

THE SURVIVING REMNANT

Documents on Jewish Displaced Persons
in Postwar Germany 1945–1950

Edited by Atina Grossmann,
Alexandra M. Kramen, Tamar Lewinsky,
and Avinoam J. Patt

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Redaktion/editorial staff
Martin Jost
Marcel Müller
Momme Schwarz

Markus Kirchhoff

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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Foreword

The history of the Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) in the Allied-occupied zones of the former German Reich, in Austria, and in Italy represents a peculiar constellation of an interim period that lasted from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the Cold War in 1949. This period saw the successive recovery and reestablishment of German sovereignty in the form of the two German states. In the meantime, about a quarter of a million Jews gathered on German soil, mostly under Western Allied occupation. These were Jews who had been liberated from concentration camps after their evacuation by the Nazis in the face of the advancing Allies in Eastern and Western Europe. They were later joined by survivors who had fled eastward from the German onslaught at different stages of the war, mostly from Poland, the Baltic states, and the westernmost part of the Soviet Union, or who had been evacuated or deported there by the Soviets. Whatever the circumstances of their escape or relocation to the far reaches of the Soviet Union, the majority of them survived in that realm. This was in stark contrast to those Jews who had come under German Nazi rule and its extermination policy.

With the end of the war in the East in 1945, the Soviet authorities ordered these people to be “repatriated,” as it was termed, primarily to Poland. But returning Jews could no longer feel welcome there, and even had to face pogroms carried out by the local population. In response to this widespread violence, Jews began flocking westward, seeking to reach the Western zones of occupation in Germany, especially that controlled by the U.S. Army.

In the interim period from 1945 to 1949, the states of East-Central and Eastern Europe, liberated by the Soviets from the German Nazi yoke, were increasingly transformed, under full or partial Communist rule, into so-called People’s Republics – nation-states that became ethnically homogeneous as well as socially collectivist through expulsion, resettlement, and expropriation. From a Jewish, and especially a Zionist, perspective, the conclusion was drawn that Jews there had little prospect of collective survival. Jewish refugee organizations, among them the *Brihah*, a clandestine Zionist flight organization, actively smuggled Jews from the reestablished states in Eastern Europe to the American-occupied zone of Germany, whence they would primarily be transferred to the nascent Jewish state – the emerging State of Israel.

The subject of the Jewish DPs is of exceptional scholarly value. It combines the events of the Second World War and its aftermath, especially the fate of the non-Soviet Jews who survived in the Soviet Union, with the history of the

early Cold War and the creation of the State of Israel. Although Jewish history is always characterized by unusual spatiotemporal dimensions, the history of the DPs is a central point of interest as the lever of a great change; namely, the emergence of a Jewish political subject.

As this volume illustrates, this Jewish political subject surfaced in the numerous DP camps, where Jews revived their cultural or religious legacy, but also felt that they formed a common political body through their collective fate as survivors. At the same time, the State of Israel came into being just three years after the war, asserting Jewish sovereignty and realizing the long-held aspiration for statehood. Drawing upon a rich collection of letters, official documents, personal testimonies, and archival records, this book is situated within this twofold emancipation, thereby offering a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of how Jewish survivors, *inter alia*, transitioned from displacement to political agency.

Atina Grossmann, Alexandra M. Kramen, Tamar Lewinsky, and Avinoam J. Patt deserve great credit for bringing to light a large number of previously unknown sources in several languages, especially Yiddish. Their dedication, along with their careful and meticulous annotation of the documents, will hopefully allow this volume to provide new insights into the subject, as it will inspire further scholarly exploration in the field.

The editor would like to extend his gratitude to the staff of the “European Traditions” project, especially Martin Jost, Marcel Müller, Momme Schwarz, Lilian Türk, and Markus Kirchhoff, whose assistance was instrumental in bringing this book to fruition.

Dan Diner
Series Editor

Jerusalem/Leipzig, September 2024

Abbreviations

AACI	Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry
Acc no.	Accession number
A.J.D.C., AJDC, J.D.C., JDC, Joint Bund	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee General Jewish Labor Bund in Lithuania, Poland and Russia
CCLJA, Central Committee, C.K.	Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (later: in the American Zone of Germany)
CIC	U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps
D.P., DP(s)	Displaced Person(s)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret Police)
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
I.R.O., IRO	International Refugee Organization
JA	Jewish Agency
JCRA	Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad
KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute, New York/Berlin
LWE	League for Women's Empowerment
ORT	Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, orig. Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda sredi yevreev v Rossii (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor among Jews in Russia)
OSE	Oeuvre de secours aux enfants (Society for Assistance to Children)
POW(s)	Prisoner(s) of War
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
SS	Schutzstaffel
UN, UNO	United Nations
U.N.R.R.A., UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UP	United Press
USFET	U.S. Forces, European Theater
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.
UZO	United Zionist Organization
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WJC	World Jewish Congress
WZO	World Zionist Organization

YIVO	Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute/Institute for Jewish Research)
ZK, C.K.	Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte yidn (Central Committee of Liberated Jews)

I. Introduction

Atina Grossmann and Avinoam J. Patt

“For you, our young people, are the agents of our revenge which ought to be a proud assertion to continue life. You must readily show the world and all our enemies that despite everything we are here to stay. Your revenge must be in working and toiling for your own land. You must create and build, dance and sing, open yourselves to life, to living and labor.”¹ (Samuel Gringauz)

1. She’erit Hapletah – The Surviving Remnant

Between 1945 and 1950, a shifting and diverse population of almost a quarter million Jews resided under Allied protection and surveillance on German territory. Declared *judenrein* (areas cleared of Jews) in 1943, this “blood-soaked” German soil now saw the emergence of Jewish life, sometimes in places where no Jews had resided before the war.² Camps for Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs), located mostly in the American Zone of occupied Germany, became both a waiting room for further emigration and a temporary center of vibrant Jewish life. Notwithstanding the frustrations of a stateless waiting existence, these camps made possible an unexpected efflorescence of a decimated Eastern European Yiddish culture, with schools, kindergartens, youth movements, cultural and religious life, and Zionist activism. All together, approximately 300,000 Jewish DPs gathered in and moved through occupied Germany, Austria, and Italy between 1945 and 1949; those who found themselves on German soil clearly constituted the majority – and the documents in this volume tell their story. Chaotic postwar conditions and a highly mobile population make it impossible to offer a truly accurate count. Our numbers reflect the range of historical consensus.

1 Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, October 8, 1945 (no. 1), 3, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004285, reel 1 (transl. by A. J. Patt).

2 See esp. the texts in Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, Princeton, NJ, 1997.

In a broader context, Jewish DPs were part of a larger population of several million people of different ethnic or national origins driven from their homes by the war. By fall 1945, the allied victors had managed “in a near miracle in logistics” to repatriate about six million of the eight million persons defined as “displaced” and eligible for return to their former homes. By January 1946, a group of about one “last million” “unrepatriables” remained in western territory, mainly in the DP camps of the American and British zones.³ Some 20 percent were children; many of them, in postwar euphemistic language, “unaccompanied,” meaning separated from family, orphaned, or abandoned. About half, 400,000–500,000, were non-Jewish Poles and Polish Ukrainians, and about 175,000–200,000 were Balts (from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) unwilling to return to their Sovietized homelands.⁴ There were also Hungarians and Yugoslavs, some Greeks, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, and even Iranians and Turks.

The remaining “displaced persons” were, for the most part, Jews – an unanticipated presence and problem for both the Allies and the Germans. Survivors of Nazi extermination and forced exile in the Soviet Union, they constituted the most significant and visible part of the *She’erit Hapletah*, the “surviving remnant” of European Jewry, as they named themselves in a clear demonstration of agency. The term *She’erit Hapletah*, a reference to the writings of the biblical prophets promising that there would be a “saving remnant after the destruction,” had been used during the war in the Yishuv (prestate Palestine) to refer abstractly to those Jews who would survive the war.⁵ In the immediate aftermath of the war, the term was also used by the

3 David Nasaw, *The Last Million: Europe’s Displaced Persons from World War to Cold War*, New York 2020, 8 f.; Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany*, Princeton, NJ, 2007, 131 f. For a general analysis of massive postwar displacement, see William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe*, New York 2008; Gerard Daniel Cohen, *In War’s Wake: Europe’s Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order*, New York 2012; and in particular on the entanglement of liberation, repatriation, and the rapidly emerging politics of the Cold War, Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*, New York 2012.

4 On particularly Baltic and Ukrainian DPs who resisted repatriation, see Nasaw, *The Last Million*; Anna Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 2011.

5 In the Hebrew Bible, the use of the term links the notions of destruction and redemption – e.g., the prophet Micah: “In that day – declares the Lord – I will assemble the lame/And will gather the outcast/And those I have treated harshly;/And I will turn the lame into a remnant/And the expelled into a populous nation./And the Lord will

American-Jewish chaplain, Rabbi Abraham Klausner, who compiled detailed lists of survivors he met in the camps he surveyed in the American Zone of Germany, publishing them under the series title *She'erit Hapletah*.⁶

The Jewish Displaced Persons were the remnant of a catastrophe, *khurbn*, as the predominantly Yiddish speaking survivors named it, that had killed roughly two-thirds of the prewar European Jewish population. In 1933, approximately 9 million or 60 percent of 15 million Jews worldwide lived in Europe, 3.3 million in Poland alone. By 1950, only 3 million, or one-third, of Europe's prewar Jewish population remained, of whom likely two-thirds lived in the Soviet Union. For several years, from 1945 to 1948 and into the early 1950s, a significant remnant of Europe's surviving Jewish community came to live in prolonged transit as displaced persons, mostly on occupied German territory.

Some liberated Jews decided to return first to their countries of origin to search for family and determine what remained of their prewar homes.⁷ Others refused any repatriation (return to one's country of origin), initially a key goal of the allied military forces and UNRRA, short for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The Allies had not counted on the existence of a significant number of Jewish survivors who refused to go "home" to places that were no longer home but rather a "vast graveyard" of destroyed families, communities, and dispossessed property on generally

reign over them on Mount Zion/Now and forevermore." (Mic 4:6f.) Isaiah also uses the term to convey the notion of destruction and redemption: "And the survivors of the House of Judah that have escaped shall regenerate its stock below and produce boughs above. For a remnant shall come forth from Jerusalem./Survivors from Mount Zion./The zeal of the Lord of Hosts/Shall bring this to pass." (II Kgs 19:30 f.)

- 6 Klausner's name lists played a vital role in reuniting families separated by the war and also helped facilitate communication with the surviving remnant before a DP press developed. The sixth volume of *She'erit Hapletah*, published in 1946, contained the names of 61,387 Jews who survived the Holocaust. Avinoam J. Patt, "The People Must Be Forced to Go to Palestine": Rabbi Abraham Klausner and the Surviving Remnant in Postwar Germany, in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 28 (2014), no. 2, 240–276.
- 7 According to David Engel, the Jewish population of postwar Poland was in flux after the war, both due to the arrival of successive waves of refugees from the Soviet Union (and some returnees from Central Europe) and because of two great surges of emigration out of Poland. Although "between 266,000 and 281,000 Jews set foot on Polish territory at some time between July 1944 and July 1946," by "mid-1947, however, only about 90,000 remained." David Engel, *Art. Poland Since 1939*, in: Gershon David Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, 2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 2008, here vol. 2, 1404–1411, here 1407.

hostile terrain. Survivors had learned that nationality or citizenship from the prewar period were no guarantee of the protections expected from national citizenship; the wartime loss of protection and rights carried over into the postwar period. They preferred statelessness under Allied control to a return to homes that no longer existed and citizen status that would not protect them.

These Jewish survivors differed from other groups of DPs in significant ways that frustrated Allied plans for repatriation. They had no homes to return to because the Nazis and their collaborators had murdered their families, obliterated their communities, and looted their property. If they did return, they confronted hostility and virulent antisemitism, including, especially in Poland, physical violence, perpetrated against them by their former neighbors. Jews who had managed to escape eastward to the Soviet Union and now moved westward again to return to their countries of origin also faced new dangers. Lacking safety and protection there, they continued on into the Allied, mainly American, zones, thus noticeably increasing the number of Jewish DPs on German soil from initially under 100,000 up to about 250,000. In fact, by 1946–1947, Jews who had survived in the far reaches of the Soviet Union constituted the majority of the DPs in U.S.-occupied Germany.

Jewish Displaced Persons were forced to grapple with their new status as “DPs,” signaling their displacement from whatever remained of their former “homes” as well as from the international filing system and national categories of citizenship. They were forced to navigate a befuddling bureaucratic complex of occupation and relief organization authorities, while still deeply traumatized by the devastation of the war. Nevertheless, Jewish DPs formed a vibrant, active, and fiercely independent community that played a central role in the postwar “rebirth” of European Jewry.⁸ They were quite influential in setting the agenda for Jewish life in the aftermath and beginning the process of memorializing the *khurban* they had barely survived. At the same time, they took on a prominent role in shaping diplomatic negotiations ultimately leading to the founding of the State of Israel.

The immediate postwar years therefore present a fascinating period for examining the nature of Jewish as well as transnational aid organizations’ responses to calamity, as survivors began to come to terms with the violent

8 For an overview on the history of Jewish DPs see, e.g., Zeev W. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*, Cambridge 2002; Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*; Margarete Myers Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957*, New York 2010; Avinoam J. Patt/Michael Berkowitz (eds.), “We Are Here”: *New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, Detroit, Mich., 2010.

destruction of prewar European Jewish life and communities, engaged in collective and individual mourning for lives lost, and charted a course for the Jewish future. As many of the documents in this collection show, survivors succeeded in creating (and re-creating) elements of prewar Jewish life that had been destroyed during the war. The DP camps provided a makeshift space in which to recover and create new families. The remarkable boom in marriages and births among Jewish DPs is probably the most noted evidence of this “Life Reborn.”⁹ At the same time, as the records of Jewish petitions for the services of German nannies or cleaners show (Documents 49 and 50 in this collection), the refugee camps also became sites of encounters, both quotidian and fraught, with defeated Germans and victorious Allies. They offered an opportunity to venture into the partially destroyed but still enticing cities of defeated Germany (especially Munich, Berlin, and Frankfurt am Main), where survivors could not only exchange goods on the “black market” but also attend university classes or go to the theater, another facet of “return to life” for the overwhelmingly young survivors who felt, after all they had endured, a zest for a kind of “normal” life that they had been denied.

This introduction examines the situation confronting Jewish survivors in the immediate aftermath of the war in Europe, the early organization of the surviving remnant in the Jewish DP camps, and the political, cultural, and social questions that affected the growing population of survivors in postwar Germany.¹⁰ It also addresses the rapidly expanding historiography examining this liminal era. As a whole, the volume gestures toward the need to continue writing an “integrated history” of the DP period. Rather than a history which relies on the perspectives and sources created by “outsiders,” this edition argues for a history that will above all incorporate the diverse voices of the DPs themselves as the survivor population shifted and evolved from 1945 onward.

The documents are arranged thematically, not chronologically, but the various sections follow the DP experience through 1945 and right up to 1950. Although the very last Jewish DP camp, Föhrenwald in Bavaria, did not close until February 1957, 1950 marks a significant break. On July 17, 1950, a new representative umbrella organization, the Central Council of Jews in Germany

9 Menachem Z. Rosensaft (ed.), *Life Reborn: Jewish Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*, Washington, D. C., 2001.

10 On defining “Holocaust survivors” after the war, see, e.g., Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Shoah Survivors: Neediness Assessment and Resource Allocation*, in: Dalia Ofer/Françoise S. Ouzan/Judy Tydor Baumel-Schwartz (eds.), *Holocaust Survivors: Resettlement, Memories, Identities*, New York 2012, 293–314, here 298–300.

(*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*), was founded in Frankfurt am Main and on December 17, 1950, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews held its last meeting at its old headquarters in the Deutsches Museum in Munich. The DP era had not ended with either the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 or the Federal Republic in 1949, and in many ways continued well into the 1950s. But within the context of Jews on German soil, the shift of representation from Munich to Frankfurt and the change in title of these institutions from “liberated Jews” to “Jews in Germany” – although tellingly, not “German Jews” – suggested that the era of transitory life “on the way” to someplace else now made way for different debates about a possible future for Jews in a postwar West German nation.

Concerning the range of sources presented in this volume, it is our aim to juxtapose texts produced by the DPs themselves, mostly originally composed in Yiddish and sometimes in German, Polish, or Hebrew, with documents that reflect the point of view of those managing the DP population: outsiders with their points of view and prejudices, including the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC, or “Joint”), UNRRA, the U.S. Army and Military Government, GIs and chaplains, Jewish Agency emissaries, British and American officials, local German authorities, and journalists. Thus, these sources offer a rich and multi-faceted portrait of how survivors processed their wartime experience (including at times, the years in the Soviet Union), imagined their futures, and coped with the frustrations of the waiting life.¹¹

It is our hope that this volume will suggest directions for future research on one of the most fascinating, and still under-examined periods of 20th century Jewish history. As it stands, the sources gathered here, some completely unknown, others familiar only to specialists in the burgeoning field of DP studies, shed light and raise new questions about critical aspects of modern Jewish history, Holocaust studies, German, European, and Anglo-American history in the immediate post Second World War era as well as the broader and ever more relevant field of “refugee studies.”

11 Markus Nesselrodt is one of the few historians to have made extensive use of Yiddish as well as Polish language press sources in his study. Markus Nesselrodt, *Dem Holocaust entkommen: Polnische Juden in der Sowjetunion 1939–1946*, Berlin/Boston, Mass., 2019.

2. Voices from the DP Era

Liberation and Repatriation, 1944–1945

Beginning in the summer and fall of 1944, as Allied troops moved across Europe in a series of offensives against Nazi Germany, they encountered tens of thousands of concentration camp prisoners. Soviet forces were the first to approach a major Nazi camp, reaching Majdanek near Lublin, Poland, in July 1944. The Soviets also overran the sites of the Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka killing centers, which the Germans had already dismantled in 1943 after they and their collaborators had murdered most of the Jews of Poland. When the Soviets liberated Auschwitz in January 1945, they found only several thousand emaciated prisoners. The Nazis had forced the majority of Auschwitz prisoners to march westward in what would become known as “death marches.” (See Israel Kaplan’s account of the “March from the Kaufering Camps,” near Dachau, in Document 1.)

In the months that followed, Soviet forces liberated further camps in the Baltics and Poland, as well as the Stutthof, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück concentration camps on German soil. American forces liberated the Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar, Germany, in April 1945, a few days after the Nazis had begun evacuating the camp. They also liberated Mittelbau-Dora, Flossenbürg, Dachau, and Mauthausen. British forces liberated concentration camps in northern Germany, including Neuengamme and Bergen-Belsen. Entering the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, near Celle, in mid-April 1945, they found some 60,000 prisoners alive, most in critical condition because of a typhus epidemic. More than 10,000 of them died within weeks, from the cumulative effects of their ordeal, disease, and malnutrition, including well-meaning but misguided attempts by the liberators to feed starving people who were not physically able to tolerate the rations they were given.

Upon Nazi Germany’s unconditional surrender in May 1945, hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout Europe still remained in concentration and forced labor camps, in hiding, in the forests, in armed resistance units, and in the far reaches of the Soviet Union. As the Allied forces liberated the camps set up by the Germans, they encountered some eight million people, foreign nationals who needed Allied assistance and care before they could be repatriated to their countries of origin. Categorized as displaced persons, they encompassed forced and voluntary laborers, concentration camp inmates, and prisoners of war (POWs). Among them, within the borders of the defeated German Reich were approximately 90,000 Jews, who had survived Nazi

forced labor, death camps, and death marches, of whom some 20,000–30,000 perished in the immediate aftermath.¹²

Instantly following the defeat of Germany by the victorious Allied forces on May 8, 1945, millions of forced laborers, POWs, and other DPs flooded the roads of Germany driven by the desire to return home. Allied policy defined a displaced person “as any civilian who because of the war was living outside the borders of his or her country and who wanted to but could not return home or find a new home without assistance.”¹³ The Allies initially grouped displaced persons by place of origin, distinguishing between enemy and Allied countries. As agreed to at Yalta in February 1945, the “Big Three” divided Germany and Austria into American, British, and Soviet zones of occupation, with a small area in the southwest of Germany carved out for a French Zone. More than half of the Jewish DPs, perhaps 35,000 out of 60,000 who survived the first weeks following liberation, were in the American Zone of occupation in Germany, many of them around Munich. The other major group of survivors gathered in the DP camp constructed adjacent to the razed grounds of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in the British Zone. Authority over the “care and control” of the DPs in the American Zone remained with the U.S. Military Government and UNRRA. The latter had already been established in 1943 to prepare for managing the anticipated mass of DPs created by National Socialist occupation and war.

In general, Polish and Baltic Jews were the least likely to return to their home countries, while Jews from Hungary, Romania, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser extent, the tiny remnant of Greek camp survivors, were far more likely to return to their countries following liberation.¹⁴ A survey of the 4,976 residents of the Jewish DP camp at Landsberg taken in October 1945 indicated that 75.2 percent (3,740) of residents were Polish, while only 5.7 percent (283) were Hungarian and 3.3 percent (162) Romanian. A survey taken at the same time in Feldafing indicated that a population drop from the summer to October 1945 was attributable to the sizable repatriation of Hungarian and Romanian Jews. It appears that for the most part the Jews of Hungary and Romania sought to return home following liberation, while

12 Numbers for people classified as displaced vary. Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and Its Aftermath*, New Haven, Conn., 2015, 19.

13 Arieh Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, and Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948*. Chapel Hill, NC, 2001, 14.

14 David Bankier (ed.), *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to their Countries of Origin after WW II*, Jerusalem/New York/Oxford 2005.

the Polish Jews (some 90 percent of the Jews liberated in Germany) were far more divided on the issue.¹⁵

By September 1945, the Allies had repatriated some six million DPs. Unlike the Jews, most of the millions of non-Jewish DPs, refugees, slave laborers, and POWs, still had families and homes waiting for them and thus the decision to return home was comparatively easier. Roughly one million DPs, mostly Eastern European nationals who feared repression for their collaboration with the Nazi regime or who refused to live under Soviet rule refused repatriation. Jewish DPs contended with different complicated choices.

On Occupied German Soil – Toward the Harrison Report, 1945

Jewish DPs who decided to remain in occupied Germany could either stay in the DP camps, generally German military barracks, former POW and slave labor camps, tent cities, industrial housing, apartments, hotels or sanatoria. At least initially, this might require them to share housing with wartime Nazi collaborators. Or, often motivated by the mostly vain hope of finding surviving family members, they could attempt to leave their assigned accommodation. The latter route was challenging, to say the least, as the newly liberated DPs needed permits to travel, transportation was limited, and those who did cross borders, either zonal or national, in order to return to devastated “homes,” in Eastern Europe, even if only briefly, generally did so in violation of official regulations or repatriation procedures. Another way to escape the confines of camp existence was to settle in German towns and cities, mostly in the vicinity of DP camps. These so-called “free livers” generally tried to maintain a DP status that promised some protection from the Germans among whom they lived and the resources necessary for daily life such as food rations and aid packets.

Some liberated Jews joined reconstituted prewar German-Jewish communities, although, in the immediate postwar years, the 15,000 or so German Jews (who were not classified as DPs), were more likely to make that

15 Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 27; idem, *The Formation of She’erit Hapletah: November 1944 – July 1945*, in: *Yad Vashem Studies* 20 (1990), 337–370. Surveys of the Jewish DP population in the American Zone of Germany from October 1945 confirmed this, indicating that the vast majority (as much as 75 percent) of Jews who remained in Germany were in fact from Poland (YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 8, frames 1032–1037). As of late 1945, many of those Polish Jews had survived in the Soviet Union.

commitment. Half of them had survived in the former Reich's capital Berlin. When the Western Allies arrived in Berlin in July 1945, the once-vibrant home of some 160,000 to 200,000 Jews, they discovered only about 6,000 to 7,000 people who had registered as Jews. Some had returned from Auschwitz or Theresienstadt; many were partners in mixed marriages or were themselves of mixed descent, and had managed a precarious above-ground existence during the war, often as forced laborers. Some 1,500 to 1,700 Jews had also endured the war underground, in hiding or with false papers, as so-called illegals or *U-Boote* (submarines). An even smaller number of German Jews had begun trickling back from exile, or had returned to their former homes in the uniforms of all four Allied forces.¹⁶ With its mix of German and Polish Jews, survivors and returning refugees, the four-power-occupied "island" in the midst of the Soviet zone was, as JDC observer Koppel S. Pinson noted, "a special category all for itself" (Document 24). By late 1945, an influx of surviving Polish Jews, many of whom had been repatriated from the Soviet Union and were now in renewed flight from Poland, compounded an already "complex and confusing" situation (as described by JDC official Philip Skorneck in February 1946 in Document 25). Jews living in German cities, whether newly arrived or born as Germans, all faced an uncertain status, continued anxiety about antisemitism, and, despite some benefits granted to "victims of fascism," persistent shortages of scarce resources in housing and food.¹⁷

16 On Jews in the Soviet sector, see, e. g., Philipp Graf, Taking Up the Cause of the Jewish Collective: Jewish Communists in Berlin's Soviet Sector during the "Interregnum" from 1945 to 1950, in: Kata Bohus et al. (eds.), *Our Courage: Jews in Postwar Europe 1945–48*, Berlin/München/Boston, Mass., 2021, 158–175; Erik Riedel, Berlin (East): The City of Jewish Comrades, in: *ibid.*, 176–189.

17 For an overview of Jewish survivors in Berlin, see Grossmann, *Jews, Germans and Allies*, 88–129. A detailed study of Germany as a whole is Ruth Schreiber, *The New Organization of the Jewish Community in Germany, 1945–1952*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Tel Aviv University 1995. While some 36 percent of Jews from Eastern Europe did try to live in German cities in January 1946, the continuing housing shortage and reluctance of some newly formed German-Jewish communities to represent Jews of non-German descent made this option a difficult one. German Jews also suffered from initially being denied the status of persecuted individuals and were classified as enemy nationals by the Americans and British, along with Austrian and Hungarian Jews in some cases. Jael Geis, *Übrig sein – Leben "danach". Juden deutscher Herkunft in der britischen und amerikanischen Zone Deutschlands 1945–1949*, Berlin 1999; Jay Howard Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany 1945–1953*, Cambridge 2004.

Those who remained in the hastily established DP camps and assembly centers faced deplorable conditions: crowded makeshift accommodations without adequate plumbing, food, clothing, and other basic hygiene measures. UNRRA had not expected to discover significant numbers of Jewish survivors. Jewish chaplains serving with the American and British military were among the first Jews to encounter the survivors in the liberated camps, along with the occasional soldier of the Jewish Brigade, a division from Palestine serving with the British Army.¹⁸ Although the JDC, the largest and most experienced transnational Jewish aid group, sought to gain access to the camps as early as May 1945, its first organized group, delayed by military regulations and the priority assigned to Army “mopping up” operations, did not enter the American Zone of occupation until August, some three months later.¹⁹ This meant that in the earliest stages after liberation, the survivors in the American Zone depended on the U.S. Army and UNRRA for relief, and on a small group of Jewish chaplains who played an especially significant role in tending to and publicizing their urgent needs.

Rabbi Abraham Klausner, a particularly engaged chaplain, inspired American-Jewish soldiers attending the first postwar Rosh Hashanah services to support survivors they encountered in Germany and to call for additional aid from Jewish communities in America (Document 16, letter written by GI Jerry to his parents in the United States). Klausner reported to his superiors in the United States on the situation facing Jews in postwar Germany after visiting thousands of DPs scattered across the American Zone in the first month after liberation. His June 24, 1945, report to Philip Bernstein, executive director of the National Jewish Welfare Board, Committee on Army-Navy Religious Activities, starkly summarized his observations, “Liberated but not free, that is the paradox of the Jew”:

“There seems to be no policy, no responsibility, no plan for these [...] stateless Jews [...]. Twelve hours a day I tell my lies. ‘They will come,’ I say. ‘When will they come?’ they ask me. UNRRA, JDC, Red Cross – can it be that they are not aware of the problem? It is impossible [...]. Of what use is

18 On the Jewish Brigade, see Yoav Gelber, *The Meeting Between the Jewish Soldiers from Palestine Serving in the British Army and She’erit Hapletah*, in: Yisrael Gutman/Avital Saf (eds.), *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948: Rehabilitation and Political Struggle*, Jerusalem 1990, 60–80.

19 Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1939–1945*, Detroit, Mich., 1981, 291. On the rescue work of Joseph Schwartz, see Ruth Baki Kolodny, *I am Joseph, Your Brother: The Life and Work of Joe Schwartz*, Tel Aviv 2010 [Heb.].

all my complaining; I cannot stop their tears. America was their hope and all America has given them is a new camp with guards in khaki. Freedom, hell no! They are behind walls without hope.”²⁰

Organizing amongst themselves, Jewish DPs voiced their frustration in letters to military authorities and Jewish organizations (such as the World Jewish Congress and the JDC), pleading for assistance from the U. S. Military Government and UNRRA to rectify their miserable situation.²¹ Liberation came as a rude awakening for survivors who had hoped to be welcomed by the world with relief and assistance. Jewish DPs struggled to obtain bearable living conditions and yearned for contact with the rest of the Jewish world, which had still largely been denied access to the DP camps by military authorities seeking to establish order in the chaotic postwar situation.

With the JDC blocked from entering the occupied zone and reluctant to risk necessary longer-term cooperation with U. S. officials by contravening military directives, survivors worked together with GIs and Jewish chaplains to organize help for themselves. Klausner met Zalman Grinberg, a doctor and a survivor from Kovno, who had commandeered part of a Benedictine monastery at St. Ottilien for use as a Jewish DP hospital after liberation, and would become a close colleague in the rebuilding of Jewish life in postwar Germany during his early work in Bavaria.²² As Grinberg wrote to the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in May 1945, disappointment with the slow arrival of relief was evident:

20 June 24, 1945 report of Chaplain Abraham Klausner, *A Detailed Report on the Liberated Jew as He Now Suffers His Period of Liberation Under the Discipline of the Armed Forces of the United States*, in: *Archives of the American Jewish Historical Society*, New York, P-879 (Abraham Klausner Papers), box 3, folder 11; also in: Alex Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame: American Jewish Chaplains and the Survivors of European Jewry, 1944–1948*, Detroit, Mich., 1993, 42 f.

21 Zalman Grinberg and Puczyc to OMGUS [Office of Military Government, U. S.] and UNRRA, July 10, 1945, YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 2, folder 17, frame 340. Grinberg noted that many Ukrainians who had collaborated with the SS continued to be well fed. The Jewish prisoners, who had always received the worst nourishment, continued to be malnourished and were still without proper clothing.

22 Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 31. For a transcript of the speech given by Zalman Grinberg at St. Ottilien on May 27, 1945, see YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 13, folder 104, frames 10–14.

“It has been four weeks since our liberation and no representative of the Jewish world, no representative from any Jewish organization has come to be with us after the worst tragedy of all time, to speak with us, to give us help, and to lighten our burden. We must, ourselves, with our own diminished strength, help ourselves.”²³

Chastened by the absence of any assistance from the Jewish world, Grinberg and Klausner, with the assistance of representatives from the Jewish Brigade and other survivors, decided, despite all obstacles, to take matters into their own hands (Document 3). On July 1, 1945, they established the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany (CCLJA or ZK, short for *Tsentral komitet*) as the official representative body of the Jewish DPs.²⁴ The purpose of the ZK was to champion the interests of the Jewish DPs and to draw attention to their plight before the U. S. Army and UNRRA, just as other national groups of displaced persons had done.

The ZK would eventually gain official U. S. Army recognition as “the legal and democratic representation of the liberated Jews in the American zone” in September 1946. It focused its work on the survivors’ immediate needs, including food, shelter, medicine, and security, and addressed the question of emigration. DP leaders soon reached a consensus that the Zionist dream of Eretz Israel represented the best solution for the stateless surviving Jews and that they should be encouraged to prepare themselves for immigration to Palestine at the earliest point possible.²⁵ This vision was intended both to

23 Dr. Zalman Grinberg, Bericht an den Jüdischen Weltkongress, St. Ottilien, May 31, 1945, YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 14, folder 129, 8. Klausner’s requests for medical supplies for the newly formed hospital organized by Grinberg, were met with replies of “materials unavailable” from the JDC, leading Klausner to secure supplies on his own through individual contacts. Abraham Klausner, *A Letter to My Children: From the Edge of the Holocaust*, San Francisco, Calif., 2002, 26.

24 The first CCLJA meeting took place in Feldafing DP Camp, near Dachau. See among many sources, Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 47 f. and Yehuda Bauer, *The Initial Organization of Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria*, in: *Yad Vashem Studies* 8 (1970), 127–157. On the early and extensive involvement of American-Jewish chaplains in the relief efforts and organization of DP institutions, see Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame*.

25 Avinoam J. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland: Jewish Youth and Zionism in the Aftermath of the Holocaust* Detroit, Mich., 2009, chap. 1. On efforts at illegal immigration to Palestine, mostly from southern Italy, see Idith Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel*, Berkeley, Calif., 1998.

offer hope for a self-determined future and as a response to the continued closed-door policy of the United States. The ZK appointed Klausner honorary President and elected Grinberg as chairman of the executive committee. Josef Rosensaft, a survivor of Auschwitz and several other camps who had been liberated from Bergen-Belsen, became leader of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone.²⁶

The shocking reports of continuing deprivation and poor organization of relief sent by DPs, American-Jewish GIs, and chaplains eventually prompted American officials to take a greater interest in the problem of the displaced persons. President Harry S. Truman dispatched Earl G. Harrison, Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and former U.S. Commissioner for Immigration and Naturalization, to survey conditions in the DP camps. In his scathing report to Truman, dated August 24, 1945, Harrison asserted in deliberately provocative terms that the Allies were “treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them.” Other less sensational parts of his report – which we reprint in full because of the continuing relative obscurity of the entire document beyond that one line (Document 15) – arguably had even more significant long-term consequences for Jewish DP life and the future prospects for a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Harrison recognized that

“Jews as Jews (not as members of their nationality groups) have been more severely victimized than the non-Jewish members of the same or other nationalities,” and added that “[r]efusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect [...] of closing one’s eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which has already made them a separate group with greater needs.”

In a move that would be crucial both for the immediate organization of Jewish DP life in occupied Germany and as a legitimization of a future Jewish state in Palestine, the report acknowledged Jews’ particular experience of genocide during the war and their stateless plight. Harrison argued that Jews must be recognized and managed by the U.S. Military Government as a separate group, distinct from other displaced national groups who had not been subject to systematic extermination. Indeed, Jews feared, not without justification, that given the nation state rubrics with which UNRRA operated, they would be forced to cohabit with non-Jewish Baltic and Eastern European DPs who might have collaborated with the Nazis mere months before, and wished

26 On the experiences of survivors in the British Zone, see Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945–1950*, Detroit, Mich., 2002.



Fig. 1: Major Jewish DP camps, 1945–1946. Courtesy of Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde e. V., Leipzig.

death upon their Jewish compatriots. Harrison proposed that Jews be granted separate housing in their own camps. He also advocated for the immediate release of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine. As he noted in the report: “They want to be evacuated to Palestine now, just as other national groups are being repatriated to their homes. They do not look kindly on the idea of waiting around in idleness and in discomfort in a German camp for many months until a leisurely solution is found for them.”

The widely publicized report would have far-reaching consequences for the future of Jewish DPs, the Zionist movement, and the drive to establish the new State of Israel. Following Harrison’s revelations, American authorities, under the leadership of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, worked to ameliorate conditions for Jewish DPs, establish separate camps and appoint an adviser on Jewish affairs. Eight months later, the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (AACI), after a months-long fact-finding mission in the Middle East and the DP camps, also recommended (unsuccessfully) that 100,000 immigration certificates to British Mandate Palestine be granted to Jewish DPs. It additionally envisioned (equally unsuccessfully) a multinational future for the Mandate with co-existence among Jews, Christians and Muslims in a territory sacred to all and without either an “Arab state” or a “Jewish state” (Document 18). The combined effects of American-Jewish pressure, the Harrison Report, and the continued restriction of immigration to the United States and Palestine resulted in a significant improvement of conditions for Jewish DPs gathered in the American Zone, whose Jewish population would, in another unexpected development, greatly expand in the months after the release of Harrison’s report.

“Infiltrates”: Further Influx from the East

Over the course of 1945 and into 1946, many Jews, who were not liberated on German soil or had tried to return to their former homes after liberation, along with a large number of those who had survived in the Soviet Union before being repatriated, escaped Poland and other Eastern European countries. They journeyed on their own or with the *Briḥah* (Heb., Escape), a semi-clandestine Zionist organization that hoped to facilitate illegal immigration of European Jews to Palestine.²⁷ It initially focused on helping Jewish “infiltrates,” as the Allies called them, into the American Zone. After the Harrison Report,

27 David Engel, *Ben shiḥrur li-vriḥah: Nizolei ha-shoah be-polin ve-ha-ma’avak ‘al hanhagatam, 1944–1946* [Between Liberation and Escape: Survivors of the Holocaust in Poland and the Struggle over Their Leadership, 1944–1946], Tel Aviv 1996.

American officials had become more willing to police their zone's borders with "one eye closed."

Jews who remained in or returned to Poland after the war had hoped to find surviving family and to reclaim property, but instead encountered continued antisemitic violence, economic hardship, and an increasingly restrictive new Communist regime.²⁸ They concluded that there was no future for them in Europe and that entering the western occupation zones of Germany would allow them to continue their route overseas. Indeed, the great majority of the Eastern European DPs who gathered in the DP camps and communities of the American Zone and in the U.S. sector of Berlin were in fact not direct survivors of the Nazi "Final Solution." Rather, these so-called infiltrates were Eastern European Jews, mostly from Poland, with a remarkable and complicated wartime history of flight and multiple displacements.²⁹

These previously Polish Jews had fled the advancing Wehrmacht in September 1939, across newly demarcated borders into the Soviet Union, or they had found themselves, as a result of the division of Poland mandated by the Nazi-Soviet Pact, on newly Sovietized territory. In 1940, these Polish Jews had been "deported to life" in special labor camps in Siberia or other remote parts of the Soviet interior. In the summer of 1941, they had been granted "amnesty," along with all Polish citizens, when the Germans invaded the USSR, and they fled further, into completely unfamiliar territory in Central Asia. After the war ended, they were repatriated to a devastated Poland with pitifully few Jewish survivors.

Only then did they realize that, as harsh as their fate had been, in a Soviet exile, where many had perished from hunger, forced labor, and disease, they were the "lucky" ones, who had been spared the systematic extermination of those left behind in Nazi-occupied Europe. And yet, having survived the war and escaped the Nazis, they still faced renewed and sometimes murderous persecution in postwar Poland, precipitating renewed flight, both before and after the notorious Kielce pogrom in July 1946.³⁰ They escaped once again,

28 On the experiences of Jews who survived in the USSR, their repatriation to and subsequent flight from Poland, and their impact on the shifting demographics, culture, and politics of the Jewish DP population see Eliyana R. Adler, *Survival on the Margins: Polish Jewish Refugees in the Wartime Soviet Union*, Cambridge 2020; Mark Edele/Sheila Fitzpatrick/Atina Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust: Rethinking Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union*, Detroit, Mich., 2017; Katharina Friedla/Markus Nesselrodt (eds.), *Polish Jews in the Soviet Union (1939–1959): History and Memory of Deportation, Exile, and Survival*, Boston, Mass., 2021.

29 For a concise overview, see Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 235–260.

30 Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, *Cries of the Mob in the Pogroms of Rzeszów (June 1945), Cracow (August 1945), and Kielce (July 1946) as a Source for the State of Mind of*

now to the safety of the American Zone of occupied Germany, either in groups organized by the *Briḥah* or on their own. There, at last, these postwar refugees from Soviet-controlled Poland were accepted as DPs, and integrated into the already-existing community of survivors, melding into the surviving remnant.

Despite their numbers and indeed their prominence in cultural and political life, their experiences were subsumed in the even more horrifying stories of the direct survivors and into the broader community of the *She'erit Hapletah*. At the time, although less so in later memory and historiography, the influx from Poland of repatriates who had survived in the Soviet Union and their integration into the DP camps, along with others who had not been liberated on German soil, such as former partisans and Jews who had survived in hiding or by passing as “Aryans,” was an obvious part of everyday life, as noted, for example, by the JDC official Koppel S. Pinson in his 1947 report on “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany” (Document 24).

With the arrival of some 150–200,000 Jews fleeing continued persecution and antisemitism in Eastern Europe, the Jewish DP population reached 250–300,000 in Germany, Italy, and Austria by the beginning of 1947. A distinctly low estimate by the JDC counted approximately 185,000 in Germany, 45,000 in Austria, and 20,000 in Italy. Young adults constituted a disproportionately high percentage of the surviving population. Reports and surveys consistently estimated the proportion of Jewish DPs aged 15–30 at more than half and often above 80 percent of the total Jewish population.³¹ Especially before the

the Participants, in: *East European Politics and Societies* 25 (2011), no. 3, 553–574; Barbara Engelking, *Unbequeme Wahrheiten: Polen und sein Verhältnis zu den Juden*, Frankfurt a.M. 2009; Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*, Princeton/Oxford 2007; Anna Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence: Jewish Survivors in Poland and Slovakia 1944–1948*, Cambridge 2014. On the Kielce pogrom, see Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, *Cursed. A Social Portrait of the Kielce Pogrom*, transl. by Ewa Wampuszyc, Ithaca, NY, 2023 (first Warsaw 2018); Feliks Tych/Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska (eds.), *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland 1944–2010*, Jerusalem 2014.

31 For example, a survey of Jewish DPs in Bavaria taken in February 1946 found that 83.1 percent were aged 15–40, with over 40 percent aged 15–24, and 61.3 percent 19–34. JDC, *Jewish Population in Bavaria, February 1946*, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 9, folder 57, frame 581. A study by the JDC of Jews in the American Zone in Germany over one year after liberation found 83.1 percent between the ages 6–44. *Idem*, *Jewish Population, U.S. Zone Germany, November 30, 1946*, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 9, folder 57, frame 682. Again, we must stress that there are no precise statistics.

arrival of Jews who had been in the Soviet Union, many of the young DPs were sole survivors of once large families.

