day a week.

Since 1.2.1949 I was leader of the Teeth ortopedic dep. on the ambulatory, belonging to the Publ. Insur. Society (Nar. okres. Pojistovna) in Mlada Boleslav.

Beside medicine, I studied gymnastic with state, s examinations. I was occupied as a leading Sokol till last Sokol festival in summer 1948 in Sokol society in Mlada Boleslav and beside this, I was the skiing teacher of the Czechoslovak skiing center (Svas lyzaru rep. cs.). I was distinguished by many special skiing turniers.

On June 9th, 1949 I crossed the Czech-German border and escaped to US Zone because I was afraid for persecution from Cz. communist, s part, why my anticommunist, s mind was generally well known. Anyway, my mother-in-law, Mrs. Marie Provaznik, the chief leader of Czechoslovak Sokol women (nacelnice cs. obce sokolske) and President of Federation Internationale de Gymnasts (sect. femin.) after leaving Czechoslovakia as Leader of the women team Czechsk. for the Olympic Games in London in Aug. 1948, has been living in London as a political refugee where she has hold any anticommunist, s radiospeeches. After this, I and my husband have been threatened by the police. From January 1949 she is living in New York and is occupied as the professor of physical education on Panzer College, East Orange, N.J.; beside this, she is engaged in Slovak and Czech American Sokol, s organisations and in some Czech, s Refugee, s organisations. This all made my position more troublesome and, of course, I was obliged to escape from my home, where I left a large property.

Since Aug. 1st, 1949 I am occupied as a Dental surgeon in IRO Camp Murnau. I am registered by IRO Med. Reg. No. 3556 as Physician specialist-Stomatologist.

The above mentioned statement is true and correct according to my best conscience.

Murnau, Dec. 14th, 1949.

Al. Polesna

Land office in Prague.

II. Podskalska 19 n. tel. 47341.

24 from 1941

Nro. ~~dep. 15~~

Prague, January 7th 1941.

Mrs.

MUDr. Alena Polesna,
wife of physician specialist.

Mlada Boleslav 440.
Jiraskova ul.

Supl.:6

On Dec. 31st you have sent an application for getting the title of the dentist-physician specialist. After having investigated the documents about your special qualification, I give you on ground of the art. 2 § 7 of the Gov. Decret from March 20th 1936 Nro 60 Col. of Laws and Decr., the title of the dentist physician specialist. On ground of the order lit. F Nro. 2a Gov. Decr. from Dec. 27th 1935 Nro 248 you have to pay K 500.- as a tribute for the official act. With regard to the § Gov. Decr. Nro. 60/1936 Coll. of L. and Decr. I let you know, that before beginning your praxis you have to give the ordered vow by the administration commission of the Phasician.s Chambre for Bohemia in Prague II, Sokolska 27. I return you six supplements.

For the Land.s President:

L.S.

Signature: Dr. Kosina.

This is to certify that the above is a true translation of the first side from the original in Czech, I saw.

Murnau, August 21st, 1949.

.....
JUDr. A. Rynek,
Legal Counsellor.



Document 9

Curriculum Vitae of Alena Polesna (Polesny), compiled in the DP camp Murnau on 14.12.1949, and translation of the title award certificate "dentist physician specialist" from 7.1.1941. Both documents are contained in the CM/1 file (application for IRO assistance) on Karl Alena Polesny and were part of the basis for the selection of placement to Pakistan, 3.2.1.4 / 81136806 and 81136810/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

RECOMMENDATION FOR EMPLOYMENT



Profession: SPECIALIST NEUROLOGIST
PSYCHIATRIST
 Family name: SZATMARI
 Country of origin or former
 citizenship: Hungary
 Religion: Roman catholic
 Special features:
 Present location: Pakistan

First names, age and relationship to head of family:

Alexander, 42, head; Dagmar, 26, wife.

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY:

1925-1931: Mr. Szatmari studied Medicine at the University of Budapest and received his M.D. degree in September 1931. During his studytime, from 1926 till 1930 he worked at the Anatomic Institute of the University and in 1930 at the Brain Pathological Institute.