Common Experience and Differences

The nature of the surviving population also shifted as many more Jews who had survived the war in far-flung exile in the Soviet Union began to arrive in the DP camps. Some had made the trek in family groups with young children born in Central Asia or on the trek back to Poland or from Poland to the Western zones. Because the DPs were a population in constant transition – highly mobile, hoping for departure, waiting for immigration options – the notion of a postwar community of survivors was in flux. The *She'orit Hapletah* existed as a collective, but the individuals who composed it were constantly changing. Nonetheless, a sense of collective identity as part of the “surviving remnant,” amplified by their homogenizing classification as “displaced persons” by the Western Allies, transcended their highly varied trajectories. And while not necessarily Zionist, it was, as diverse sources demonstrate, nurtured by an intense sense of common struggle and loss of family and prewar communities, common hope for the future, and, not least, a common sense of abandonment that fed into an inchoate vision of a Zionist future – even if the desired or ultimate destination would not be Palestine or a state of Israel.³²

Jews throughout Europe also engaged in multiple other activities which similarly indicated their collective commitment to “redeeming the future.” Survivors set the agenda for forms of Holocaust commemoration, religious responses to the catastrophe, political engagement, reconstruction of families, publishing, and documentation that would define the ways in which survivors carried their wartime experiences to new communities around the world. They demanded justice from the perpetrators and meted out justice among themselves. They created new rituals, salvaged old documents, and recorded the recent destruction to ensure that Jews, and not their perpetrators, would tell their story.

The construction of a shared identity among the surviving remnant did elide important differences that existed between and among individuals and communities who had been lumped together as Jews under the Nazis’ antisemitic policies. Survivors categorized as Jews were, of course, affected by such differences in age, gender, family situation, education, economic

32 On this concept of “identity,” see, among multiple other sources, Avinoam J. Patt, *Our Courage: The Meaning of Zionism for Survivors in the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, in: Bohus et al. (eds.), *Our Courage*, 286–301.

means, communal standing, ideological conviction, religious belief, national framework, and wartime situation.³³ This confusion was especially apparent in the situation of the small population of approximately 15,000 German Jews, half of whom lived in Berlin, many of them elderly, intermarried, or the offspring of mixed marriages. Their relationship to the mostly Polish Jewish DPs was complicated, marked by mutual distance and mistrust but not, however, as separate or antagonistic as often portrayed (Documents 25, 60 and 67).

The Nazi regime's policies of persecution and mass murder had directly impacted Jews in 21 countries, across the Nazi orbit and the satellite states. Thus, the manner and pace with which the German authorities implemented their anti-Jewish policies differed dramatically. Likewise, the nature of German rule in a given area – whether military or civil administration, and the extent to which local authorities participated in implementing anti-Jewish policies – were also factors conditioning survival, as were ethnic relations, the size of the Jewish population, and geography.³⁴ On an individual level, factors like knowledge of languages, connections, financial means, physical appearance, and pure luck often meant the difference between life and death.³⁵

Furthermore, most of the so-called “infiltrates” had survived under extremely harsh conditions in the unoccupied Soviet Union, first in Stalinist

33 Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis*, New York 1979. Trunk suggests multiple factors that would have affected the way in which Jews responded to persecution. In *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 2 vols., New York, 1997/2007, Saul Friedländer argues for an “integrated” history of the Holocaust that takes the broader historical, social, economic and cultural contexts into consideration, and incorporates the distinct perspectives of victims, perpetrators, and bystanders. Friedländer also addresses the complexity of “Jewish reactions.” Likewise, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum series, “Jewish Responses to Persecution,” presents archival sources that reflect the diverse nature of Jewish life in prewar and wartime Europe.

34 On the toxic confluence of factors that could lead to mass death of Jews in the Second World War, see, e. g., Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*, New York 2019.

35 For the variants in the pace, timing, character, and number of victims of the Nazi persecution of Jews in different European countries, see, e. g., David Bankier/Israel Gutman (eds.), *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*, Jerusalem 2003; Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust*, New York 1979; David Wyman (ed.), *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, Baltimore, Md., 1996. For a more recent study of individual choices made by Jews that might impact survival chances, see Evgeny Finkel, *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival during the Holocaust*, Princeton, NJ, 2017.

labor camps and special settlements in the Soviet interior (generally referred to as Siberia) and then in Soviet Central Asia,³⁶ before their repatriation to Poland, now Communist-dominated and marked by new borders. Formerly German “recovered” Lower Silesia was declared a destination for postwar Jewish life. This strange borderland had previously served as a home to many German Jews, who were now almost all gone or dead. Now it was populated by Polish Jews who had never lived there but whose homes and families in other parts of Poland had been destroyed during the war. The postwar Jewish community in Poland’s Lower Silesia briefly flourished as a center of survivor culture at the same time and alongside the much better-known DP camps.³⁷

All these differences in prewar and wartime experiences notwithstanding, a profound sense of connectedness and agency formed among the surviving remnant. Jewish DPs shared an aggrieved frustration with their collective postwar fate, a bitterness focused on their stateless refugee existence, the apparent indifference of the international community to their plight coupled with rage at the British refusal to countenance immigration to Palestine even after its own representatives on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had called for 100,000 entry permits. Despite internal divisions around myriad issues from the suitability of playing soccer on Sabbath, the provision of sufficient kosher food, and relationships with Germans to degrees of insistence on Aliyah (Heb., ascent, meaning the immigration of a Jew) to Palestine, the intense need to build a new life in the aftermath of catastrophe created a strong connection to the broader survivor and European Jewish community. The titles on a list of Yiddish camp newspapers – *Our World*, *Our Goal*, *Our Word*, *Our Hope*, *Our Front*, *Our Courage*, *Our Voice*, *Our Struggle*, and *Our Way* – signal that they were “written by Jews for one another,” as a “forum” for “Jews who were bound together by their wartime sufferings.”³⁸

36 Adler, *Survival on the Margins*.

37 Kamil Kijek, *Reichenbach/Rychbach/Dzierżoniów: A Center for Jewish Life in Poland in a Period of Transition, 1945–1950*, in: Bohus et al. (eds.), *Our Courage*, 104–117; idem, *Aliens in the Lands of the Piasts: The Polonization of Lower Silesia and its Jewish Community in the Years 1945–1950*, in: Tobias Grill (ed.) *Jews and Germans in Eastern Europe: Shared and Comparative Histories*, Berlin/Boston, Mass., 2018, 234–256; Bożena Szaynok, *The Beginnings of Jewish Settlement in Lower Silesia after World War II (May 1945–January 1946)*, in: *Acta Poloniae Historica* 76 (1997), 171–195.

38 Ruth Gay, *Safe Among the Germans: Liberated Jews after World War II*, New Haven, Conn., 2002, 62 f.

Everyday Life Between Politics and Culture

Regulated and observed by their (mostly) American liberators, Jewish DPs also continually interacted, in uneasy, sometimes cordial, and always pragmatic ways, in medical and childcare, sports and entertainment, in trade, as employers and employees (especially nannies and housekeepers), as students in vocational training and university programs, and in sexual and romantic relations with non-Jewish partners. 25 percent of Jewish DPs left the camps and became “free livers” in surrounding German towns. The Bogenhausen district in Munich, the birthplace of the Nazi Party, housed multiple Jewish organizations, and its lively “black market” served German, Allied and Jewish customers. While still living in a transitional situation, waiting for the possibility of emigration, DPs succeeded in creating a vibrant and dynamic community in hundreds of DP camps and communities across Germany, Austria, and in smaller numbers in Italy.

Whether in- or outside of the DP camps, and despite the deep scars of wartime trauma (as recorded in Document 7), this postwar interregnum gave the overwhelmingly young survivors time to recover physically. They mourned and, in some cases, managed to reestablish contact with lost family members. In keeping with prewar Eastern European tradition, they built an active and contentious autonomous political, cultural, and religious life. With the assistance of representatives from UNRRA, the JDC, the Jewish Agency, and other organizations, they established schools throughout the DP camps. As the population of young people increased with the arrival of more “infiltrates,” the educational system expanded, with most classes focused on preparing Jewish youth for a future in the Land of Israel, teaching Hebrew language, Jewish history, and Jewish literature as well as practical trades. Despite the misgivings of outside observers, notably among UNRRA but also JDC aid officials, who objected to focusing on a Zionist agenda, this approach reflected majority opinion among Jewish DPs, who consistently articulated an emphatic desire to make Palestine the collective solution to the problem of Jewish statelessness, even for those individuals or families who did not plan to go to Palestine.³⁹

39 On education in the DP camps, see Patt, “The Future of the Jewish People”: Youth and Education in the DP Camps, in: Sharon Kangisser Cohen/Dalia Ofer (eds.), *Starting Anew: Rehabilitation of Child Survivors of the Holocaust in the Early Postwar Years*, Jerusalem 2020, 103–145; Yehuda Bauer, *Out of the Ashes: The Impact of American Jews on Post-Holocaust European Jewry*, New York 1989, 211. Bauer also notes that relations between the ZK and the teachers were “far from smooth” and there were

The largest camps, including Landsberg, Feldafing, and Föhrenwald in the American Zone of Germany, and Bergen-Belsen in the British Zone, boasted, as so many sources in this volume attest, a flourishing if makeshift, DP press and theater culture, Zionist youth movements, athletic clubs and historical commissions. Remarkably, this cultural and educational activism began immediately after liberation in a moment, as Sami Feder, the founder of the *Katset-teater* in Belsen put it, of “immense joy mixed with deep sorrow” (Document 55).

While some survivors abandoned religion in the aftermath, the DP camps also saw a resurgence of Jewish life after the war, and the establishment of yeshivas testified to the rebirth of Orthodox Judaism.⁴⁰ As we see in many of the documents in chapter 8, the rituals that marked life cycle events (circumcision, bar mitzvah, funerals) and the Jewish calendar figured prominently in the everyday life of virtually all Jewish DPs, including the majority who were not very observant.

The DPs took an active role in representing their own political interests. Political parties, mostly Zionist in nature, fought over membership in camp committees and met at annual congresses of the *She'erit Hapletah* while advocating the immigration of survivors to Palestine. The Orthodox *Agudat Yisra'el* and the remnants of the Jewish socialist Bundist party were the exceptions, the latter still hoping to build a future for Jewish workers in the Diaspora. DP journals and newspapers, represented especially in many of the documents in chapters 7–9, along with a sophisticated literary culture incongruously developed in *goles daytshland* (Exile Germany), also helped to create “imagined communities” for the survivors. DP camp newspapers, written in Yiddish, although often in Roman letters due to the postwar shortage of Hebrew script typefaces, reported on current events, ranging from wildly popular sports competitions, usually among DP teams but also with Americans and occasionally even Germans (Document 53), to con-

teachers' strikes. On Jewish students in German universities, see Jeremy Varon, *The New Life: Jewish Students of Postwar Germany*, Detroit, Mich., 2014.

40 Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*, in: Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual Volume 6 (1989), 7–97. By 1947 the American Orthodox relief agency *Vaad Hatzalah* (Rescue Committee) was maintaining 15 rabbinical seminaries (yeshivas) that serviced 1,253 young men and providing 56 *talmud torah* (religious elementary schools) for children ages five to 14, in which 3,692 students studied with educational volumes provided by the *Vaad Hatzalah*. For analysis of survivors' complicated and sometimes ambivalent relationship to religion and belief in God, see Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany*, 64–106.

flicts with American or British authorities and clashes with local Germans (Document 72) as well as developments in the Yishuv. Above all, the very existence of these “transitional gazette[s],” as editor Israel Kaplan put it already in October 1945 in his impassioned announcement of “A tsaytung, a tsaytung,” demonstrated the fierce will to live of a *She'erit Hapletah* in shock and mourning: “Yes, we shall now be publishing a paper; we shall write, claim, make observations about everyone and everything, which we demand, must and want to do, and which our enemies do not will us to.” (Document 57)

Yiddish poetry and prose were published in more than one hundred journals in DP camps, and later in some thirty bound volumes.⁴¹ Theater groups – among them the *Katset-teater* in Bergen-Belsen (Document 55) – performed scenes from the ghettos and camps while dressed in striped uniforms and even toured on international stages (Figure 19). A unique form of often bitter and sarcastic Jewish humor was also a means of regaining a sense of normalcy after the war. This striving for “normalcy” was also evidenced by the creation of numerous theatrical troupes, orchestras and bands, and a hunger for any form of entertainment (Document 47). As was the case during the war, humor served as a coping mechanism to deal with suffering and trauma, and to counter absurdities of the postwar situation. Yiddish writers also confronted tragic memories directly, often triggered by the most ordinary of encounters with Germans, illustrated by Malke Kelerikh’s searing evocation of a woman’s flashback to the suffocation of a whimpering child in a bunker by adults desperately trying to avoid capture when confronted, a few years later, with a happy smiling German girl on a train (Document 69). Jewish DPs

41 In her work on Yiddish writers in the DP camps, Tamar Lewinsky also points to the problem faced by authors in creating and re-creating Jewish culture within the foreign and unthinkable surroundings of *goles daytshland* (Exile Germany) or *goles bayern* (Exile Bavaria), where they nonetheless were forced to operate until a more suitable, permanent, and hospitable home could be found. In 1947, the Yiddish writer Hershk Varnoykh published a collection of short stories titled *Goles bayern*. Tamar Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets: Jiddische Schriftsteller im Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945–1951*, Göttingen 2008, 167; idem, *Dangling Roots: Yiddish Language and Culture in the German Diaspora*, in: Patt/Berkowitz (eds.), “We Are Here,” 308–334; idem (ed.), *Unterbrochenes Gedicht: Jiddische Literatur in Deutschland 1944–1950*, transl. by Tamar and Charles Lewinsky, Munich 2011. On Yiddish theater and press see Ella Florsheim, *Words Reaching for Life: Yiddish Culture in Displaced Persons Camps*, Jerusalem 2020 [Heb.]. For a translation into German of selected articles from a Yiddish journal in the British Zone, see Hildegard Harck (ed.), *Unzer Sztyme: Jüdische Quellen zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinden in der Britischen Zone 1945–1947*, Kiel 2004.

were acutely aware of the intense irony of their continued existence in postwar Germany.⁴²

Some of that often bitter humor poked fun at the DPs' continued dependence on relief from outside aid agencies like the JDC or UNRRA, as their stay in Germany dragged on for years, while also lamenting their inefficient and insufficient assistance and the persistent communication gaps between the survivors and their American-Jewish co-religionists. Yiddish writers produced biting satirical texts about the clueless actions of aid officials and organizations as well as the self-inventions of fellow DPs, who, having lost their past, might create new personas, as depicted in Yiddish writer Baruch Graubard's short story (Document 56). JDC work in the American Zone was in fact marked not only by initial confusion over its mission and delays in obtaining official permissions but also by constant reorganization and rotating leadership; there were four zone directors between October 1945 and January 1947.⁴³

Aid Organizations and Conflicts over Relief

Nonetheless, despite having only inaugurated operations in the American Zone of Germany in the fall of 1945, by spring 1946 the JDC had managed to improve the organization of supply distribution and set up functional relationships with UNRRA and the Central Committee. JDC teams worked throughout the DP camps under its jurisdiction, as well as in *kibbutzim* (agricultural settlements) of the Zionist youth movements to provide supplies and support educational, cultural, and religious activities. Indeed, both UNRRA and the U.S. Military Government were quite happy to have the JDC take on so much responsibility for the Jewish DP population, while also bearing the burden of funding for crucial supplemental aid in goods and services. Still, as the DP population continued to increase with the birth of babies and the steady influx from Eastern Europe, growing struggles over the control and distribution of these goods raised questions of DP independence, self-esteem, efficiency, and equity in distribution, as well as the critical issue of control over provision of supplies.⁴⁴

42 On the particular role of irony and bitter humor among DP survivors, see Avinoam J. Patt, "Laughter through Tears": Jewish Humor in the Aftermath of the Holocaust, in: Eli Lederhendler/Gabriel N. Finder (eds.), *A Club of Their Own: Jewish Humorists and the Contemporary World*, New York 2016, 113–131.

43 Klausner, *A Letter to My Children*, 114.

44 Bauer, *Out of the Ashes*, 120.

Grinberg and the leadership of the CCLJA resented the patronizing attitude of American-Jewish leaders who did not truly understand the needs of the survivors and felt they could dictate the terms of aid, such as lecturing them on the evils of ubiquitous “black market” activity or the heavy-handed tactics of rival Zionist groups. For his part, Leo W. Schwarz, the director of the JDC’s operations in the American Zone in Germany in 1946 and 1947, suspected that growing political factionalism among various Zionist political parties within the Central Committee threatened the equitable sharing of supplies and therefore struggled to enforce equal representation on the Central Committee. Following the dismissal of the DPs’ fiercest American advocate, Chaplain Klausner, and the dispute between the CCLJA and the JDC, Joseph Schwartz, JDC’s European director, intervened and a compromise was reached in August 1946 that left distribution and control of supplies to joint management by the JDC and the Central Committee.⁴⁵

While some of the dispute between the JDC and the Central Committee focused on division, control, and allocation of resources, the latter also resented what it saw as the JDC’s failure to recognize its pivotal role in caring for the DPs, thereby taking credit for DP organized improvements in health, education, and welfare.⁴⁶ For the JDC, however, relations with the Central Committee were not the only complicating factor in postwar Germany. The “Joint” also had to negotiate relationships with other Jewish organizations representing various constituencies in the DP camps, including the Jewish Agency, myriad Zionist political parties and youth groups, religious groups focused on rebuilding Torah Judaism and Hasidic groups, including *Vaad Hatzalah* and *Agudat Yisra’el*. Other aid organizations like HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training), and the WJC also sought to share credit for relief work in the camps.⁴⁷ Not least, however, it was the resources and sheer power of the U. S. Military Government that facilitated the rebirth of Jewish communal life. This was shown in the grateful preface to the *Survivors’ Talmud* published by a Union of Orthodox Rabbis on German soil by a German printer in 1948 (Document 64) under the auspices of the United States Army. At the same time,

45 Ibid., 122. See memorandum signed by three members of Central Committee on visit to the United States on January 28, 1947. Also discussed in: Leo W. Schwarz, *The Redeemers: A Saga of the Years 1945–1952*, New York 1953, 364.

46 Bauer, *Out of the Ashes*, 127.

47 Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz has detailed the complexities of navigating religious life among DPs in postwar Germany for the JDC. Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*.

yearning for immigration to Eretz Israel was reflected in the pained and angry revision of the Passover prayer *Dayenu* (Heb., lit. enough to us) in a *Survivors' Haggadah* (Document 62).

Confronted with all these difficulties, the JDC struggled to keep up with growing needs and spiraling costs. The organization's 1946 annual report *Year of Survival*, for example, highlighted these challenges while touting its remarkable accomplishments in delivering relief supplies to Jews in postwar Europe. As the JDC noted with pride in the report, despite "chaotic European transportation conditions," it had delivered "some 14,000,000 US dollars in supplies, including 41,500,000 pounds of foodstuffs, 6,800,000 pounds of wearing apparel and shoes, and 6,500,000 pounds of other necessities – medicines and surgical equipment, schoolbooks and educational materials, blankets and other commodities." Food deliveries, consisting principally of high-energy food, such as fish, meat, butter, fats, and sugar, were augmented by local purchases. Distribution of food during the first half of 1946 was on a per capita basis, but later in the year after large numbers of infiltrees arrived destitute and hungry, allocations were based on the degree of need.⁴⁸

Even so, from the perspective of individual DPs, the JDC, while celebrated for offering relief, was still a target for bitter disappointment. Henny Durmashkin, who sang in the Vilna ghetto and performed extensively with the St. Ottilien orchestra in DP centers across Germany, lamented the policies of UNRRA and the Joint, in her song "Joint'l":

"What good are all these speeches
From Joint and Uncle Sam to me?
You either drop with hunger,
Or take what you see.
These overflowing pledges,
These promises to be,
Have left us still in tatters,
Nothing have we!"⁴⁹

48 JDC Archives, New York, Records of the Geneva Office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1945–1954, folder ADM.594, *The Year of Survival*, 1946, Annual Report of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 8.

49 Henny Durmashkin, *Joint'l* (Munich, August 1949), in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG-294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 46, folder 536, frame 1214; Shirli Gilbert, "We Long for a Home": Songs and Survival among Jewish Displaced Persons, in: Patt/Berkowitz (eds.), "We Are Here," 289–307.

Justice, Documentation, and Commemoration Initiatives

In a difficult, fraught, and painful process, Jewish survivors also claimed (and reclaimed) agency by taking the administration of justice into their own hands. They established hundreds of “Honor Courts.” DP courts adjudicated everyday offenses like egregious “black market” activity or ostentatious consorting with German women and denounced the offenders for fraternizing with the “ancient enemy Amalek” (Documents 51 and 61). They also sat in judgement over their own co-religionists who were deemed to have collaborated during the war (frequently former members of the wartime Jewish Councils, members of the ghetto police or informants among their ranks).⁵⁰ In the DP camps of Western Europe or in the courtrooms of Soviet-dominated Poland, Jewish survivors faced up to and owned the debate on Jewish responsibility during the war. This form of self-determination was powerful in the immediate postwar period but often silenced in later historical narratives and memoirs.⁵¹

Such an audacious step led to conflict with Allied authorities who also wanted to exercise their own jurisdiction over DP offenses (and often did) and tormented debates about how to judge “choiceless choices.” Yet, survivors considered it their duty to undertake this burden and not leave the administration of justice to those who had not experienced or did not fully grasp the agonizing complexity of Jewish existence under Nazi control. Honor Courts operated in postwar communities throughout Europe and also in the autonomous communities of mostly German-Jewish survivors (some 15,000) that had reestablished themselves shortly after the war. They were also an important feature of DP camp self-government. This internal autonomy had been granted by General Joseph McNarney, Eisenhower’s successor as the head of U.S. Military Government in a special ceremony in the War

50 Laura Jockusch/Gabriel N. Finder (eds.), *Jewish Honor Courts: Revenge, Retribution, and Reconciliation in Europe and Israel after the Holocaust*, Detroit, Mich., 2015; Katarzyna Person, *Jewish Courts of Honor in the American Zone of Occupied Germany and the Allied Judiciary*, in: Bohus et al. (eds.), *Our Courage*, 258–273; Alexandra M. Kramen, *Justice Pursued: Jewish Survivors’ Struggle for Holocaust Justice in Displaced Persons Camp Föhrenwald, 1945–1957*, PhD dissertation in progress, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

51 Person, *Jewish Courts of Honor in the American Zone of Occupied Germany*. See also Feinstein, section on “Justice, Justice, Shall You Pursue” in: *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany*, 238–250.

Room of American Headquarters at the I. G.-Farben-Haus in Frankfurt on September 7, 1946.

A small but key group of survivors in the DP camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy, as well as the reconstituted communities in postwar Poland, Hungary, France, and elsewhere, decided to act on a more general sense that Jews in Europe lived in a unique moment in time, with a short window of opportunity to document the atrocities of the wars before they dispersed around the globe to new homes. Such documentation would serve purposes of memorialization and as evidence to be used in judicial proceedings against Nazi war criminals. In the American Zone of Germany, Moshe Feigenbaum and Israel Kaplan, neither of them professional historians, formed the Central Historical Commission based in Munich, modeled on earlier initiatives of Jewish historical commissions in Poland and France, to gather individual testimonies. These early collection projects, which started even before liberation and immediately thereafter, as in the pioneering oral histories recorded by the American social psychologist David Boder (Document 6), built on wartime documentation projects, most notably Emanuel Ringelblum's *Oyneg Shabes* (Yidd., joy of the Sabbath) archive hidden underground in the Warsaw ghetto. In addition, they took up the older tradition of Eastern European Jewish social history. They aimed to preserve – as perceived by Jewish victims – the evidence of a catastrophe that was only slowly being grasped in its full enormity while at the same time already fading into a more universal memory of general wartime suffering.

The Jewish historical commissions undertook a huge, demanding, and painful task: to chronicle in rigorous detail a great variety of Holocaust experiences, survival in ghettos, camps, hiding, and partisan units, already in the immediate aftermath of events. They formed in cities across postwar Europe and also in DP camps and communities – the Central Historical Commission in Germany operated out of Munich. Perhaps inevitably, given the enormity of what the commissions aimed to produce and their determined claim to agency in writing their own history, the project was incomplete. The commissions focused on accounts of resistance and the experiences of Lithuanian and Polish Jews under Nazi occupation in ghettos, camps, hiding, and with partisan units. Despite the fact that many of its most active *zamlers* (Yidd., collectors) and a large portion of the Jewish DP population had in fact endured the war in the Soviet Union, they included relatively little documentation of that wartime struggle for survival. In the face of traumatic memories and the insistent future orientation of DP Zionism, most DPs did not heed the admonition that they had an obligation to “Remember What Amalek Has Done to Thee: Collect and Record!,” as a slogan ran at that time (Document 51). Decades later, however, the remarkable volumes of early

Jewish research on the catastrophe, *khurbn* in Yiddish, became the foundation for the development of the field of Holocaust studies.⁵²

Looking to the Future: “Life Reborn”

As the documents collected in this volume demonstrate, transitory DP life was shaped by a double consciousness that looked both backward – in mourning coupled with the drive for justice and revenge – and forward, in the determination to form new families and a passionate Zionism that imagined a safe and secure future for the Jewish people in their own land. The Zionist youth movements, with the assistance of emissaries from Palestine, created a network of at least 40 agricultural training farms throughout Germany on the estates of former Nazis and German farmers, demonstrating their ardent desire for immigration to Palestine and performing an act of symbolic revenge against the Germans. The early political leadership of the *She'erit Hapletah*, composed of many former members of Zionist youth groups who had chosen to remain in occupied Germany rather than return to Eastern Europe, was overwhelmingly attuned to the needs of DP youth. In many cases, it was the surviving members of the Zionist youth movement and political parties who undertook self-help work and, in turn, became most active among those seeking to convince survivors not to return to Eastern Europe. Their prewar and wartime experience made them well-suited to lead the younger Jewish population that had survived life under German occupation or in the Soviet Union.

For the young Jewish survivors in the DP camps (primarily under the age of 35), regardless of whether they had participated in a Zionist youth group before the war, such kibbutz groups emerged as attractive options, providing them with the camaraderie, support, and replacement “family” they so desperately craved. On the diplomatic level, the high visibility of the kibbutzim and *hakhsharot* (Heb., agricultural training farms; Document 26, Figure 6) and their manifestations of Zionist enthusiasm demonstrated to outside observers a state of “Palestine passion” on the part of Jewish DPs. While Zionism could allow them to transcend their current situation through a focus on the future, it also provided an outlet for activity as their stay in

52 Laura Jockusch (ed.), *Khurbn-Forshung: Documents on Early Holocaust Research in Postwar Poland*, Göttingen 2022; idem, *Collect and Record! Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe*, New York 2012; Natalia Aleksium, *The Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland 1944–1947*, in: *Polin* 20 (2008), 74–97.

Germany dragged on. Young farmers, both female and male, on kibbutzim could take pride in their collective accomplishments. Agricultural labor not only prepared them for Aliyah to Eretz Israel but produced tangible results of their otherwise frustrating waiting life on German soil. Vocational training schools, established by the ORT as well as by political movements, such as the *Berufsschule* opened by the right-wing Zionist Betar movement in Darmstadt (Document 44), also attracted young DPs hoping to learn trades and occupations. Within the conventional gendered labor system, men would learn metalworking or auto mechanics and young women nursing, skills that would be useful for immigration to various new homes. These programs, spearheaded by DPs and supported by Jewish aid organizations, also depended on the know-how and services of local Germans as did the maintenance of daily life within the DP camps.

Indeed, in numerous ways, the visible Jewish presence in postwar Germany, was an affirmation of Jewish resilience and a defiant declaration that even after the destruction of the Holocaust, the Jewish people could not be eliminated. This was demonstrated by the parades of baby carriages testifying to the DP “baby boom,” the focus on the education of Jewish youth, and the militant call from the partisan anthem that “We Are Here” (Yidd.: *mir zeynen do*). The latter was sung, for example, by an overflowing crowd in the Yiddish theater in Bergen-Belsen in the British Zone, along with the Zionist hymn *Ha-Tikvah* (Heb., hope), competing with the obligatory and much resented intonation of “God Save the King” (Document 56). As Samuel Gringauz, a leader of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany, exhorted the young survivors already on the first Yom Kippur after liberation in September 1945: “You must show the world that we live.” (Document 40)

The phenomenon of rapid marriages and a high birth rate was one of the most visible forms of Jewish resilience, much commented on by relief workers and celebrated by Jewish organizations, especially the JDC. It served as a form of symbolic revenge, with the much-photographed baby carriages (Figure 2) signaling that so soon after the defeat of the Nazi “Final Solution” which had succeeded in exterminating much of European Jewry, new families were being formed. It served also as a form of psychological recovery by which young DPs, who had been deprived of “normal” experiences of growing up, found comfort and companionship in unions with partners whom they might not have known – or even loved (“Hitler married us,” they ironically commented) – very well but with whom they shared an experience of loss and trauma that they did not necessarily need to articulate.

This experience of shared rebirth also led to another important aspect of DP everyday life – the daily “close encounters” not only with the Military Government and aid officials, mostly from UNRRA and the JDC, but also with

the Germans – the people of “Amalek” – among whom they dwelled, even if sometimes separated by the barbed wire fences surrounding DP camps. Eventually, at least a quarter of DPs opted to leave those protective and constraining confines and settle as “free livers” in German cities and towns. Jews relied on Germans to fulfill a multitude of functions, as physicians and nurses when Jewish health professionals were in short supply, printers of their newspapers, owners of workshops where Jews apprenticed, teachers of trades in vocational schools (Document 44), professors in the universities where some survivors sought to gain higher education, and most poignantly perhaps, because so intimate, as housekeepers and nannies for the precious babies born to Jewish DPs. Many Jewish babies were born in German hospitals where, in the absence of sufficient Jewish medical personnel, they were cared for by German doctors and nurses.

Within and outside the DP camps, Jews hired local German nannies and cleaners as well as plumbers and other maintenance staff to ease the burdens of everyday life for survivors who took that labor as their due under the motto “now let the Germans work” (Documents 49 and 50). Jews encountered Germans in many contexts: as customers and partners in business enterprises, sometimes as competitors or, rarely, even as teammates, on the sports field. In a certainly not uncommon practice, officially stigmatized both by communal and religious leaders (Document 61), some (mostly male) Jews found German romantic or sexual partners, who sometimes eventually became spouses.⁵³

The “black market” was a key aspect of DP life that was widely known but rarely discussed, except insofar as it reflected the demoralization of DP waiting life and the need for Zionist organization and rapid emigration. Yet, the black or, more accurately, grey market, often blamed on Jewish DPs who were actually not the major large-scale traders, was an ubiquitous and necessary part of everyday life in occupied Germany. Given the lack of any stable currency, supplies from Jewish aid organizations, especially the JDC, including precious wares of coffee and particularly cigarettes, could be exchanged for everything from fresh fruits and vegetables to a baby carriage or a fancy dress. Jewish aid officers and DP leaders continually tried to contain black market activity while also defending violators from Allied or German raids and arrests, some of which resulted in violence (Documents 33 and 67).

53 Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 184–235. On these interactions, esp. in the economic realm, see Kierra Mikaila Crago-Schneider, *Jewish “Shtetls” in Postwar Germany. An Analysis of Interactions Among Jewish Displaced Persons, Germans, and Americans Between 1945 and 1957 in Bavaria*, PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles 2013.

“Long is the Road”: Toward New Homes, 1946–1952⁵⁴

In the aftermath of the Harrison Report, the British and U.S. victors created an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry charged with finding a diplomatic solution to the Jewish refugee problem in postwar Europe. For its representatives, the apparent importance of Zionism for the increasing numbers of DPs arriving in Germany confirmed the necessity of a Zionist solution. After beginning their work in Washington and London in January 1946, members of the commission embarked in February on a tour of Poland and the DP camps to assess the condition of Jewish survivors.

The committee based its findings in part on surveys conducted among the DPs, notwithstanding concerns shared by some JDC officials, over the impact of Zionist propaganda, highlighted by a 1946 UNRRA “census” according to which 18,072 of 19,311 respondents insisted that their first, and in many cases only, acceptable destination was Palestine. This result revealed more about DPs’ urgent belief in the necessity of a Jewish national homeland in which they would always be welcome (and, they hoped, rather unrealistically, safe), than their actual individual preferences. These often focused on the United States or other places where they could reunite with surviving family members. However, the committee, which had also toured Palestine, firmly believed, based on what it had observed among Jewish DPs, that as a collective they were ardently preparing themselves for a Zionist future.

On April 20, 1946, the AACI issued its report. It recommended

“(a) that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; (b) that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit.” (Document 18)

In the face of continued resistance to immigration by other desirable destinations such as the United States, Australia, and Canada, the American and British committee members concluded that not only were there no other options but that rapid immigration to Palestine was the truest expression of the Jewish DPs’ desires: “Furthermore, that is where almost all of them

54 *Long is the Road* (*Lang ist der Weg*) is the title of a German/Yiddish language feature film produced 1947/1948 in Bavaria (with flashback scenes depicting Holocaust experiences and inserted documentary footage) about the journey of Jewish survivors to Landsberg DP Camp in Bavaria. Cilly Kugelmann, “Lang ist der Weg.” Eine jüdisch-deutsche Film-Kooperation, in: Fritz Bauer Institut (ed.), *Auschwitz: Geschichte, Rezeption und Wirkung*, Frankfurt a. M. 1996, 353–370.

want to go. There they are sure that they will receive a welcome denied them elsewhere. There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives.”

Yet, the British government rejected the recommendations of their own representatives, fearing Arab protest and further destabilization of their precarious mandate.⁵⁵ As their sojourn in Europe dragged on, DPs staged mass protests condemning the British blockade of Palestine and participated in the illegal immigration organized by the *Mosad le-Aliyah Bet* (Institution for the Second Aliyah) movement to Palestine, most noticeably in the Exodus affair in the summer of 1947 (Document 21). Jews were increasingly embittered by their “waiting, waiting, waiting” existence, as noted in the DP film *Lang ist der Weg*, and by the ways in which whatever Allied support they had been able to count on was giving way to new and already intensifying Cold War geopolitical realities. The Americans were turning away from a politics of denazification, justice, and restitution, and toward closer cooperation with the former enemy in the service of anticommunism and German economic reconstruction. This rapidly changing political climate was threatening to end what Samuel Gringauz later termed the “golden age” of Allied sympathy and support for Jewish DPs.⁵⁶

In February 1947, the British referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations. Following the drama of the Exodus affair, and the work and report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the United Nations voted for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947. At the same time, the UN recommended that the problem of the DPs, by now expanded to some 250,000 due to the substantial influx of “infiltrates” from Poland, be dealt with through immigration of DPs to Palestine in line with its prospective “absorptive capacity.” When the United Nations voted for the partition plan and when the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, Jews across Europe greeted the news with great enthusiasm and many left or made plans to leave for the new Jewish state. Survivors in the DP camps celebrated and the Central Committee declared that “on the ruins of the Diaspora will arise the Jewish state, which will represent the most beautiful ideals of our people and will give the possibility to return the Jewish masses of the historical past and the coming future. With the help of the Jewish state the Jewish camps in Germany will be liquidated and the Jewish people will return to the family of free nations after 2000 years.”⁵⁷

55 On relations with the British, see esp. Lavsky, *New Beginnings*.

56 Samuel Gringauz, *Our New German Policy and the DPs: Why Immediate Resettlement is Imperative*, in: *Commentary* 5 (1948), no. 6, 508–514, here 509.

57 *Yidishe tsaytung*, December 16, 1947. Quoted from: Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 236.

However, displaced Jews' enthusiasm for Zionism was not necessarily ideological nor did it mean that they all wanted to emigrate to Palestine and then Israel. The Zionist dream instead filled a symbolic and emotional need for a positive vision of the future for the Jewish people. It also provided some much-needed practical solutions to many everyday problems. Young survivors especially, lacking training and missing community and family ties, found a home in Zionist peer-culture.⁵⁸ American officials, unlike the British, were willing to support the Zionist dream and to tolerate the flight of "infiltrates" from Poland into American Zone DP camps. They did so at least partly because the camps provided a kind of "holding environment" for those who would not be admitted to the United States and because the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine provided a viable and compelling alternative destination. As such, Zionism emerged as the dominant political and ideological trend among Jews in postwar Europe, even as many survivors still pursued the goal of eventually settling in the United States.

Following the passage of the UN partition plan and the creation of the State of Israel, a sizable portion of the Jewish DP population began to immigrate to the new state, as many as two-thirds by some estimates.⁵⁹ They constituted some 70 percent of the 244,000 immigrants who arrived in Israel in 1948 and 1949. A significant percentage of the younger segment participated in fighting in the 1948 war.⁶⁰ Most of the remainder immigrated to the United States, which had only become a realistic immigration option following passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 and the amended DP Act of 1950, which authorized 200,000 DPs (Jewish and non-Jewish) to enter the United States. By 1952, over 80,000 Jewish DPs had immigrated to the United States under the terms of the DP Act and with the aid of Jewish agencies.

Almost all of the DP camps were closed by 1952. Only Föhrenwald, near Munich, remained open until 1957, housing a "hard-core" of Jews who either could not or would not leave the protected confines of an all-Jewish community in the foothills of the Bavarian Alps (Document 41). Some were too ill and exhausted, suffering from tuberculosis and other disabilities acquired during the war. Some enterprising DPs sought at least temporary economic

58 Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, esp. chap. 3.

59 Sharon Kangisser Cohen, *Choosing a Heim: Survivors of the Holocaust and Post-war Immigration*, in: *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 46 (2013), no. 2, 32–54, esp. 33.

60 Hanna Yablonka, *Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel after the War*, transl. by Ora Cummings, New York, 1999 (first Jerusalem 1994), 9. On the fraught issue of young survivors and especially sole (male) survivors of families decimated in the Holocaust fighting and dying in the war, see *ibid.*, 139–151.

success in the wake of the 1948 currency reform in western Germany and West Berlin. Others were determined to complete professional educations they had been denied during the war in fields like medicine and engineering. Some had married German women and started families they did not want to uproot again; some had emigrated to Palestine, but, disillusioned with war and the hardships of pioneer life in the young state, had decided to return, despite legal restrictions, to Germany.⁶¹ Other desirable overseas destination countries like Australia and Canada were very reluctant to open their borders for an even longer period of time than the United States.⁶² Most, however, departed, eager to leave behind their involuntary – in some ways useful and indeed therapeutic – transit on the “cursed soil” of Germany.

As Holocaust survivors immigrated to new homelands and became absorbed into new communities in Israel and in the broader Jewish diaspora, they would also come to play a critical role in raising awareness of the significance of the Shoah and perpetuating the commemoration of the destruction of the former center of Jewish life in Europe. Even the category of “survivor” has changed over time, becoming ever more broadly defined. Although the term “survivor” appeared in English usage immediately after the war – usually as a compound with the name of a Nazi camp where the individual had been – it took decades until this category crystallized as a standard name for someone who had lived through a set of events now subsumed under the terms Holocaust or Shoah.⁶³

61 Ori Yehudai, *Leaving Zion: Jewish Emigration from Palestine and Israel after World War II*, Cambridge, 2020; idem, *Displaced in the National Home: Jewish Repatriation from Palestine to Europe, 1945–1948*, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 20 (2014), no. 2, 69–110.

62 Adara Goldberg, *Holocaust Survivors in Canada: Exclusion, Inclusion, Transformation, 1947–1955*, Winnipeg 2015; Sharon Kangisser Cohen, *Why We Chose Australia*, in: Ofer/Ouzan/Baumel-Schwartz (eds.), *Holocaust Survivors*, 274–292, here 274; Suzanne Dorothy Rutland, *Resettling the Survivors of the Holocaust in Australia*, in: *Holocaust Studies* 16 (2010), no. 3, 33–56; Beth B. Cohen, *Face to Face: American Jews and Holocaust Survivors, 1946–54*, in: Patt/Berkowitz (eds.), “We Are Here,” 136–166, here 140.

63 For examples of the early use of the term “survivor,” see Schwarz, *The Redeemers*; Robert Muhlen, *The Survivors: A Report on the Jews in Germany Today*, New York 1962. The first critical analysis of a large number of survivor testimonies was Terrence DesPres, *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*, New York 1976. The book found a wide readership and contributed significantly to establishing that the term “survivor” implied a distinct set of Holocaust experiences. A recent exploration of the term’s history is Alina Bothe/Markus Nesselrodt, *Survivor: Towards a Conceptual History*, in: *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 61 (2016), 57–82.

3. Historiography

The history of Jewish Displaced Persons was long treated as either a coda to the drama of the Holocaust, or as time in a “waiting room” caught between the catastrophic wartime years and the redemptive new beginning in mostly new homelands, notably, but certainly not only, in the young State of Israel. Even the amateur historians working in the historical commissions did not consider their own activist period as a significant discrete historical period that deserved study.

In many ways, it was the offspring of the DPs, born and raised in the camps, who emerged in the 1990s as the catalysts for historiography of the DP era, just as their survivor parents had pushed the development of Holocaust historiography and memory. Several key events in the 1990s mark this turn to postwar studies: The collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states as well as the corollary unification of the two postwar German states opened up archival collections, intensified public “memory culture” in the newly reconstituted Federal Republic of Germany, and prompted a reckoning with the fact that the postwar era had now firmly become “past.” The post 1990s emergence of the “era of the witness” connected historians trained in the 1970s to value “history from the bottom up,” oral history, and personal stories, as reflected particularly in feminist scholarship, with new research on the Holocaust. It no longer privileged perpetrator stories and instead paid attention to the voices of the victims as the immediate postwar *zamlers* did, including the rediscovery of unpublished or barely recognized memoirs. Finally, major institutions dedicated to Holocaust history such as Yad Vashem and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (founded 1993) put their imprimatur on the subject with conferences and gatherings.⁶⁴ In Germany as well, the “memory boom” that began, arguably in the late 1970s with the screening of the American television series *Holocaust*, produced a spate of studies and conferences. Notably, a 1995 conference in Munich organized by Rachel Salamander, herself born in Föhrenwald DP Camp, brought together such key figures as Rabbi Abraham Klausner and the American-Jewish commander of Feldafing DP Camp, Col. Irving Heymont, with DP children, now adults living in the United States and Germany, and a new crew of postwar historians.⁶⁵

64 Gutman/Saf (eds.), *She'erit Hapletah*; Rosensaft (ed.) *Life Reborn*.

65 Brenner, *After the Holocaust*. Also key: Fritz Bauer Institut (ed.), *Überlebt und Unterwegs: Jüdische Displaced Persons im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, Frankfurt a. M. 1997, which includes a seminal article by Dan Diner, *Elemente der Subjektwerdung: Jüdische DPs im Historischen Kontext*, 228–248; Jacqueline Giere/Rachel Salaman-

At the same time, a significant number of publications in the post 1990 period of memory activism was produced by scholars from Germany who approached the history of the Jewish DPs from the perspective of war's end and the collapse of National Socialism, Allied occupation, the persistence of antisemitism, and postwar West German reconstruction. This approach was innovative and generative in its recognition of the ways in which Nazi war, forced labor, and genocide had led to the presence of vast numbers of displaced "foreigners," including surviving Jews, in occupied Germany. The researchers tended to treat the DP period as an interregnum between the end of the war and postwar West German reconstruction, necessarily less interested in the continuities and discontinuities between the period before and after liberation for the Jewish victims. Most of the authors relied on abundant sources, including the archives of aid groups and DP organizations written in German or English in order to facilitate communication with local, Military Government, UNRRA, and JDC authorities, rather than those created by the DPs themselves, in Yiddish and to a lesser extent Hebrew and Polish.⁶⁶

Early writing about the Jewish DP experience tended to focus on conclusions drawn mainly from statements about DP attitudes and behavior made by outside observers, both Jewish and not, serving with Military Government, transnational aid organizations, or emissaries from the Yishuv. Indeed, the volume of material produced by foreign observers and administrators such as UNRRA, the JDC, the U.S. Army or by Zionist emissaries from Palestine active in the DP camps, far outweighs the amount of source material created

der (eds.), *Ein Leben aufs neu: Das Robinson Album. DP-Lager: Juden auf deutschem Boden 1945–1948*, Vienna 1995, which reprinted some of the many photographs taken in the DP camps, including some of the most iconic, of women pushing baby carriages and Jews brandishing Zionist banners demanding entry to Palestine.

66 An important general German language study of DPs is Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum heimatlosen Ausländer: Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland, 1945–1951*, Göttingen 1985. On Jewish DPs see Angelika Königseder/Juliane Wetzl, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, Frankfurt a. M. 1994 (English: *Waiting for Hope: Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-WWII Germany*, transl. by John A. Broadwin, Evanston, Ill., 2001); Susanne Dietrich/Julia Schulze-Wessel, *Zwischen Selbstorganisation und Stigmatisierung: Die Lebenswirklichkeit jüdischer Displaced Persons und die neue Gestalt des Antisemitismus in der deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft*, Stuttgart 1998; Angelika Eder, *Flüchtige Heimat: Jüdische Displaced Persons in Landsberg am Lech, 1945 bis 1950*, Munich 1998; Julius H. Schoeps (ed.), *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland 1945–1952*, Berlin 2001; Frank Stern, *The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans, and Jews in Postwar Germany*, in: *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990), 47–76.

by the DPs themselves, making it more difficult to understand the situation through DP eyes. The emphasis on the common statelessness of Jewish DPs situated them all within the same postwar category and as a problem to be solved rather than as a highly varied population with a diverse range of prewar and wartime experiences. For example, discussions of Jewish DP politics measured the significance of postwar Zionism among the DPs against the barometer of its impact on developments in Palestine and party divisions in the Yishuv, often perpetuating the views in reports by the emissaries.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, it turns out that a considerable amount of material produced by the DPs themselves does exist. Much of it remained long neglected, at least partially because most of it was written not in German, English, or Hebrew but, as this collection amply demonstrates, in Yiddish and to a lesser extent Polish, languages that have now been recognized as absolutely central to research on the Holocaust and its aftermath but were for a long time marginalized in historical research.

Jewish DPs were highly aware of their unique historical situation. The social, cultural, and political organizations they created, including the Central Committee of Liberated Jews and its local and regional committees, as well as

67 Relatively contemporaneous publications by aid workers and Allied officials include, Zorach Wahrhaftig, *Uprooted: Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons after Liberation*, New York 1946; Ira Hirschmann, *The Embers Still Burn: An Eye-Witness View of the Postwar Ferment in Europe and the Middle East and Our Disastrous Get-Soft-With-Germany Policy*, New York 1949; Dorothy Macardle, *Children of Europe: A Study of the Children of Liberated Countries. Their Wartime Experiences, Their Reactions and Their Needs, with a Note on Germany*, London 1949; George Woodbridge, *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*. Prepared by a special staff under the direction of George Woodbridge, chief historian of UNRRA, 3 vols., New York 1950; Kurt R. Grossmann, *The Jewish DP Problem: Its Origin, Scope, and Liquidation*, New York 1951; Kathryn Hulme, *The Wild Place*, Boston, Mass., 1953; Judah Nadich, *Eisenhower and the Jews*, New York 1953; Schwarz, *The Redeemers*. Similar texts published or republished decades later include, Marie Syrkin, *The State of the Jews*, New York 1980; American Jewish Archives (ed.), *Among the Survivors of the Holocaust – 1945: The Landsberg DP Camp Letters of Major Irving Heymont*, United States Army, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1982; Bauer, *Out of the Ashes*; Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *From That Time and Place: A Memoir 1938–1947*, New York 1989; Abraham S. Hyman, *The Undefeated*, Jerusalem/Hewlett, NY, 1993; Susan T. Pettiss, with Lynne Taylor, *After the Shooting Stopped: The Story of an UNRRA Welfare Worker in Germany, 1945–1947*, Victoria, BC, 2004; Irit Keynan, *Lo nirga ha-ra'av. Nizolei ha-shoah u-shlihei erez Yisra'el. Germaniyah 1945–1948 [And the Hunger was Not Staunched. Holocaust Survivors and the Emissaries from Eretz Israel. Germany 1945–1948]*, Tel Aviv 1996.

the various political parties and youth movements, all kept detailed records of their activities. Even beyond these institutional records, the DP camp press provides valuable insight into quotidian concerns as well as political and cultural activities. Diaries, letters, and testimonies collected by the Central Historical Commission, parties, and youth movements provide a more complex and varied perspective lacking in much of the earlier literature. These sources, many unpublished and presented in this volume, allow the DPs to speak about their postwar experiences in their own voices and historians today to analyze their actions on the basis of what they had to say about themselves.

Since the 1990s, research on Jewish DPs in postwar Germany has proceeded apace. Characteristically, these studies highlight self-organization and multiple aspects of everyday life including interactions with German neighbors and authorities as well as Allied officials.⁶⁸ Scholars have also shed light on the postwar years and their continuities with the period of the war and the Holocaust. Likewise, historians have pointed to the need to examine the Jewish DP experience in the context of the broader postwar DP/refugee crisis.⁶⁹ They have focused on specific elements of the diverse Jewish population, paying special attention to the disproportionately large segment of youth and

68 Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame*; Brenner, *After the Holocaust*; Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*; Gay, *Safe Among the Germans*; Lavsky, *New Beginnings*; Susanne Schönborn (ed.), *Zwischen Erinnerung und Neubeginn: Zur Deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte nach 1945*, Munich 2006; Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*; Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany*; Patt/Berkowitz (eds.), "We Are Here." See also, e. g., the photographs and brief texts in Jim G. Tobias, *Das Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung: Der Kibbutz auf dem Streicher-Hof: Die vergessene Geschichte der jüdischen Kollektivfarmen 1945–48*, Nürnberg 1997. Rebecca Boehling/Susanne Urban/René Bienert (eds.), *Freilegungen: Displaced Persons. Leben im Transit: Überlebende zwischen Repatriierung, Rehabilitation und Neuanfang*, Göttingen 2014. On displaced Jews in Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, Netherlands as well as North Africa, see Françoise S. Ouzan/Manfred Gersten (ed.), *Postwar Jewish Displacement and Rebirth 1945–1967*, Leiden/Boston, Mass., 2014. For a comparative study of survivors in three quite different societies, see Françoise S. Ouzan, *How Young Holocaust Survivors Rebuilt Their Lives: France, The United States, and Israel*, Bloomington, Ind., 2018. For reflections by historians on survivor accounts, see Zeev W. Mankowitz/David Weinberg/Sharon Kangisser Cohen (eds.), *Europe in the Eyes of the Survivors of the Holocaust*, Jerusalem 2014. For multiple perspectives by historians who interviewed a single survivor on her experience during the war and as a DP, see Jürgen Matthäus (ed.), *Approaching a Holocaust Survivor: Holocaust Testimony and Its Transformations*, New York 2009.

69 For a broader context of postwar migration, see Engel, *Ben shih̄rur li-vrih̄ah [Between Liberation and Escape]*.

children. Recent scholarship has excavated the experiences of predominantly Polish Jews who survived in the far reaches of the Soviet Union – highlighting the long-marginalized fact that they would come to constitute the majority of the DP camp population by 1946–1947.⁷⁰ Also compelling as a new area of research have been studies on the postwar migration of survivors and their resettlements in their new homes.⁷¹

Much scholarly attention has now turned to hitherto even more neglected topics, such as the stories of Jewish refugees in global transit, especially in non-western and colonial regions. Still, as these mostly previously unpublished documents reveal, there is much about the DP experience itself that should be revisited or further explored. The extensive research has revealed a huge treasure trove of documents, many of them quite unknown, still waiting to be utilized by the next generation of historians. The sources presented here deepen our understanding of the existing literature while also suggesting possible topics for further exploration.

4. On Sources: Scope and Structure of the Present Volume

This volume, presenting sources created by and about the DPs, was initially developed as a byproduct of a major synthetic volume, *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945: Politics, Culture, and Society*, which was first published in German in 2012. With Michael Brenner as its chief editor, it served as a follow-up to a pioneering series on Jewish history in German speaking lands from 1618 to 1945.⁷² When that first project, published in 1996, was conceived in 1986 under the auspices of the Leo Baeck Institute as a repository for preserving a German-Jewish history that had reached its end, its authors assumed that the world of German Jewry had essentially disappeared with National Socialism and the Holocaust. Only after the collapse of the Soviet

70 On Soviet Union, see above, n. 28. See also Albert Kaganovitch, *Exodus and its Aftermath: Jewish Refugees in the Wartime Soviet Interior*, Madison, Wis., 2022; Nesselrodt, *Dem Holocaust Entkommen. On the memory of the Soviet “exile” and its place in DP memory*, see esp. Laura Jockusch/Tamar Lewinsky, *Paradise Lost? Postwar Memory of Polish Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union*, in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, (2010) no. 3, 373–399.

71 Cohen/Ofer (eds.), *Starting Anew*; Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

72 Michael A. Meyer/Michael Brenner (eds.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, 4 vols., New York 1996.

Union and the ensuing influx of another group of Jewish migrants from the east into a newly reunified Germany starting in the 1990s did it seem appropriate and necessary to produce another study examining the history of Jews in (mostly West) Germany after 1945. The process of researching just “Part One: 1945–1949, Way Station”⁷³ uncovered such a rich, varied, and mostly unpublished or still little known corpus of sources from the “DP era” in occupied Germany that another project – also with a long gestation period – was born: this collection with its 72 annotated documents. It demonstrates the significance of that liminal period between the end of the war and the establishment of the Federal Republic, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the slow opening up of immigration opportunities in North America and other parts of the world, particularly the British Commonwealth and Latin America.

However, not only were the majority of survivors gathered in the American Zone of Germany but the sources we had found just on all regions of Germany occupied by the Western Allies – the United States and Great Britain and to a lesser extent France – were so voluminous and revealing that it made sense to us as editors to limit ourselves to that body of material. This volume therefore concentrates on the American, British, and French Zones of occupation in postwar Germany, with the balance of 48 texts focused on the American, eight on the British, and only two on the French, reflecting both demographic distribution of DPs among the zones and the proportion of documents that had been collected. We hope that this publication might encourage another archival venture that will uncover further sources on the British and French Zones as well as a comparable if smaller body of literature on the other Allied-occupied territories in Europe, Austria and Italy or the Soviet Occupation Zone (SBZ) which did not officially recognize the existence of “displaced persons” nor cooperate with the UNRRA.⁷⁴

In this edition, the story of Jewish DPs in occupied Germany is narrated in their own texts and languages as well as in those of the Allied occupiers

73 Atina Grossmann/Tamar Lewinsky, *Part One: 1945–1949, Way Station*, in: Michael Brenner (ed.), *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945: Politics, Culture, and Society*, Bloomington, Ind., 2018 (first Munich 2012), 55–143.

74 On DPs in Austria and Italy, see, e.g., Nikolaus Hagen et al. (eds.), *Displaced Persons-Forschung in Deutschland und Österreich: Eine Bestandsaufnahme zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg 2022. Of the some 15,000 Jewish DPs in Italy, many of them gathered in southern towns such as Bari, hoping to secure passage to Palestine. Chiara Renzo, *Jewish Displaced Persons in Italy 1945–1951: Politics, Rehabilitation, Identity*, New York 2024; idem, “Our Hopes Are Not Lost Yet”: The Jewish Displaced Persons in Italy: Relief, Rehabilitation and Self-understanding (1943–1948), in: *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 12 (2017), 90–111.

and aid officials who sought to aid, protect, and police them. Most of the texts written by the DPs themselves are in Yiddish and we are especially pleased to offer them here both in the original and in translation; some are in German and English – indicating the necessity of communicating with Military Government officials as well as Germans among whom they lived. Five reports were produced by workers and officials of the JDC, three by Military Government officials, two by the Zionist Jewish Agency, one by the women's relief group WIZO, and one by David Ben-Gurion, a leader of the Yishuv, who embarked on a highly publicized tour of the DP camps already in the fall of 1945 (Document 39). Only eleven of our sources are by women, a shortfall that represents both the realities of who engaged in official correspondence and, surely, gaps in research that remain to be filled.

The multinational and multilingual dimensions of the Jewish DP story are illustrated by the wide variety of archives housing the documents in this volume, most located in the United States (YIVO, JDC, USHMM, LBI, American Jewish Archives), but also in Israel (Central Zionist Archives), and Germany (Stadtarchiv Munich). The volume presents a sampling of the wealth of source materials found in Yiddish language journals and newspapers, available on microfilm, suggesting how much more research remains to be done with the DP press, a remarkably underused detailed repository documenting transitory everyday life. We also include a few contemporary articles from American and German publications, both Jewish and general, providing a sense of the breadth of interest in the DP “problem.” Almost none of the texts have been previously published as part of existing scholarship; in a couple of exceptional instances such as the Harrison Report (Document 15) or the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (Document 18), the text is so historically significant but generally cited only in brief excerpts that it seemed necessary to reprint them in full length. A detailed explanatory footnote apparatus identifies individuals and places, elucidates terminology for the reader (such as religious or political references), and offers context for the production and dissemination of the source.

The first three chapters of the volume, *Upon Liberation, Displacement and Trauma*, and *Allied Occupation*, present sources, which illuminate the complexities of this period. As Allied authorities and international aid agencies worked to organize *Relief and Rehabilitation* (chapter 4), Jewish DPs fought against their continued displacement from decision making, to make sure their own voices were heard. Chapter 5 on *DP Life – Different Voices* presents a number of sources that highlight the diversity among the surviving population. As the stay in the DP camps dragged on and Jewish DPs confronted the bizarre reality of living in limbo, waiting for a departure that would seemingly never come, they struggled to organize some sense of normalcy in the zones

of occupation. Chapter 6 on *Organization and Everyday Life* brings together sources that reflect on politics, healthcare, humor, and more. The remarkable cultural creativity of the DP period has also become one of the hallmarks of research on Jewish life in the aftermath, and *Culture* (chapter 7) offers sources on literature, sport, theater, humor, education, and history. One of the least examined aspects of Jewish life in the aftermath is in the sphere of *Religion* and chapter 8 presents a number of sources on the return to religious life in the aftermath along with the tensions that divided segments of the community.

Finally, while it might seem obvious that Jewish life in Germany would imply Jewish life *among* Germans, surprisingly little research since the publication of Atina Grossmann's *Jews, Germans, and Allies* has continued to examine the loaded and contested nature of such interactions. The ninth and last chapter on *Antisemitism in Germany after 1945* offers a number of sources that contend with this key aspect of everyday life. Especially the documents on antisemitism tell us much about the complexities of living on "cursed soil." They document a fraught but nonetheless relatively harmonious – because perhaps premised on the mutual conviction that Germany would and should never again be a home for Jews – co-existence, interrupted by violent skirmishes, which both the military authorities and the JDC sought to contain. The courtroom proceedings protocolled in Document 65 illustrate the very different conceptions of "home" articulated by Germans and Jewish DPs as well as the American occupiers' struggle to impose a temporary co-existence.

The documents that follow in this collection complicate standard representations of the highly variegated community of Holocaust survivors who came to be known as the surviving remnant or *She'erit Hapletah*. This volume, we hope, suggests multiple directions for further, more intensive and specific, research.

5. Editorial Notes

As a text-critical work, the reproduction of the sources in this anthology is always true to the original text. Editorial changes and additions are marked in square brackets in the text or in footnotes. For further details, see the beginning of the section on primary documents where the transcription conventions are listed. Besides editorial additions and corrections, the footnotes contain the full forms of the abbreviations, the geographical references for places cited, explanations of words and terms as well as a short analysis of historical contexts for the events mentioned in the source. Moreover, the notes provide bibliographical references for works cited in the documents.

All individuals mentioned in this volume have been identified in a footnote, as far as possible, upon their first mention. In cases where footnotes are missing, no information could be obtained. Likewise, institutions, organizations, terms, and places are also explained in annotations upon their earliest mention in the documents of this volume. The index serves as the primary reference tool to locate persons, places and terms throughout the volume. Finally, a note on transliteration and spelling: The transliteration of Yiddish words in the English text follows YIVO standards (unless Latin characters were used in the original), while the transliteration of Hebrew words is based on the conventions of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Geographical and political names are given according to contemporaneous usage and borders. Place names are used in the original language unless they refer to cities with a common English usage (as with Warsaw rather than Warszawa). People are identified according to their most commonly used name at the time. However, if the document was originally published in English using the English version of the individual's name, the English version is adopted in the transcription of the document; for example, in Document 40, an article originally published in the English-language publication *Commentary*, Shmuel Grinhoyz is spelled Samuel Gringauz. For better readability, letter-spacing in Yiddish and Hebrew texts is printed in italics in the translation; letter-spacing in English and German texts is reproduced in italics as well.

Editor and publisher have made all efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful, the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters. The editors are grateful to all copyright holders for allowing us to republish their material.

6. Acknowledgments

This edition of sources would not have been possible without the dedicated expertise, guidance, work and support of many people. We are grateful to Dan Diner for his vision and invitation to turn this material into a volume within the “Archive of Jewish History and Culture” series. This project is published on behalf of the Saxonian Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Leipzig, to whom we are deeply indebted, as well as to the Theodore and Jane Norman Fund for its financial support. We owe thanks to the members of the Project “Encyclopedia of Jewish Cultures” of the Saxonian Academy who provided invaluable help with the laborious tasks of reviewing and proofreading parts

of or the entire manuscript, reading transcriptions against the original, observing and enforcing editorial standards and transliteration conventions: Martin Jost, Marcel Müller, and Momme Schwarz for supervising the whole volume, Markus Kirchhoff for his input to the introduction, Lilian Türk and Caroline Emig for further checks of translations and transcriptions of the archival material in Yiddish.

Great appreciation must be extended to the archivists and librarians who helped us find this material – namely at YIVO, the JDC Archives, Tamiment Library Archives, and the Leo Baeck Institute (Archives) in New York; Yad Vashem, the Central Zionist Archives, and the National Library in Jerusalem, and the USHMM Archives in Washington, D. C. The family of Col. Irving Heymont and Dana Herman and Jacob Heisler, archivists at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, tried hard to help us track down an original letter. We were ultimately unsuccessful, but that too is part of archival research and speaks to all the encouragement that kept us going through a very long process.

Atina Grossmann: This volume has been a very long time in the making and has proceeded in several stages, always squeezed in between teaching and other academic obligations. It is a particular pleasure – and relief – therefore, to add my thanks to those many colleagues and friends without whom this publication truly would not have been possible. The list, inevitably incomplete, is also necessarily lengthy. The original idea to include a document collection on the Jewish DP experience within this series came from its editor in chief, Dan Diner. Luckily, Tamar Lewinsky, with whom I co-wrote the chapter on 1945–1949 in *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, edited by Michael Brenner, joined as a co-editor. Building on the extensive collection of archival sources that had been gathered for our chapter by a team of hard-working research assistants that included Maximilian Strnad, Lida Barner, and Kierra Crago-Schneider (herself now a colleague in the field), Tamar and I worked together across the Atlantic and back and forth from our respective perches in Munich, New York, Basel, and Berlin to conceptualize the volume, selecting and organizing the initial set of documents. Tamar's experience managing the *Jews in Germany since 1945* project, her deep knowledge of DP literature, and her expertise in Yiddish were indispensable during the first part of the editing process; she supervised the transcription and translation of documents. We relied also on Lena Watson's Yiddish translation skills and the support of Rhea Rhieben, Tamar's student and assistant in the Jewish studies program at the University of Basel. Frauke von Rohden was our patient and understanding partner at the Academy Project, guiding us through the Archives series' various templates and requirements.

When Tamar's new position as a curator at the Jewish Museum in Berlin required her full-time attention, Rhea generously helped with the transition

as, quite miraculously, a new team was assembled. I cannot express how immensely lucky I was to recruit Avinoam J. Patt as a co-editor just at the point when it was not clear how the project could proceed. I first came to know Avi and his remarkable capacity for good-humored perspective – and calm – as well as research and writing when he was a graduate student at NYU; his friendship and our scholarly collaborations as he became a valued colleague over the years have been an enormous gift. That gift, of knowledge and organizational talent, extended to our work on this volume. Avi, in turn recruited our researcher par excellence, Alexandra M. Kramen, who, with her particular combination of legal and historical training, took precious time from her own dissertation to ferret out even the most obscure dates and biographical and geographic data. Over the course of countless zoom sessions, emails, and WhatsApp messages, we slowly but steadily put together the volume. I also want to add my thanks to Momme Schwarz, our current partner at the Academy Project in Leipzig, for his forbearance and faith that this would all come together.

I share in the thanks expressed by Avi and Ali to our many friends and colleagues in Holocaust studies and the ever-expanding field of DP studies, especially Laura Jockusch and Natalia Aleksion. I need also to mention the support for my own research provided by the 2022/2023 Ina Levine Invitational Senior Resident Research Fellowship at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum which has been such an important and welcoming scholarly anchor for so many of us; I relied on the intellectual and social companionship of the other fellows and my co-Senior Scholar, Havi Dreifuss, as well as the librarians and archivists, and Betsy Anthony, Jan Lambertz, Jürgen Matthäus, and Dorota Glowacka, whose friendship I owe to a match made by the Mandel Center in 2012. I am grateful to the Cooper Union in New York City for helping to support my fellowship leave for the year 2022/2023 and my German Women's History Study Group for decades of tough love critiques. Finally, I cannot overstate how fortunate I have been to work together with Avi Patt and Ali Kramen. Nor how lucky I am to live with an in-house archives and library expert, Frank Mecklenburg.

Alexandra M. Kramen: My work on Jewish displacement and life in postwar Munich began after a discussion with my graduate adviser Jonathan Freedman at West Chester University, who guided me toward DP Camp Föhrenwald and the burgeoning research on Jewish life in the DP camps. When I began the search for doctoral programs, his sage advice led me to reach out to Debórah Dwork, whose research and writing first ignited my interest in the experiences of Holocaust refugees. She would become my doctoral adviser at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University

and my closest mentor. I am deeply indebted to her for her unwavering support, tutelage, and steadfast commitment to my academic development. Avinoam J. Patt has been a generous and dedicated mentor and member of my dissertation committee; I am so thankful for his support and guidance, and the invitation to join this volume. My involvement with the volume gave me the privilege of working for the first time with Atina Grossmann, who has likewise been a source of much-appreciated mentorship, and generously welcomed me into her home on numerous occasions as I conducted research at the Center for Jewish History. I am very grateful to Rhea Rieben and Momme Schwarz for bringing me up to speed when I came onto the project and for answering my many questions – their assistance was invaluable. I would also like to express my gratitude to Kierra Crago-Schneider, my former staff mentor during my time as a 2018 Summer Graduate Student Research Fellow at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, the USHMM, for her continued mentorship, encouragement, and friendship; and to Laura Jockusch, for her guidance and support as a member of my dissertation committee. A great debt is owed as well to our many colleagues in the field of “Aftermath studies,” whose work has so deeply inspired and informed my own research. Finally, my work on this volume was made possible thanks to my tenure as a William J. Lowenberg Memorial Fellow on America, the Holocaust and the Jews at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, the USHMM; a Dr. Sophie Bookhalter Graduate Research Fellowship at the Center for Jewish History, New York; a Junior Fellowship at the Center for Holocaust Studies at the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich; a David Baumgardt Memorial Fellowship at the Leo Baeck Archives, New York; and a Fred and Ellen Lewis/JDC Archives Fellowship at the JDC Archives, New York.

Tamar Lewinsky: The initial work with Atina Grossmann on this project began shortly after the completion of our co-authored section in *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, edited by Michael Brenner. Michael was generous enough to allow us to use research from the overview volume for the source edition. When we started to compile the sources for this volume, Atina and I were thus able to draw from extensive archival research, which had been carried out by Maximilian Strnad, Monika Halbinger, Lida Barner, Oren Roman-Cohen and Kierra Crago-Schneider in Germany, the United States and Israel. Lida also supported the first steps of the editorial work by assisting us in making transcriptions and checking translations. At the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Basel, Rhea Rieben provided invaluable support in revising the source corpus according to the editorial guidelines of the overall project. It is also thanks to her that continuous communication and organization between New York, Basel, Berlin and Leipzig was maintained.

The names of the many colleagues in the field of DP studies whose research and inspiration were indispensable for this project have already been mentioned above. An enormous debt of gratitude is owed to Avinoam J. Patt and Alexandra M. Kramen, who stepped in to take over my part and continued the work on the edition together with Atina. It is thanks to Avi's and Ali's expertise and commitment that this project of so many years has been brought to a successful conclusion.

Avinoam J. Patt: My work on Jewish life in the aftermath of the Shoah began with a graduate seminar at New York University led by my graduate adviser and mentor, David Engel. I remain indebted to him for introducing me to this new field of research, which continues to occupy me over two decades later. Atina Grossmann has been a mentor since I started research in this field and I am grateful for the invitation to join this volume. In 2005, Michael Berkowitz and I organized a workshop on Jewish DPs at the USHMM, which became the collected volume *We Are Here: New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*. In many ways, this source volume continues the research agenda launched at that workshop. Among the close colleagues in this growing field of "Aftermath studies" whose research and writing have continued to guide new approaches to the field, I am especially grateful to: Laura Jockusch, Natalia Aleksion, Michael Berkowitz, Kierra Crago-Schneider, Daniella Doron, Boaz Cohen, Beth Cohen, Tamar Lewinsky, Hagit Lavsky, Shirli Gilbert, Gabriel N. Finder, Laura Hilton, Margarete Myers Feinstein, Anna Holian, Laura Hobson Faure, Sharon Kangisser Cohen, Dalia Ofer, Zeev W. Mankowitz, Gali Drucker Bar-Am, Katarzyna Person, David Slucki, Alan Rosen, and so many scholars not mentioned here whose work continues to shape this burgeoning field. Special thanks to my colleagues at the University of Connecticut and the UConn Center for Judaic Studies for research support that enabled us to complete this volume. And finally, this project would not have been finished without the heroic efforts of Alexandra M. Kramen. Words cannot express my appreciation for her dedicated work to bring this volume across the finish line.

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Fig. 2: Young mothers take their babies for a stroll in the Landsberg DP Camp, approx. 1948. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 96460.



Fig. 3: Writers David E. Wolpe (left; 1908–2007) and Israel Kaplan (1902–2003) work in their office in Munich, Mühlstraße, 1947. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 78431.



Fig. 4: Philipp Auerbach (1906–1952) talks to representatives of the U.S. Military Government at Munich’s Möhlstraße, June 23, 1949. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 58614.



Fig. 5: British Military Police escort former “Exodus 1947” passengers Benno Ginsburg (right; 1930–?) and Jacques Rabinovich (wearing glasses) who were brought back to Europe at Hamburg train station, September 9, 1947. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 45474.



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Fig. 8: Jewish DPs celebrate the partition of Palestine in a large demonstration in the Stuttgart DP Camp, approx. 1947–1948. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 66136.



Fig. 9: JDC representatives observe a Kindergarten class at the Feldafing DP Camp, after 1945. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 16342.



Fig. 10: Jewish DPs at the Neu Freimann DP Camp participate in a demonstration calling for unrestricted immigration to Palestine, approx. 1945–1948. The text of the Yiddish banner reads: “We want to go back to our home in the Land of Israel.” Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 12992.



Fig. 11: Jewish DPs study watchmaking in the Föhrenwald ORT School, 1953. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 45779.



Fig. 12: Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany celebrates the establishment of the State of Israel, approx. May 1948. The banner beneath the dais reads “Long live the Jewish State.” Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 11661.



Fig. 13: Boxing match in the Neu Freimann DP Camp, 1948. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 29338.



Fig. 14: Jewish DPs dress up as Hitler and Goebbels for a Purim play at the Feldafing DP Camp, approx. 1946–1948. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 39919.



Fig. 15: Jewish DPs drinking beer outside a canteen in the Neu Freimann DP Camp, approx. 1946–1947. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 20193.



Fig. 16: A Jewish DP reads the announcements posted on the newspaper kiosk at the Neu Freimann DP Camp, approx. 1945–1948. The kiosk is sponsored by the Keren Kayemeth Le-Yisra'el (Jewish National Fund). Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 96437.



Fig. 17: Shmuel Yaakov Rose (1912–1994), rabbi of the American Zone of occupation in Germany, and a survivor of Dachau concentration camp, examines the galley of the first postwar edition of the Talmud to be printed in Germany, approx. 1947. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 40356.



Fig. 18: German police block off a commercial street in Munich after a raid on Jewish “black market” activities resulted in a counterdemonstration by Jewish shopkeepers who closed their stores, May 1949. Courtesy of USHMM, Photograph no. 58635.



Fig. 19: The troupe of the Katset-teater Bergen-Belsen with its founder, Samir Feder (1906–2000, center row, 3rd from left), and his later wife, Sonia Boczkowska (1922–2015, to his right), 1945. Further members mentioned in this volume: Isak Zylbernik (front row, 1st from left), Berl Friedler (3rd f.l.), Yakov Garfinkl (6th f.l.), Yisroel Flihk (7th f.l.), Mendel Butnik (1st f.r.), Josef Schwarz (back row, 2nd f.l.) Courtesy of Yad Vashem Photos Archive, 8609/17.

II. Documents

Transcription Conventions

Legibility:

#	Single illegible letter
###	Illegible word
˘	Doubtful reading
< >	Lacuna
◇◇◇	Decorative element

Pagination:

x	Page break with page number appearing in original document
[x]	Page break with page number added by editor to unpaginated original

Corrections and insertions:

<u>Underline</u>	Typewritten text underlined by typewriter
..Underline	Typewritten or handwritten text underlined by hand
Erasure	Handwritten strikethrough
Erasure	Typewritten strikethrough
###	crossed out illegible word
!Insertion!	Text inserted by typewriter
{Insertion}	Text inserted by hand
[Insertion]	Insertion of the editors

Obviously incorrect or missing punctuation has been corrected or added tacitly. Footnotes in the original texts are reproduced with an asterisk *.

1. Upon Liberation

Document 1

Israel Kaplan,¹ “The March from the Kaufering Camps”

Munich, May 5, 1947

Journal article, 22 pages, extracts (reproduced here: 7, 9–23, and 25–28)²

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Fun letstn khurbn 2 (May 1947), no. 5, 7–28³

[This account, recorded as a testimony by the Central Historical Commission in Munich, details the chaotic final days of the Kaufering slave labor camp complex, the liquidation of the camp, and the days-long death marches from the Kaufering subcamps. Kaplan notes the experiences of Jewish prisoners tortured and murdered in the final days of the war, the reactions of villagers, forbidden from passing water or food to the columns of Jewish prisoners,

-
- 1 Israel Kaplan (1902–2003), born in Volozhin, was a teacher and historian living in Kovno (today Kaunas, Lithuania) on the eve of the Second World War. He ultimately survived the Kovno, Riga, and Shavli ghettos, as well as the Kaiserwald, Poniewicz, and Stutthof concentration camps and the Kaufering subcamp of Dachau. During the war, he chronicled the history of the Kovno ghetto and collected Jewish sayings, folklore, and humor in the ghettos and camps of Lithuania, Latvia, and Germany. In the DP camps, he became secretary and historiographer of the Central Historical Commission and editor of its periodical, *Fun letstn khurbn*. He also helped establish the Yiddish newspaper *Undzer veg* (Our Way), the organ of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone. He immigrated to Israel in 1949. On his clandestine efforts to document life in the Kovno ghetto and in the Nazi ghettos and concentration camps more generally, see Israel Kaplan, *Dos folksmoyl in Natsi-klem* [Jewish Vernacular Under Nazi Oppression], Munich, 1949. Published in English by Zeev W. Mankowitz (ed.), *The Jewish Voice in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps. Verbal Expression Under Nazi Oppression*, Jerusalem 2018.
 - 2 Page 8, featuring a map-sketch of the march to the Kaufering camps, and page 24, featuring a photograph (“Three Jewish mass graves near Schwabhausen”), have not been reproduced here.
 - 3 The periodical *Fun letstn khurbn* (From the Latest Destruction) was edited by Israel Kaplan on behalf of the Central Historical Commission in Munich. Ten issues were published between August 1946 and December 1948, each with a circulation of 5,000–8,000 copies. It was the first and only Yiddish journal that featured survivor testimonies and articles on the history of the Jewish communities of specific towns, regions and geographical areas in German-occupied Eastern Europe. It also paid attention to popular literature, songs and poetry created in ghettos and concentration camps as well as a distinct ghetto and camp language. For a complete German translation, see Frank Beer/Markus Roth (eds.), *Von der letzten Zerstörung: Die Zeitschrift “Fun letstn churbn” der Jüdischen Historischen Kommission in München 1946–1948*, Berlin 2020. Kaplan’s text: *ibid.*, 387–404.

and SS attempts to enforce order amidst the chaos. The account is not just a recollection of Kaplan's perceptions, as he relies on other testimonies to describe the experiences of prisoners from Dachau subjected to forced marches toward the Austrian border to escape the American advance and tells the story of a strafed train near Schwabhausen and the group of early DP leaders including Zalman Grinberg at St. Ottilien.]

מאַרש פון די קאָופּערירינג־לאַגערן

א. לעצטע לאַגערן רירן זיך

איבער 70 קמ. פון דאָכאוּ אין געגנט פון דער לאַנדסבערג אָם לעך, וווּ היטלער איז אין 1924 געזעסן אין פעסטונג און דאָרט געשאפן זיין גוט־באַקאַנטן חיבור "מיין קאַמף", זיינען אין 20 יאָר אַרום, זומער 1944, פאַרלייגט געוואָרן גאַנצע 11 ייִדן־לאַגערן. קאָופּערירינג איז געווען די נאַענטסטע באַך סטאַנציע פון דעם גרעסטן טייל פון אָט די לאַגערן; דערפאַר האָט זיך אויך די גאַנצע קאַצעטן גרופע גערופן אויפן נאָמען פון אָט דער באַך־סטאַנציע, די קאָופּערירינג־לאַגערן. אָפיציעל זיינען זיי אָבער געווען פאַררעכנט ווי אויסן־לאַגערן פון דאָכאוּ און געשטאַנען דורכאויס אונטער דאָרטיקער קאָנטראָל. ביי קאַרגע 9 חדשים זיינען געווען "טעטיק" אָט די לאַגערן; זייערע "אינזאסען", די יידן, האָבן דערביי דאָ געבויט אונטערערדישע פאַבריקן און געטאָן אַנדערע עבודת פרך. דורך די 9 חדשים זיינען כסדר אָנגעקומען אַהער עשאַלאַנען מיט נייע פאַרטיעס פון טויזנטער יידן. די אַלגעמיינע צאָל העפטלינגען, אָבער אין די לאַגערן־גרופע איז ועלטן ווען אַריבערגעשטיגן מער ווי 10.000. דורך דער אַרבעט, הונגער, קעלט, עינויים און סתם שיקאַנעריי זיינען דאָ "ליקווידירט" געוואָרן די צענדליקער טויזנטער יידן. ענדע אַפּריל 1945 זיינען לויט אָפיציעלע ידיעות* אין די קאָופּערירינג־לאַגערן געווען 10.114 העפטלינגען, 9021 מענער און 1093 פרויען, פון זיי זיינען דאָן געווען ניט ווייניקער ווי 1000 גיטיידן, מענער, וועלכע האָבן אויך לעצטנס דאָ געפונען אַן "אונטערקונפט" אויף זייער וועג קיין טיראָל.

אין צווייטער העלפט אַפּריל האָט זיך פון אַ באַלדיקער ליקווידאַציע אָנגעהויבן שפירן אויך אין דעם ווינקל אַרום לאַנדסבערג, וווּ עס איז נאָך געווען אַ לעצט הייפל גיט־עוואָקואירטע לאַגערן. די ס״ס האָבן גענומען פאַרברענען די אַרכיוון און צונויפשטעלן ליסטעס פון מאַרש־פעאיקע און גיט־פעאיקע. אין לאַגער 11 – וווּ דער שרייבער פון די שורות איז געווען – און אויך אין עטלעכע אַרומיקע לאַגערן האָבן די אַנפירנדיקע ס״ס אָפגעשטעלט די אַלע אַנדערע אַרבעטן פון דער לאַגער־שניידעריי און אויפגעגעבן [9] די שניידעריי צו נייען פאַר זיי ציווילע בגדים ... אַחוץ דעם האָבן די שטרענג־איזאָלירטע קאַצעטלער זיך געקענט אָנשטויסן, אַז עפעס גייס קומט דאָ אַרום פאַר, שוין פון די נאַכאַנאַנדיקע לופט־אַלאַרמען, וואָס האָבן "געצווונגען" די קאָמאַנדעס צו וואַרפן יעדע וויילע זייער אַרבעט און פון די פול־געפאַקטע לאַסט־אויטאָס מיט דייטשע פרויען, קינדער און שטוב־זאָכן, וואָס זיינען מיטן שאָסיי פון דערבייאיקער מיכען געלאָפן אין די דערפער אַרײן. מער ווי אַלץ האָבן אויף אַ נאַענטן פראַנט עדות געזאָגט די לאַנגע קאַלאַנעס פון פאַנצערן און אַנדערע מיליטערי־מאַשינעס, וואָס האָבן זיך געטראָגן פאַרסמטע הין און הער אויף די זעלבע וועגן. אָפט

* אַ באַריכט פון אינפֿאָרמאַציע־ביוראָ פון קאַצעט דאָכאוּ. צ.ה.ק. 350/29.

פלעגט אויך ניט איינע פון די מאשינעס מיטשלעפן מיט שטריק הינטער זיך ביז 4-5 אנדערע מכולהדיקע מאשינעס, וואָס זיינען געבליבן שטעקן אין וועג. אַלץ גוט באַקאַנטע בילדער פון אַ ניט פּלאַנמעסיקן צוריקטריט ... דורך נאַכט, ליגנדיק אין די נאַרעס פון די ערד-בּודעס, פּלעגן זיך יעדע וויילע איבערטראַגן מיט גערויש עסקאָדרעס אַרעאָפּלאַנען פון "שונא", און באַלד נאַכדעם פּלעגן זיך דערהערן באַמבאָרדירונגען, און פּונױטן אַרום פּלעגן אויפּשפּרינגען צונגן פייערן. די עלעקטרע פּלעגט אין לאַגער זיך באַלד אויסלעשן. בכלל האָבן מיר צוליב די "פּאַרטונקעלונגען" זעלטן ווען געהאַט ליכט. אפילו ביים אויפשטיין אין פינצטערן פּאַרטאַג, זיך אַנטאַן, אַפּנעמען די "קאַפּע", און ראַציאָן און אַרויסגיין צום אַפּעל – אַלץ איז פּאַרגעקומען אין דער פינצטער ... אין אַט די נעכט פּלעגן שוין אין לאַגער אויך אַפּהילכן קאַנאַדאָדעס, און פון די דערבייאַקע וועגן פּלעגן זיך גאַר אַפּט אויף שעה'לאַנג מיט אויפּטרייטל צערודערן אַ שווערע מאַשינעס-באַוועגונג. "ספּעצן" פּלעגן אויף די נאַרעס פעסטשטעלן, אַז וועדליק דעם גערויש און באַוועגונג זיינען שוין דאָס "אונדזעריקע", אַמעריקאַנער טאַנקעס ...

אין דעם גרעסטן טייל לאַגערן פון קאַפּערנינג האָט שוין דעם 23-טן אַפּריל, מאַנטיק אָונט דער עולם געוויסט, אַז עס איז דאָ אַ פּאַראַרדענונג וועגן אַן עוואַקואַציע. די קאַצעטלער מוזן ווי שנעלער פּאַרלאָזן די לאַגערן און געטריבן ווערן ערגעצווו. פאַר די מענטשן האָט דאָס דאָן באַדייט – אונטערגאַנג. צוליב דער גאַר שלעכטער פּאַרפּלעגונג פאַר די לעצטע מאַנאַטן זיינען שוין דאָ אַלע געווען אַזוי שרעקלעך אַפּגעשוואַכט. דער גרעסטער טייל אויך מיט געשוואַלענע פּיס. און אַט גאַר אַן אייליקער מאַרש צופּוס, און ווער ווייס אויף וויפל צייט און ווהין; דערצו נאָך גראַד ווען די לאַנגגעגאַרטע באַפּרייאַונג שטייט שוין אויפן שוועל! ...

אַרום האַלבער נאַכט האָבן אין לאַגער 11 די קאַצעטלער דערשמעקט, אַז דער צוטרט צו דער קיך און קליידער-קאַמער איז שוין ניט פּאַרבונדן מיט לעבנס-געפאַר. אין מינוטן זיינען דאָרט די טירן געוואָרן אויפגעריסן. די לאַגער-פּאַליציי, ביי דער מיטהילף פון אונדזערע העפטלינגען, האָט קוים |10| אַפּגעהיט דעם קליינעם רעזערוו פון די פּראָדוקטן. דער עולם איז געוואָרן האַפּערדיק: געוויס זיינען שוין פון לאַגער פּאַרשוונדן אַט יענע וואַכע און אַזוי אויפפאַסנדיקע אויגן!.. פון אַ נאַרע אין אונדזער באַראַק צעהילכט זיך איבערן פינצטערן חלל אַ מוטיקע שטימע פון אַ געוועזענעם קאַווער אַדוואַקאַט: "רבותי, היינט איז די לעצטע נאַכט פון אונדזער קנעכטשאַפּט!..". פאַר דער פעסטקייט פון אַט דער השערה זיינער איז ער גרייט, דער אַדוואַקאַט, צו גיין אין געוועט מיט זיין פּאַרציע ברויט פון מאַרגן. פעסימיסטן צווישן עולם פעלט טאַקע ניט, דאָך רופט זיך ניט אַפּ קיין קעגן-פּאַרטנער ...