1931-1948: After graduating, he started his medical career at the Neuro-Psychiatric Clinic of the University of Budapest. Here he worked for sixteen years as Specialist in Neurology and Psychiatry, acquiring profound knowledge of both subjects. During this period he published some 46 articles on neurological subjects in different medical papers. In 1947/1948 he was Medical Director of the Neuro-Psychiatric Section of St. John Hospital in Budapest. In 1956 he was appointed Lecturer of Neurology at the University of Budapest.

1948-1950: He left his country in August 1948 and went to Austria. Here he worked for the American Joint Distribution Committee in Salzburg as physician. At the same time, he was employed as Consultant for Neurological and Mental Diseases by the IRO Medical services in Salzburg. At present he is working in Pakistan as consultant in Neuropsychiatry for the Pakistan Army.

EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES:

Dr. SZATMARI is a Neurologist and Psychiatrist with excellent training and 16 years experience in both subjects. He has eight years experience in teaching at University and he was Lecturer in Neurology at the University of Budapest for two years. His entire career as a Physician was devoted to the study of Neurological and Mental Diseases and we recommend him as a highly qualified Specialist in these fields.

Languages: Apart from Hungarian, his mother tongue, Dr. Szatmari speaks excellent German and very good French and English.

References: General Faruki, D.G.M.S., Medical Services of Pakistan Army.
 Mr. Rolf Ringer, C.I.C. Salzburg
 Colonel Michael Nagy, President of Hungarian Council, Salzburg.

DOCUMENTS ENCLOSED:

Photostatic copies of letters from World Biography, New York.
 Certificate from the University of Budapest.
 Copy of IRO testing certificate.
 Curriculum vitae.
 Photostatic copy of nomination as Lecturer of Neurology at the University of Budapest.



SAMPLE

14

RESETTLEMENT PLACEMENT SERVICE

697/4/8
OLH/se

27th April, 1950.

To: IRO Vienna
Att: Resettlement Placement Service

Subject: Pakistan Doctors

1. This is to advise you that General Faruki has now written us that most of his families have settled down in Pakistan very nicely and are quite content, with the exception of Dr. Szatmari, who does not feel he has got enough scope for his speciality in that Country and besides the climate does not suit him.
2. Dr. Szatmari has requested to be sent back to IRO, though General Faruki does not agree with him he does feel that Dr. Szatmari has become obsessed with the idea of returning that he is psychologically morbid.
3. While we are trying to make arrangements to have Dr. Szatmari placed elsewhere we wish to prepare you for the eventuality that should proper placement not be found he can eventually be returned to Austria.
4. I have asked General Faruki to send me copies of all documents Dr. Szatmari has in order to help place him. Should your H.Q. or Area Team 1, from which Dr. Szatmari came, have copies of any of his documentation, kindly forward them to this H.Q. as soon as possible.

OLH

(Mrs) Olga L. Hyka
for

H.A. Citroen
Director Resettlement Placement Service

From:- Lt Col M.S.HAQUE, PAMC, A.D.M.S. (P), GHQ.



RECEIVED IN
MAIL OFFICE
7 JUN 1950

D.O. No. 3551/24/DMS.1(C).
General Headquarters,
Medical Directorate,
RAWALPINDI, 20 May 1950.

Dear Madam, PLEASED FOR ACTION
BY REGISTRY

Reference your letter No. 697/4/8/OLH/sc
dated 26th Apr 1950.

I am directed by the D.G.M.S. to send the true copies of Dr Szatmari's degrees and certificates and to say that he is pleased to learn that you are arranging to secure some appointments for him in Canada and other places.

The D.G.M.S. has seen Dr Szatmari since. His wife is not keeping good health due to the tropical climate which does not suit her. He is therefore anxious that he should return to Europe within next two months. He is quite confident that on his return he will be able to secure some appointment, and he is prepared to maintain himself even if I.R.O. cannot fix him somewhere else in the meantime. We shall therefore be grateful if you can immediately arrange to get him back to Europe without waiting to secure an appointment in advance.