די ס״ס זיינען נאָך פון לאַגער ניט אַוועק. זיי האָבן זיך נאָר געפאַקט אין וועג אַריין. אַ ביסל שפּעטער, אין דער נאַכט צו דינסטיק, האָבן זיך פּלוצלונג אַנגעהויבן אייליקע אַפּעלן איינער נאָך די אַנדערע. דאָ באַפוילט מען די העפטלינגען תּיכּף צו אַרויסקומען מיט די אַלע "קלאַמאַטען" און זיך אויסשטעלן גרייט צום אַפּמאַרש; אין אַ וויילע אַרום – "צוריק אין די באַראַקעס!" איידער אַבער מען דערגרייכט צום באַראַק הערט זיך שוין ווידער דער "גאַנג" – צום אַפּעל-פּלאַץ! ... און אַזוי שוין דער גאַנצער מאַרגן. די קאַצעטלער האָבן ניט געקענט קלוג ווערן – צי זיינען אַט די אַפּעלן אויך פון די געוויסע טרענירונגען, אַדער עס האָבן די ס״ס פשוט נאָך געפעלט די לעצטע אינסטרוקציעס צום אַפּמאַרש.

ענדלעך אַרום האַלב 10 פרי האָט זיך אין געאיייל אַנגעהויבן די עוואַקואַציע. פון די קרוב 3000 העפטלינגען זיינען די עטלעכע הונדערט אַריער אויסגעטיילט געוואָרן באַזונדער. די אַלע פּאַציענטן פון קראַנקן-רעווייר און די מער שוואַכערע האָט דער לאַגער-פּירער באַפוילן צו אַריינקריכן אין לאַסט-אויטאָס; וועלן זיי ניט דאַרפן גיין צופּוס. ער האָט בפּירוש אויסגערוּפּן:

"עס גיבט לאסטוואַגען פיר די דרעקזעקע!" די מענטשן אָבער, אַפילו די האַלב־טויטע, האָבן ווייט ניט געהאַט קיין השק צו אויסנוצן די פּריווילעגיע. צו פאַרדעכטיק האָט אויסגעזען די גאַנצע עוואָקאַציע. פאַרן אָפּמאַרש שטעלט זיך אַוועק דער ראַפּאַרט־פירער מיט אַ רעדע אויפן אָפּעל־פלאַץ: עס ווערט שטרענגסטנס געוואָרנט, אַז מען זאָל גיין אין אַרדענונג; פאַר יערער שוויינעריי ווערט זאָפּאַרט געשאָסן; קיין זאָך וועט די יידן ניט געשען; ביי דער שווייזאַרישער גרענעץ וועט מען זיי נאָר אויסטוישן אויף דייטשן. אַ קאָוונער ייד, אַ געוועזענער סופּר, וועלכער איז געווען באַרוּפּן ביי די ס"ס ווי אַ ראַבינער און האָט אָפּט אַרויסגעוויזן דרייסטיקייט, איז באַלד צוגעגאַנגען צום אונטערשאַפּרירער שרייער, וועלכער האָט זיך דאָ גערעכנט פאַרן גאַנצן באַלעבאָס, און ווי פאַרטוילעך אים אַ פּרעג געטאָן: ווהיין און צוליב וואָס פירט מען אונדז דאָך?
 - איר ווערט זאָרגאַם אָפּגעפירט צו דער שווייזאַרישער גרענעץ - האָט [11] זיך שרייער געפילט ווי באַליידיקט און הויך אויסגערופּן: - דאָרט טוישט טען אייך, און אין עטלעכע טעג אַרום זייט איר פרייע מענטשן. דאָס רייך איך ביי מיין פולן ערנוואָרט אַלס דייטשער אָפיצער!
 און דאָך האָט דער זעלבער שרייער מיט זיינע מיטהעלפּער לאַנג נאָך געמוזט אַרומלויפן צווישן די קראַנקע און זיי טרייבן צו די לאַסט־אויטאָס.

אין א לאַגע אַ וויס־חושכדיקער, ביים אַרויסרירן זיך אין אַ גאָר אומבאַקאַנטן וועג, ניט וויסנדיק אַפילו דעם ציל און ריכטונג, וווּ אָבער דער באַדן פון יעדן פּריש־געשטעלטן טראַקט שפּראַצט מיט אַזויפיל פאַרדאַכט און איז פאַרוואַרצלט מיט שרעקלעכער דערפאַרונג - ביי אַזאַ אַ סיטואַציע קלאַמערט זיך תמיד דער יחיד צום כלל, און יעדע נאָר אויסטיילונג שרעקט. אין אַזוינע מאַמענטן ראַנגלט זיך דער מענטש מיט אַלע מיטלען צו בלייבן צוזאַמען מיט דער איבערוועגנדיקער מאַסע און זיך נאָר טוליען צו איר! טויט־קראַנקע, שאַרבנס זיינען פון אונטער די ס"ס־קאַנטשיקעס געשפּרונגען צוריק פון די לאַסט־אויטאָס, מיט געפאַר זיך אַריינגעשמוגלט אין די מאַרש־קאַלאַנעס און צוזאַמען מיט אַלעמען אַוועק צופּוס. ווען שוין פאַלן אונטערוועגס - איז אָבער פאַר די פּיס פון דער גרויסער מאַסע און פאַר די אויגן פון די אייגענע! ...

ב. אין וועג

אין זעלבן דינסטיק פּרי - און מער־ווייניקער אויפן זעלבן שטייגער און אויפפיר פון די ס"ס, ווי אין לאַגער 11 - האָט זיך אָנגעהויבן אויך דער פּוס־מאַרש פון די אַנדערע לאַגערן פון דער קאָפּערנינג־גרופּע.* די לאַגער־קאַלאַנעס האָבן אויפן וועג מאַרשירט ניט ווייט איינע פון דער אַנדערער. ביסלעכווייז האָבן זיי זיך גענומען אויך צוזאַמענגיסן.

דער מאַרש האָט זיך געצויגן מיט דעם וועג פון לאַנדסבערג־לעך אין דער ריכטונג פון דאַכאַו ... די באַוואַונג איז געווען אַ שטרענגע. די פּאַסטנס האָבן דורכן גאַנצן וועג אַלץ געפּאָדערט, אַז די העפּטלינגען זאָלן זיך האַלטן [12] "געשלאַסן צו 5 אין א ריי!" איז ווער אָפּגעשטאַנען, האָט ער באַקומען געשלאַגן. אַנדערע פּאַסטנס האָבן אויך געשאָסן אין די מענטשן. די מאַרש־פלעגע איז געווען זייער אַ קאַרגע (אין די ערשטע טעג - אַ שטיקל פאַרשימלט ברויט, עטוואָס קעז און מאַרגאַרין; שפּעטער - שוין דאָס אויך ניט). נעמען אַ טרונק וואָסער פון דער באַפּעלקערונג אין די

* אַליין מיטגעמאַכט די ערשטע טעג פון מאַרש מיטן לאַגער 11 און נאָכדעם באַפּרייט געוואָרן אין אַלאַך, איז דער מחבר, שרייבנדיק וועגן די אַנדערע לאַגערן און ווייטערדיקן מאַרש, זיך סומך אויף די מאַסן אויסגעהערטע פּרטים, וואָס ער האָט פאַרצייכנט באַלד מיט דער באַפּריינג. אַ טייל ידיעות האָט ער לעצטנס איבערקאַנטראָלירט ביי ברוך גאַלאַמב, יאַנאַס יאַוונעלאָוויץ, ווי אויך לויט דער גבית־עדות פון מגיד, קויפּמאַן און רימער (צ.ה.ק. 832/699).

ערטער, דורך וועלכע מען האָט פאַרבייגעמאַרשירט, האָבן די פּאָסטנס ניט דערלויבט, און נאָר פאַרן פּרווון בעטן אַ טרונק האָבן די העפּטלינגען באַקומען מערדערלעך געשלאָגן. די באַגלייטער האָבן אויך געדראָט די אַרטיקע איינוווינער פאַרן שטיין נאָענט לעבן די פאַרבייגעמאַרשירנדיקע קאָלאָנעס און, ווער רעדט נאָך, פאַרן פּרווון צוואַרפן וואָס פאַר די קאַצעטלער!... דער איבערוועגנדיקסטער טייל פון די מענטשן איז געווען דורכגעדרונגען מיט דעם געדאַנק, אַז דאָ גייט מען שוין מיט די יידן "מאַכן דעם סוף". ווי נאָך דער מאַרש פּלעגט זיך פאַרקערעווען מיט אַ זייטיקן וועג, זיך נעמען נענטערן צו אַ וואַלד, אַ גראָבן אָדער אַפילו צו אַן אַזיערע (!), פּלעגן שוין די קאַצעטלער אָנהויבן "קאָלקולירן", אַז אַט דאָ דאַרף עס זיין דער אָפּשפּיל פון "לעצטן נומער". ווי אַ שטאַרקע ראיה דערצו האָט געדינט די מאַרש־פּלעגע, וואָס האָט ביי יענע טעג לכתחילה אויסגעזען גאָר נישקשהדיק. און ווען די ס"ס נעמען צוואַרפן פאַר יידן עפעס מער אכילה, – איז שוין געווען פון די באַקאַנטע ניט גוטע סימנים ...

פאַר די העפּטלינגען מיט געשוואַלענע פּיס איז דאָס גיין אָנגעקומען באַזונדערש שווער. צום פאַרווען פּלעגן זיך די קאָלאָנעס אָפהאַלטן נאָר צו עטלעכע מאָל אַ טאָג, און אויך אויף קורץ. אין די נעכט פּלעגן די מענטשן שלאָפן אויף היילער (!) ערד אין די וועלדער אָדער לאַנקעס ביים וועג. דורך די ערשטע נעכט, ביזן אָנקום קיין דאַכאַו, איז געלונגען געצייילטע העפּטלינגען צו אַנטלויפן. דאָס רוב זיינען דאָס געווען אַבער־קאַפּאַס און אנדערע מקורבים פון די ס"ס. אויך ביים מאַרש האָבן זיי מיטגעקאַמאַנדירט און דערפאַר זיך געקענט פרייער באַוועגן. דערצו זיינען זיי געווען פיזיש געזונט און ניט געטראָגן די געשטרייפטע בגדים, וואָס האָבן דעם געוויינלעכן קאַצעטלער גלייך ארויסגעגעבן. אגב האָבן די קאַפּאַס מיט זייער לויפן ניט געהאַט צו ריזיקירן. ווען די ס"ס ברענגען אום די אַלע העפּטלינגען און, פאַרשטייט זיך, אויך זיי. אָדער די אַמעריקאַנער באַפרייען די אַלע העפּטלינגען (ווי עס האָט זיך טאַקע אויסגעלאָזט) און בתוכם אויך זיי, די פאַרהאַסטע קאַפּאַס, – אין ביידע פּאַלן וואַלטן זיי דאָך שלעכט אָפּגעשניטן ...

דעם ערשטן טאָג, ארויסמאַרשירנדיק ניט פרי, האָט מען דאָס רוב קאָלאָנעס אָפּגעטריבן איבער 30 קמ. די אינסטרוקציעס זיינען אָפנים געווען, וואָס גיכער צושטעלן די טענטשן קיין דאַכאַו. דערפאַר האָבן די ס"ס גע" 13| יאָגט און ווייניק געלאָזט זיך פאַרווען. אין ערשטן טאָג פון מאַרש האָבן זיי אויך ניט געוואַלט וויסן פון אָפּשטיין. איז אַ קאַצעטלער אַ ביסל צוריקגעבליבן, האָבן אים פאַלר די פּאָסטנס מיט די קאַלבעס פון זייערע ביקסן אויף קאַלט "אונטערגעשטופט". האָט עס ניט געהאַלפן, האָט מען צו אַזאַ איינעם אויסגעדרייט די אַנדערע זייט פון דער כלי, די הייסערע ... ביי אַ בעסערער לוינע פון די מאַרש־אַנפירער פּלעגן זיי צומאָל פאַראַרדענען צו אַריינשליידערן די געפאַלענע אין די לאַסט־אויטאָס פון די ס"ס, וועלכע פּלעגן מיטן שאַסיי פאַרבייפאַרן אויך אין דער ריכטונג צו דאַכאַו. אין צווייטן טאָג, מיטוואַך, איז דער מאַרש אַרויס גאַנץ פרי. נאָכן אָפליגן אַ קאַלטע נאַכט אין א וואַלד אויף אַ נאַסן באַדן האָבן פיל העפּטלינגען שוין פאַלד ביים אַרויסמאַרש זיך קוים געקענט רירן. דערצו האָט מען דעם טאָג קיין עסן ניט געגעבן. די נעכטיקע מאַרש־פּלעגע האָט דאָס געדאַרפט קלעקן אויך אויף היינט. צום גליק זיינען די ס"ס געווען אַ ביסל מילדער צו די אָפּגעשטאַנענע; זיי האָבן ווייניקער אָנגעווענדט דאָס געווער. אַנדערע מאַרש־פירער האָבן אויך פאַשטימט (!) באַזונדערע פּאָסטנס – אויך אַ ביסל "אָפּגעשטאַנענע", די מער עלטערע, אַנדערע אַפילו אין די זעכציקער – אויף צו פאַרנעמען זיך מיט די געפאַלענע; זיי פירן לאַנגזאַם און אין קלענערע גרופּעס. די גאָר שוואַכע פּלעגן צומאָל אויך אַרויפגענומען ווערן אין די וועגענער, וואָס זיינען געשלעפט געוואָרן פון העפּטלינגען און לכתחילה געווען באַשטימט צו מיטפירן די מאַרש־פּלעגע. דעם טאָג האָט אויך א לאַסט־אויטאָ צונויפגענומען די געפאַלענע פון די וועגן און זיי אָפּגעפירט אין קאַצעט אַלאַך, אויך אַן אויסן־לאַגער פון דאַכאַו און ניט ווייט פון דאָרט.

שוין אָפּגייענדיק שיינע עטלעכע קילאָמעטער פון פירסטענפעלדברוק האָט זיך באַוווּן אַן אַמעריקאַנער גרופּע אַעראָפּלאַנעס. דאָס איז דאָן געווען אַט אַקאַרשט נאָך אַן אָפּרו פון מאַרש, און אַ גרויסע גרופּע פון ס״ס איז געשטאַנען לעבן דעם מאַרש־פּירער, וועלכער האָט זיי געגעבן אינסטרעקציעס. דער ערשטער אָנגעפּלויגענער אַעראָפּלאַן האָט באַלד געוואָרפן אויף זיי אַ באַמבע, וואָס איז געפּאַלן אויף עטלעכע צענדליק מעטער ווייטער פון זיי, פּונקט אַנטקעגן די וועגענער מיט די קראַנקע. קיינער איז אָבער ניט באַשעדיקט געוואָרן. די אַלע העפּטלינגען פון מאַרש צוזאַמען מיט די פּאַסטנס האָבן זיך פּונאַנדערגעשאַטן איבער די אַרומיקע פעלדער, זיך געוואָרפן אין גראַבנס און אויך זיך געצויגן צו אַ דערבייאַיקן וועלדל. פון אויבן האָבן די פּליער משמעות באַמערקט, לויט די געשטרייפטע בנדים, וואָס פאַר אַן "אַרמיי" דאָס איז; מער האָבן זיי שוין אויף די מענטשן ניט געשאַסן. דערפאַר איז אָבער העפּטיק אַוועק זייער אָנגריף אויף דעם דערבייאַיקן דאָרף, וווּ עס האָט זיך, ווי מען האָט גערעדט, געפונען אַ מיליטערי־לאַגער און אַן [14] אַעראָדראָם. די "פּייגעלעך" האָבן זיך אין אַ ריי געקרייזט אַרום דעם דאָרף און איינער נאָכן אַנדערן, מיט אַ פּלוצלונגן טיפּן "קניקס" צו דער ערד, אַריינגעהאַלט אין די הייזער אַריין די פּייערדיקע פּאַרציעס. דער דאָרף האָט געברענט פון אַלע זייטן. קיין שום קעגן־אָנגריף מצד די דייטשן איז ניט געווען. די ס״ס האָבן זיך אויפן פעלד און אין די גראַבנס געטוליעט צו די קאַצעטלער און פשוט זיך געדעקט מיט זיי. ליגנדיק אין וועלדל איז געפּאַלן דער בליק פון אַ יידישן בחור אויף דעם פּול־אָנגעשאַפטן ברויט־בייטל פון דעם טרייסלדיקן פּאַסטן.

- איך בין אַ שניידער - מורמלט אַרויס דער העפּטלינג מיט אַ ווונק צו דעם איינגעשטעפטן ס״ס־אַפּצייכן אויפן סאַלדאַטס אַרבל - איך קען עס פּיין אַרונטערנעמען ...
 - רעפּאַריי עס, אָבער אַנשטענדיק; דו קריגסט ברויט!... - קומט באַלד אַ קעגן־אַנבאָט פּונעם צעשטראַלטן ס״ס.

און אזוי איז אַוועק אַ נייע פרנסה פון יידן בעתן מאַרש - "רעפּאַריין" די ס״ס־אוינפאַרמעס ...

ג. צו באַפּריינגן

טעג האָט גענומען ביז די מאַרש־קאַלאַנעס פון די קאָפּערינג־לאַגערן זיינען דערקראַכן קיין דאַכאַו. די צאָל פון די אָפּגעשטאַנענע און געפּאַלענע איז אַלץ געוואָקסן. די זיינען אין גרעסערע פּאַרטיעס געבראַכט געוואָרן קיין אַלאַך, וווּ דער לאַגער איז שוין געווען איבערפּולט מיט טויזנטער העפּטלינגען, אַרייער און יידן. פון די ערשטע קאַלאַנעס איז קיין דאַכאַו אָנגעקומען דער לאַגער 10 (פון אוטינג ביים אַמערווע). דער לאַגער 10 איז שטענדיק געווען ניט קיין גרויסער, ביי 600 יידן, כמעט אַלע ליטוואַקעס, פון שאַוולער געטאָ. אין לאַגער גופא האָט זיך אין די קעגנזייטיקע באַצייאונגען צווישן די מענטשן נאָך אַלץ געשפּירט פון היימישער אַטמאָספּער, ווי פּאַמיליער. און וואָס דאָס באַדייט!! אין קאַצעט פאַר אַ מענטשן - איז עס גאַרניט צו אַפּשאַצן! אין פּאַרגלייך צו די אַנדערע לאַגערן פון דער קאָפּערינג־גרופּע איז אין לאַגער 10 דער רעזשים געווען אויך אַ מילדערער און די צוואַנגס־אַרבעט ניט אַוואַ רוצחדיקע. אויך מיטן עסן איז דאָ געווען עטוואָס בעסער. יעדנפאַלס צווישן די קאַצעטן אַרום איז לאַגער 10 געווען באַרופן ווי אַ מין סאַנאַטאָריום ... קעגן די איבעריקע לאַגערן האָבן די אוטינגער געהאַט מיט עטלעכע קמ. נעענטער צו דאַכאַו; זיי זיינען אויך געווען אפשר אַ ביסל מער אין די כוחות (די קראַנקע און גאָר שוואַכע זיינען פאַרן מאַרש געוואָרן אַרויסגעפּירט אויך [15] פון אוטינג); קיין געפּאַלענע אויפן וועג זיינען פון דער קאַלאַנע ניט געווען. מיטן מאַרש פון לאַגער 10 איז אויך מיטגעגאַנגען אַ ייד פון איבער 70, רי עקיבא רייף, אַן ספּק דער עלטסטער פון די אַלע יידן אין די לאַגערן פון קאָפּערינג. זייענדיק אין קאַצעט צווישן זיינע שאַוולער, האָט ער אויסגעמיטן די אַלע אַקציעס און אויסזידלונגען; איצט האָט ער מיט די

לעצטע כוחות זיינע זיך אָנגעשטרענגט צו מיטהאַלטן דעם מאַרש און איז טאַקע צוזאַמען מיט זיינע איבעריקע שאַוולער באַפֿרייט געוואָרן.

מיטוואַך פֿאַרנאַכט, נאָך אַ וועג פֿון קאַרגע 2 טעג, איז די קאָלאָנע פֿון לאַגער 10 שוין געווען אין דאַכאַו. די מענטשן האָבן דאָ ראשית דורכגעמאַכט אַן "ענטלויזונג" מיט די אַלע הידורים, ווי עס פֿאַסט פֿאַר אַ קאַצעט ווי דאַכאַו. פֿאַרשטייט זיך, אַז דערביי האָט מען שוין פֿון די קאַצעטלער צוגענומען דאָס לעצטע פֿון די לעצטע. גענעכטיקט האָבן זיי אין "פֿראַנצויזישן בלאַק". ווי די פֿראַנצויזישע "אינזאַסען" האָבן זיי איבערגעגעבן, זאָלן די דייטשן פֿלאַנעווען צונויפֿצושלעפֿן קיין דאַכאַו נאָך טויזנטער העפטלינגען און נאָכדעם דעם גאַנצן לאַגער באַמבאַרדירן פֿון אַערפֿלאַנעס ... די זכיה צו ווערן אַנטלויזט אין דאַכאַו און נעכטיקן דאָ אונטער אַ דאָך האָבן שוין אָבער ווייניק פֿון די ווייטער אָנגעקומענע קאָלאָנעס געהאַט. די ענגשאַפט איז מוראדיק געוואַקסן, ניט געווען קיין ברעקל אָרט, און פֿאַרטעס מענטשן זיינען אויך דורך נאַכט געבליבן אויפֿן הויף, געשאַפֿן אין דרויסן. וועגן אַ ריכטיקער "ענטלויזונג" און אַנדערע "נומערן" איבער די אָנגעשווומענע קאַצעטלער איז שוין דאָ מער קיין רייד ניט געווען. אין דעם מוסטער-קאַצעט דאַכאַו, וווּ מורא און געהאַרצומקייט איז געווען איבער אַלץ, האָט גענומען הערשן נאָר כאַאָס. געביידעס האָבן דאָ געברענט; העפטלינגען זיינען באַפֿאַלן די ערטער פֿון פֿראַדוקטן און בנדים ... ניט האָבנדיק שוין קיין באַך פֿאַרבינדונג האָט די קאָמענדאַנטור גענומען פֿאַרמירן גרעסערע קאָלאָנעס פֿון העפטלינגען און אונטער אַ שטרענגער וואַך זיי שיקן ווייטער צופֿוס קיין טיראַל. די מאַרש-אַנפֿירער און דער גרעסטער טייל פֿאַסטנס זיינען שוין איצט געווען פֿון קאַצעט-צענטער אַליין, מיט גרויס פֿראַקטיק אין פֿירן קאָלאָנעס און בכלל אין אומגיין מיט קאַצעטלער. ווי געהילפֿן צו זיך אויפֿן וועג האָבן זיי מיטגענומען גרויסע ווילדע הינט און אויך פֿיל דייטשע קרימינעלע ("שוואַרצע") העפטלינגען, וועלכע מען האָט איצט אָנגעטאַן אין ס״ס-מונדירן און באַוואַפֿנט מיט געווער.

דער נייער רעזשים ביים מאַרש האָט זיך פֿאַלד געלאָזט שפֿירן. די באַגלייטער זיינען געווען מוראדיק גרויזאַם און האָבן אַן שום איינזעעניש שיקאַנירט די מענטשן אויפֿן וועג און זיי שרעקלעך געפֿייניקט. אויף די הונג-16 | דערטער העפטלינגען, דאָס רוב ווער עס איז נאָר אָפֿגעשטאַנען, האָבן די פֿאַסטנס אַרויפֿגעלאָזט זייערע צערייצטע הינט און נאָכדעם שוין אַליין פֿאַרענדיקט מיט די קרבנות (דורך אַ "גאַדען-שוים"). דאָרט פֿאַרביי די רייען פֿון מאַרש איז דורכגעפֿליגן אַ לאַסט-אויטאָ און האָט אויף טויט אַ שליידער געטאַן אַ יידישן העפטלינג (לעווינזאָן, פֿון לאַגער 1). דעם דערהרגעטנס אַ ברודער, וועלכער איז געגאַנגען מיט אים צוזאַמען, האָט זיך אַ בייג געטאַן צו דער ערד זען וואָס מיטן ברודער איז. אויך אויף דעם האָבן די באַגלייטער פֿאַלד אָנגערייצט די הינט, וועלכע האָבן אים אָפֿגעריסן אַ באַק, צעריסן די זייטן, און ער איז שוין געבליבן ליגן אַ טויטער ביי דער זייט פֿון ברודער.

דער מאַרש איז ניט געגאַנגען מיט קיין גראַדן וועג. צוליב דעם דערבייאיקן פֿראַנט און צוליב די באַמבאַרדירונגען האָבן די קאָלאָנעס געמאַכט פֿיל אומוועגן, זיך געדאַרפט פֿאַרשטעקן אין די וועלדער. ניט ווייט שוין פֿון באַד-טעלץ, אַרום קעניגסדאָרף, האָבן זיך די קאָלאָנעס געמוזט קערן צוריק, ווייל דער פֿראַנט זאָל זיך האָבן גאָר נאָענט אַ רוק געטאַן. דער מאַרש האָט זיך נאָכדעם געווענדט אויף לינקס פֿון וועג, און אַ טייל קאָלאָנעס זיינען אַריבער אַ בריק - וואָס איז פֿאַלד פֿון די ס״ס אויפֿגעריסן געוואָרן. אַ קאָלאָנע פֿון אַרום 3000 רוסן איז אָבער געבליבן ניט אַריבער. וועגן דעם גורל פֿון אַט די רוסן האָט מען גערעדט פֿאַרשיידן.

דער הונגער איז געווען גרויס. דעם ערשטן מאַי האָט אַ קאָלאָנע העפטלינגען באַמערקט ביים זייט וועג עטלעכע טויטע פֿערד, צעריסענע פֿון באַמבעס. זיי זיינען גלייך באַפֿאַלן די פֿגירות און גענומען רייסן פֿון זיי שטיקער פֿלייש. די ס״ס האָבן גענומען שיסן און שלאַגן. איין יידן פֿון דער

פארטיע (לאַגער 10) האָט אַ פּאָסטן דורכגעשאַקט דעם קאַפּ. מיר טרעפן אים נאָך היינט אין מינכען מיט זיין פאַרנייטן שטערן.

גרויזאָם זיינען געווען אויך פיל פון די העפטלינגען גופא איינער צום צווייטן. דאָ האָבן די יידן נאָך געהאַט אויסצושטיין פון די פאַרשיידענע קאַצעטלעך-אַריער, באַזונדערש פון אוקראַינער. די פלעגן באַפאַלן די שוואַכערע יידן און ארויסרייסן פון זיי דאָס צוגעטיילטע שטיקל ברויט, ממש פון מויל אַרויס. דערביי פלעגן די זעלבע נאָך באַנוצן דעם באַקאַנטן לעקסיקאָן פון אַנטיסעמיטישע זילזולים און אויך געבן אַ קלאַפּ. דורך די נעכט פלעגן זיי פון יידן ארויסרייסן אויך די דעקעס, און ווידער מיט קלעפּ דערביי ...

די נעכט זיינען פאַר די העפטלינגען געווען נאָך שרעקלעכער ווי די טעג. אַלץ טיפּער אין געביט פון די אַלפן, וווּ אַנהייב פּרילינג זיינען די נעכט אַזוי קאַלט, פלעגן די מענטשן ווערן צונויפגעטריבן צום "שלאָפּן" אין [17] טאָלן און פּלאַטעס. אָדער אויף נאַקעטע בערג. גאָר ביטער איז געווען די נאַכט פון ערשטן אויפן צווייטן מאַי, די לעצטע נאַכט פאַר דער באַפּרייאַונג. גאַנצע קאַלאַנעס האָט מען "איינגעפלאַצירט" אויף נאַכטלעגער אין אַ גרויסן זומפּ ניט ווייט פון באַד-טעליץ. דורך נאַכט האָט זיך איינגעשטעלט אַ פּראָסט, און פאַרטאַג איז אַרויסגעפאַלן אַ געדיכטער שניי, וואָס האָט פאַרווייעט די מענטשן. פיל זיינען דאָן געבליבן מיט אַפּגעפרוירענע פינגער אין די הענט און פיס. נאָך דעם וואַנדער-מאַרש פון 9 טעג און 8 נעכט זיינען די קאַלאַנעס קאַצעטלעך צווישן באַד-טעליץ און וואַקירען באַפּרייט געוואָרן פון די אַמעריקאַנער מיטוואָך דעם 2טן מאַי 1945 אַרום 10 פרי. אַ גרויסער טייל פון די באַפּרייטע איז באַלד אַריינגענומען געוואָרן אין קראַנקע-רעוירן. די גאָר שוואַכע האָבן די אַמעריקאַנער אַפּגעפירט אין דייטשן מיליטער-שפיטאַל פון באַד-טעליץ. אין אַ וואָך אַרום זיינען די קראַנקע פון דאָרט פּונאַנדערעפּירט געוואָרן אין אַנדערע פאַרשיידענע שפיטאַלן און סאַנאַטאָריעס. הונדערטער פון די באַפּרייטע זיינען חדשים לאַנג נאָך אַפּגעלעגן קראַנק און פיל פון זיי זיינען שוין אינגאַנצן ניט געקומען צו זיך.

אַ גרעסערע פאַרטיע פון די קאָפּערינג-לאַגערן, דער עיקר פון לאַגער 11, איז ניט דערקומען צו דאַכאָ. די מענטשן האָבן זיך אַפּגעשטעלט אין אַן אַרבעטס-לאַגער ביי קאַרלספעלד, אַ שטעטל צווישן מינכען און דאַכאָ, און דאָרט געבליבן ביי צוויי טעג. דאָן איז די קאַלאַנע געטריבן געוואָרן ווידער צופּוס, צוריק אין דער ריכטונג פון מינכען. די העפטלינגען זיינען דורכגעגאַנגען פּאסינג (פאַרשטאַט פון מינכען), פירשטענפעלדברוק, שטאַרנבערג און נאָך פיל ערטער דרומדיק פון מינכען אין ריכטונג צו טיראַל. אין דאָרף בוכבערג, ביי 5 קמ. פון וואַלפּראַטסהויזען, מיזרחדיק פון שטאַרנבערגער זע, איז די קאַלאַנע באַפּדייט געוואָרן דינסטיק נאַכמיטאַג, דעם ערשטן מאַי 1945. די באַפּרייטע זיינען איינגעוואַרטירט געוואָרן אין אַ לאַגער ביים דאָרף גופא. אין עטלעכע חדשים אַרום האָט מען זיי אַריבערגעפירט נענטער צו וואַלפּראַטסהויזען, אין אַ געוועזענעם אַרבעטער-לאַגער פון פּערנוואַלד, וואָס איז שוין פאַרבליבן ביז היינט איינער פון די גרעסטע יידישע לאַגערן אין בייערן.

ד. טראַנספּאָרט פון די קראַנקע

ביים אַפּמאַרש פון די לאַגערן זיינען, ווי שוין דערמאַנט, די קראַנקע און גאָר שוואַכע אַפּגעטיילט געוואָרן באַזונדער. פון דער קאַצעטן-גרופּע ביי [18] קאָפּערינג האָט מען אָט די מענטשן לכתחילה צוואַמענגעפירט אין לאַגער 1, וווּ עס האָט זיך געפונען די קאָמענדאַנטור פון די אַלע אַרומיקע קאַצעטן. דער עיקר האָט געליפּערט קראַנקע דער לאַגער 4, וואָס האָט די לעצטע מאַנאַטן געדינט דורכאויס ווי אַ טויטן-לאַגער אָדער "קאַלטע קרעמאַטאָריע" פאַר די אויסגעאַרבעטע קאַצעטלעך ("מוסלמענער").

מיטן אויפהערן שיקן "מוסולמענער-טראַנספּאָרטן" קיין אוישוויץ (לעצטער טראַנספּאָרט פון קאָפּערנינג איז אָפּגעגאַנגען דעם 25-טן אָקטאָבער 1944) איז ענדלעך דער לאַגער 4 דאָס געוואָרן דער "ערהאַלונגס-אַרט" פון די נייט-אַרבעטנדיקע עלעמענטן. כמעט יעדע פיר וואָכן פלעגט פון צענטער אַרויפגעלייגט ווערן אויף יעדן לאַגער אַ פעסטע נאָרמע פון קאַצעטלער-קעפּ, וואָס מוז צוגעשטעלט ווערן אין לאַגער 4. דאָס אויסטיילן די מענטשן און זיי באַשטימען ווי מוסולמענער, וועלכע דאַרפן גיין פאַר אַט דער קאַלטער קרעמאַטאַרע, איז עס געווען די אויפגאַבע פון יעדן לאַגער-פירער, וועלכער פלעגט פון זיין זייט נעמען צו הילף די לאַגער-דאָקטוירים און אַבער-קאַפּאַס. אויף צו פאַרפולן די געפאַדערטע צאָל פלעגן ביים אָפּקלייבן אַריינפאלן אויך נישט ווייניק געזונטערע, וועמענס שאַנסן צו "אַריבערלעבן די צייט" פלעגן מיטן אַריבערטערעטן דעם "ערהאַלונגס-לאַגער" גלייך פאַלן ביז צום נידעריקסטן פונקט. אין לאַגער 4 זיינען שוין די קאַצעטלער פריי געווען פון אַרבעט; מיט אַפעלן האָט מען אויך דאָ נישט מדקדיק (!) געווען. וועגן באַקומען כאַטש אַ מינימום עסן האָבן שוין די מענטשן אין געדאַנק נישט געקענט פרעטענדיקן; די פראָדוקטן צוטיילונג איז געווען די ערגסטע פון די ערגסטע, טאַקע כמעט ווי גאַרניט. דערצו זיינען די קאַצעטלער געווען כמעט ווי נאַקעט. ביים אַרויס-טראַנספּאָרטירן זיי פון די לאַגערן פלעגן די באַקליידיגונגס-קאַמערן צוגעמען "צוריק" פון יעדן איינעם זיין מאַנטל, פולאָווער, בעסערע האַלץ-שיך און אָפט אויך די דעקע. וועגן מעדיצינישער באַהאַנדלונג אָדער אַ וועלכער סאַניטאַרער אויפזיכט אין דעם לאַגער 4 – איז איבעריק צו ריידין. די קאַצעטלער זיינען אַריינגעוואָרפן געוואָרן אין די ערד-בּודעס; דאָרט האָבן זיי געדאַרפט פוילן אויף דער פייכטער נאַרע און – אויסקוקן דעם טויט. דער איינציקער אינטערעס טאַקע וואָס די לאַגער-פירונג האָט דאָ אַרויסגעוויזן איז – וועגן דער גענויער צאָל טויטע יעדן טאָג, וואָס פלעגט אָפט דערגיין ביז 50! אין געציילטע מאַנאַטן האָבן אין דעם לאַגער 4 פאַרענדיקט זייער לעבן די הונדערטער און טויזנטער מענטשן.

ביי דער ליקווידאַציע פון די לאַגערן איז אויך דאָ, אין לאַגער 4, פאַרגעקומען אַ פאַרמעלע קאַנטראָל פון געזונטע און קראַנקע. און דאָ האָט פאַר פיל פון די פאַרמשפטע צו אַ נירוואַנע-טויט פלוצלונג אַ בלינדל געטאָן אַ פונק האַפענונג ווידער צו אַריינשאַרן זיך אין דער ריי פון לעבנס-באַ-רעכ- [19] טיקטע מענטשן. אַ גאַר קאַנטיקע צאָל פון די טויט-געשטעמפעלטע קאַצעטלער האָט זיך אַוועקגעשטעלט אין די "געזונטע" רייען, אַנטשלאָסן און גרייט צו שלעפן זיך אין מאַרש מיט די לעצטע כוחות די צענדליקער ק"מ!.. די קאַלאָנעס זיינען אַוועק צופוס. דער גרעסטער טייל אַבער פון די מאַרשירנדיקע איז צוזאַמען מיט די אונטערוועגס-אַפגעשטאַנענע פון די אַנדערע לאַגערן געבראַכט געוואָרן קיין אַלאַך.

מיטוואַך דעם 25-טן אַפּריל נאָכמיטאָג האָט זיך אין דעם זעלבן לאַגער 4 אָנגעהויבן דאָס אַריבערפירן פון די קרוב 1000 קראַנקע. דער לאַגער-פירער מיט זיינע משרתים האָבן זיך אַ לאַז געטאָן איבער די פאַראַקעס צום אַרויסטרייבן די מענטשן. זעלטן אַבער ווער עס האָט זיך געקענט רירן. די דייטשן האָבן אַבער געדראָט, אַז באַלד צינדט מען אונטער די פאַראַקעס, מיוועט אויפרייסן דעם גאַנצן לאַגער ... נישט ווייט פון קאַצעט האָט זיך געצויגן אַ באַן-ליניע. די סיס האָבן אין איין אָרט דורכגעשניטן די דראָטן פון לאַגער-צוים און דורך דאַנעט גענומען טרייבן די מענטשן צום באַן. די גאַר שוואַכע האָט מען געפירט מיט פורן. די ערשטע פאַרטיע קראַנקע איז אָפּגעפאַרן מיט אַ צוג, וואָס האָט זיי נאָך אַ קורצער שטרעקע געבראַכט צו דעם בוי-פלאַץ פון דער פירמע "האַלצמאַן", אַ קמ. 2 פון לאַגער 1. דער פלאַץ אַליין מיט זיין "בוי-שטעלע" איז געווען שוין צו גוט באַקאַנט די אַרומיקע קאַצעטלער; חדשים לאַנג האָבן זיי דאָ געאַרבעט טאָג און נאַכט אויף בויען רייזיקע אונטערערדישע פאַבריקן. אין די הונדערטער און טויזנטער מענטשן האָבן דערביי פאַרלוירן זייער געזונט און לעבן. דאָ אויף דעם האַלצמאַן-פלאַץ האָט שוין איצט

אויף די קראַנקע געוואַרט אַ טראַנספּאָרט־קאָמאַנדע פּון לאַגער 1 בראש מיטן לאַגער־עלטסטן האַנס. די עטוואָס געזונטערע האָט מען באַלד געהייסן אַרויסגיין פּון די וואַגאַנעס, און פּאַסטנס האָבן זיי אַוועקגעטריבן צופּוס אין לאַגער 1. די שווער קראַנקע האָט איבערגענומען האַנס. ער האָט פּאַראַרדנט זיין קאָמאַנדע צו "הינאיינשמייסן" זיי אין די צוגעגרייטע וועגענער און אָפּפירן די "שייס" אויך אין לאַגער 1. בערג גאַנצע מיט קראַנקע זיינען צוזאַמענגעשליידערט געוואָרן אין יעדן וואַגן, איינער איבער דעם אַנדערן צוזאַמענגעשטיקט. די מענטשן האָבן גענומען קרעכצען און בעטן זיך, אַז מען זאָל זיי שוין בעסער לאָזן גיין צופּוס – זיי האַלטן דאָך ניט אויס! האַנס האָט אָבער געאַרבעט מיטן שטעקן און געגעבן אַ קאָמאַנדע צו זיינע וואַגן־ציער! לאָוס!.. פּיס, הענט און קעפּ זיינען אַרונטערגעהאַנגען פּון די וועגענער, געשאַרט זיך און געריבן ביי די רעדער, אַן דער ערד. פּיל פּון די אומגליקלעכע האָבן געקענט האַנסן פּון פּריער און האָבן געוויסט, אַז ער איז אַ פּאָליטישער קאַצעטלער (סאַציאַלדעמאָקראַט) און צייטנווייז טאַקע גאָר ניט [20] אַזאַ שרעקלעכער. זיי האָבן איצט אין זייערע לעצטע יסורים נאָך געפרוּווט אָפעלירן צו אים:

– הער לאַגער־עלטסטער, האַנס, זי זינד דאָך קיין זאַ שלעכטער!..

– עס וואַר איין מאָל!... – האָט האַנס האָפּערדיק געענטפּערט. דאָס זאָל הייסן: ניט היינט איז די צייט צו טרייבן קאַפּרין פּון מענטשלעכקייט. און דער שטעקן זיינער איז ווייטער געלאָזן געוואָרן אין גאַנג.

דער וועג פּון די פּלעצער "האַלצמאַן" און "מאַל" איז דורכן ווינטער 45–1944 געווען פּאַרויט מיט די הונדערטער און טויזנטער קרבנות; זעלטן ווען אַן אַרבעט־שיכט האָט זיך פּון אַט די בוי־שטעלן צוריקגעקערט אין לאַגער אַריין אָן טויט־צעמזיקטע, פּאַרפּוירענע און כוחות־אויסגע־גאַנגענע. און ווידער מיט קרבנות האָט אַט דער בלוטיקער וועג געגעבן אַ בלי אויף אין די לעצטע טעג פּון לאַגער־פּרילינג, ערב מאַי 1945, שוין ביי דער סאַמע באַפּרייאונג.

ביים לאַגער 4 איז דעם מיטוואַך פּאַרנאַכט לעבן די באַן־שינעס נאָך געבליבן ליגן אַ צווייטע גרופּע קראַנקע, די גאָר שווערע. פּון 5 נאַכמיטאָג האָבן זיי געוואַרט אויף אַ צוג, וואָס האָט זיי אויך געדאַרפט אָפּפירן צום האַלצמאַן־פּלאַץ. עס איז שוין געוואָרן פינצטער, און קיין צוג איז ניט געקומען. אַ גאַנצע נאַכט זיינען די מענטשן, האַלב־נאַקעטע, געבליבן ליגן אין פעלד. מאַסן קרבנות זיינען דאָ אויסגעגאַנגען פּון קעלט.

ערשט אויף מאַרגן, דאָנערשטיק 7 פּרי, איז געקומען אַ צוג. קוים אָפּגעפּאַרן עטלעכע הונדערט מעטער, זיינען אַנגעפּלויגן אַמעריקאַנער אַעראָפּלאַנעס און אַנגעהויבן באַשיסן. ווידער קרבנות און פּאַרווונדעטע. די פּאַסטנס זיינען אַנטלאָפּן, און מענטשן פּון די וואַגאַנעס זיינען אַוועקגעקראַכן צוריק אין זייער לאַגער 4 אַריין. פּאַרנאַכט זיינען די קראַנקע ווידער געבראַכט געוואָרן צו דער באַן־ליניע. און ווידער האָבן זיי אין פעלד דאָ אַ נאַכט אָפּגעפרוירן און איבערגעלאָזט קרבנות. פּרייטיק פּאַרטאַג איז די פּאַרטיע קראַנקע שוין אָפּגעפּאַרן מיט אַ צוג צום האַלצמאַן־פּלאַץ. אין לאַגער 1 האָט מען זיי אָבער ניט געפּירט, ווייל די אַלע העפּטלינגען פּון דאָרטן זיינען שוין דעם דאָנערשטיק פּאַרנאַכט – אויך מיט דראָאונגען און שיקאַנעס – געוואָרן אַרויסגעיאָגט פּון די בודעס, געטריבן צום פּלאַץ און אַוועק מיט אַ טראַנספּאָרט אין דער ריכטונג פּון דאַכאַו. האָט זיך אויך דער צוג מיט די אַנגעקומענע פּון לאַגער 4 באַלד געלאָזט מיט דעם זעלבן וועג צום אָפּליפּערן דעם הייפל גוססע קאַצעטלער אין זייער גרויסן קאַצעט־צענטער – קיין דאַכאַו!

[12] ה. ביי שוואַב הויזען

לאַנגזאַם און מיט גרעסערע הפסקות האָבן זיך דורך דער נאַכט פּון דאָנערשטיק אויף פּרייטיק געצויגן די עשאַלאַנעס פּון די אַלע איבערגעלאָזענע קראַנקע און שוואַכע אין די קאַופּערינג־

לאגערן. דורכמאכנדיק אַ רייזע פון אַ קמ. 12, איז דער צוג פרייטיק באַגינען אָנגעקומען ניט ווייט פון דער סטאַנציע שוואַבהויזען. צו יענער צייט איז דאָרט אָנגעקומען אויך אַ מיליטער־צוג, וועלכן די אַמעריקאַנער פליער האָבן אַפנים באַמערקט. באַלד האָט זיך אָנגעהויבן אַ באַשיסונג פון דער לופט. די קוילן האָבן געטראָפן אויך אין לאַקאָמאַטיוו פון קאַצעטלער־צוג און אין די ערשטע וואַגאַנעס, וווּ עס האָבן זיך צום גרעסטן טייל געפונען די קראַנקע פרויען. עס זיינען דערביי אומגעקומען איבער 100 קאַצעטלער, אַחוץ פיל שווער־פאַרווונדעטע. גלייך מיט דער באַשיסונג האָבן זיך די פּאַסטנס געלאָזט אין דערבייאַיקן וועלדל. נאָך זיי האָבן זיך אויך אַ שאַס געטאַן די קאַצעטלער. דאָס איז שוין אָבער ניט געפעלן געוואָרן דעם טראַנספּאָרט־פירער, אַ ווילדער ס״ס, און ער האָט מיט זיין ברויניג אָנגעהויבן שיסן און אַוועקטייטן מענטשן.

דער צוג האָט שוין ווייטער ניט געקענט גיין. די קאַצעטלער האָבן זיך אַרומגעדרייט דעם טאַג אַרום די וואַגאַנעס און אויך אין וואַלד. אַנדערע האָבן שוין דאָרט אויך געפרוּווט פאַרוקן זיך אַלץ טיפער און ווייטער – ביז זיי האָבן אינגאַנצן אָפגעצויגן. אויך אין די רייען פון די פּאַסטנס האָט גענומען ווערן שיטערער, ווי זיי וואַלטן וווּ צוגעצויגן. פאַרנאַכט האָבן אויף אַ זייטיקער ליניע גענומען ברענען וואַגאַנעס. שפּעטער אַ וויילע – אויך אַ פאַר געביידעס פון דער באַן־סטאַנציע. משמעות דייטשן אַליין האָבן דאָס אונטערגעצונדן. די יידן האָבן געמיינט, אַז ניט אַנדערש – שוין פריי! אַ מחנה אויסגעהונגערטע קאַצעטלער האָבן זיך אַ וואַרף געטאַן אויף וואַגאַנעס מיט פּראָדוקטן און האָבן "אַרגאַניזירט" וואָס צום עסן. – די פרייהייט איז נאָך אָבער ניט געקומען. ווידער האָבן זיך באַוויזן פּאַסטנס און גענומען טרייבן די מענטשן אין די וואַגאַנעס אַריין. די קאַצעטלער זיינען שוין געווען מיט מער קוראזש און האָבן זיך ניט געאיילט אַזוי גיך צוריק אין די ענגע, אָפּענע און רעגן־פאַרנעצטע קוילן־וואַגאַנעס. יעדער האָט געזוכט זיך צו באַהאַלטן אין וואַלד, אין די פעלדער און דערבייאַיקע דערפער. די ס״ס האָבן זיך צעוואָרפן אין אַ דרייעק און אָנגעהויבן שיסן. ביי אַ צענדליק מענטשן [22] זיינען געפאַלן, און פיל האָבן זיך דאָך אויסבאַהאַלטן. דער גרעסטער טייל פון די קראַנקע איז אָבער צוריק אַריינגעטריבן געוואָרן אין די וואַגאַנעס און צוזאַמען מיט די ס״ס האָט זיי אַ לאַקאָמאַטיוו אַוועקגעפירט קיין דאַכאָ, וווּ זיי זיינען אין צוויי טעג אַרום באַפרייט געוואָרן.*

אין וועלדל ביי שוואַבהויזען זיינען געבליבן אַרום 200 יידן. די גאַנץ באַזונדערע סיטואַציע, אין וועלכער זיי האָבן זיך צום מאַמענט געפונען, האָט זיי ניט געלאָזט רוען. צווישן די ביימער האָבן זיי אַרומגעוואַנדלט די גאַנצע נאַכט פון פרייטיק אויף שבת, זיך געהאַלטן אין איין באַראַטן און זיך ניט געקענט קיין עצה געבן, וואָס זיי זאָלן דאָ איצט מאַכן. פון איין זייט זיינען זיי שוין פטור געוואָרן פון די ס״ס מיט די פּאַסטנס, די לעבנס־באַגלייטער זייערע פון יאָרן. פון צווייטער זייט אָבער זיינען נאָך די אַמעריקאַנער ניטאָ, און ניט צו וויסן ווען זיי קענען נאָך אַנקומען. אויף אַזאַ אופן איז דאָך די גאַנצע "רעכטלעכע" לאַגע פון די אַלע אין וואַלד דאָ נאָך גאָד פּראַבלעמאַטיש; מענטשן פרייע, און נאָך ניט באַפרייטע ... געווען אַ מיינונג, אַז מען מוז זיך ווי גיכער לעגיטימירן; זאָלן זיי אויך אַרעסטירן. די דייטשן! פיל האָבן אָבער אויך אין זייערע קאַצעטלערישע מלבושים אין וויסט־מבולבל־דיקן מצב דאָך ניט געקענט באַגרייפן, אַז מענטשן אַליין זאָלן גיין זיך אָנבאַטן צו געפּענגענישן, – און צו וועמען! און גראָד ווען די אַליין ציילן גאָר די מינוטן פון זייער נאָך אָנהאַלטנדיקן רעזשים! .. אַזוינע פּראַבלעמען זיינען געשאַטאַנען אויפן סדר היום פון דער ערשטער "פרייער" אסיפה פון יידן אויף דער ביייערישער ערד ערב דער אונטערגאַנג פון נאַצי־רעזשים. אין דעם וועלדל ביי שוואַבהויזען

* וועגן דעם טראַנספּאָרט זע ווייטערדיקע באַשרייבונג פון ד״ר ל. גאַלדשטיין: "פון שוואַבהויזען קיין דאַכאָ". – רעד.

איז די נאכט טאָקע אויפגעקומען דאָס ערשטע קערנדל פון דער אַרגאַניזירטער שארית הפליטה אין דייטשלאַנד. ד"ר זלמן גרינבערג, ד"ר שמואל גרינהויז, אַגראַנאַם יעקב אַלייסקי, ד"ר נחום כץ און נאָך טוער פון דעם שפעטערדיקן צענטראַל־קאָמיטעט און פון אַנדערע אָנפירנדיקע מוסדות פון די באַפרייטע יידן אין דייטשלאַנד, האָבן זיך דאָ גענומען צו טאָן וואָס.

שבת אין דער פרי איז אָוועק אַ דעלעגאַציע פון די יידן צום דאָרף־בירגמייסטער (!) וועגן אַרומרעדן די לאַגע פון די קאַצעטלער און זען, אַז ער זאָל זיי דערווייל איינאַרדנען אין דאָרף. דאָס דערשיינען פון אַזאַ מין קאַצעטיש־אוינפאַרמירטער דעלעגאַציע און זייער ווונטש איז פאַר אַזאַ אָסאַבע, ווי אַ נאַצישער בירגמייסטער אין אַ דאָרף פון אָבערבייערן, געווען לכל־הדעות העכער ווי זיין פערזענלעכער השגה און, ווער רעדט נאָך, פון אָפיציעלער [23] קאָמפּעטענץ. דאָך ווען די אַרמיייען פון דער "יידישער וועלט־מאַכט", די אַליאירטע, שטייען שוין אַזוי האַרט ביי זיין היימאַט, האָט ער פאַרט פאַרשטאַנען, דער בירגמייסטער, אַז אינגאַנצן אָפּוואַגן דער דעלעגאַציע קען מען ניט. ער האָט מבטיח געווען צו אַנווענדן זיינע אַלע מעגלעכקייטן אויף צו "בעשלוניגען" דעם אָפּטראַנספּאָרט פון די אַרומטרייבנדיקע קאַצעטלער קיין דאַכאַו, אין זייער געהעריקן אַרט. די יידישע טוער האָבן זיך אויך געווענדט צו דער איינהייט פון דער ווערמאַכט, לופטוואַפע, וואָס האָט סטאַציאָנירט אין דאָרף. אויך די האָבן איינגעפונען, אַז די איינציקע הילף, וואָס מען קען געבן אַזאַ שטיק טרפה, איז זען צו אַריבערפּעקלען זיי ווי שנעלעך קיין דאַכאַו ... פון די ערשטע אויפטוען פון דער דעלעגאַציע איז ביי פיל פון די יידן אויפגעקומען נאָד אַ ביטערער שמייכל: עסקנים־קאַצעטלער האָבן זיך געלאָזט אין השתדלות, מען זאָל דעם עולם אַריינטרייבן צוריק אין קאַטוּך אַריין ... אַביסל האָט אָבער דאָך געגלעט די אויגן פון מענטשן, וואָס דער מיטגליד פון דער דעלעגאַציע, ד"ר גרינבערג, איז צוריקגעקומען מיט אַ רויטן קרייז אויפן אַרבל. אַלזאַ, מיטן אָפיציעלן אָנווען פון אַ דאָקטאָר. אין קאַצעט האָט דאָך אַפילו אַ יידישער מעדיצינ־פּראָפּעסאָר געקענט הייסן, אין בעסטן פאַל, נאָך "סאַניטעטער"!.. זיין ערשטער באַפעל, ד"ר גרינבערגס, איז געווען: צונויפנעמען די אַלע טויטע און זיי מקבר זיין. ער אַליין האָט זיך מיט אַ גרופּע געזינטערע יידן געשטעלט גראַפּ 3 מאַסן־קברים. צו הילף זיינען געקומען אַרומיקע פּויערים און סאָלדאַטן פון דער ווערמאַכט. ביי 150 יידן זיינען דאָ באַערדיקט געוואָרן. מיט ברענגען יידן צו קבורה איז שוין פון דורות פאַרבונדן דעם אויפקום פון יידישן אויטאָנאָמען לעבן, אָנהייבנדיק פון די אַלטע קהילות ביז די לאַנדמאַנשאַפטן אין דער נייער וועלט.

פאַרנאַכט זיינען פאַרביי דעם דאָרף דורכגעפאַרן מיט אַ טאַנק די ערשטע אַמעריקאַנער אויסשפּיער! דאָס האָט שוין זיכער געוויקט אויף דעם בירגמייסטער, און פאַר די יידן איז שוין געקומען מער ממשותדיקע הילף. זיי זיינען באַזאָרגט געוואָרן מיט עסן (אַ קעסל מיט קאַרטאָפּל צום קאָכן אין דרויסן). דערצו האָט דער בירגמייסטער געגעבן פאַר די מענטשן שטרוי אויף אָפּלעגער און זיי "איינגעקוואַרטירט" צום שלאָפּן אין עטלעכע פאַרלאָזענע קליינע באַראַקעס, אין אַ שיער און אין ליידיקע פּיוואַגאַנעס. דורך נאָכט זיינען שוין דורכן דאָרף דורכגעפאַרן אַ גרעסערע צאָל אַמעריקאַנער טאַנקעס, און אויף מאַרגן, זונטיק דעם 29־טן אַפּריל, איז שוואַב־הויזען שוין געווען פעסט אונטער די אַמעריקאַנער.

מיט דער הילף פון די באַפרייער האָט מען דינסטיק דעם 1־טן מאַי די אַלע יידן פון שוואַב־הויזען אַריבערגעפירט 8 קמ. פון דאָרט, קיין סאַנט־ [25] אַטיליען, אין אַ דייטשישן מיליטערישן שפּיטאַל. פון דעם טאַג אָן דינט סאַנט־אַטיליען ווי אַ יידישע סאַנאַטאָריע און איז איינער פון די גרעסטע מעדיצינישע צענטערן פון דער שארית הפליטה אין דייטשלאַנד.

1. אין אלאך

דער קאצעט פון אלאך איז שוין געווען זינט עטלעכע יאָר איינער פון די גרעסטע אויסן־לאַגערן פון דאָכאַו. אינגאַנצן נאָר ביי 7 קמ. פון צענטער, האָט זיך דאָ תמיד געשפּירט מער פון עכטן דאָכאַו־רעזשים. די באַראַקעס זיינען דאָ געווען געגאַסן פון בעטאָן, לויטן באַקאַנטן שטאַנדאַרט־זירטן טיפּ אין די סטאַבילע קאָצעטן; ניט קיין קאַרטאָן – אָדער ערד־בודעס – ווי כמעט אין די אַלע ניי־אויפגע־קומענע לאַגערן פון די לעצטע יאָרן. ביז אָנהייב פּרילינג 1945 זיינען די "אינזאַסן" פון אַלאַך, ווי אין דעם צענטער דאָכאַו אַליין, געווען כמעט דורכויס אַריער, אַ געמיש פון אַיראָפּיאישע פעלקער. דער מאַרש קיין טיראַל האָט אָגעהויבן ברענגען אָהער אויך מאַסן יידן, פאַר וועלכע מען האָט אָויסגעטיילט עטלעכע בלאַקן, שטרענג אָפּגעזונדערטע מיט שטעכלדראַט און אַ וואַך פון דעם "אַרישן טייל". דעם 23טן אַפּריל איז פון אַלאַך אַרויס אַ גרויסער טראַנספּאָרט יידן אויף טיראַל. די מענטשן זיינען אַריינגעקוועטשט געוואָרן צו 120 מאַן אין די קליינע אָפּענע קוילד־וואַגאַנעס. נאָכן אַרומפּאַרן ביי אַ וואַך צייט אין שניי, רעגן און ווינט זיינען זיי אונטערוועגס, דרומדיק פון שטאַרמבערגער זעע, ביי דער באַן־סטאַנציע שטאַל־טאַך, באַפּרייט געוואָרן דורך די אַמערקאַנער. נאָכן טראַנספּאָרט זיינען אין אַלאַך געבליבן ביי 400 יידן, דער גרעסטער טייל אונגאַרישע און אויך אַביסל פּוילישע. מיטן מאַרש פון קאָופּערינג און די אַנדערע דערבייאיקע לאַגערן האָט פון מיטוואַך דעם 25טן אַפּריל גענומען שטראַמען אָהער אַ נייער "צוגאַנג" פון קראַנקע און אָפּגעשטאַנענע. אַנדערע זיינען דאָ אָנגעקומען מער טויטע ווי לעבעדיקע. אַ פאַרטיע קאָצעטלעך פון לאַגער 3 האָט אָהער מיטגעבראַכט עטלעכע פאַרווונדעטע מענטשן פון אַן אומגליק־פאַל אין וועג. דאָנערשטיק פאַרנאַכט איז האַרט ביי דער מאַרשירנדיקער קאַלאַנע פון דעם לאַגער פאַרבייגעלאָפּן אַ לאַסט־אויטאָ און אַרויפגעפּאַרן אויף 3 מענטשן, וועלכע האָבן געשטופּט אַ וואַגן זאַכן פון די פּאַסטנס. איינער פון די דריי (מאַטל בעקער, געווען אַ בילעטיאָר אין קאָוונער יידישן טעאַטער) איז שטאַרק צוגעדריקט געוואָרן צו אַ בוים ביי דער זייט וועג און געוואָרן שווער פאַרווונדעט. אין באַראַק דאָ האָט ער זיך נאָך געמאַטערט עטלעכע טעג און איז דינסטיק (1 מאַי) געשטאַרבן.

פּרייטיק אָונט (27.4) האָט שוין דער יידישער "צוגאַנג" אין אַלאַך [26] דערגרייכט ביי אַרום 2.300 מאַן. די ס״ס האָבן זיך אין די טעג שוין כמעט גאַרניט געמישט אין לאַגער און די גאַנצע אינערלעכע אָרדענונג איז געלעגן אין די הענט פון די קאַפּאָס. פאַר דער גאַנצער מאַסע יידן זיינען נאָך געבליבן אַלץ די זעלבע עטלעכע בלאַקן, וואָס יעדער פון זיי האָט געקענט אַרייננעמען העכסטנס 200 מאַן. אין איין בלאַק איז געווען דער קראַנק־רעוויז, וווּ די יידיש־אונגאַרישע דאָקטוירים האָבן געהאַלטן גאָר זייערע פּראַטעזשירטע פּאַציענטן. אין נאָך אַ בלאַק (נומער 24) האָבן זיך באַזעצט די פּראַמענענטן, ביי 150 יידישע קאַפּאָס, דאָקטוירים, לאַגער־שרייבער אדגײל. די איבעריקע, העכער 2000 יידן, זיינען צונויפגעשטיקט געוואָרן אין 3 בלאַקן. די ענגשאַפט איז דאָ געוואָרן אַ קאַטאַסטראַפּאַלע. שווער קראַנקע מענטשן האָבן דורך טעג און נעכט ניט געהאַט אַפּילו וווּ זיך צו אָפּשפּאַרן, זיך זעצן און ווער רעדט נאָך פון אַ געלעגער; ניט געווען ווי צו דורכגיין דעם בלאַק; שווער געווען אַפּילו דאָס דורכשטופּן זיך אין דרויסן אויף צו דערליידיקן אַ מענטשלעכע באַדערפעניש. דורך דער שטאַק פינצטערניש אין דער נאַכט איז יעדער טראַט דורכן באַראַק געווען פאַרבונדן מיט סכּנות נפשות; צוליב די אָפטע לופט־אַלאַרמען האָט דאָ קיין עלעקטרע שוין אינגאַנצן ניט געברענט. דורך די נעכט האָט אויך ניט איינמאַל פּאַסירט, אַז עס פלעגן פון גרויסער איבערלאַסט איינפאַלן די 3 שטאַקיקע הילצערנע געלעגער־געשטעלן ("ביקסען") צוואַמען מיט די שלאַפּנדיקע מענטשן – אין אַט דער ענגשאַפט און פינצטערניש!.. קלאַך, אַז טויט־פאַלן זיינען אין די בלאַקן געווען ניט קיין זעלטנקייט.

אויך אָבער דאָ, ביי אַט דער לאַגע, איז פון צווישן די קרבנות גופא באַלד אויפגעקומען אַ גאַנץ צאָלרייכער פּריווילעגירטער שיכט. אומגעריכט און אָן אַ וועלכן ערנסטן באַדאַרף האָט זיך ביי דער זייט פון די אַזויפיל קאַפּאַס נאָך אין יעדן בלאַק גענומען אַראַגאַניזירן אַ באַזונדערע פּאָליציי. געזונטערע און פיפיקע יינגלעך, אַפּשטאַמיקע פון פאַרשיידענע לענדער און אַקערשט אַליין אַנגעקומענע אַהער פון די אַלערליי לאַגערן, האָבן זיך אין די מינוטן צונויפגעשמעקט, זיך געקרוינט פאַר באַלעבאַטיים איבער די איבעריקע האַלבגוססע מענטשן, וואָס דער זעלבער מאַרש האָט זיי געבראַכט אַהער – און גענומען מאַכן "אַרדענונג". די ערשטע זאַך האָבן זיי אין יעדן בלאַק פון אַ בעסערן און גרויסן טייל אַרויסגעוואָרפן די אַלע קראַנקע פון זייערע נאַרעס אין ווינקעלעך און געשאַפן פאַר זיך אַן אויסגעטיילטע "פּאָליציי־רעוויור". דאָ האָבן זיי געהאַט זייערע באַקוועמערע געלעגערס און זיך געקענט ברייטלעך שפּילן אין קאַרטן; זיי זיינען געווען די ערשטע אויך ביים עסן און באַזונדערש ביים פּאַקומען אַ בעסערן פּיסן. און שפּעטער, באַלד נאָך דער באַפּרייאַונג, זיינען פיל פון אַט די מענטשן ווידער געווען די ערשטע אויף צו דעקלאַרירן [27] זיך פאַר די העכסט־פּראַגראַעסיווע, און ממילה האָבן זיי אין די הענט אַריין גענומען די פאַרשטייערשאַפט פון כלל ... יעדנפאַלס מיטן אויפקום פון אַט דער באַזונדערער פּאָליציי איז די ענגשאַפט און גיהנם פאַר די איבעריקע יידן אין אַלאַך געוואָרן נאָך מער אומדערטרענגלעך.

שבת דעם 28טן אינדערפרי זיינען אין די בלאַקן אַריינגעקומען מענטשן פון שרייב־שטוב און מיט אַ געהויבענער שטים אַנגעוואָנט, אַז לויט די לעצטע ראַדיאָ־ידיעות זאָל דייטשלאַנד האָבן קאַפיטולירט.

ניט מער און ניט ווייניקער!

מתים האָבן זיך איבערן אויסגעלייגטן דיל אַ קייקל געטאָן איינער צום צווייטן מיט לעבעדיקע קושן, און פון דער גרויזאָם־צונויפגעשטיקטער ענגשאַפט איז מיטאַמאָל אַרויסגעוואַקסן אַ גרוימער ליכטיקער פּלאַץ פאַר אַ קאַרפּאַטן־יידן אויף אַ ריקודל. פון די פאַרשטיקטע געלעגערס און ווינקעלעך האָט זיך געטראַגן אַ געדיכטע אָבער דומפע צופאַטשעריי און אונטערגעוואָנגן. אַ וויילע שפּעטער האָט שוין די ידיעה אַביסל אַנדערש געקלונגען: ביייערן "אונדזערע" אַליין האָט זיך אַפּגעריסן פון רייך און גייט מאַכן פאַר זיך אַ סעפּעראַטן וואַפּנשטילשאַנד ... מיט אַזעלכע ענלעכע דערלייזערישע בשורות, און אין אַ וויילע אַרום – ווידער מיט "אויסבעסערונגען", האָט שוין געווימלט די גאַנצע פאַר טעג. וואָס אמת, סימנים לויטערע אין לאַגער גופא האָבן זיך טאַקע אויך אַנגעהויבן ווייזן. אין זעלבן שבת פרי האָבן זיך שוין ביים לאַגער־טויער און אויף די וואַך־טורעמס ניט געזען קיין ס״ס־פּאַסטנס. שפּעטער האָבן זיך באַוויזן אַרישע העפטלינגען מיט ווייסע בענדער אויף די אַרבל און מיט ביקסן. איבערן לאַגער זיינען אויך געוואָרן אַרויסגעהאַנגען ווייסע פּאַנעס מיט אַ רויטן קרייץ. ביז דער אמתער באַפּרייאַונג האָט נאָך אָבער דער לאַגער דורכגעמאַכט אַביסל שרעק און דערביי פאַרלאָרן אויך מענטשן.

זונטיק בייטאָג האָבן איבערן לאַגער און ארום גענומען פליען איינע נאָך די אַנדערע אַעראַפּלאַנען־עסקאַדרעס פון די אַמעריקאַנער. באַלד האָבן די דייטשן פון מערב זייט, טאַקע פון גאַר דערביי, געעפנט אַ שיעריי פון זייערע פאַרמאַסקירטע פּלאַק־מאַשינעס. אַזוי האָט זיך שוין געצויגן דער גאַנצער נאָכמיטאָג. האָט נאָר אַ וויילע אַפּגעלאָזט דער קאַמף, אַזוי פלעגט זיך באַלד דורכן קאַצעט דורכטראַגן די בשורה: די אַמעריקאַנער!.. און מענטשן האָבן זיך געלאָזט לויפן זיי אַנקוקן ביון ... עלעקטריזירטן צוים. פאַרנאַכט האָט זיך פון ביידע זייטן לאַגער אַנגעהויבן אַ געדיכטע קאַנאָנאַדע. קוילן און שראַפּנעלן זיינען געפּלויגן אַדורך די באַראַקעס, יעדע וויילע אַן אויפ־ [28] בליץ, אויפּרייס, און – אויפּצוטער. מענטשן זיינען געלעגן צונויפגעדריקט אויף דער ערד און זיך אַלץ געפרעגט: איז שוין די לעצטע טויט־שרעק? ... אַרום גיין אַוונט איז אין קראַנקן־רעוויור געפּאַלן

א באַמבע און דאָרט אויפגעריסן; האָט אַרויסגעהאַקט טיר און פענצטער צוזאַמען מיט אַ שטיק וואַנט און דערביי אוועקגעטייט עטלעכע מענטשן און נאָך מער פאַרווונדעט. שפעטער אין דער נאַכט ווערט שוין די שישעריי איינגעהאַלטענער, דומפיקער, ווי שוין פון דער ווייטן. צעשראַקענע יידן טייטשן אויס, אַז אַוודאי האָבן נאָך די דייטשן פאַרטריבן די אַמעריקאַנער אויף צוריק. די איבערוועגנדיקע זיינען אָבער די העלערע סטראַטעגן. די ווייזן אויף מיט כל הראיות, אַז דאָ דערביי איז שוין קיין דייטשע אַרמיי לאַנג ניטאָ; עס האָבן זיך נאָך ווי אויסבאַהאַלטן "שפיצן" און די זיינען שוין איצט אויך אויסגערויכערט.

דאָסמאָל פון די זעלטנקייט, אין די לעצטע יאָרן האָבן די גוט־אויסלייגער געהאַט רעכט. מענטשן האָבן זיך אין גרויען פאַרטאַג אַרויסגעשלייכט פון די באַראַקעס, און טאַקע פון ערגעץ קיין סימן פון אַ דייטשן זעלנער ניט באַמערקט.

מאַנטיק דעם 30־טן אַפּריל אַרום 11 פרי זיינען שוין די אַמעריקאַנער געווען אין שטעטל אַלאַך און אין אַ וואַסער האַלבע שעה אַרום אויך אין קאַצעט.



צו זייערע מאַסן אומגעבראַכטע קרבנות אין די קאַצעטן איז די נאַציס שוין אין די גאָר לעצטע גסיסה־מינוטן נאָך אויפגעקומען דער ווילדער שיגעון צו טרייבן די לעצטע קאַצעטלער אין די בערג פון טיראַל. אַן אַ שיעור לעבנס האָט ווידער און פונדאָסניי געקאַסט אַט די פינצטערע וואַקסאַנאַליע פון דעם ביזן וועלט־גייסט. דערפירן זייער פלאַן ביז ענדע, צום מאַכן דעם ענדגילטיקן חשבון מיט די העפטלינגען און אין דער לעצטער מינוט ניט איבערלאָזן קיין איינעם פון זיי ביים לעבן – דאָס איז די נאַציס דאָך ניט געלונגען. זיי איז ניט געלונגען צו פאַרטיליקן די לעצטע עדות פון זייערע גרויזאַמקייטן.

הייפלעך נאָר פון די מיליאָנען אין די קאַצעטן און אויך נאָר אַ טייל פון די צענדליקער טויזנטער מאַרש־געיאָגטע האָבן עס אַדורכגעטראָגן אַט דעם לעצטען עטאַפּ פון די שיקאַנעס און פיין. ניט קיין סך זיינען זיי געבליבן. זיי זיינען דאָס די לעצטע עדות, וואָס האָבן דורכגעמאַכט אַזוי פיל, ווייסן און געדענקען נאָך.

און אַט זיי דערציילן!

י. קאַפּלאַן

(צ.ה.ק. 969/321)

*Translation***The March from the Kaufering Camps***A. The Last Camps Are on the Move*

Over 70 km from Dachau,⁴ in the vicinity of Landsberg am Lech,⁵ where Hitler had been imprisoned in 1924 and where he penned his well-known work, *Mein Kampf*, 20 years later, in the summer of 1944, a total of 11 Jewish camps were established. Kaufering was the closest railway station to most of these camps. Because of that, the entire camp cluster was given the name of this station, the Kaufering camps.⁶ Officially, however, they were regarded as subcamps of Dachau and were therefore under its jurisdiction. These camps “functioned” for just 9 months. Their inmates, the Jews, built there underground factories and did other backbreaking labor. During the 9 months trainloads of thousands of Jews were constantly arriving here. The total

4 Dachau, around 15 km away from Munich, was erected in 1933 as one of the first Nazi concentration camps. Until late 1938, it was used mainly to incarcerate German political prisoners, whereupon large numbers of Jews, Roma and Sinti, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and people considered homosexuals by the Nazi regime were sent to the camp as well. With the systematization of the persecution of the Jews and the November Pogroms in 1938, the number of Jewish prisoners greatly increased. By the liberation of Dachau and its subcamps in April 1945, around 30 percent of the inmates were Jewish. Barbara Distel, Art. Dachau Main Camp, in: Geoffrey P. Megargee (ed.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, 7 vols., Bloomington, Ind., 2009 ff., here vol. 1 (hereafter: Megargee (ed.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*), 442–446; Barbara Distel et al. (eds.), *Dachau Concentration Camp, 1933 to 1945: Text and Photo documents from the Exhibition*, transl. by Paul Bowman, Dachau 2005.

5 Landsberg was one subcamp complex of Dachau. After liberation, it was the site of a DP camp. On the Landsberg camp complex, see Edith Raim, Art. Landsberg, in: Megargee (ed.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 1, p. A, 496 f.

6 Kaufering was a subcamp complex of the Dachau camp system. In 1943, with the intensification of the Allied air war against Germany, the German Armaments Ministry and the SS agreed to accelerate construction of massive underground factories. To facilitate the construction, the Nazis sent prisoners from concentration camps to these sites as forced laborers. To house these forced laborers, hundreds of satellite camps were established in the German Reich between 1944 and 1945, including the Kaufering subcamps. When the U.S. Army approached, the SS evacuated the various satellite camps and sent the prisoners on death marches in the direction of Dachau. By the end of April 1945, U.S. troops liberated the survivors of concentration camp Dachau and its subcamps. Edith Raim, Art. Kaufering I–XI, in: *ibid.*, 488–490.

number of detainees in the camp cluster, however, seldom exceeded 10,000. Through labor, famine, cold, torture and just bullying, tens of thousands of Jews were “liquidated” here. At the end of April 1945, according to official statistics,* there were in the Kaufering camps 10,114 prisoners: 9,021 men and 1,093 women, at least 1,000 of whom were non-Jews, men who had also recently found “accommodation” here on their way to Tyrol.

In the second half of April an imminent liquidation was sensed also in the vicinity of Landsberg, where there still remained the last handful of not yet evacuated camps. The SS started to burn the archives and compile lists of those able to do the march and those unable.⁷ In Camp 11, where the author of these lines was held, and in some of the neighboring camps, the SS officers in charge of the march put all the other work of the camp sewing factory on hold and tasked it |9| to make civilian clothes for them ... Apart from that, the strictly isolated camp inmates could guess that something new was afoot already by the successive air raid alarms that “forced” the teams all the time to stop their work, and by the trucks packed full of German women, children and household items, speeding by the motor road from nearby Munich to the villages. More than anything else to point to an approaching front were the long columns of tanks and other military vehicles that zipped back and forth like one possessed along the same roads. Often some of these vehicles pulled with ropes up to 4 or 5 other broken vehicles that had got stuck on the way. All very familiar images of an unplanned retreat ... At night, as we lay on our bunks in the earthen huts, “the enemy’s” airplane squadrons would all

* A Report of the Information Bureau of the Dachau Concentration Camp. ZHK [(Centralna) Żydowska Komisja Historyczna/(Central) Jewish Historical Commission] 350/29.

7 There were several waves of death marches. The first ones took place at the Eastern Front, as the Red Army advanced in spring 1944. As they fled from the approaching Soviet troops, the Germans abandoned a number of their concentration camps. Inmates were to be redistributed to other camps and recruited for the armaments industry. The second wave was initiated after the Red Army’s winter offensive beginning in January 1945. During this wave, the prisoners, especially those from Auschwitz, were forced to march west in sub-zero temperatures. The third and last wave began in March 1945 as the Allied forces rapidly approached. As a result of these death marches, the number of victims increased dramatically in the last weeks of the war. From January to May 1945, between 250,000 and 370,000 people died in the camps or during the marches. Katrin Greiser, Art. Death Marches, Encyclopedia of Jewish History and Culture. On behalf of the Saxonian Academy of Sciences and Humanities at Leipzig ed. by Dan Diner, 7 vols., Leiden/Boston, Mass., 2017 ff. (first Stuttgart/Weimar 2010–2017; hereafter: Diner (ed.), EJHC), here vol. 2, 231–235.

the time whizz noisily past, closely followed by the sound of bombings, and at a distance tongues of flames leapt up all around. Lights in the camp would go out straight after that. Because of the “blackouts,” we seldom had electric light, even when getting up at daybreak, dressing, collecting “coffee” and the food ration and going out to the roll call – all was done in the dark ... On such nights cannonades would also boom in the camp, and very often heavy vehicles in motion would rattle for hours from the nearby roads. “Experts” on the bunks would determine by the noise and movement that these were “ours,” the American tanks ...

In most Kaufering camps the inmates knew already on Monday night, April 23, that there was an evacuation order. The inmates must leave the camps as soon as possible and be forcibly transferred elsewhere. At the time, it meant death for the people. Because of the very poor diet of the last months everyone here had grown terribly weak, and most had swollen feet. And now, a hasty march on foot, and who knows for how long and to what destination, and precisely at a time when the long yearned-for liberation was already around the corner!

At about midnight the inmates of Camp 11 got wind that the access to the kitchen and clothes storage was no longer a danger to life. In minutes their doors were ripped off. The camp police, aided by our detainees, could barely [10] defend the small reserve of food. The inhabitants became bold: surely those vigilant and so watchful eyes have by now disappeared from the camp! From a bunk in our barracks the courageous voice of a former lawyer from Kovno resonated across the dark void: “Ladies and Gentlemen, today is the last day of our slavery!” To assert this conjecture of his, the lawyer was prepared to bet his tomorrow’s ration of bread. There was no shortage of pessimists among his audience, but no one said a word in opposition ...

The SS hadn’t left the camp yet. They had only packed to go. A little later, on the night of Monday to Tuesday, hasty roll calls suddenly started coming one after another. One minute the prisoners were ordered to come out immediately with all their “clothes” and line up ready to march off; and in a while they were ordered “Back to the barracks!” Yet before anyone had the time to reach the barracks, the gong was sounded again – “To the roll call!” And this went on all morning. The inmates couldn’t figure out whether these roll calls were part of some training, or the SS simply lacked the final instructions for the march.

Finally, at about 9.30 in the morning, the evacuation hastily commenced. The several hundred Aryans were set apart from close to 3,000 detainees. All the patients from the infirmary and the weaker ones were ordered by the camp commandant to clamber onto the trucks so that they didn’t have to walk. He shouted distinctly: “There are trucks for the scumbags!” The

people, however, even the barely alive ones, hardly had any desire to make use of the privilege. The whole evacuation looked far too suspicious. Before the departure, the Rapportführer positioned himself on the roll call square and made an announcement: we are warned in the strictest possible terms that we are to walk in order; every swinishness will be punished by shooting on the spot; nothing will happen to the Jews; at the Swiss border they will be merely exchanged for Germans. A Kovno Jew, a former scribe, whom the SS appointed a rabbi and who had often showed boldness, presently came up to the Unterscharführer Schreier, regarded here as something of a boss, and asked him trustingly, “Where are you taking us and what for?”

“You’re being taken with care to the Swiss border.” [11] Schreier felt almost offended and shouted out loud, “There you’ll be exchanged, and, in a few days, you’ll be free people. I’m saying this on my word of honor as a German officer!”

And yet the same Schreier with his aides for a long time had to run around among the sick and drive them to the trucks.

In a wretched and grim situation, at the setting out on an unfamiliar journey, knowing neither the destination nor the direction, where the soil under every newly placed step brings forth so much suspicion and is deeply rooted with terrible experience – in a situation like this the individual always clings to the mass, and every separation from it is frightening. In such moments man strives with all his might to stay with the majority and to cling to it at all costs! Mortally ill people, wrecks, sprang out of the trucks from under the SS whips, sneaked at the risk of their lives into the march formations and set out on foot with everyone else. If you fall on the way, at least you’ll fall under the feet of the masses and before the eyes of your own people!

B. In Transit

On the same Tuesday morning, and more or less in the same manner and with the same conduct of the SS as in Camp 11, the march from the other camps of the Kaufering group* also commenced. The camp columns marched not far from one another and gradually began converging.

The march stretched along the road from Landsberg am Lech toward Dachau... Security was very strict. The guards continuously demanded

* Having experienced the first days of the march with Camp 11 firsthand and subsequently liberated in Allach, the author relies on the many details he wrote down immediately upon liberation in his account of the other camps and the death marches. He has recently double-checked a number of details with Boruch Golomb and Yonas Yavnelovitz, as well as relying on the testimony of Magid, Koymann and Rimer (ZHK 832/699).

throughout the entire journey that the detainees keep |12| “To 5 in a row!” and anyone who fell behind was beaten. Other guards also shot at the people. Nourishment during the march was very meager (during the first few days, a piece of moldy bread, some cheese and margarine, later not even that). Taking a drink of water from the locals in the places where the march passed through wasn’t allowed by the guards, and the prisoners were murderously beaten even for trying to ask for a drink. The guards also threatened the locals for standing too close to the passing columns, and who even speaks of attempting to throw anything to the prisoners! The overwhelming majority of the people was pervaded by the thought that the Jews were going to be “done away with.”⁸ Once the march veered off to a bypass or bore nearer to a wood, a ditch or even a lake, the inmates would “calculate” that this must be where the “final act” would be played out. The nourishment, which in those days initially appeared quite passable, was strong evidence to support it. And when the SS started throwing a few extra bits to the Jews, it was one of the familiar bad signs ...

For the prisoners with swollen feet the walking was particularly hard. The columns would stop for a rest only several times a day and only briefly. At night the people would sleep on the bare ground in the woods or meadows along the road. During the first nights before the arrival at Dachau, a few detainees managed to escape. Most of them were Oberkapos and other trusties of the SS. They assisted also during the march and could therefore move about more freely. Besides they were physically healthy and didn’t wear the striped garment that immediately gave the ordinary camp inmate away. As a matter of fact, the Kapos didn’t risk much by escaping. If the SS exterminated all the prisoners, they would naturally do away with the Kapos, too. If the Americans liberated all the prisoners (as indeed happened), including them, the hated Kapos – either way they would end up badly ...

Having set out on the first day not early, most columns were driven over 30 km. The instructions, apparently, were to get the people to Dachau as soon as possible. This is why the SS |13| pressed on and allowed little rest. On the first day of the march, they didn’t want to know of lagging: if an inmate fell a little behind the guards immediately gave him a “cold” push with their rifle butts. If this didn’t work, they turned to a person with the other end of the weapon, the hot end ... When the march commanders were in a better mood, they would sometimes order those who had collapsed to be tossed into the

8 It is well documented that local Germans would often join in massacres of Jews and other prisoners being marched through their communities as the Nazis moved prisoners away from the front to camps inside of the Reich. Daniel Blatman, *The Death Marches: The Final Phase of Nazi Genocide*, Cambridge, Mass., 2011, 394–405.

SS trucks that drove by on the road also in the direction of Dachau. On the second day, Wednesday, the march set out quite early. After spending the cold night lying on a damp ground, many detainees already at the beginning of the march could barely move. To make matters worse, no food was given out on that day. The ration from the day before had to last for today as well. Fortunately, the SS were a little kinder to the stragglers and applied the rifle less frequently. Other march commanders appointed special guards – also somewhat stragglers, the older ones, some even in their sixties – to look after those who had collapsed, moving them at a slower pace and in smaller groups. Those who were extremely weak would sometimes be taken into the carts, which were pulled by the detainees, and which were initially designated to carry the provisions. On that day a truck also collected the collapsed prisoners from the roads and took them to the Allach⁹ concentration camp, another of the subcamps of Dachau in its vicinity.

Having covered quite a few kilometers from Fürstenfeldbruck, we saw a fleet of American airplanes. It happened just after a rest, and a large group of the SS officers stood by the march commander, who was giving out orders. The first air raid airplane dropped a bomb on them, which fell some tens of meters from where they stood, exactly opposite the wagons carrying the sick. Nobody, however, was injured. All the march detainees along with the guards dispersed all over the surrounding fields, threw themselves into ditches and drew to a nearby forest. From above, the airplanes probably realized from the striped clothes what kind of an “army” this was; they fired no more at the people. Their attack on the nearby village, where a military camp and an [14] aerodrome were said to have been located, was therefore all the more fierce. The “birds” circled around the village in a file and, one by one, with a sudden deep dive to the ground, hailed the fiery discharges into the houses. The village burned from every side. There was no counterattack from the Germans. The SS huddled to the inmates in the fields and ditches and virtually used them as a human shield.

9 The Allach concentration camp, a subcamp of Dachau, was in operation between February 1943 and April 1945. The Allach Porcelain Factory was taken over by the SS in 1936 and was under the direct control of Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945). It was one of the SS’s first industrial enterprises. The first factory was established at Allach, while a second production site was set up at Dachau to specialize in the production of figurines. After liberation, the Allies converted Allach into a DP camp for a short period of time. Evelyn Zegenhagen, Art. München-Allach (*Porzellanmanufaktur*) [aka München (*Porzellanmanufaktur*)] in: Megargee (ed.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 1, p. A, 516–518.

Lying low in the wood, a Jewish young man caught sight of a shivering guard's bread-filled pouch.

"I'm a tailor," whispered the detainee, winking at the SS logo stitched onto the soldier's sleeve, "I can take it off nicely."

"Fix it, but properly, and you'll get bread!" came back the beaming SS's counteroffer.

And this became a new way for the Jews to earn a little during the march, by "fixing" the SS uniforms ...