I am further to add that the D.G.M.S. is very reluctant to part with Dr Szatmari as he had worked to his entire satisfaction and that he is confident that with his experience and knowledge Dr Szatmari will find no difficulty in getting a post in a climate which will be suitable to him and his family. We shall be anxiously waiting for an early reply.

Yours

*Shaukat
Masthagur*

Mrs Olga L. Hyka,
Resettlement Placement Service,
International Refugees Organisation,
Wilson Palace, GENEVA.

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Documents 10-12

Recommendation for Employment of Alexander Szatmari.

Letter from the IRO Resettlement Placement Service to the IRO Office in Vienna dated 27.4.1950 regarding the situation of the specialists placed in Pakistan.

Letter from the Pakistan Army General Medical Service to IRO Resettlement Placement Service dated 30.5.1950 regarding resettlement of Alexander Szatmari from Pakistan.

All three documents are contained in the CM/1 file (application for IRO assistance) on Alexander Szatmari, 3.2.1.4/81200553, 81200582 and 81200594/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

About the Authors

Dr. Julia Devlin is a Research Associate at the Textile and Industry Museum in Augsburg, where she curates an open museum concept to visualize the migration history of the city of Augsburg. As a historian with a focus on voluntary and forced migration, her research interests include the migration history of Eastern Europe, forced migration during and after World War II, as well as migration and memory in diaspora communities. Julia Devlin studied Eastern European History, Modern History, History of Art, and Slavistics at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies London and Moskovskij Lingvističeskij University Moscow. She oversaw an early digitization project, turning a 100,000-item biographical collection into a fully searchable online database of records relating to foreigners who lived in pre-revolutionary Russia. She has taught both graduate and undergraduate students at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich and the Catholic University of Eichstätt. She is a regular contributor to science and culture broadcasts for the Bayerischer Rundfunk, Munich.

Dr. Christian Höschler is a historian and currently Deputy Head of Research and Education at the Arolsen Archives – International Center on Nazi Persecution. He studied History, English, and Educational Sciences at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich where he received his PhD in Modern History in 2017. His areas of expertise include the history of Nazi persecution and particularly the fate of Displaced Persons as survivors in the aftermath of World War II. He has also worked on the documentation of Nazi crimes for the sake of clarifying fates and tracing missing Nazi victims after 1945. As an educator, he deals with current challenges of Holocaust education and is involved in a variety of digital remembrance projects.

Dr. Akim Jah is a Research Associate in the Research and Education Department of the Arolsen Archives. His research activities focus on the history and consequences of persecution under National Socialism, especially in Germany, as well as the history of Displaced Persons. He is also involved in archival pedagogical and other educational projects and regularly publishes on the aforementioned subjects. Akim Jah studied political science at the Free University of Berlin and received his doctorate there with a study on the deportation of Jews from Berlin in the years 1941–1945.

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Minister of State
for Culture and the Media

Between 1947 and 1951, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) took care of millions of Displaced Persons and refugees. In the aftermath of Nazi persecution and World War II in general, they were stranded in the western zones of occupied Germany, Austria, and Italy. Because some of them did not want to return to their countries of origin, the IRO arranged for the worldwide resettlement of these individuals to countries that were willing to accept them. However, the IRO was not only active in Europe – a fact that is often overlooked. Based on documents kept in the Arolsen Archives, the world's largest collection on the victims of Nazi persecution, this publication focuses on the activities of the IRO in Africa and Asia. It deals with the accommodation of several thousand Polish DPs in East African countries, who had originally been deported to the Soviet Union after the occupation of Eastern Poland. The volume also focuses on doctors and nurses who came to Pakistan as DPs through the efforts of the IRO. As part of the Findings series of the Arolsen Archives, this publication explores somewhat unfamiliar aspects and geographical areas of the IRO's work with a view to encouraging further research on the subject.