C. Toward Liberation

It had taken days for the march columns of the Kaufering camps to make it to Dachau. The number of those who had fallen behind and collapsed on the way increasingly grew. They were brought in larger groups to Allach, where the camp had already been overcrowded with thousands of detainees, both Aryans and Jews. One of the first columns to arrive at Dachau was Camp 10 (from Utting on Ammersee). Camp 10 was never a big one, about 600 Jews, almost all of them from Lithuania, from the Shavli ghetto.¹⁰ In the camp itself, the relationships between the people still had a homely, familiar feel to them, and what it means to a man in a concentration camp just can't be overestimated! Compared to the other camps of the Kaufering group, the regimen in Camp 10 was more lenient and the forced labor not as deadly. Food was also somewhat better there. In any event, among the neighboring camps Camp 10 acquired a reputation as a sanatorium of sorts ... Versus the other camps, the Utting inmates were a few kilometers closer to Dachau. They were also perhaps a little stronger (the sick and very weak had been removed before the march |15| from Utting as well). Nobody collapsed in their column on the way. One of the participants in the march from Camp 10 was a Jew of

10 Shavli (today Šiauliai, Lithuania) had a Jewish population numbering between 6,500 and 8,000 on the eve of the Second World War. Initially annexed and occupied by the Soviet Union, Shavli was ultimately occupied by the Germans after they invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. The Jews of Shavli were subject to numerous mass shootings, with approximately 1,000 Jews being murdered, often by Lithuanian partisans, before the establishment of a closed ghetto on September 1, 1941. Mass shootings continued through December 1941. The ghetto was under the supervision of Gebietskommissar Hans Gewecke (1906–1991) until mid September or October 1, 1943, when the SS took over. At this point, the ghetto acquired the status of a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp. Only 350 to 500 Jews from the ghetto survived. Arūnas Bubnys/Avinoam J. Patt, Art. Šiauliai, in: Martin Dean/Mel Hecker (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. 2 (hereafter: Dean/Hecker (eds.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*), here p. A, 1118–1122.

over 70, Akiva Reif,¹¹ without doubt the oldest of all the Jews in the Kaufering camps. While in the concentration camp among his own Shavli landsmen, he dodged all the operations and resettlements and now strained with his last strength to keep up with the march and was eventually liberated along with the other Shavlians.

On Wednesday evening, after a journey of just two days, the column from Camp 10 was already in Dachau. First of all, the people were subjected to “delousing” and all it entailed, as befits a concentration camp like Dachau. It goes without saying that in the process the inmates’ last remaining possessions were confiscated. They slept in the “French block.” As the French inmates intimated to them, the Germans were planning to bring into Dachau thousands of detainees still and then air raid the entire camp ... Few of the columns that arrived later, however, enjoyed the privilege of getting deloused and sleeping under a roof in Dachau. The crowding had fearfully increased, there wasn’t a sliver of space, and groups of people remained at night in the yard, sleeping outdoors. A proper “delousing” and other “procedures” on the swollen numbers of inmates was no longer a remotest option. The model camp Dachau, where fear and obedience were above all, was plunged into chaos. Buildings burned, detainees stormed the storerooms of food and clothes ... Not having the railway any longer, the administration started to form larger columns of detainees and send them on foot under a heavier convoy to Tyrol. The march commanders and most guards were now from the camp center itself, highly experienced in driving columns and generally handling camp inmates. To assist them on the way, they brought with them huge, savage dogs and also many German criminal (“black”) convicts, who were now dressed in SS jackets and armed with guns.

The new regimen during the march soon made itself felt. The attendants were exceedingly brutal; they bullied people with no reason at all and tortured them terribly. The guards set their ferocious dogs on [16] hundreds of detainees, mostly those who had fallen behind, and then finished the victims off themselves (with a “mercy shot”). Once, a truck raced too close to the rows of the march, killing a Jewish detainee (Levinson, from Camp 1). The victim’s brother, who walked together with him, bent down to see what had happened to his brother. The attendants promptly set the dogs on him too, who bit off his cheek, ripped his sides, and he was left lying there dead, by his brother’s side.

The march didn’t proceed in a straight line. Because of the nearby front and the bombardments, the columns made many detours and were forced to hide in the woods. Not far from Bad Tölz, in the vicinity of Königsdorf, the

11 Most likely Akiva Leizer Reif; almost his entire family was murdered in the Shavli ghetto. <<https://shtetlshkud.com/families-2/reif/>> (May 27, 2024).

columns had to turn back as the front had supposedly moved quite close by. The march then veered off to the left of the route and some of the columns crossed a bridge, which was immediately blown up by the SS. A column of about 3,000 Russians remained on the other side. Various things were told about the fate of those Russians.

Hunger was all-consuming. On May 1, a column of detainees spotted by the side of the road several dead horses, blown up by bombs. In a flash, they pounced upon the carcasses, tearing pieces of flesh off them. The SS responded by firing and beating. One Jew from the group (Camp 10) had his head slashed open by a guard. We still meet him today, with his stitched forehead, in Munich.

Many of the prisoners themselves treated one another with much brutality. The Jews had a lot to endure at the hands of the different Aryan detainees, especially the Ukrainians. They would attack the weaker Jews and snatch their meted-out piece of bread, literally out of their mouths. This was accompanied by the familiar lexicon of antisemitic abuse, as well as a blow. At night they would also snatch from the Jews their blankets, again with blows.

The nights for the detainees were even worse than the days. Moving deeper into the region of the Alps, where nights are so cold in early spring, the people were driven into valleys and swamps or onto bare mountains for "sleep." The night of May 1, the last night before the liberation, was extremely harsh. Entire columns were "put up" for the night [17] in a large swamp not far from Bad Tölz. During the night, a frost set in and at daybreak snow came down thickly, covering the people. Many were left with frozen fingers and toes from that night.

After 9 days and 8 nights of the march, on Wednesday, May 2, 1945, around 10 AM, the columns of prisoners between Bad Tölz and Waakirchen were liberated by the Americans. A large number of the liberated inmates were straightaway taken to infirmaries. Those who were extremely weak were hospitalized by the Americans in the German military facility of Bad Tölz. A week later the sick were moved from there to various other hospitals and sanatoria. Hundreds of the liberated inmates were bedridden for months afterward, and many of them never recovered.

A larger group from the Kaufering camps, mainly from Camp 11, never reached Dachau. They stopped off at a labor camp near Karlsfeld, a small town between Munich and Dachau, and stayed there for two days. Then the column was driven on foot back in the direction of Munich. The prisoners walked through Pasing (a suburb of Munich), Fürstenfeldbruck, Starnberg and many other places to the south of Munich in the direction of Tyrol. In the village of Buchberg, 5 km from Wolfratshausen, east of Lake Starnberg, the column was liberated on Tuesday afternoon, May 1, 1945.

The liberated inmates were quartered in a camp near the village itself. A few months later they were transferred nearer to Wolfratshausen, to the former labor camp of Föhrenwald,¹² which remains until today one of the largest Jewish camps in Bavaria.

D. Transportation of the Sick

At the departure from the camps, the sick, as mentioned earlier, were separated from the rest. From the |18| Kaufering camp cluster these people were initially brought into Camp 1, where the commandant's headquarters of all the adjacent camps was located. The sick were mostly supplied by Camp 4, which had been serving for the past few months as a death camp or a "cold crematorium" for the worn-out inmates (*Muselmänner*).¹³

12 Föhrenwald, established in the American Zone of occupation, was one of the largest and most significant DP camps and an important center of Jewish life in postwar Europe. Built in 1939 near the city of Wolfratshausen approximately 30 km from Munich, it served as accommodation for employees of I. G. Farben and housed forced laborers during the war. After liberation, the U.S. Army established an international DP camp at the site, which was converted to a center solely for Jewish DPs in fall 1945 following President Harry S. Truman's (1884–1972) receipt of the Harrison Report (Document 15), which detailed the squalid living conditions in DP camps throughout the American Zone and the special needs of Jewish DPs in particular. The population of Föhrenwald fluctuated over the twelve years of its existence, reaching upward of 5,300 in the early years. The camp flourished as a center of Orthodoxy and had a rich educational and cultural life, which was highlighted in the Yiddish newspaper *Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn* (In the Desert. Weekly Newspaper of the Liberated Jews), published by DPs in the camp from December 12, 1945, until September 4, 1946, as well as in an almanac published in September 1947 documenting life in the camp during its first two years. By 1950, most people who could secure emigration opportunities had already left the camp, but several thousand "hard-core" DPs ineligible for, or incapable of, emigration or resettlement remained, including the elderly and the infirm. The camp finally closed in 1957, the last of the Jewish DP camps to do so, when the remainder of its significant Orthodox community was resettled in Munich. *Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di befrajte Jidn*, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004283, call no. 1964-Y-466, reel 15.11; *Fernvalder almanakh bamidbar*, September 1947, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004283/2, call no. 1964-Y-458, reel 04.07. On Jewish DP life in Föhrenwald, see Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*; Crago-Schneider, *Jewish "Shtetls" in Postwar Germany*; Alois Berger, *Föhrenwald, das vergessene Shtetl: Ein verdrängtes Kapitel deutsch-jüdischer Nachkriegsgeschichte*, Munich 2023.

13 *Muselmann* (Germ., pl. *Muselmänner*), was a term used by prisoners of Nazi concentration camps to refer to those prisoners in the final stages of physical and mental exhaustion brought on by starvation. *Muselmänner* were characterized by a

Once “Muselmann transports” to Auschwitz¹⁴ stopped (the last transport from Kaufering left on October 25, 1944), Camp 4 finally became the “convalescent home” for the non-working elements. Almost every four weeks the center would impose on each camp a fixed quota of inmates to be supplied to Camp 4. Selecting people and designating them as Muselmänner that had to be sent to the “cold crematorium” was the job of each camp commandant, who would in turn enlist the help of the camp doctors and Oberkapos. For the required quota to be met, a number of healthier people would be thrown in, whose chances to “make it through” would hit rock bottom once they crossed into the “convalescent camp.” The inmates in Camp 4 were already exempt from labor, and no one particularly bothered with roll calls here either. The people in question could no longer hope to get even a minimum food ration; the distribution of food here was the worst of the worst, virtually non-existent. To make matters worse, the inmates were practically naked. Prior to their transport from the camps, the clothing offices would collect “back” from each one of them his coat, pullover, wooden shoes if in better condition and often the blanket, too. As for medical treatment or any sanitary control, needless

visible wasting away of the fat layers, dry or peeling skin stretching tightly over the bones showing their outline, sunken and clouded eyes giving the face a mask-like appearance, and muscular atrophy.

- 14 The Auschwitz main complex was comprised of three camps. Auschwitz I, the main camp, was the center of the Auschwitz complex, functioning primarily as a concentration camp. Auschwitz II-Birkenau served the combined functions of mass killing center and concentration camp, with a separate complex of gas chambers and crematoria where the Germans gassed victims using hydrogen cyanide (Zyklon B) and subsequently burned the corpses. The majority of the victims of the Auschwitz complex, approximately one million people (of whom over 90 percent were Jews), perished in Birkenau. Auschwitz III-Monowitz, also known as Buna, was located about 6.5 km east of the Auschwitz I main camp. Nazi leadership supported the building of a synthetic fuels and rubber plant (Buna) by German chemical firm I. G. Farben, coming to an agreement with the firm to supply prisoners from the Monowitz main camp as slave laborers. In January 1945, with Soviet forces approaching, the Germans evacuated the Auschwitz complex. Already in the process of dismantling them, the Germans blew up the gas chambers and crematoria on the eve of evacuation. The next day, those prisoners who remained alive were taken by foot to sites nearly 65 km from Auschwitz; many were either shot by guards or died from hunger or cold. The survivors of this death march were placed on open cattle cars and taken to camps in Germany. Charles Sydor, *Art. Auschwitz I Main Camp*, in: Megargee (ed.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 1, p. A, 203–208; Franciszek Piper, *Art. Auschwitz II-Birkenau Main Camp*, in: *ibid.*, 209–214; Florian Schmalz, *Art. Auschwitz III-Monowitz Main Camp [aka Buna]*, in: *ibid.*, 215–220.

to say there was none. The inmates were thrown into dugouts; there they had to rot on the damp bunks and wait for death to come. The only interest the camp administration showed here was the exact number of the dead every day, which often reached up to 50! In the course of just a few months hundreds and thousands of people lost their lives in Camp 4.

During the liquidation of the camps, a formal assessment of the healthy and sick took place also in Camp 4. For many of those doomed to die a Nirvana death, there was a sudden flicker of hope to shuffle back into [19] the rows of people entitled to live. A considerable number of inmates whose fate had been sealed now stood in the “healthy” rows, resolute and prepared with their last strength to make the march of tens of kilometers! The columns set out on foot. However, most of the marchers, together with stragglers from the other camps, were brought to Allach.

On Wednesday afternoon, April 25, the transportation of close to 1,000 sick commenced in this very Camp 4. The camp commandant with his henchmen went around the barracks, driving people out. However, hardly anyone could move. The Germans threatened that the barracks would be soon set on fire and the entire camp would be blown up ... Not far from the camp lay the railway. The SS cut in one place the barbed wire surrounding the camp and drove people through the opening toward the railway. The extremely weak were carried on wagons. The first group of the sick left on a train that brought them in a short while to the building site of the Holzmann firm, a couple of kilometers from Camp 1.¹⁵ The site was rather too well-known to the camp inmates from around here, who for months day and night had been building gigantic underground factories, where hundreds and thousands of people had lost their health and lives. Here at the Holzmann construction site, a transport team from Camp 1 was waiting for the sick, with the *Lagerältester* by the name of Hans at the head.¹⁶ Those who were in a better physical

15 Philipp Holzmann AG was a German construction company based in Frankfurt am Main. At the time of the Nazis' rise to power, the firm had 20,800 employees. It contributed to several major building projects during the Nazi era, including the new Reich Chancellery in Berlin and the Nazi Party rally grounds in Nuremberg. After the war, the company was prosecuted for using and profiting from Nazi forced labor programs. Manfred Pohl, Philipp Holzmann: Geschichte eines Bauunternehmens 1849–1999, Munich 1999.

16 The *Lagerältester* (camp elder) was at the head of the prisoner hierarchy in a given concentration camp and was responsible to the SS for maintaining order throughout the camp. The camp elder supervised the *Blockälteste* (block elders) each of whom controlled one accommodation barrack. The camp elder and block elders were often political prisoners.

condition were promptly ordered to get out of the wagons, and guards drove them on foot to Camp 1. Hans took over the gravely ill. He ordered his team to “chuck” them into the provided wagons and take the “shit” to Camp 1. Whole piles of the sick people, suffocating against one another, were tossed in each wagon. They groaned and pleaded to be allowed to walk instead, they couldn’t take it any longer! Hans, however, worked away with his stick and gave an order to his team of wagon pullers: go! Feet, hands and heads were hanging off the sides of the wagons, dragging and rubbing against the wheels and the ground. Many of the unfortunate ones had known Hans from before and knew he was a political prisoner (social democrat) and sometimes wasn’t actually [20] that brutal. They tried now, in their last agony, to appeal to Hans: “Herr Lagerältester Hans, you really aren’t that awful!”

“It was once!” replied Hans arrogantly. Meaning that it was not the time to yield to the whims of humaneness. And his stick moved into action again.

The road from the Holzmann and Moll¹⁷ sites was in the winter of 1944–1945 strewn with the bodies of the hundreds and thousands of victims. Seldom did a shift return to the camp from these construction sites without anyone fatally maimed, frozen and exhausted among them. This bloody road yet again brought forth fatalities during the last days of the camp, at the very end of April 1945, just before the liberation.

Outside Camp 4, on Wednesday evening, a second group of the sick in critical condition was still lying by the railway tracks. They had been waiting for a train since 5 PM, which should’ve taken them to the Holzmann site. It had already grown dark, but the train hadn’t arrived. The people, half naked, lay in the field all night. Masses of victims expired there from cold exposure.

Only at 7 AM on Thursday did the train arrive. The train having barely gone a distance of a few hundred meters, American airplanes swooped down from above and opened fire. Again, people were killed and injured, the guards fled, and the inmates crawled back to their Camp 4. In the evening, the sick were again brought to the railway tracks. Again, they spent the night freezing in a field and left behind more bodies, and at daybreak on Friday the group of the sick was taken by train to the Holzmann site. However, they weren’t taken to Camp 1 because all the detainees from there on the same Thursday night had been – also with threats and bullying – chased out of their dugouts, driven to the site and sent with a transport in the direction of Dachau. The train with the new arrivals from Camp 4 promptly set out in the same direction, to deliver the handful of dying inmates to their great camp center, Dachau!

17 Leonhard Moll AG is a German construction company that was founded in Munich in 1894. Like Philipp Holzmann AG, Moll was prosecuted after the war for using and profiting from Nazi forced labor programs.

[21]

E. Near Schwabhausen

Slowly and with longer breaks, the trains with all the remaining sick and weak in the Kaufering camps dragged through the night of Thursday to Friday. Having made a journey of about 12 kilometers, on Friday at dawn the train arrived not far from the Schwabhausen station. By that time, a military train, apparently spotted by the American airplanes, had also arrived there. Shortly the shooting from above began. The bullets also hit the locomotive of the inmates' train and the front cars carrying mostly sick women. In the event over 100 inmates were killed, not counting the heavily injured ones. As soon as the shooting began, the guards fled to the nearby wood. The inmates made a dash after them. The transport leader, a wild SS, didn't like that, and opened fire with his Browning, gunning people down.

The train couldn't go any further. During the day, the inmates drifted around the wagons and in the woods. Some tried to push deeper and further away until they were gone. The rows of the guards also grew thinner as if they were attracted [by something] somewhere. At night railway coaches on a side track started burning. A little later, also a couple of buildings of the railway station. Allegedly, the Germans themselves had set them on fire. The Jews thought there was no reason for it other than that they were free at last! A multitude of famished inmates descended on the wagons with provisions and "fixed" themselves something to eat. However, freedom hadn't come yet. The guards reappeared and proceeded to force everyone back into the wagons. The inmates, however, now had more courage and were in no hurry to get back into the crammed, roofless and rain-soaked coal wagons. Everyone tried to hide in the woods, in the fields and nearby villages. The SS scattered in a triangle formation and started shooting. Some ten people [22] fell, but many managed to hide. Most of the sick, however, were returned to the wagons and a locomotive took them and the SS to Dachau, where two days later they were liberated.*

Around 200 Jews remained in the woods near Schwabhausen. The extraordinary situation in which they found themselves wouldn't let them rest. They paced about among the trees all night from Friday to Saturday, kept taking counsel and couldn't decide what to do next. On the one hand, they were rid

* About this transport, see further account by Dr. L. Goldshtein, *From Schwabhausen to Dachau*. – Ed.¹⁸

18 Lazar Goldstein, *Von Schwabhausen nach Dachau*, reprinted in: Beer/Roth (eds.), *Von der letzten Zerstörung*, 404–407.

of the SS and the guards, their long-standing companions. On the other hand, however, the Americans were still nowhere to be seen, and there was no telling when they might arrive. Therefore, the whole “legal” status of the people in the woods was quite problematic: free, and yet not liberated ... Some believed it was imperative to get legitimized as soon as possible, let the Germans arrest them! Many, however, in their prison garb and grim and confusing situation just couldn’t comprehend that they themselves should go and give themselves up for confinement – and to whom! And precisely when the Germans themselves were counting down the last minutes of their persistent regime ...! These were the problems on the agenda of the first “free” meeting of Jews on Bavarian soil on the eve of the collapse of the Nazi regime. On that night the first seed of the organized *She’erit Hapletah*¹⁹ in Germany sprouted in the woods near Schwabhausen. Dr. Zalman Grinberg,²⁰ Dr. Shmuel Grinhoyz,²¹

19 Introd., chap. 1 provides a detailed description of the term.

20 Zalman Grinberg (1912–1983), born in Lithuania, was a medical doctor and imprisoned at the Dachau-Kaufering concentration camp. After his liberation in 1945, he became the head of a Jewish DP hospital at the St. Ottilien monastery and served as chairman for the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria from its inception in July 1945; in January 1946, Grinberg became chairman of the newly expanded organization, subsequently referred to as the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone (CCLJA). He held the position until he left for Israel in July 1946. In 1955, he immigrated to the United States; at the time of his death in Mineola, New York, he lived in Seaford, Long Island. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 33. See also Zalman Grinberg, *A Former Dachau Prisoner Reports: Idleness is Demoralizing the Displaced Jews. Useful Work Will Save Them from Disintegration*, in: New York Public Library, call no. *ZP-*PBM n.c. 141 no. 3, reel *ZZ-16578, 6 pp.

21 Shmuel Grinhoyz (1900–1975), also known as Samuel Gringauz, was born in Tilsit in East Prussia (today Sovetsk, Russia, near the border with Lithuania). He studied economics, philosophy and law in Germany, Switzerland, Russia, Italy, and France. After the German occupation of Lithuania, he was imprisoned in the Kovno ghetto, where he headed the labor department of the *Ältestenrat*. After the liquidation of the ghetto in August 1944, he was deported to Dachau and performed forced labor in the Kaufering subcamps. Gringauz was among the most active in creating the official institutions representing Jewish DPs in Germany. Together with Zalman Grinberg, he organized the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria and was elected to its leadership; he also served as chairman of the Jewish committee of Landsberg DP Camp, where he lived. Gringauz was elected three times as head of the Landsberg Jewish committee and twice as the head of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews, emerging as one of the most notable political leaders of the *She’erit Hapletah*. In 1948 he immigrated to the United States and worked at the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization and its successor organization, the Jewish Claims Conference.

agronomist Yakov Oleyski,²² Dr. Nochum Katz²³ and other activists of the later Central Committee²⁴ and other leading institutions of the liberated Jews in Germany, started to act there.

On Saturday morning, a Jewish delegation was sent out to the village burgomaster to discuss the situation of the inmates and to see if he would put them up in the village for the time being. The appearance of this prison-uniformed delegation and their request were, to a Nazi burgomaster in an Upper Bavarian village, in every respect beyond his comprehension and certainly outside his authority; [23] yet, when the armies of the “Jewish world power,” i. e., the Allied forces, were already so close to his homeland, he, the burgomaster, didn’t fail to realize that he couldn’t turn the delegation entirely

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- 22 Jacob Oleiski (1900–1981), also known as Yakov or Yankev Oleyski, was the driving force behind the establishment of vocational training in DP camps to prepare Jewish youth for their future life in Palestine. Before the war, he was the director of the Lithuanian branch of the Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor among Jews in Russia (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda sredi yevreev v Rossii*; ORT), a philanthropic organization that sought to open up new professions for Jews through craft and agricultural training programs. After liberation, Oleiski was appointed director of ORT activities in the DP camps in the American Zone; the first educational programs established were in Föhrenwald, Feldafing and Landsberg. He immigrated to Israel in 1948.
- 23 Nochum (or Nachum) Katz (1910 – after 1995) was born in Kovno (today Kaunas, Lithuania). Following Operation Barbarossa and the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Katz and his family were relocated to the Kovno ghetto. He was later deported to Dachau, where he was assigned to a forced labor unit. Katz was liberated by the Allies in Schwabhausen after they bombarded his transport. A medical professional before the war, Katz worked alongside Zalman Grinberg in the St. Ottilien DP hospital and was also active in the CCLJA. Nachum Katz, Interview Code 16478, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, <<https://vha.usc.edu/search>> (May 27, 2024).
- 24 The Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (known in Yiddish as the *Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte yidn*, commonly abbreviated as ZK, for *Tsentral komitet*, in accordance with prevailing Latin-letter transliteration of the Yiddish at the time), which was initiated by Zalman Grinberg, Samuel Gringauz, and Rabbi Abraham Klausner, was established in July 1945 in response to the conditions throughout the DP camps in the region, where food, medical supplies, clothes and shelter were scarce or of poor quality. Grinberg served as the organization’s first chairman; in January 1946, he was elected to lead the newly expanded organization, subsequently referred to as the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone. DPs from camps across the American Zone headed the organization’s numerous departments, which assisted each DP camp’s Jewish committee in representing the interests of each camp’s Jewish DPs while working with camp administration in all aspects of DP life. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 101–130.

down. He promised to make every effort to “expedite” the transportation of the stray inmates to Dachau, where they belonged. The Jewish activists also turned to the Wehrmacht unit, the Luftwaffe,²⁵ which was stationed in the village. They, too, found that the only help they could offer to such a piece of filth was to pack them off to Dachau as soon as possible ... The first actions of the delegation brought a bitter smile to the faces of many of the Jews: prisoner ambassadors went to plead that the group be driven back to the battery cages ... They were somewhat gratified, however, that a member of the delegation, Dr. Grinberg, returned with a Red Cross band on his sleeve, which meant an official sign of a doctor. In the camps even a Jewish professor of medicine could only be at best a “paramedic”! Dr. Grinberg’s first order was to gather all the dead and bury them. He himself and a group of healthier men proceeded to dig out three mass graves. Local peasants and Wehrmacht soldiers came to their aid. Nearly 150 Jews were interred here. The burial of Jews has for generations been associated with the revival of Jewish autonomous life, from the ancient communities to the *landsmanshaftn* in the modern times.²⁶

At night, the first American reconnoiterers drove past the village in a tank! This definitely influenced the burgomaster, and the Jews were offered more tangible help. They were provided with food (a kettle with potatoes to cook outside). Besides, the burgomaster gave them straw for bedding and “accommodated” them for the night in several small abandoned barracks, a

25 German Reich Air Forces.

26 Founded in the late 1800s, *landsmanshaftn* are benevolent aid associations of Jewish immigrants from the same town. *Landsmanshaftn* of immigrants, as well as those from many other Jewish communities across Eastern Europe, were established across the world, providing those who hailed from the same hometown with an international network of support. This served many functions, helping Jewish DPs to secure material aid while living in the DP camps, establish memorialization efforts, gather information on potential immigration options, and numerous other activities vital to rehabilitation and the rebirth of Jewish life and community among the survivors of the Holocaust. The notion of *landsmanshaftn* has often gotten short shrift in DP histories, and research specifically focusing on the activity of *landsmanshaftn* in postwar-occupied Europe remains in its infancy. Histories on the *landsmanshaftn* have tended to focus on their activities in receiving countries with newly arrived immigrants. Daniel Soyer, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880–1939: Jewish landsmanshaftn in American Culture*, Detroit, Mich., 2018; Eliyana R. Adler/Sheila E. Jelen (eds.), *Reconstructing the Old Country: American Jewry in the Post-Holocaust Decades*, Detroit, Mich., 2017; Michael Weisser, *A Brotherhood of Memory: Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the New World*, New York 1985.

barn and empty cattle wagons. During the night, a larger number of American tanks drove through the village, and the following morning, Sunday, April 29, Schwabhausen was firmly in American hands.

With the help of the liberators, on Tuesday, May 1, all the Jews were moved 8 km from Schwabhausen to [25] St. Ottilien,²⁷ to a German military hospital. Since that day St. Ottilien has been serving as a Jewish convalescent home and is one of the greatest medical centers of the She'erit Hapletah in Germany.

F. In Allach

The Allach concentration camp has been for a number of years one of the largest subcamps of Dachau. Only 7 km from the center, it always felt here like more of a real Dachau regimen. The barracks here were made of concrete, according to the familiar standardized type in the established camps, not of cardboard, nor were they dugouts, like almost in all the newly created camps of the last years. Until the beginning of the spring of 1945, the inmates of Allach, as in the Dachau center itself, were almost entirely Aryans, a mishmash of European peoples. The march to Tyrol brought here also masses of Jews, for whom several blocks were allocated, strictly set off with barbed wire and a guard from the “Aryan part.” On April 23, a large transport of Jews departed from Allach toward Tyrol. The people were squeezed into small roofless coal wagons, 120 to a wagon. After about a week of traveling in the snow, rain and wind, they were liberated en route by the Americans south of Lake Starnberg, near Staltach railway station.

After the transport, about 400 Jews remained in Allach, mostly Hungarian and some Polish. With the march from Kaufering and the other neighboring camps, a new “intake” of the sick and stragglers began flooding in here from Wednesday, April 25. Others arrived here more dead than alive. A group of inmates from Camp 3 brought with them several casualties of an accident on the way. On Thursday night a truck raced by too close to the marching column and ran over 3 people who were pushing a wagon with the guards’ belongings. One of the three (Motl Beker, formerly a ticket seller in the Kovno

27 Converted into a hospital, rehabilitation center, and camp for mostly Jewish DPs, the former Benedictine monastery of St. Ottilien provided care for approximately 6,100 patients, between April 1945 and May 1948. The facility also functioned as a primary maternity ward for Jewish mothers, overseeing the birth of 431 children during this period. Evita Wiecki, *Eine Etappe der “Subjektwerdung als Nation”*. *Die Geschichte der jüdischen DP-Anlage im Kloster St. Ottilien 1945–1948*, in: Hagen et al. (eds.), *Displaced Persons-Forschung in Deutschland und Österreich*, 311–328. See also <<http://dphospital-ottilien.org>> (May 27, 2024).

Jewish theater) was forcefully pressed against a tree by the side of the road, sustaining serious injuries. In the barracks in Allach he lay in agony for a few days and died on Tuesday, May 1.

On Friday evening (April 27) the Jewish “intake” in Allach [26] reached close to 2,300 men. In those days the SS interfered very little in the running of the camp, and the entire internal order was in the hands of the Kapos. The same few blocks, each of which could accommodate a maximum of 200 people, remained for the whole mass of Jews. One block housed an infirmary, where the Jewish-Hungarian doctors only kept their protégé patients. In another block, no. 24, the VIPs – about 150 Jewish Kapos, doctors, camp writers, etc. – were put up. The rest, over 2,000 Jews, were packed solid into three blocks. The cramped conditions here were catastrophic. Day and night, seriously ill people didn’t even have anywhere to lean against or sit down, let alone lie down; there was no room to go across the block; it was difficult even to push one’s way outside to relieve oneself. Every step through the barracks in the pitch darkness of the night was coupled with grave danger; because of the frequent air raids, the electricity was permanently off. In addition, it happened more than once in the night that the three-level wooden bunk structures (“rifles”) collapsed from the excessive overload, together with the sleeping people – in that crowdedness and darkness! It was obvious that fatalities were not rare in the blocks.

However, even here, in those conditions, quite a numerous privileged class emerged among the victims themselves. Unexpectedly and without any particular need, alongside so many Kapos, special police were organized in every block. Healthier, smart boys from different countries, who themselves had just arrived here from the various camps, sniffed each other out and crowned themselves bosses over the remaining, barely alive, people, who had arrived here with the same march, and began to impose “order.” To begin with, in the roomy and better area in every block they kicked all the sick off their bunks into the corners to create for themselves a separate “police station.” Here they had more comfortable bunks for themselves and could play cards with more scope. They were also the first to eat and especially to get a better bite. And later, soon after the liberation, many of these people were again the first to proclaim themselves [27] as highly progressive, and as a matter of course took into their hands the leadership of the masses ... In any event, with the emergence of this special police the crampedness and hell for the rest of the Jews in Allach became even more unbearable.

On Saturday morning, April 29, people from the orderly room came into the blocks and announced in raised voices that according to the latest radio update Germany had capitulated.

No more, no less!

The dead rolled toward each other across the wooden floor with lively kisses, and suddenly the terrible suffocating crampedness gave way to a large bright area for a Carpathian Jew to break into a Hasidic dance. From the stifled bunks and corners came a heavy, but muffled, applause and singing.

A little later, the news sounded somewhat different. “Our” Bavaria broke off from the Reich on her own initiative and was going to negotiate for herself a separate armistice.

Such and similar announcements of liberation, in a little while followed by “corrections,” came flooding in for the next couple of days. In fairness, clear signs in the camp itself indeed started to appear. On the same Saturday morning no SS guards were to be seen by the camp gate and on the lookout towers. Later, Aryan convicts appeared wearing white bands on their sleeves and armed with rifles. White flags with a red cross had been hung out all across the camp. However, before the real liberation arrived, the camp had yet to live through some terrifying experiences, sustaining loss of life in the process.

During the day on Sunday, squadrons of American airplanes began to fly one after another over and around the camp. The Germans on the western side, quite nearby, promptly opened fire from their camouflaged AA guns.²⁸ This went on for the entire afternoon. Every time the fight paused briefly; the news spread across the camp like wildfire: the Americans! And people ran to look at them as far as ... the electric fence. At night, a dense cannonade started from both sides of the camp. Bullets and shrapnel flew through the barracks, every now and again there came a flash, [28] an explosion and a shiver down the spine. People lay crammed together on the ground and kept asking themselves: is this their last deadly fright? Around 9 PM a bomb dropped in the infirmary and exploded there, blasting the door and windows and a section of a wall, killing several people and injuring many more. Later in the night the fire grew more restrained, muffled, as if from a distance. Frightened Jews interpreted it that the Germans must’ve driven the Americans away. The majority, however, were better strategists. They demonstrated with all the evidence at their disposal that the German army hadn’t been anywhere near for a long time. Only the “tops” were hiding somewhere, but they had also been smoked out by now.

This time – a rare occurrence in the last years – the optimists were right. People slinked out of the barracks at dawn and, true enough, didn’t see any sign of a German soldier anywhere.

28 Anti aircraft guns.

On Monday, April 30, around 11 AM, the Americans were already in the village of Allach and in some half an hour entered the camp.



To the masses of murdered victims in the camps, the Nazis in their last death throes added the insane idea of driving the last camp inmates into the Tyrolean Mountains. This sinister rampage of the evil phantom again cost countless lives. But to see their plan through, to settle the last scores with the detainees and at the last minute spare not a single one of them, this the Nazis didn't succeed in doing. They didn't succeed in destroying the last witnesses to their atrocities.

Only a handful of the millions in the camps and only a fragment of the tens of thousands of the marchers made it through that last phase of the torment and pain. Not many of them are left. They are the last witnesses who have gone through so much, who know and still remember. And this is their testimony!

(Z.H.K.²⁹ 821/969)

I. Kaplan



29 Archive of the (*Centralna*) *Żydowska Komisja Historyczna* (CŻKH; (Central) Jewish Historical Commission, CJHC); established in Lublin in December 1944 under Philip Friedman's (1901–1960) leadership, the CJHC was a crucial documentation initiative affiliated with the Central Committee of Polish Jews, the main Jewish organization representing the Jewish population in Poland. It aimed to document the murder of the Polish Jews through archival material and eyewitness reports, publishing the material for a wide readership. After moving to Łódź in 1945, it operated up to 25 local commissions. The CJHC findings significantly contributed to Polish war crimes trials and the Nuremberg Tribunal (1945/1946). Political pressures led to most members leaving by 1950. Replaced by the Jewish Historical Institute in 1947, the CJHC collected nearly 3,000 eyewitness reports and substantial archival documents, publishing c. 40 monographs. Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, chap. 4.

Document 2

Mordkhe Shtrigler,³⁰ "And What's Next? An Introductory Article at the Beginning of a Free Discussion on the Subject of 'Where to?'"

Buchenwald, May 4, 1945³¹

Newspaper article, 2 pages

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Tkhies hameysim,³² May 4, 1945 (no. 1), 3f., in: *Moreshet Archive, Moreshet Mordechai Anielevich Memorial Holocaust Study and Research Center, Haifa, Item no. 148056*

און וואָס ווייטער?

ערשט [!] ארטיקל צום אָנהייב פון אַ פרייע דיסקוסיע א.ד.ט. "וואוהיין"?

אין די יאָרן פון פארשקלאפונג און טויט סכנה ביי יעדן טריט האָט קיינער איבער אזעלכע פראגן נישט געקלערט.

דער קאָפּ פון אַ פאראורטיילטן צום טויט קען קיינמאל נישט זיין באַשעפטיקט מיט פראבלעמען פון לעבן. ביי אים איז נאָר פאראן די איינציקע פראגע: ווען? קומט די ענדע היינט, אָדער ווערט זי פראָלאַנגירט ביז מאָרגן? זייענדיק פסיכיש יעדן מינוט צוגעגרייט צום טויט האבן מיר קיינמאל איבער דער פראגע פון "ווייטער" ניט געקלערט; שטענדיק האט אונזער מיט טויט־פארנעפעלטער פליק נישט אַריבערגעבליקט איבערן פלוּיט פון יענער זייט ווען – פאר אונז ייִדן האָט בלוּז אין "ווען" געקענט קומען אין באַטראַכט – וועגן צווייטן "ווען מיר וועלן באַפרייט ווערן" האָבן בלוּז אַנדערע געקענט רעדן און טראַכטן ... און יעצט איז פלוצלונג אַ נס געשען. אויך פאר אונז האָט דער הימל אַ לאַך געטאָן און מיר האָבן דערשפירט די גרויסע געשיכטלעכע אַמעסטיע פאַר די

30 Mordkhe Shtrigler (1918–1998) was educated in Lithuanian yeshivas and received his rabbinical ordination in Warsaw in 1937. When he was deported to Buchenwald in August 1944, he had already been through ten concentration camps. After liberation, he became a prolific Yiddish writer and journalist in Paris and, after his immigration to the United States in 1953, in New York. In the immediate postwar years, he published numerous accounts dealing with life under Nazi occupation and in concentration camps. In Buchenwald, Shtrigler was active in organizing a clandestine educational network for the children in the concentration camp and was the driving force behind the publication of *Tkhies hameysim* (The Resurrection of the Dead). In this article, Shtrigler opens a discussion on the possibility of reestablishing Jewish communal life in European countries and especially in Poland.

31 This is the date indicated on page one of the newspaper. However, for technical reasons, the reproducing took place only some days later.

32 *Tkhies hameysim* was the first and only issue of a handwritten publication which encompassed six pages and appeared three weeks after the liberation of Buchenwald. Lewinsky, *Jewish Poets*, chap. 1.1.

לעצמטע רעשטן פון אַ אונטערגייענדיג פּאָלק ... ווידער האבן מיר די צום־טויט־אַבגעשריבענע דערפילט דעם לאַסט פון דער גליקלעכער זארג וואָס מענטשן מיט אַ זיכער לעבן, מיט אַ זוקונפט קענען האָבן: און וואָס ווייטער.

די זאָרג איז אָבער אזוי פּלוצלונג און אומגעריכט אויפגעוואַקסן איבער אונזערע קעפּ אז מ'איז פון איר צעטומעלט געווארן... קיינער האָט ביי זיך נישט דעם קלאָרן ענטפער אויף דער ערשטער פראגע. פארשטייט זיך אז דאָ בלייבן מיר נישט. אז מ'איז דאָך עפעס פריי! און בוכנוואַלד חלומט שוין פון נייער קאנטינענאציע. אָבער: וואוהיין? פארן יעדן ייד פון יעדן לאַנד איז דער וועג קלאָר: וואָס הייסט: וואוהיין? אַט דאָרט וווּ מ'איז געווען! אזוי וועט אייך זאָגן דער "פראַנצויז" דער "אונגאר" דער "עסטרייכער" ... פאר חבר ב. גאַלדבערג, אין אונזער טרויער איז אויך קלאר דאָסזעלבע.

4 | ביים פשוטן ייד פון פוילן איז די זאך אבער אביסל אנדערש: "מ'הייסט – טענהט צו מיר א ייד – ווי קען איך זיך אומקערן אהין, אין יענעם לאנד וווּ יעדער שטיין דערציילט מיר, דערמאָנט מיך אין דעם בלוט פון מיין ברודער און שוועסטער, ווי אזוי וועל איך שוין קענען לעבן אונטער יענעם הויז און אין יענער שטאָט וווּ דער מאַרד פון מיין קינד איז אויסגערינען אויף דער וואנט?" א צווייטער מיינט: ניין! איך קען שוין אהין נישט אומקערן זיך. די שאַטנס פון מיינע גאַענטע און ליבע וועלן מיר שטענדיק פאר די אויגן שטייען און [מ]יך פרעגן: פארוואס, פארוואס ביסטו אהער געקומען שטעלן דיין חופה אויף אונזער קבר? ווען איך וועל א איינציגיקער, לעבן געבליבענער ייד פון מיין שטאט אהיימקומען וועלן זיך באגעגענען די אלטא נישט־יידישע שכנים, און כוועל אפשר אויך עמעצן טרעפן וואָס האָט געכטן אין – "יענע" טעג די הייזער געפלינדערט; מיט א פינגער אָנגעוויזן: אַט איז א ייד! איך בין פאר א אינטערנאציאנאלער פארברידערונג – דאָרט אָבער וועל איך, איך וואָס האָב אלץ געזעען און געהערט, קיינמאָל נישט קענען דערשטיקן אין מיר יענע אנדערע געפילן וואָס וועלן אויפברוין אין מיר ... ניין! איך וועל נישט בכוח זיין פריינטלעך זיך צו צעשמעסן! איז עס פאר מיינע איבער געלעבטע יאָרן ווירדיג אראַפצוקומען אין שטעטל ... די שכנים וואָס האָבן [מ]יך שוין לאנג אלס טויטן געהאלטן קוקן אויף דיר ווי אויף א ביי ווונדער, ווי אויף ש טויטן וואָס איז ארויס פון קבר צו שטערן די רוח פון די לעבעדיקע ... די וואָס וועלן שוין וואגן זיך צו קומען באגריסן, וועלן האָבן א שמייכלעלע פון ווונדער אויפן פנים אין חווק: וואס, יאנקל, דו לעבסט נאָך? ניין! זאָלן אהין פאָרן מאַרס איינוווינער און ווער סיוויל, אָבער איך? איך?

דער פּראָבלעם דערפון איז אָבער נישט אזוי פשוט: נעמען מיר – נאָך 6 יאָר זייענדיג מיט פארבונדענע אויגן! – די יידישע אויסלענדישע פרעסע און מיר זוכן א שטיקל ענטפער אויף אַט דער ברענעדיקער פראגע, זעען מיר, אז די וועלט איז איבער דער גאנצער צייט פון קריג, בנוגע דער יידישער פראגע אָפגעשלאָפן יענעם לעגענדארן שלאָף פון חוניה־מעגל.

מאטל ש.

Translation

And What's Next?

An Introductory Article at the Beginning of a Free Discussion on the Subject of "Where to?"

During the years of enslavement and mortal danger at every step of the way no one thought about such questions.

The mind of a person on death row can never be occupied with problems of life. He has only one question on his mind: when? Is the end coming today or is it put off until tomorrow? Having been psychologically ready to face death any minute, we never thought about the question of “what comes next”; never did our death-bleared eyes catch a glimpse of the other side of the fence of “when”: for us Jews it was just one “when” that could come to mind ... About the other “when” – “when we’re freed” – only others could speak and think ... And now a miracle has happened: a blue patch has appeared in the sky for us too, and we experienced the great historic amnesty for the last remnants of our declining people ... Once again we, who had been doomed to die, felt the weight of the happy care that people with secure life and a future have: and what’s next?

This care, however, has so suddenly and unexpectedly sprung up above our heads that we got confused. No one has a clear answer to the first question. It goes without saying that we’re not staying here ... That we’re free! Buchenwald³³ is dreaming about a new continuation ... But where to? For every Jew from every country the answer is clear: what do you mean, where? Back to where we were! This will be the answer you’ll get from a French Jew, a Hungarian Jew, an Austrian Jew ... For Comrade B. Goldberg³⁴ the same is clear, too.

[4] But for a common Jew from Poland it is a little different. “Just think,” reasoned a Jew with me, “how can I go back there, to that land where every stone tells me, reminds me of my sister’s and brother’s blood, how can I live in the same house and in the same town where my child’s brain splattered onto the wall?” Another one thinks, “No! I can never return there. I will always see in my mind’s eye the ghosts of my near and dear, demanding, ‘Why, why

33 Concentration camp Buchenwald, near the German city of Weimar, was one of the largest concentration camp complexes established within Germany proper. Constructed in 1937, the camp housed primarily political prisoners. After the November Pogroms, the Nazis began imprisoning Jews and other minority groups including Roma, Sinti, people considered homosexuals, and Jehovah’s Witnesses at the camp as well. Beginning in 1941, physicians and scientists carried out medical experiments on Buchenwald inmates. U.S. Army troops liberated survivors of the camp in April 1945. After liberation, the camp was converted by the Allies into a DP camp. Evelyn Zegenhagen, Art. Buchenwald Main Camp, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. A, 290–296.

34 Boruch Goldberg (1908–?) sums up his communist beliefs in an article which follows Shtrigler’s text in the original. Boruch Goldberg, Aroys fun koshmar [Out of the Nightmare], in: Tkhies hameysim, May 4, 1945 (no. 1), 3.

did you come back to put up your *huppah*³⁵ on our graves?’ When I, the one and only Jewish survivor of my town, return home, I’ll be met by my old non-Jewish neighbors and may even come across someone who yesterday, in ‘those’ days, looted the houses, pointed with the finger: Here’s a Jew! I’m all for international brotherhood, but there I, who have seen and heard everything, won’t ever be able to stifle those other feelings which will rage inside me ... No! I won’t be capable of having a friendly chat! Is it worth my years of suffering to return to the shtetl? The neighbors who have long thought you dead look at you as if you were an eyesore, a dead man who came out of the grave to disturb the peace of the living ... And those who will dare come out to greet you will have a smirk of astonishment and derision on their lips: Well, Yankel, you’re still alive! No! Let the Martians go there and whoever wants to. But I? I?!”

The problem, however, isn’t so simple. We take, after six years of being blindfolded, the foreign Jewish press and look for some kind of an answer to this burning question, and we find that as far as the Jewish question is concerned, throughout the war the world slept that legendary sleep of Honi the Circle Drawer.³⁶

Motl Sh.

Document 3

Zalman Grinberg, “We Are Living Corpses ...”

New York, August 24, 1945

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: English

Aufbau,³⁷ *August 24, 1945, 7*

35 Heb., the canopy under which a marriage ceremony is performed during Jewish weddings.

36 Honi Ha-Ma’agel, a Jewish scholar and miracle worker in the 1st century BCE. According to Talmud, he slept for 70 years.

37 *Aufbau* was founded in 1934 as a German-Jewish newspaper in New York. Starting as a newsletter for the German-Jewish Exile Club of New York, it became one of the leading anti-Nazi publications of the German exile press. Well-known personalities including Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), Albert Einstein (1879–1955), Thomas Mann (1875–1955), and Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) wrote for the publication. From September 1, 1944 until September 27, 1946, the *Aufbau* printed lists of Jewish Holocaust

We Are Living Corpses ...

BY Z. GRINBERG

Following are excerpts from a speech delivered in English by Z. Grinberg, M.D., at the liberation ceremony in Munich-Freimann on June 10, 1945. Dr. Grinberg is a former internee of the concentration camp Dachau-Kaufering. Pvt.³⁸ Henry Kauders³⁹ (formerly of Vienna), who attended the celebration, took Dr. Grinberg's speech down.⁴⁰

1,700 Jews, the last representatives of the European Jews, after the hardest period of sufferings ever heard of, are now here in the camp of Munich-Flakkaserne.⁴¹ These people are the last representatives of the venerable, old Jewish communities in Europe. Budapest⁴² and Prag,⁴³ Warsaw,⁴⁴

survivors located in Europe, as well as several lists of victims. Since February 2005, it has been published in Zurich as an online monthly with the full title *Aufbau. Das jüdische Monatsmagazin*. Tekla Szymanski/Christian Otto, Art. Aufbau, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 1, 219–222.

38 Private. The lowest rank in the army.

39 Henry Kauders (1926–2011) came from a Viennese family of wine wholesalers. His grandfather Sigmund Kauders (1851–1938) was the first vice-president of the Vienna *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (Jewish Community) and initiated the construction of the synagogue in Vienna-Simmering in 1898, which was destroyed in the November Pogroms of 1938.

40 End of editorial note.

41 Munich-Freimann barracks, a Nazi military compound used by the SS in the Schwabing-Freimann area of Munich which was taken over by American occupying forces and converted into a Jewish DP camp. Today it is known as the Ernst-von-Bergmann-Kaserne.

42 On the eve of the Second World War, about 200,000 Jews lived in Budapest. After the Holocaust, the Jewish population in Budapest numbered only 100,000. On the Jewish population in Budapest and Hungary, see Michael K. Silber, Art. Budapest, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 260–274.

43 In March 1939, the Jewish population in Prague numbered around 56,000. After the war, only 10,000 remained. Arno Pařík, Art. Prague, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 1446–1450.

44 In 1939, about 375,000 Jews lived in Warsaw. After the Nazi occupation, the Jewish population was forcibly relocated to the Warsaw ghetto. Despite armed resistance from the Jewish Fighting Organization, the Nazis annihilated nearly the entire ghetto population through deportation to concentration camps and killing centers. The majority of Warsaw's Jews were murdered at Treblinka. At the time of the city's liberation only an estimated 2,500 Jews remained there, most of whom had survived in hiding. Antony Polonsky, Art. Warsaw, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 2,

Kovne⁴⁵ and Saloniki⁴⁶ are represented here. Millions of members of these communities are annihilated. What is the logic of destiny to let these individuals remain alive?! We belong into the mass-graves of those shot in Kharkow, Lublin and Kovno. We belong to the millions gassed and burnt in Auschwitz and Birkenau! We belong to those tens of thousands who died under the strain of hardest labor, tormented by milliards of lice and in mud or starvation in Łódź,⁴⁷ Kielce,⁴⁸ Buchenwald, Dachau,

1993–2004; Martin Dean, Art. Warsaw Region (Distrikt Warschau), in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. A, 357–474.

- 45 In 1939, Jews formed 23 percent of the population of Kovno (today Kaunas, Lithuania), numbering 32,000. They were forced to relocate to the town's ghetto in the summer of 1941, from where they were deported to concentration camps and killing centers in October 1943. After the Soviet Army's arrival in 1944, only 90 Jews remained alive in Kovno. Dov Levin, Art. Kaunas, in: Hundert (ed.), YIVO Encyclopedia, vol. 1, 875–879; Jürgen Matthäus, Art. Kaunas, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. B, 1066–1069.
- 46 The city of Salonika (Thessaloniki) had one of the largest Jewish communities in Greece, with a population of around 50,000. After the war, fewer than 2,000 remained. Devin Naar, Art. Salonika, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 5, 522–528; Rena Molho/Joseph Robert White, Art. Thessalonikē [aka Selânik or Saloniki], in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. B, 1844–1848.
- 47 The Polish city of Łódź, lying 137 km southwest of Warsaw, had the second largest Jewish community in Europe on the eve of the Second World War, with a population of around 235,000. In early February 1940, the Germans established a closed district in Łódź, imprisoning the city's Jewish population, including nearly 7,000 refugees, in the northeastern section of the city. In fall 1941, the Germans began deporting Jews from cities across German-occupied Europe, as well as Roma from Austria, to the ghetto. In December 1941 the Nazis started liquidating the ghetto, deporting residents primarily to the killing centers of Chelmno and Auschwitz-Birkenau. By the end of the war, only two to six percent of the Łódź Jewish community remained: some 877 were found hiding in the ghetto upon the city's liberation by the Red Army, and an additional 5,000 to 15,000 Łódź Jews survived the concentration camps. Laura Crago, Art. Łódź, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. A, 75–82.
- 48 In the Polish city of Kielce, the Germans installed a ghetto in March 1942. Upon the ghetto's liquidation, they deported the Jewish population primarily to Treblinka. In July 1946, Kielce became the site of a pogrom against the city's returning Jewish population, the largest pogrom of the many which swept the country in the immediate postwar era. Waław Wierzbieniec, Art. Kielce, in: Hundert (ed.), YIVO Encyclopedia, vol. 1, 891 f.; Jan T. Gross, Art. Kielce, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 3, 612–618; Sara Bender, Art. Kielce, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. A, 237–240.

Landshut,⁴⁹ Utting,⁵⁰ Kaufering, Landsberg and Leonsberg [sic].⁵¹ We belong to those who were gassed, hung, tormented and tortured to death in the concentration camp. We belong to the army of nine million fallen in the war of this organized and cunningly prepared method of murder! We are not alive – *We are dead!*

Nevertheless, there might be some sense in my being able to address you today. We are merely delegates of millions of victims to tell all mankind, to proclaim all over the world how cruel people may become, what beast there is concealed in a human being and what a triumphal record of crime and murder there has been achieved by the nation of Hegel and Kant, Schiller and Goethe, Beethoven and Schopenhauer?⁵²

Everyone of us suffered a different kind of torture. During six year's almost 3½ million Polish Jews were killed. There have remained approximately 10,000 out of 350,000 Lithuanian Jews. The Hungarian Jews have been annihilated up to 95 percent during the last year. The road of torture is different – one led via Warsaw and Auschwitz to Upper-Bavaria, the other from Budapest via Auschwitz to Upper-Bavaria, again, the third from Kovno-Stuttgart to Upper-Bavaria, and the fourth from Łódź to Sachsenhausen,⁵³

49 Landshut, the capital of lower Bavaria situated approximately 75 km northeast of Munich, was the site of a subcamp of Dachau. Evelyn Zegenhagen, Art. Landshut, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. A, 497 f.

50 Utting, a lakeside town on the western shore of Ammersee, approximately 50 km from Munich, was one of several sites of the Kaufering subcamp complex, which was part of the Dachau subcamp system. Raim, Art. Kaufering I–XI.

51 Leonberg is located in Württemberg approximately 10 km from Stuttgart. During the Nazi regime, Leonberg became the site of a large subcamp of the Alsatian concentration camp complex Natzweiler-Struthof because of the airplane parts manufacturing plant of Augsburg Messerschmitt AG located there. Jean-Marc Dreyfus, Art. Leonberg, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. B, 1042 f.

52 References to classics of German culture and intellectual history such as the philosophers Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), and Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860); the poets Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805); and the Austrian composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) often appear in conjunction with the question of how National Socialism could come to power in Germany. Micha Brumlik, *Deutscher Geist und Judenhass: Das Verhältnis des philosophischen Idealismus zum Judentum*, Munich 2000.

53 Sachsenhausen concentration camp, just north of Berlin, stood at the center of the Nazi concentration camp system. Erected in the summer of 1936, it was the first new camp built after Hitler had granted the SS full control of the concentration

from Sachsenhausen to Belsen,⁵⁴ from Belsen to Leonsberg, from Leonsberg to Kaufering.

Different is the road, various are the stations of torture, different the time, but there is one common red thread of blood, torture, torment, humiliation and undignified death ...

camp system. Prior to the November Pogroms, the majority of prisoners were either political prisoners under “protective” detention or criminal prisoners under “preventive” detention, with small numbers of Jehovah’s Witnesses and people considered homosexuals. After the November Pogroms, a temporary influx of Jewish prisoners caused the population to surge briefly to more than 14,000. During the second half of 1944, there was a large-scale return of Jewish prisoners to Sachsenhausen, when labor shortages forced Himmler to bring thousands of primarily Hungarian and Polish Jews to concentration camps in Germany. In the final months of the war the population of the camp swelled to well over 66,000 as the Germans evacuated camps closer to the front. Though the death rate had remained low compared to other concentration camps, at this time it spiraled upward. When the Red Army arrived at the main camp on April 22, 1945, approximately 3,000 prisoners remained; the Germans had forced the majority of the camp’s prisoners on a death march to the northwest. Contemporary estimates place the total number of deaths somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000. Todd Huebner, Art. Sachsenhausen Main Camp, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. B, 1257–1260.

- 54 Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, southwest of the town of Bergen approximately 55 km north of Hanover, was established in spring 1943. It was to operate as a transit camp for specific groups of Jewish prisoners who initially were excluded from deportations to the extermination camps, held for the purpose of being exchanged for Germans interned in Western countries. The living conditions at first were better than they were in other concentration camps; the Nazis did not want the prisoners to report overseas on the true conditions of the concentration camps or be in a physical condition giving some indication of the regime’s brutality. Until the end of 1944, Jewish prisoners comprised the great majority of the prisoner population. In spring 1944, the SS began relocating to Bergen-Belsen other groups of prisoners unrelated to the prisoner exchange program, including a number of transports of sick prisoners who were unable to work. In fall 1944, evacuation transports began arriving in the camp, leading to a major shift in demographics of the camp as well as massive overcrowding, hunger, and disease. By the time British troops liberated the camp, it held prisoners from all groups targeted for persecution by the Nazis. Of the 55,000 survivors liberated from the camp, 13,000 died from the effects of their imprisonment within three months of their liberation. The total number of victims is estimated at 50,000. Thomas Rahe, Art. Bergen-Belsen Main Camp, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. A, 278–281.

(Then comes a detailed account of the suffering of the Jews, particularly the Lithuanian Jews, under the Nazi regime)⁵⁵

... We have met here today to celebrate our liberation but at the same time we are mourning. For every bright and joyful day at present and in the future, is shadowed by the tragic events of the years gone by. One percent survived to see the liberation, and 99 percent out of this one percent are very ill. Do you enjoy it!? Are you able to celebrate!?

Hitler lost all battles on all fronts, except the battle against defenseless and unarmed men, women and children! He won the war against the European Jews.

He was helped by the German nation. However, we do not ask for revenge. If we took revenge, we would descend into the depths of ethics and moral to which the German nation has fallen during the past ten years.

We are not able to slaughter women and children! We are not able to burn millions of people! We are not able to starve hundreds of thousands!

We are free now, but we do not know what to begin with [our] free but unhappy life. It seems to us, that for the time being mankind does not comprehend what we have gone through and what we have experienced during this period of time. And it seems to us, neither shall we be understood in the future.

We unlearned to laugh, we cannot cry any more, we do not comprehend our freedom yet, because we are still among our dead comrades.

Let us raise and stand silent to commemorate our dead.

55 Presumably editorial remark.

Document 4

*Abraham Klausner*⁵⁶ to *Robert Savitt*⁵⁷

Dachau, August 1, 1945

Typewritten letter; 2 pages; printed letterhead with preprinted place and date field; handwritten illegible signature

Language: English

Archives of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York, P-879 (Abraham Klausner Papers), box 1, folder 6

Waffen-SS
SS-Standortkommandantur
Dachau

Dachau 3, den
Fernruf Dachau 293

Betreff:
Bezug:
Anlagen:

August 1, 1945

Dear Bob,⁵⁸

For the first time since I arrived overseas, this day I received a bundle of letters from the States. Much has happened during these months, and I have been

56 Abraham Klausner (1915–2007) was born in Memphis, Tenn., and raised in Denver, Col. After being ordained at Hebrew Union College in New York in 1941, he joined the army as a chaplain and was assigned to the 116th Evacuation Hospital, which entered Dachau concentration camp in May 1945. Following liberation, he remained in Germany, compiling lists of survivors, which he published under the name *She'erit Hapletah*. Klausner played a crucial role in rebuilding Jewish communal life after the war and advocating on behalf of the survivors before American military authorities. He was well-connected to many crucial players and organizations in the aftermath of the Second World War, including UNRRA, the JDC, and other Jewish organizations in Germany and the United States. He left Germany in July 1946, only to return six months later, continuing his work in the DP camps for several additional years. Klausner, *A Letter to My Children*; Patt, “The people must be forced to go to Palestine,” 240–276.

57 Robert Savitt (1896–1970), born in Springfield, Mass., was founder and owner of a family-run jewelry business.

58 In conducting a survey of conditions faced by DPs in the first month after liberation, Klausner visited approximately 14,000 Jews living in 17 camps. He found deplorable conditions and concluded in a report to his supervisor: “Liberated but not free, that is the paradox of the Jew.” (Archives of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York, P-879, Abraham Klausner Papers, box 3, folder 11, Report from Abraham

telling those many letters the story of these past months and praying at the same time that the story would in some way find its way into each envelope and be returned to the sender.

Bob, it is a sad story. Some day, perhaps, when I can again enjoy your generous hospitality, my tongue will be loosened, and the story will be told.

Briefly, here I am in Bavaria, the larger part of the American Occupation Zone.⁵⁹ I have been here from the time the area was liberated. It was in this area that our people were slaughtered in numerous ways, each more despicable than the other. It is in this area that I found that not a single Jewish child was left alive.⁶⁰ Read that last sentence again Bob – I am not drunk with words, – not a single Jewish child is alive in Bavaria! My memory reminds me that the sentence is not completely true. We did find a child. A child six years of age who escaped death. I saw that child. In fact I gathered clothes for him. If the thought occurs to you – Why was it necessary for Klausner to gather clothes, put it aside for a moment, I have words on that subject. The child bears the notorious stamp of the prisoner on his hand. He is number B 75 78. He came into this area a few days ago and is looked upon by all as some miraculous phenomena – a child, a Jewish child alive! The story of the Nazi war against children would pierce your heart and boil your blood until

Klausner to Philip Bernstein, June 24, 1945) On July 1, 1945, at the Feldafing DP Camp near Dachau, Klausner helped Zalman Grinberg found the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany. Klausner's efforts fighting the American military's indifference to the plight of newly liberated survivors culminated when he accompanied President Harry S. Truman's special envoy, Earl G. Harrison, on an eye-opening tour of the displaced persons camps, which led to the publication of the Harrison Report (Document 15) at the end of August 1945. In this letter to his friend Robert (Bob) Savitt, Klausner's extreme disappointment with the perceived indifference of the outside world to the plight of the survivors is evident.

59 In accordance with the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender at the beginning of May 1945, the German government was dissolved. As the end of the war approached, the Allied forces had discussed the division of Germany at the famous Yalta Conference in the Crimea. In the Berlin Declaration of June 1945, the Allies agreed that Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation: the American, the British, the French and the Soviet. This plan had far-reaching consequences and led to the division of Germany into the Federal Republic of Germany and the communist German Democratic Republic, both founded in 1949. The latter covered the territory of the former Soviet Zone and was part of Moscow's sphere of influence.

60 "A statistical survey of the 4,976 Jewish residents of Landsberg taken on October 1, 1945 estimated that 65 percent of the population were males over the age of fourteen, 30 percent were females over the age of fourteen, and only 5 percent were children between six and fourteen. Of the nearly 5,000 residents, only 20 were children less than six years of age." Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 21 f.

you became an indissoluble unity of hate and vengeance. But enough for the beast. Only those who suffered know. The others will never know.

Bob, the liberation came. Our people were freed. But they continued to die.⁶¹ And then they stopped dieing [sic] because death was satiated. Those who were to live were free. Free to hope and nothing more. The prison clothes were still upon their backs and the bread was black and the barbed wire was home. But there was hope. They would come. Yes, they would come! The Jew of America would come! The peoples of the world would come!

Three months have passed. They hope no longer. They did not come. No! No one came, only Klausner. UNRRA,⁶² JDC,⁶³ RED CROSS⁶⁴ – worn promises that never came true.

61 Of the approximately 50,000 Jewish survivors in postwar Germany at the time of liberation, some 20,000 Jews soon perished from complications arising from disease, starvation, and other privations of the camp experience. Leonard Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*, New York, 1982, 28.

62 Founded in 1944 in the United States, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) provided economic assistance to European nations after the Second World War. They engaged in the repatriation of refugees and assisted those who would come under Allied control. In 1945, the organization managed DPs living in camps in Italy, Austria and Germany and served as one of the major employers of DPs. Because of the sheer mass of work to be done, UNRRA ran out of funds by 1947 and was supplanted by the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which then cared for 643,000 DPs. For a detailed account of UNRRA and its activities in the immediate postwar era, see Woodbridge (ed.), *UNRRA*; Samantha K. Knapton/Katherine Rossy (eds.), *Relief and Rehabilitation for a Post-War World: Humanitarian Intervention and the UNRRA*, London 2023.

63 The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), also known as the Joint or Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, is a Jewish relief organization founded in 1914 by the merger of three relief committees. The organization initially sought to raise money for the impoverished Jewish population in Eastern Europe and the Near East during the First World War. Although originally intended as a temporary measure, the JDC became one of the largest Jewish relief organizations in the world. With the JDC's help, 80,000 Jews managed to leave Europe. In Latin America, the JDC also supported, among other things, refugee resettlement efforts, and their funds were instrumental in financing relief programs in Shanghai, China. The JDC continues to operate internationally today. Avinoam J. Patt et al. (eds.), *The JDC at 100: A Century of Humanitarianism*, Detroit, Mich., 2019; Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939–1945*, Detroit, Mich., 1981; idem, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1929–1939*, Philadelphia, Penn., 1974.

64 Founded in 1863 in Geneva, Switzerland, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) initially devoted itself to the care of wounded soldiers, but quickly

Perhaps we were not worthy of help? Or is it that I am not familiar with this region?

Here in Bavaria we constitute the larger part of the American Occupation Zone. Here are 14,000 Jews. There are only some 50,000 remaining in these zones (other than Russian). I have combed this region with a fine comb. I have found these Jews in camps, in villages, in barns, |2| in jails. I have recorded their names, spoken with them, listened to their stories and apologized for those who were to come and never came.

These names we recorded in a volume⁶⁵ (mailing you copies under separate cover) so that they could be found and the names of others we recorded in five volumes so that they could find their loved ones. This we did, yet no one came.

For the sick we established two great hospitals.⁶⁶ The doctors we found among the broken and the suffering. We opened two camps and there gathered our people together. To clothe them we begged for materials. The generosity of a single man made it possible for me to receive 400,000 meters of materials. From this we made clothes. And yet no one came.

Books had to be printed, clothes had to be made and there was no money. Our soldiers heard my story and there was an abundance of assistance in material and monetary form. And yet no one came.

Our people gave up waiting. They began to act. Families must be found and reunited. There are to be no children, but here and there one may find a husband or a wife, a sister or a brother. I wish I could describe a scene for you – the scene of the discovery of one brother by another! For this job we

became an important player in the field of international humanitarian aid. Despite their commitment to prisoners of war and refugees, the ICRC failed to inform the public about the extermination camps and the mass killing of European Jews even though the organization knew of the Nazis' exterminatory plans for the Jewish population since 1942. Jean-Claude Favez, *The Red Cross and the Holocaust*, Cambridge 1999; Gerald Steinacher, *Humanitarians at War: The Red Cross in the Shadow of the Holocaust*, Oxford 2017.

65 Upon his arrival in Dachau concentration camp, Klausner was constantly confronted with the survivors' requests for information about their family members. Responding to these inquiries, he began compiling a list of names of people he met during his work in the Bavarian camps and published it under the name of *She'erit Hapletah*.

66 St. Ottilien DP hospital in a former monastery, led by Dr. Zalman Grinberg, with whom Klausner worked closely, and the DP hospital in Gauting. Both sites had formerly served as German military hospitals. In cooperation with World ORT, DPs in Gauting had access to vocational training.

organized the Central Comm. for the Liberated Jews of Bavaria – and still no one came.⁶⁷

They are no longer needed! UNRRA came with not a single garment! JDC is only an expression at which we laugh,⁶⁸ RED CROSS suggests a hahazard [sic] package here and there – less the story is told otherwise, be it known that whatever help came to these Jews here in Bavaria, it was the help of few with no assistance from the many and the organizations representing the many.

August 1, exactly three months after the liberation and the sun has set on Bavaria, a land unto which there has come no help.



As much as I would have liked to write often, I could not. The handling of mail for “My Congregation”⁶⁹ alone took every spare moment.

How are the Savitts? And Ruth? Has your son returned from Europe? Do give the family my love – and remember me to the little cowboy.

Ever,

a.

{###}⁷⁰

67 To respond to the conditions throughout the DP camps, where food, medical supplies, clothes and shelter were scarce or of bad quality, Klausner founded the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (later expanded to include the entire American Zone) together with Zalman Grinberg, to advocate for the DPs’ needs and interests. It was the official representative body of Jewish DPs in the American Zone. His persistent commitment to the needs of Jewish DPs put him at odds with other relief organizations like UNRRA, the Red Cross, and the JDC, whom he blamed for not doing enough.

68 The JDC failed to organize relief until September 1945 and was completely absent until August, three months after the liberation of the concentration camps.

69 Here Klausner references the request he received to travel to Dachau after liberation to tend to a “congregation” of Jews.

70 Handwritten signature, illegible.

Document 5

David E. Wolpe,⁷¹ “The Hope of the Diaspora”

Kovno, March 28, 1945

Handwritten poem, 3 pages; two-column record

Language: Hebrew

Nizoz,⁷² issue 6(41), March 28, 1945, 14–16, in: *Yad Vashem Documents Archive, Jerusalem, M.1.P (Collection about displaced persons–DPs), Item ID 3686891, file no. 24*

71 David E. Wolpe (1908–2007, see Figure 3) was a poet and literary essayist born in Kaidan (today Kėdainiai, Lithuania). During the Second World War, he was forcibly relocated to the Kovno ghetto and later deported to the Dachau camp, where he was a forced laborer in the Kaufering subcamp complex. After liberation, Wolpe lived in Munich, where he was active in the CCLJA and numerous other organizations representing Jewish DPs in the American Zone. He wrote prolifically in the Jewish DP press, including the organ of the CCLJA, *Undzer veg* (Our Way), the consolidated newspaper of the Jewish DP camps in the Munich area, *Yidishe tsaytung* (Jewish Newspaper), and the organ of the Central Historical Commission, *Fun letstn khurbn* (From the Latest Destruction). He immigrated to Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1951. For a sample of his published works, see, e. g., David E. Wolpe, *A volkn un a veg, lider un poemes oyfkleyb* [A Cloud and a Way, Poetry Collection], Johannesburg 1978; idem, *Mit Avrom Sutskever iber zayn lidervelt, monografye* [With Avraham Sutskever through the World of his Poetry, a Monograph], Johannesburg 1985.

72 *Nizoz* (Spark) was the irregularly published, initially handwritten periodical of the *Irgun Brith Zion* (National Youth Association, IBZ), a centrist Zionist youth organization founded in 1940 which also offered Hebrew classes, lectures, and debates. *Nizoz* began as a clandestine underground publication in Kovno (today Kaunas, Lithuania) in opposition to Soviet occupation in autumn 1940; the first seven issues were copied by hand, later by mimeograph. Publishing continued under the Nazis in the Kovno ghetto, established in August 1941; 28 issues appeared in the ghetto (c. 10–15 copies each). When the surviving male population of the ghetto was transferred to the Kaufering camps (part of the Dachau subcamp complex) in 1944, members of the IBZ continued to publish *Nizoz* underground, edited by Abraham Melamed (1920–2005) and Shlomo Frenkel Shafir (1924–2013). Its editors circulated the seven double numbered issues compiled in Dachau-Kaufering (1(36)–7(42); issues 1 and 2 are lost) among other prisoners until the liberation of the camp in April 1945. After the liberation, the paper continued until 1948. It was the only permanent Hebrew newspaper of the *She'erit Hapletah*. Laura M. Weinrib (ed.), *Nitzotz: The Spark of Resistance in Kovno Ghetto and Dachau Kaufering Concentration Camp*, Syracuse, NY, 2009, chaps. 1–4; Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, esp. chap. 2.

תקות הגולה

היתרחש הנס?

תציץ התקוה הזעומה מעינים מבהלות
 יגעות – שנה
 כפנסים הדלוחים בארבע קצוות
 מגרש־האפל
 בלב יקנן היגון הממאיר
 והתוחלת הנכזבת מאה פעמים ביום
 תשוע בקול מתיפח
 מכל גיד ושריר:
 רב לנו, רב, רב!

##⁷³ אוכל בני בכל פה
 # ומקרר את הגוף היבש וכזב
 ### שקצת באהבתך
 מתרפק עליך ומציק
 משתרג סביבך ובתוכך כחבלבל־פרא
 וטפין טפין ימצוץ את לשד עצמותיך.
 רעב
 יחניק התלין כל אבר ואבר
 על שמך יעיב נקודה אחרונה של אור
 וימס כל תקוה מלבך ...
 אזי תראה
 מתיך – מכורכמי עור, נפולי בטן ונפוח־ירגלים
 בעיניהם עצומות למחצה הזועה הקורעת שחקים
 נשואים לעשרית – כנבלות מסריחות
 יום־יום אל מחוץ לגדר.
 גלי גלים נערמים הגופות הקרים וקפואים
 תלייתלים מתנשאים קברות האחים
 על גבי אירופה – בלה ספוגת דם ישראל לרוב
 אה ישראל!
 אלונקות מתיך הקלים בידיהם הכבדות של גוים
 כקלות של זפת מחבית רצועה
 נמשך בלי הפסק ובלי קץ
 עד מתי?
 התאמר להציף תבל במתיך,
 לסתום חלל העולם בגופות רקובים ובאושים?

73 Missing letters in the three lines due to faded paper.

הלא תגוע ישראל
 פלאים ירדת ולא תוסיף קום
 לא – כי קום תקום!
 על קברים לאלפים
 העולים על שדות־אירפה פטריות אחרי גשם
 בהם טמונים כורע מיליונים
 אבות ואמהות, אחים ואחיות,
 קדושים יקרים אלמונים
 של עם מעונה ונלוש ביסורים
 ותזרח שמש הגאולה
 על הזרע היקר הזה,
 אז תפרח ותשגשג הישועה
 ומתוככי המות החים יצמחו
 והתקוה בוא תבוא!
 [15] עוד אפלה אורבת אל מגרש־האפל,
 הצולים כמלח־שירע יגיחו מכל פנה וזוית.
 ולפתע – שריקה צורמת תפלח קדחת⁷⁴ שחור העל
 כבמקל – להטים פנסי החשמל נדלקים
 והצללים בורחים, נדחקים לצדדין,
 ויצורי אדם כברואים לא מהאי־עלמא
 זוחלים בעצלתים לעבר החלון המואר
 גדלה השורה והולכת
 הקפה המהביל שתוי על הלב הריק,
 והגוף העיף נמתח לשינה המתוקה ההיא,
 הרחוקה במטה הצחה, הרכה ...
 שוב הצפצוף השנא וצורב עד תהום־נפש,
 השורות מתישרות
 אחיך, בני־עמך – קצינים ושרי
 עשרות ומאות,
 כגומי הגמיש ירקדו הנה ושוב
 ובעזר השטן משתלבים קלותיהם ומהלומותיהם
 ועשו הפוזל על מלאכה בזויה זו
 לבו ישמן מנחת
 ולב אחיך הנוגשים מי יבחון?
 לפתע תפל קללה נמרצת
 - אספסוף!
 יצרח קטן־עבדים
 כעורב שחור על גבי פגרים מובסים
 ושרידי בני־אדם את גוף המעוקם יישרו

74 Another possible reading is קדרות.

ידיים ורגלים ברפיון תלויות־ימתחו,
 השלט השקט, דם!
 הכן!
 ופתע נודעזעה השורה מלמול
 מה קרה?
 אחד כשל,
 כרע,
 נפל
 חלל
 ולמה?
 אין תשובה.

יודעים אנו על מה.
 מהלומה.
 מתגבר השחור
 אך מתוך תוכו כבר פורץ האור.
 ומושיב רוח־הבאות – הדרור
 ואלינו הוא מציץ מתוך העינים
 הפקוחות למחצה
 של הלל, (על אלונקה כבר הורם)
 מקברך, אח, יפרח יגדל יגבר י#עף
 לנס
 דגל־העם!
 ובעמדי בשורה על "משמר המהלמה"
 פן תשנה בלתי־צפויה,
 אני עוצם את עיני בחזקה
 וחווה את חזיון־המחר המקווה
 מחר
 אור!
 ושרידי פליטי ישראל
 מחנה קטן
 עז ואמיץ ומוצק
 כבטון המשורין
 ונבחן באלף מיתות משונות,
 צועד ברגלים באחת
 לקראת קברות תמול אורים מוצפים
 |16| תוקע בראשם את דגלו
 דגל מחנה־יהודה הבהיר – דגל השלום
 ונשבע שבועת־אמונים למתים, לעבר, לעם
 לעתיד תקוותיו – החיים:
 הננו נשבעים לעמנו

לאלף דורות
 את החיים עלי אדמות!!!
 בדמכם קדשתם את העם
 העבר נחתם
 נזכור
 ועתיד העם
 אור
 התקוה – המחר

1. אלמי
 (קופרינג, 9 לחדש פברואר)

*Translation*⁷⁵

The Hope⁷⁶ of the Diaspora

Will the miracle come to pass? –
 The meager hope will peak out from frightened weary eyes
 Like lanterns muddled in four corners of the *Appellplatz*,*
 [139] Cancerous grief will nestle in the heart
 And the shattered hope will cry out in a weeping voice, one hundred times
 a day
 From every vein and muscle:
 Enough! We have had enough!
 Hunger –
 The thirst devours us
 Gnawing and demolishing the thin, dry body –
 Like a lover that stopped loving
 Embracing you and oppressing –
 Weaving around and inside you like a wild bindweed

* The *Appellplatz* was the place where prisoners in the concentration camps were forced to assemble each day for roll call.

75 Translated by Estee Shafir Weinrib, as presented in: Weinrib (ed.), *Nitzotz*, 138–142. Original footnotes are by the editor Laura Weinrib.

76 *Ha-Tikvah* (Heb., hope) is one of the most important musical symbols in modern Jewish history. It became the hymn of the Zionist movement; the newly founded State of Israel adopted it as national anthem. Regina Randhofer, *Art. Ha-Tikvah*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 3, 192–194.

And drop by drop will suck your marrow.
 Hunger –
 The hangman will strangle each and every limb
 One last speck of light will darken in your name
 And melt all hope from your heart ...
 Then you will see –
 Your dead ones, yellowed skin fallen stomachs and swollen legs
 With eyes shut halfway, horror ripping the heavens
 Carried by tens – like stinking corpses
 Everyday outside the fences
 Heaps of cold and frozen bodies
 Mounds of graves of brethren
 All over Europe – blotted with Israel blood –
 Oh Israel!
 The stretchers that carry your dead are weightless in the heavy hands of *goyim**
 Like the lightness of tar from a broken barrel
 Continues endlessly and without interruption –
 Until when? –
 Will the universe be flooded with your dead,
 To clog the vault of heaven with rotten stinking corpses?
 Surely Israel will starve –
 You have suffered dreadfully and can no longer stand –
 No! – you will stand up! –
 [140] On thousands of graves
 Rising in the fields of Europe like mushrooms after the rain
 In which millions are buried like seeds
 Fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters,
 Dear sacred and nameless
 Of people tormented and afflicted –
 And when the sun of deliverance rises on this precious seed,
 Then salvation will bloom and thrive
 And from the midst of death life will sprout
 And hope will come! –
 [[15]] Still more darkness is lurking on the *Appellplatz*,
 Out of every bend and corner whispering evil will pierce the shadows
 And suddenly – a harsh and screeching whistle will gore the gloom of the
 black of night
 The lanterns ignite like a blazing wand
 And the shadows flee, pushing aside

* Literally, “nations.” The word *goyim* refers to non-Jews.

And human figures like creatures not from the corners of the world
 Creep sluggishly toward the lit window
 The line goes and grows,
 The streaming coffee gulped with empty heart
 And the tired body stretches out for a sweet distant sleep
 In a clean soft bed ...
 Again the detested whistle screeches to the depths of the soul,
 The lines straighten out –
 Your brothers, your people, “officers” and commanders of tens and hundreds,
 Like elastic rubber they will dance back and forth
 And with the help of the devil their voices blend with their blows –
 Casting a squinting glance at this contemptible work
 His heart will fatten with content –
 And who will examine the hearts of your brothers’ oppressors –
 And all of a sudden a grievous curse
 Rabble!
 Screams out small Hebrew
 Like a black crow over trampled carcasses –
 |141| Out of remnants of human beings
 Their crooked backs straighten
 Hands and feet will stretch out in suspense,
 The tranquil signboard, blood!
 Get ready!
 And suddenly shaking in the line – a chatter –
 What happened!
 One stumbled,
 Collapsed,
 Fell,
 Slain –
 And why?
 No answer –

We know for what
 Hard blow.
 Darkness is swelling –
 But light is breaking out
 Out of it.
 Bringing back the spirit of freedom
 And it glanced at us out of eyes part open
 Of space (already on the stretcher)
 Out of your grave, brother, a tree will blossom, grow, prevail for a miracle

The flag of the nation!⁷⁷
 And I stand in line of the “blowguard”
 Unexpected,
 I shut my eyes closed
 And behold the awaited vision of tomorrow:
 Tomorrow –
 Light
 And the remnant Israel refugees
 A small camp –
 Strong courageous and solid
 Like armored concrete –
 Tested by thousands of strange deaths,
 Marching in step as one
 [142] Toward yesterday’s graves, illuminated,
 [16] Thrusting his flag –
 The bright flag of camp Judah – the flag of peace
 And we will swear an oath of allegiance to the death, to the past, to the nation –
 For its future hopes – the life:
 We swear to our nation for a thousand generations
 Life on earth!!!
 You have sanctified the past with your blood –
 The past was sealed –
 We will remind
 And the future of the nation
 Light
 The hope – the tomorrow.

Kaufering, Feb. 9
 – W. Almi⁷⁸

77 The fallen tree from which a small branch grows serves as a symbol for the *She’erit Hapletah*, a metaphor for a new hope, which lays upon the Jewish survivors.

78 Pen name of David E. Wolpe.

Document 6

*David P. Boder*⁷⁹ interviews *Roma Tcharnabroda*⁸⁰

Munich, September 24, 1946

*Transcript of the interview, extracts*⁸¹

Language: German; grammatical errors in the original audio have been preserved

Voices of the Holocaust digital archive, <<https://voices.library.iit.edu/interview/tcharnabrodaR>> (May 27, 2024)

79 David P. Boder (1886–1961) was a Chicago-based psychologist born in Liepāja, then part of the Russian Empire, who traveled to Europe in 1946 to interview survivors of the Holocaust. He arrived in Paris in late July 1946 and spent the next two months conducting interviews in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. By the time Boder left Europe in early October (to return in time for teaching the Fall 1946 semester) he had recorded over 90 hours of material (130 interviews in nine languages at 16 different sites) and completely used up the 200 spools of copper recording wire he had brought with him. The interviews were among the earliest (if not the earliest) audio recordings of Holocaust survivors; eight of them were published three years later: David Boder, *I Did Not Interview the Dead*, Urbana, Ill., 1949. See also Julia Bernstein, *The Art of Testimony: David Boder and His Archive of Holocaust Survivors' Audio-Interviews*, in: *East European Jewish Affairs* 48 (2018), no. 3, 354–371; Daniel Schuch, *Transformationen der Zeugenschaft: Von David P. Boders frühen Audiointerviews zur Wiederbefragung als Holocaust Testimony*, Göttingen 2021.

80 Roma Tcharnabroda (1916–?) was born in Kielce, then part of the Russian Empire; on the eve of the Second World War, she lived in the city with her husband, a Jewish physician. In 1945, she was liberated by U.S. troops in the Kaufering IV concentration camp in Landsberg, part of the Dachau subcamp complex. The interview was conducted at Deutsches Museum, which was also the site of a UNRRA university where Tcharnabroda was studying pharmacology while waiting for permission to enter the United States. On Tcharnabroda, see Donald L. Niewyk (ed.), *Fresh Wounds: Early Narratives of Holocaust Survival*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1998, 215–223.

81 Earlier sections of the interview discuss where Tcharnabroda was and what happened to her when the war began. Since her husband was called up by the Polish Army at the time of the German invasion, she accompanied him as a nurse's aide, and eventually they ended up in Soviet-occupied Lvov (today Lviv, Ukraine). Following the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, both were sent to a forced labor camp in Lvov. They managed to escape with the use of false identity papers and passed as "Aryans" in Warsaw until they were robbed, being compelled to enter the Warsaw ghetto in 1942. After deportation to Majdanek concentration camp Tcharnabroda was separated from her husband who probably was killed in 1943. She was forced to work in munitions factories in western Poland and was subsequently evacuated to Ravensbrück camp and several other camps in Bavaria.

[...] ⁸²

ROMA TCHARNABRODA (RT): [34:37] Dann ... dann bin ich schon krank geworden, aber ich bin weiter zu der Arbeit im Walde gegangen. Dort hab ich gearbeitet einige Monate und hab mir die Beine erfroren. Wenn die Amerikaner sind schon näher gekommen, hat man uns von Ravensbrück in die Richtung von Dachau geschickt.

DAVID BODER (DB): Zu Fuß oder mit ...

RT: Nein mit den Wagen.

DB: In, in Autos?

RT: Nein, in geschlossene Pferdewagen.

DB: Oh ja, bei Zug, bei Eisenbahn ...

RT: Ja. Und acht (8) Tage haben wir gar nichts bekommen. Das heißt, sogar kein Wasser.

DB: Also, sagen Sie mir, wie lebt man acht (8) Tage ohne Wasser?

RT: Das ist interessant. Eben ... ihr könnt Euch nicht vorstellen wieviel ein Mensch aushalten könnte ... kann. Das wissen wir! [Pause] Acht Tage ohne Wasser. Wir haben am Ende – das war in der Nähen von Bayreuth – haben wir beschlossen ... es waren schon viele Tote ... von Hunger ... und von ... natürlich von matt sein ... haben wir beschlossen zu klopfen. Und sollen sie schießen. Und wir haben so geklopft, dass sie haben gefürchtet, wir werden das brechen, das Ganze kaputt machen, den Wagen.

DB: Hm.

RT: Wie [sic] haben gedroht: „Wir werden schießen“ und wir haben gesagt: „Schießt!“. Also damals haben sie, haben sie gebracht vom Roten Kreuz Gruppe und haben gesagt: „Kinder, wir wollen Euch doch helfen, warum seid Ihr so unruhig?“ Dann sind wir ...

DB: Das war das Rote Kreuz?

82 Roma Tcharnabroda refers here to the death marches. The evacuation of Majdanek, where she was imprisoned earlier, took place between January and April 1944 during the first wave of death marches and Majdanek was one of the first camps abandoned. During the third and final wave, beginning in March 1945 as the Allied forces rapidly approached, Tcharnabroda had to have her legs amputated due to freezing temperatures while being forcibly marched from Ravensbrück to Dachau. On the death marches, see Greiser, Art. Death Marches; Blatman, The Death Marches.

RT: Nein, die SS. Da waren wir Kinder, denn sie haben schon gesehen mit uns geht's nicht so leicht. Und dann sind wir weiter gefahren und wir sind nach Burgau⁸³ gekommen, eine Filiale von Dachau.

DB: Nicht weit von Dachau.

RT: Eine Filiale von Dachau ...

DB: Filiale.

RT: Ja, Filiale von Dachau.

DB: Und sie sagen nicht ganz weit von Dachau.

RT: Ich orientiere mich nicht, weil ich fahre jetzt nicht weg, wegen meine amputierten Bein. Dorthin sind wir gekommen, das war noch ganz kalt in weißen Mänteln – ohne Wäsche.

DB: Was meinen Sie mit weißen Mänteln?

RT: Solche ... na, wie heißt das schnell ...

DB: Baumwolle?

RT: Nicht Baumwolle, solche Staubmäntel.

DB: Ah, Staubmäntel!

RT: Solche Mäntel hat man uns gegeben, ohne Strümpfe, wenn man einem Strümpfe gegeben hat, dann war einer gelb und einer schwarz. Und wenn wir sind gekommen haben wir so schrecklich ausgesehen, dass die Meister von der Fabrik Messerschmidt [...],⁸⁴ die gekommen sind, um uns zu sehen und von uns Einige zur Arbeit zu nehmen, haben gesagt offen: „Das ist Schweinerei!“ Und dann waren wir in Burgau. In Burgau sollten fünfhundert (500) Personen sein, dann hat man noch einen Transport geschickt und es waren schon tausend (1.000) Frauen. Und es hat angefangen mit Fleckfieber. Von Fleckfieber sind sehr viele Frauen gestorben. Am meisten haben die

83 Burgau was a subcamp of Dachau, in operation from January to April 1945. Some thousand inmates were imprisoned there. Gernot Röhmer, Art. Burgau, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. A, 460–462.

84 Tcharnabroda is most likely referring to the manufacturing firm Messerschmitt GmbH Regensburg, one of the main producers of fighter jets in the German Reich during the war. In 1943, the firm transferred parts of its production process to the Gusen and Mauthausen concentration camps to exploit the forced labor of the camps' inmates. Robert G. Waite, Art. Gusen (with Gusen II and Gusen III), in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. B, 919–921.

ungarischen Jüdinnen gelitten – von Fleckfieber und von Durchfall. Die Läuse waren so schrecklich verbreitet, dass man konnte es nicht aushalten. Dann bin ich krank ... von Fleckfieber krank geworden und mit ... damit hat angefangen mit den Beinen. Ich konnte schon nicht mehr aufstehen. Von Burgau hat man uns nach Kirchheim geschickt.

DB: Und wie hat man sie geschickt? Sie ...

RT: Man hat mich getragen, die Häftlinge haben mich getragen – nach Kirchheim. Und von Kirchheim ... ich war schon gänzlich krank, die Beine waren schon schwarz ... hat man mich ins Lager-Revier, Lager vier (4) geschickt, neben Landsberg. Das bekannte Lager-Revier, wo tausende, mehr wie tausende Leute gestorben sind vom Fleckfieber.

DB: Das ist ja nicht weit von hier.

RT: Nein, nicht weit – Landsberg.

DB: Hm.

RT: Dort habe ich – dort habe ich angefangen schon zu eitern und ... man konnte mir gar nicht helfen. Die Ärzte sind gekommen, haben mir natürlich gar nichts gesagt, aber ich habe gesehen, es ist Schluss. Dann Evakuierung vom Lager. Wer gehen konnte, ihn hat man fortgejagt. Ich konnte natürlich nicht mehr aufstehen. Der erste SS-Mann ist gekommen und hat einen Pferdewagen gebracht. Ich habe ihm gesagt damals: „Erschießen sie mich.“ Hat er gesagt: „Nein, Kind, jetzt wirst Du leben, ich werde aufgehängt werden.“

DB: Warum – hat er das schon gewusst?

RT: Er hat gewusst, dass die Amerikaner nahe kommen. Und dies ist ... ist interessant eben von der SS. Wenn jemand sie wirklich bittet um den Tod, dann musst du leben. Aber wenn du leben willst ... dann musst Du sterben.

DB: Nun?

RT: Und weil ich eben gesagt habe – ganz gleichgültig – ich möchte sterben, dann sagt er, Du musst leben. Dann hat man mich wieder in ein anderes Lager – Lager Eins – gebracht und im Lager Eins wurde ich von den Amerikanern befreit. An dem letzten Tag vor der Befreiung – die SS ist wegelaufen und wir sind geblieben. Die Front ist über unser Lager gegangen. Auf der einen Seite waren die Deutschen, auf der anderen Seite waren die Amerikaner und die haben sich gegenseitig beschossen. Diese, die raus laufen konnten, sind raus gelaufen, ich musste liegen. Dann, per Zufall, sind die Baracken von der SS angezündet worden, die daneben standen. Und damals habe ich gedacht, dass man hat die Baracken von uns angezündet. Alle – wer noch mit

den Füßen rutschen konnte, sind raus gelaufen. Ich wusste nicht, was zu tun, weil so ein Tod im ...

DB: Feuer.

RT: ... im Feuer wollte ich nicht. Dann habe ich alle Decken herunter geschmissen und ich hab mich selbst herunter geschmissen von der Pritsche. Und so habe ich herausgerutscht, es war ...

DB: Was [sic] es eine hohe Pritsche oder eine niedere?

RT: Nein, es war schon solche Erde-Baracken ...

DB: Ja, was für welche?

RT: ... in der Erde gebaut, ganz tief in der Erde ...

DB: Oh.

RT: So wie für Hunde. Und das war – es war nach dem Regen, ich bin herausgerutscht und es war nach dem Regen. Ich habe keine gute Bandage gehabt, nur als Verband gehabt nur solche aus Papier und der Regen und der Schmutz und da alles ist rein und damals ist zu Ende und ist alles kaputt gegangen.

DB: Nun.

RT: Zwei Tage nach der Befreiung haben mich die Amerikaner hier in das deutsche Krankenhaus gebracht und die Ärzte haben gesagt, ich werde nur zehn (10) Tage älter. Aber ich habe ihnen gesagt, dass ich werde zehn (10) Operationen aushalten. Und ich habe ausgehalten, trotzdem, dass ich habe diese Schläge – habe bekommen und dann beim Liegen – dass diese Stelle war nicht ganz, hm, ganz, hm, na ...

DB: Nicht ganz geheilt.

RT: ... ja, nicht ganz geheilt und durch das Liegen hat sich das aufgerieben und ich habe einen Dekubitus⁸⁵ bekommen und ein Loch – ist noch heute die Narbe so gross [sic]. Und ich habe drei (3) Operationen ausgehalten – drei (3) Amputationen hab ich ausgehalten.

DB: Was haben Sie gesagt, ein Dekubitus?

RT: Dekubitus, das ist die Narbe, hier das sehe ...

DB: Weiter. Haben sie die Operation unter Chloroform gemacht?

RT: Ja.

85 Pressure sore.

DB: Und?

RT: Die Ärzte haben festgestellt, dass ich werde in zehn (10) Tagen sterben.

DB: Ja.

RT: Zwei und dreißig (32) Kilo hab ich gehabt nach der Befreiung.

DB: Was wiegen Sie jetzt?

RT: Jetzt [lacht] ungefähr über 60. Ich bin einen Meter vier und sechzig (1,64) gross und 32 Kilo hab ich gehabt.

DB: Hm.

RT: Und trotzdem habe ich ausgehalten. Nach der Befreiung sind auch noch sehr viele gestorben – von Durchfall. Weil sie haben angefangen zu essen. Es war doch schrecklich, man hat zum ersten Mal das Essen gesehen.

DB: In welchem Lager war das eigentlich?

RT: Was?

DB: In welchem Lager war das? In Landsberg?

RT: Das war in dem Lager, Lager Eins am Ende war ich.

DB: Aber Sie waren im Spital in Landsberg.

RT: Nein, zuerst war ich in Holzhausen.⁸⁶ Dort hat man mich sehr gut gepflegt. Und von Holzhausen nach Landsberg und von Landsberg nach Schwabing in München.

DB: Wo haben Sie Ihre Füße verloren?

RT: Unterschenkel, zwanzig (20) Zentimeter unter der Knie. Hier, hier.

DB: Zwanzig (20) Zentimeter unter dem Knie. Nun.

RT: Das heißt Unterschenkel-Amputation.

DB: Ja.

RT: Beide sind weg, ja.

DB: Ja.

RT: Und jetzt gehe ich ganz gut, trotzdem dass die Deutschen gesagt haben, dass ich nicht gehen werde können.

86 Holzhausen was the site of a DP camp in the district of Landsberg near Buchloe.

DB: Und was machen Sie jetzt an der Universität?⁸⁷

RT: Ich studiere Pharmazie.

DB: Ja. Und wie geht es hier?

RT: Ich bin sehr zufrieden mit der Universität. Die Professoren sind sehr gut zu uns und sind so freundlich. Das Zusammenleben von den Professoren und Schülern ist viel – ist so gross, wirklich – man kann das an keiner einzigen Universität finden.

DB: Und wie vertragen sich die Schüler?

RT: Sehr gut. Es ist interessant, dass man hat gesehen, man kann doch zusammen leben und wenn ein Mensch wie ein Mensch lebt, dann spielt die Nationalität keine Rolle. Wichtig ist der Mensch nicht die Nation.

[...] ⁸⁸

87 The UNRRA University at the Deutsches Museum in Munich, established for displaced persons seeking to resume their education. Varon, *The New Life*.

88 In the rest of the interview, Tcharnabroda talks about relatives in the United States, where she would also like to emigrate.

2. Displacement and Trauma

Document 7

Paul Friedman, "The Road Back for the DPs: Healing the Psychological Scars of Nazism"

New York, December 1948

Journal article, 9 pages; with an editorial remark

Language: English

Commentary 4 (1948), no. 11, 502–510¹

[Friedman addresses the critical need for psychological rehabilitation among Europe's surviving Jews after the Second World War, a necessity initially overlooked by relief efforts that focused primarily on material assistance. He emphasizes that the trauma inflicted by Nazi persecution left deep psychological scars that require more than just physical care for complete recovery. Friedman recounts that firstly, relief efforts underestimated the psychological toll on DPs, mistaking initial euphoria for genuine mental well-being. However, this was soon replaced by profound depression. Many DPs exhibited behaviors driven by fear and anxiety, manifesting in emotional numbness or shallowness, particularly among children who had experienced or witnessed extreme violence. Friedman details his observations of various DP groups, emphasizing that their psychological issues were not homogeneous. Survivors of concentration camps, those who hid, and children who lived with Gentile families or in religious institutions exhibited diverse psychological patterns. Despite their resilience, many survivors displayed symptoms akin to combat fatigue, breaking down only after reaching safety. According to Friedman, this indicates that the psychological impact of Nazi terror was profound, necessitating a comprehensive mental hygiene program.]

1 *Commentary* was founded in 1945 in New York by the American Jewish Committee as a monthly journal with the objective to both Americanize and preserve Jewish culture within the United States. It sought to establish a kind of Jewish tradition based on ethical and political values rather than religious ones. It had been influenced by the changing political perspectives of American Jews. After briefly aligning itself with the New Left in the 1960s, it has since moved toward a more conservative position. Murray Friedman (ed.), *Commentary in American Life*, Philadelphia, Penn., 2005.

THE ROAD BACK FOR THE DP'S
Healing the Psychological Scars of Nazism
PAUL FRIEDMAN²

IN THE efforts to reintegrate Europe's DP's into the world's society, it must not be forgotten that the return to normal involves much more for them than a place to live and work: the scars of the concentration camp experience run deep, and their final rehabilitation requires a full understanding of the effects of the Nazi terror upon the minds and spirits of its victims. Paul Friedman, practicing psychoanalyst and associate in neuropsychiatry at the Beth Israel Hospital,³ has had a unique opportunity to study the Jewish DP's in Europe, Cyprus,⁴ and Palestine. In 1946, under the auspices of the American Joint

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- 2 Paul Friedman (1899–1972) was a professional psychiatrist born in Lublin, then part of the Russian Empire, and educated in Switzerland and Germany. He came to the United States in 1935, where he worked with Dr. Gregory Zilboorg (1890–1959), a leading psychiatrist at the time, born in the Russian Empire as well, who was conducting a study of suicides for the Marshall Field Foundation; he continued the study after Dr. Zilboorg's death. Friedman was a staff member of the Neuro-Psychiatry Department of Beth Israel Hospital in New York when asked to travel to the Cyprus camps as a guest of the JDC. Sharon Kangisser Cohen, Report on a Survey of Psychological Conditions of the Surviving Children in Europe: Dr. Paul Friedman, in: *Yad Vashem Studies* 47 (2019), no. 2, 83–130; Rakefet Zalashik/Nadav Davidovitch, Measuring Adaptability: Psychological Examinations of Jewish Detainees in Cyprus Internment Camps, in: *Science in Context* 19 (2006), no. 3, 419–441.
 - 3 Beth Israel Hospital was established in 1889, known today as Mount Sinai Beth Israel Hospital; it is located on Manhattan's Lower East Side.
 - 4 During his mission to Cyprus, Friedman visited Jewish refugees being held in several detainment camps set up by the British mandatory government in the summer of 1946 to house Jews who were attempting to immigrate illegally to Palestine. These camps included five summer camps located at Kraolos near Famagusta, where detainees were housed in tents, and seven winter camps located at Dekalia, where detainees were housed primarily in tin Nissen huts as well as some tents. Zalashik/Davidovitch, *Measuring Adaptability*. For further reading on Jewish DP experiences in Cyprus, see Eliana Hadjisavvas, "From Dachau to Cyprus": Jewish Refugees and the Cyprus Internment Camps: Relief and Rehabilitation, 1946–1949, in: Suzanne Bardgett/Christine Schmidt/Dan Stone (eds.), *Beyond Camps and Forced Labour*, London 2020, 145–164; Morris Laub, *Last Barrier to Freedom: Internment of Jewish Holocaust Survivors on Cyprus 1946–1949*, Berkeley, Calif., 1985; Morris Laub (1909–?) was the JDC Country Director in Cyprus from 1946 to 1949. For a cinematic depiction of the Cyprus detainment camps, see *Exodus*, directed and produced by Otto Preminger, screenplay written by Dalton Trumbo, based on the novel by Leon Uris, 1960.

Distribution Committee, he made a survey of mental health among the Jewish DP's in Europe, with special emphasis on the problems of children; in 1947, he headed a psychiatric team which surveyed the situation in the camps in Cyprus and helped establish a program of mental hygiene to be put into practice in Palestine. His present article embodies some of the more significant findings of these studies. Dr. Friedman was born in Lublin, Poland, in 1899, studied philosophy and medicine at the universities of Vienna, Jena, Berlin, Geneva, and Berne, and worked in the psychiatric clinics at the universities of Zurich, Lausanne, and Paris. He came to this country in 1938.⁵

IT SEEMS altogether incredible today that when the first plans for the rehabilitation of Europe's surviving Jews were outlined, the psychiatric aspect of the problem was overlooked entirely. Everyone engaged in directing the relief work thought solely in terms of material assistance to the DP's. It took months of first-hand practical experience before anyone would acknowledge a similar, equally pressing need for psychological assistance.

Perhaps this astonishing oversight can be better understood if one remembers the atmosphere of those anxious days before the liberation of Europe. None of us knew then what we might expect to find in the ruins of Europe, and it was all too easy, especially for the psychiatrist, to think of Europe as a huge, unattended hospital for neurotics, psychotics, and the hopelessly insane. How then explain the indifference and even often downright opposition on the part of many people to psychiatric aid for the survivors? It was not due – let me hasten to explain – to any lack of devotion or interest. It was rather that all of us – I do not by any means exclude myself – were filled with a sharp and pervasive feeling of guilt towards those very victims we were trying to help. As a defense against this omnipresent emotion, leaders in relief work tended to credit the optimistic stories about the survivors, while at the same time they discounted those describing psychological misery and disorder. We accepted the theory that the very fact of survival was evidence of physical and psychological superiority – without looking too closely at the implications of this statement, which dishonored millions of martyred dead.

Indeed, a number of observers who went to Europe in the early days of relief organization found the DP's, especially those who had come out of the concentration camps, in a state of elation and enthusiasm bordering on euphoria.⁶ Uninformed in matters of psychology, these observers reported

5 End of editorial remark.

6 It is unclear to whom exactly he is referring to, as there were many groups and people in varying positions who observed the liberation of the DP camps and the immediate aftermath of liberation: military chaplains and soldiers who assisted in the liberation;

that the state of mind of the people in the DP camps was almost miraculously unaffected by their recent terrible experiences. But one could have anticipated that it would not take long for the first euphoric reaction – a reaction quite understandable after the terrors that had gone before – to vanish and be replaced by a deep depression. This happened.

There would be little point in recounting these past errors, especially since the record of the relief organizations has been, on the whole, so magnificent, were it not that |503| the guilt feeling that occasioned the initial mistake still seems to exert an influence on our thinking. And though it is inevitable that this should be so – for we were safe in America while our brothers in Europe were undergoing the cruelest of martyrdoms – I must still insist that the only really helpful attitude towards the DP is to combine with the warmest sympathy the most clear-sighted objectivity. I do not think that one excludes the other. On the other hand, if we permit our unconscious feelings – be they guilt or whatever – to dominate our approach to the problem, then the greatest sufferers from our indulgence will be the DP's themselves.

Those of us who have had a chance to work in the field with the concentration camp victims have learned that their demands are often not justified by physical necessity so much as by a fear of losing out, of being rejected, a fear that others might get more than they. Certainly, these sufferers should be spared more frustration and disappointment whenever possible. But it is also essential, if only for their own sake, that they learn to come to practical terms with the world outside the barbed wire. Too many of the field workers who first came into contact with DP's did not understand this. They either acceded to the demands or made promises that they were unable to carry out.

It is not possible, of course, in so brief an article as this, fully to describe the conditions of the DP's, as I saw them, or to outline a complete program for handling their psychological problems. But I do believe we can indicate through example what these problems are in broad outline and sketch out a more appropriate approach to deal with them.

It should be pointed out here that indiscriminate use of the term “displaced persons” has often been misleading.⁷ Not all DP's are ex-inmates

military officials, brought in to create an occupation government; humanitarian, relief, and aid workers operating on behalf of UNRRA, the JDC, the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad (JCRA). Moreover, famous writers, artists, and politicians were brought in to perform or give lectures/presentations to the DPs. There are reports from a number of observers in this volume, including Abraham Klausner, Herman Jablokkoff, H. Lejwik, and David Ben-Gurion.

7 Displaced Persons (or DPs) was the term used by UNRRA and occupation authorities to delineate an individual who was deemed to qualify for care and relief from UNRRA

of the Nazi concentration camps, since only about one hundred thousand Jews survived these camps, of whom about four thousand are children under eighteen. The majority of the Jewish displaced persons consist of children who were kept in hiding, of Polish Jews who returned from Russia after the war, and great numbers of Jews from Rumania and Hungary. Obviously, those who went through the experience of the Nazi concentration camps present the most severe psychological problems – but even in their case it would be an error to assume that a majority, or even any substantial fraction, are in need of specific psychiatric treatment: this is something that can be determined only for each individual separately. However, the years of tension and anxiety have affected all the DP's to a greater or lesser degree, and a sound program of mental hygiene – a term which includes everything from intensive psychiatric treatment of selected individuals down to the relatively simple matter of seeing to it that immigrants to Israel are quickly integrated into its economic and social life – is necessary for the group generally, whether in Germany, in Cyprus, or in Palestine.

WHEN I was appointed by the Joint Distribution Committee to undertake the task of making a psychological survey of the surviving adults and children, with a view to a program of therapy and guidance, I was filled with dread at what I might discover in Europe. But when I met the DP's in their camps and the children in the camp centers and foster homes, I was delighted to find that my forebodings had been decidedly exaggerated. When I talked to the survivors – the adults and children who had been in the concentration camps or had hidden in the forests – I was amazed to see how quickly they had recovered. They all gave evidence of an incredible physical and psychological resilience. In the foster homes set up by the child-care organizations* and

* The main child-care organizations were: Oeuvre de secours aux enfants (OSE); Oeuvre de protection des enfants juifs (OPEJ); Union des juifs pour la résistance (UJRE); Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO).

while awaiting resettlement. UNRRA adopted the term as a legal category, but due to the difficulties of obtaining legal recognition of their displacement (an issue which continues to plague refugee relief efforts to this day) many DPs existed as DPs without the proper paperwork or legal determination of their status. Thus, the term was used both among Jewish DPs themselves and those providing assistance to DPs, to describe those individuals who could not return to their nation of origin after the war, and therefore continued to live in displacement, awaiting the opportunity for resettlement.

subventioned by the American Joint Distribution Committee, in France, I found a situation that was well-nigh [504] miraculous in view of the children's past experiences. Here were no monsters, no savages, no psychotics.

But I soon discovered that these children had serious emotional problems, usually of a neurotic nature. They would have been distinctly abnormal not to have had them. To have lived, as these children had, in Hitler's Europe, was to have inhabited a world where all the accepted modes of human intercourse had been destroyed and all moral standards subverted.

But the behavior patterns formed by these children during the years when they had struggled for sheer survival could not be lumped together in an over-all syndrome labeled "the DP mind." The patterns were too diverse.

A very different psychological analysis was needed for each group – for those who came out of the concentration camps, those who had hidden in the forests during the Nazi occupation, those who had been taken into Gentile homes and had lived under the protection of foster parents, those who had been concealed in convents and monasteries. Nevertheless, there was one common denominator that, to a greater or lesser degree, existed for all DP's, adults and children alike: emotional numbness or shallowness.

I WAS especially impressed by this when I interviewed the children. Each one of them told me the most tragic and bloody stories in a tone of the utmost detachment, even nonchalance, as though they were telling me about some very unimportant event, something that had happened long ago and to someone they hardly knew. At first sight these children resembled schizophrenics, so completely did their capacity for emotional life seem to have vanished. But closer examination revealed that this emotional state was far different from schizophrenia. The French psychiatrist E. Minkowski⁸ has called this state "affective anesthesia," and it is developed as a defense against the daily dangers and anxieties to which both those in the concentration camps and those in hiding were continuously exposed. This emotional anesthetization was not necessarily the result of long years of numbing terror. In many cases it appeared instantaneously, as the result of a sharp and overpowering trauma.

8 Eugène Minkowski (1885–1972) was a Jewish psychiatrist born in St. Petersburg, raised in Warsaw, and educated in Breslau, Göttingen, and Munich. He volunteered in the French Army during the First World War; after the war, he moved to Paris with his family and adopted French citizenship. Minkowski is known for his incorporation of phenomenology into psychopathology, his exploration of the notion of "lived time," and his research on schizophrenia more generally.

In the case histories I accumulated in Europe and which were later augmented by our psychiatric team in Cyprus,* this basic emotional configuration crops up again and again. I remember one case – I could cite hundreds – that dramatically expresses what is at work here. The child was about five years old when the persecution of Jews started in her region. Before her parents were taken away by the Nazis, they managed to place the child in the home of some friendly Ukrainian peasants. As the child told me: “I did not look like a Jewish girl, so my parents told me to go to some Ukrainian neighbors and make myself useful by minding their livestock for them.” Several days later, while she was in a field with the cattle, a Ukrainian boy passed and showed her a photograph of her father attached to an identity card. When she asked him where he had found it, he told her that the man whose picture this was had just been killed. The child said: “I wanted to cry, but I was afraid to cry because he would have known that I was a Jewish girl if I did. So I didn’t cry.” The Ukrainian boy then led her to a nearby wood and there she saw her parents, her brothers, and many other Jews lying dead in a freshly excavated pit. “There was so much blood around, I got frightened. I wanted to cry, but again I was afraid that they might kill me.” She hid in a cornfield in order to be alone and cry, but soon some people came by and she again had to stifle her tears. When I saw her four and a half years later in a foster home in France, she still could not cry – she had forgotten how.

Her story, unfortunately, is quite typical. Almost all the surviving children I saw had [505] forgotten how to cry; they had lost the ability to respond with spontaneous emotion to life. Yet, and again I must emphasize this, one could scarcely call them psychotic. Indeed, their vitality in other areas and their eagerness for learning spoke against such a diagnosis. Of course, the repression of emotion is not new to psychopathology; psychiatrists observe it in their everyday practice. But what was new and unusual here was the state of utter apathy in which we found great numbers of children – apathy founded on the wholesale and deep suppression of anxiety. One youth leader aptly described the psychological state of the survivors: “Although the behavior of these children and their vitality seem normal in every respect, they carry deep inside them a cold panic.”

When such a long-harbored anxiety breaks through, because of some fresh shock or new traumatic situation, then it resembles somewhat the so-called combat fatigue cases that we saw in the recent war. In fact, in Cyprus I encountered several “nervous breakdowns” among the children who had

* On my mission to Cyprus I was accompanied by a psychologist and a psychiatric social worker from the United States. This team was matched by a similar team from Palestine with Dr. Franz Bruehl as psychiatrist.

just arrived from Europe, and in almost every case their condition paralleled the war-time psychiatric pattern.⁹ Like the combat soldiers who during the tension of battle seldom cracked, but held up until they were in the security of a rear-area bivouac, these children waited until the threat of death was gone, and then, at the end of their resources, permitted the long-repressed anxieties to break through in manifest symptoms.

But such analogies are only tangentially illuminating. They cannot fully describe the psychological traumata of the survivors. The familiar categories in psychopathology would be fallacious. A number of facts militate against any such comfortable assurance.

THE SURVIVORS of the concentration camps, and especially the Jews, had been subjected to a psychological terror unprecedented in world history. David Rousset,¹⁰ a French survivor of the concentration camps, has described in his book, *Les jours de notre mort*, the special position assigned to the Jews in the concentration camp system. Beneath everyone – the political prisoners, the misfits, the criminals, the degenerates – stood the Jews. They were the plebeians of the entire structure, despised and mistreated not only by the Nazis but by all the other prisoners. When a new shipment of Jews came to the camps, Rousset relates, the other prisoners were filled with relief, since

9 David Rousset, *Le jours de notre mort*, Paris 1947, 118 f.

10 David Rousset (1912–1997) was a French Communist party member and journalist born to a Protestant minister in Roanne, France. He attended Sorbonne, earning a degree in literature before going on to become a correspondent for *Time* and *Fortune* magazines. During the war, Rousset joined the French Résistance. The Gestapo arrested him in 1943 and imprisoned him in Buchenwald concentration camp for dissemination of anti-Nazi propaganda. He was later sent to Neuengamme concentration camp, where he was assigned as a forced laborer in the camp's salt mines. After his liberation and repatriation to France, Rousset wrote the first account of the Nazi concentration camp universe, defining the Nazis' extermination program as a product of German ideology and a vital component of the German economy, as opposed to an aberration of war. Rousset did not distinguish between concentration camps and killing centers, asserting that both types of institutions were devised under the assumption that certain groups of people were less than human. He was also one of the first French intellectuals to denounce the Soviet Gulags as the direct and logical byproduct of totalitarianism; his writings on the subject led to his estrangement from the French Communist party. David Rousset, *L'univers concentrationnaire*, Paris 1946; idem, *The Other Kingdom*, transl. by Ramon Guthrie, New York 1947; idem, *A World Apart*, transl. by Yvonne Moyses, London 1951.

they knew that it meant a brief respite for themselves; the Jews would absorb a major share of the blows – at least for a time.¹¹

One can epitomize the Jews' experience in the concentration camps by a single statement: they were abandoned by the others, and then they abandoned themselves. Except for those deeply religious and mystical, the Jews had neither ideological support (as did the political prisoners) nor the comfort and sustenance of a group (as did the criminals). Freud has claimed that culture has been built on the ruins of the primitive instinctual drives.¹² The concentration camp, that sadistic embodiment of all that is hostile to culture, was in its turn built upon the ruins of the social instinct; and it is no wonder that those people who went through the concentration camps were forced by a crushing set of circumstances to stifle and almost wholly destroy the cultural instinct – the instinct of sociability that binds together all community life with the ties of love and affection – in order to survive.

Human beings simply do not exist in such a situation without making profound internal readjustments. One cannot live for years in a world in which one man kills another for a cigarette, in which cannibalism is a reality, and then revert instantly on liberation to the man one was before. In view of all this, it is truly amazing that the DP's whom we found in Europe were capable of any social expression at all. At the same time, it is impossible to understand the DP as he is now, whether he was an inmate of the camps or not, if one does not understand clearly the enormous dislocation of the spirit Nazi terror wrought in him. Any other evaluation of the DP is motivated more by sentimental considerations than [506] by a forthright desire to face the facts; and unless one faces these uncomfortable and irksome facts, one cannot hope to help the DP's with the proper sympathetic understanding.

To psychoanalysts, who are accustomed to think in terms of ego strength, that is, an ego able to establish more and more defenses so as not to disintegrate when confronted by overwhelming and extreme situations, the survivors of the concentration camps pose a certain problem. We know that the function of the ego is to mediate between the demands of our instincts

11 See also Document 14.

12 Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) was an Austrian neurologist who founded the clinical method of assessing and treating pathologies thought to originate from conflicts in the psyche, known as psychoanalysis. Freud theorized that drive is “the psychical representative of the stimuli originating from within the organism and reaching the mind, as a measure of the demand made upon the mind for work in consequence of its connection with the body.” Sigmund Freud, *Instincts and Their Vicissitudes* [1915], in: James Strachey (ed./transl.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. XIV: 1914–1916, London 1957, 109–140, here 122.

and the prohibitions of our inculcated conscience. However, when, as in the concentration camps, the conscience – that social department of the ego, or what psychoanalysis calls the superego – was continually overruled and negated, the ego did not grow stronger. All that did grow stronger was the instinct for self-preservation, and that at the expense of every other drive.

It is well known that prisoners in concentration camps evidenced severe loss of sexual function from the moment of “initial shock” on entering the camps, a fact many writers, old inmates of concentration camps, have already described.¹³ Until liberation, when the death threat was finally lifted, most of the men were impotent. It has also been reported that even nocturnal emissions took place only on those days when the prisoner was transferred to the relative safety of the concentration camp’s hospital. For the majority of women menstruation was seriously disturbed or ceased; the normal menstrual cycle was resumed only after liberation. This sexual withdrawal of the organism was but one reflection of the deep psychic regression among the inmates of the concentration camps.

In Cyprus, where conditions harked back to the Nazi camps – as we will have an opportunity to discuss later – sexual dysfunctions similar to those in the concentration camps could also be observed. Many of the men we examined stated that they had become impotent soon after their arrival there. And the majority of adolescents even went so far as to lose all fantasies about sex; those who had begun to masturbate after liberation ceased to do so as soon as they reached Cyprus. True, the crowded conditions and the lack of privacy favored the avoidance of all open sexual activity, yet this was not sufficient to explain the lack of all fantasies and desires as well.

Rorschach tests¹⁴ taken among the Cyprus inmates showed in all cases a profound sexual repression, accompanied by underlying anxiety. Supervisors of the children reported that all the adolescents seemed curiously uninterested in sexual matters. It would appear that the children who came to the concentration camps before puberty or during the latency period all evidenced the marks of delayed psychosexual development. In many cases the girls did not start to menstruate until a year after they had left the concentration

13 See, e.g., Viktor Frankl, *Man’s Search for Meaning: Experiences in a Concentration Camp*, Boston, Mass., 1959, 51 f.; first published in German as *Ein Psycholog erlebt das KZ* (Vienna 1946).

14 The Rorschach test is a projective psychological tool in which individuals are shown inkblots and asked to describe what they see; these perceptions are recorded and then analyzed using psychological interpretation, complex algorithms, or both. The method is used by some psychologists to examine a person’s personality characteristics and emotional functioning.

camps, sometimes at the age of 17 or even 18; and in a few instances married women of 18 or 19 had not yet menstruated. Interviews seem to confirm the assumption that the same regressive phenomena observed on Cyprus existed to a greater degree in the German concentration camps.

One may well wonder whether Ferenczi's theory¹⁵ that the latency period of sexual development is a heritage of the rigors of the long and threatening glacial epoch, has not found an ironic and tragic confirmation in the emotional effects of the Hitler dictatorship, surely a modern "ice age."

ONE of many similar stories might be cited to demonstrate the distortion of the ego. In Cyprus I interviewed a twenty-three year old girl who had been in Auschwitz. Her whole family had been killed. At first, she had been put to work in the kitchen, carrying food to the sick. Later, however, she was transferred to the crematorium staff. Her job was to hand towels to the women who were lined up naked every day "to go for a bath." This was the Nazis' version,¹⁶ and she accepted it. Women from her village passed through and never returned, yet she had so completely blocked off the dreadful reality that she refused to believe that they were actually going into a death chamber. When she told me this story, she could not understand how she could have been so "stupid." And when, after a few conversations with me, she began to remember the cries and screams of the children who had been herded past her, her astonishment grew over her apparent inability to grasp and react to the true situation when it was taking place.

15 Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933) was a Hungarian-Jewish psychoanalyst and one of the seminal theorists of the psychoanalytic school of thought. He and Sigmund Freud were close associates, though the two came to adopt differing approaches to psychoanalysis, with Ferenczi advocating for what he and Viennese psychoanalyst Otto Rank (1884–1939) called "here-and-now" psychotherapy, which would later become the foundation for person or client centered therapy developed by Carl Rogers (1902–1987) in the 1940s and 1950s. Here the author references Ferenczi's contribution to the theory of psychosexual development, in which Freud recognized four stages of human development punctuated by pauses, or periods of sexual latency, between the ages of eight to ten years old and 13 to 17 years old. Ferenczi suggested that these periods of sexual latency were an evolutionary byproduct of the Ice Age. Sigmund Freud, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*, transl. by Abraham A. Brill, New York 1910 (first Leipzig/Wien 1905); Sándor Ferenczi, *Thalassa. A Theory of Genitality*, New York 2018 (first published in *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* in 1938).

16 In building the gas chambers at Auschwitz, the extermination centers, and numerous concentration camps including Dachau, the Nazis disguised the rooms as bathing facilities by installing showers.

It is clear that the reality had been simply too horrible for the girl to contemplate. She had to deny it, not partially or by some small ruse, but totally and without leaving a shred or trace of it to disturb her half-smothered conscience. Otherwise she could not survive. But when she appears before us as a DP in need of help, facing the need to readjust to life, then we must remember this crippling denial of reality and the profound distortion of the social sense that it inevitably entails.

This girl's experience can stand as a kind of archetype for all. To one degree or another, they have all stifled their true feelings, they have all denied the dictates of conscience and social feeling in the hope of survival, and they have all been warped and distorted as a result.

So the therapeutic measures recommended for this particular case have a general application and significance. First of all, the girl must be made to remember the *facts* and not the fantasy of the situation in the anteroom of the death chamber. Although in everyday psychiatric practice this is a routine matter, the use of such methods for the victims of Hitler's persecution may seem unnatural and cruel. Yet this is the only road back to psychological health. Such a feat of remembering is, in truth, both impossible and cruel except in an atmosphere of love and understanding that will bolster the patient's weakened confidence and carry her through the first stages of the inevitable shock. The task is to bring her back into human society after her experience on its outermost edges – the concentration camps. To achieve this, she must be surrounded by people who understand and love her and sympathize with her difficulties. Above all, she must be given the feeling that a community of fellow human beings is ready to welcome her as an equal and comrade and will find her useful work to engage her full capacities as a human being.

In his brilliant analysis of modern civilization's destructive drives, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Sigmund Freud described the profoundest and most frightening war of all, the war between the forces of Eros – the societal and libidinous instincts – and the forces of destructive sadism.¹⁷ But in his most apocalyptic moment Freud could never have imagined that his prophetic words would in the next few years be given such horrible actuality. Never before has the still, small voice of conscience been reduced to so spectral, so ineffectual a whisper – not only in the victimizers but in their victims. Psychoanalysis has always known that civilization was fighting a desperate

17 Sigmund Freud first published *Civilization and Its Discontents* in 1930 in Vienna; the German-language original is titled *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*. The book is considered one of his most important and widely read works and has been translated into many different languages.

action against overwhelmingly powerful forces, but we never believed that their “superiority” would be so terribly proven.

So the importance of rehabilitating the DP’s is much more than that of salvaging one small group of human beings who have suffered. It is a project that has significance for the whole world; it is, indeed, a reassertion of our belief that the civilizing forces in man may yet win to victory. We cannot expect this to happen quickly or easily. Inevitably, the survivors’ steps back to civilization will be faltering and confused, with many mistakes and setbacks. They are all a prey to anxiety, distrust, and hatred. They have all accumulated a great amount of repressed hostility and aggressiveness, for which they could find no outlet during the years of persecution.

AGAINST the background of such an analysis the problem of the rehabilitation of DP’s may become clearer; it also becomes more difficult. There is no half-measure that will answer. To attempt to revive the emotional life of people who continue to live in the precarious and threatening atmosphere [508] of the DP camps of Europe or incarcerated on the purgatorial island of Cyprus, hemmed in by barbed wire and armed guards in an ominous reenactment of the German chapter of their torture, might appear an impossible undertaking. Yet there has been some good and effective work, which has resulted in amazing readjustments and recoveries.

On the other hand, those who were able to go immediately after liberation to Palestine or the United States or some other free environment have shown that they are capable of regaining their balance and health in a very short time. As opposed to these quick recoveries, most survivors who have had to remain in the camps under continuous regimentation have grown more anxious and aggressive. Despite all that continues to be done for them, they see themselves betrayed and abandoned a second time.

The camps on Cyprus are even worse in their effects. In contrast to the DP camps in Europe, inmates are not permitted outside the gates; and many other features are reminiscent of the German concentration camps. Situated on a strip of barren, sun-scorched earth where the scarcity of water is always a source of anxiety, the immigrants are confined in circumstances of overcrowding and restriction of the worst kind. As ought to have been expected, the barbed wire of Cyprus has cruelly resulted in bringing back to many of the immigrants, either by association or by the re-stimulation of ingrained, conditioned responses, some of the behavior patterns of the concentration camps.

Anxieties which were held in abeyance for many years now erupt to the surface. The majority of the complaints are of a psychosomatic nature, all of them accompanied by mild or acute anxiety states.

It was the cases of acute anxiety – the “breakdowns” – among the children, which enabled us, on our trip to Cyprus, to persuade the “leaders” of the young that we had a useful function and that these individual cases might help them to a greater understanding of the general problems.

LEADERSHIP – as provided by the adults assigned by relief or other agencies to guide and take care of separate groups of children – is a crucial matter for the DP’s. As can be imagined, after the long years of persecution and confinement, with all instincts subservient to that of survival, the DP’s had developed habits of complete dependency and infantilism. When I first encountered DP children in France, I was told by the supervisors of the foster homes that the children formed tightly knit groups presenting a solid phalanx of hostility and suspicion to everyone outside their group. I soon discovered, however, that even within these groups, they had no ties of affection, no friends, no love for one another; they simply huddled together out of habit and extreme fear. In this situation, proper leadership was important, for one misstep could throw back a whole program for weeks.

In the children’s village in Cyprus (Kfar Hanoar)* we were able to study closely the relations between the children and their adult leaders. These ranged in type from groups that were cohesive, disciplined, and well-organized to those that were disorderly and near disintegration. Invariably, after examining three or four children in a group, we could determine in advance what kind of leader was at the head of the group. The children unflinchingly reflected the anxieties of their leaders.

One group of children we studied was outstanding for its excellent discipline – not the kind of unthinking, rigid discipline practiced by the Irgunists¹⁸

* At the time of my visit to Cyprus, the Youth Aliyah had segregated some two thousand children, mostly orphans between the ages of five and eighteen, in a camp of their own.

18 The Irgun was an armed Jewish underground organization formed in 1931 by a group of Haganah commanders that splintered from the organization in protest of its defense policies. In April 1937, the Irgun split in the midst of the Arab riots, with about half of the members returning to Haganah. The remaining half renamed their organization *Irgun zva’i le’umi* (National Military Organization, abbr. Etzel). Etzel derived its ideological platform from the Revisionist movement, recognizing the authority of that movement’s leader, Vladimir Ze’ev Jabotinsky (1880–1940). In February 1944, the organization declared war against the British administration, staging numerous attacks targeting the government, military, and police. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, in August 1948, Etzel high command agreed to integrate into the

and other extremist groups, but a discipline based on understanding and affectionate relationships. Children in this group with artistic abilities were given free rein to develop them. Moreover, all of them answered our questions with a unique frankness and lack of suspicion. All this was due to their *madrich*¹⁹ or leader, a young man of twenty-seven who, though not a trained psychologist, had great intuitive [509] understanding and insight. When he had first organized the group in Rumania, the children were wild and undisciplined. Then, as he himself put it, he had devised a scheme “by which the restlessness and aggressiveness of the children could find proper outlets.” He took them on hikes, went mountain climbing with them, kept them on the move until they had calmed down. Only after this preliminary maneuver did he begin his educational program.

In contrast to this group which was so cohesive and well integrated, were many others whose leaders demanded blind obedience of each child, and the personal devotion and dependence of each child. If the group had any cohesion, it was only because of this; there was no affection among the children. One such leader told me she regarded herself as a mother substitute. Well, even mothers and fathers are known to be aggressive, and this leader certainly was.

From such practical work we learned that the role of the leader could be likened to that of a catalyst, activating a process of sympathy and group cohesion. If the leader was able to create affectionate attachments within the group and divert aggressive impulses into constructive outlets, his chief goal had been reached. The test of a leader’s effectiveness was not his indispensability, but, on the contrary, the ease with which he could be replaced.

There was another youth leader who had brought her group from Poland to Cyprus. At the beginning the children had offered great resistance to her and wanted to return to their Gentile foster parents, though these no longer

newly formed Israel Defense Forces. Emanuel Melzer, Art. Revisionist Zionists, in: Hundert (ed.), YIVO Encyclopedia, vol. 2, 1555–1557; Aviva Halamish, Art. Exodus, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 2, 554–562.

19 *Madrikh* (Heb., pl. *madrikhim*), an individual charged as guide, leader, or assistant for Jewish youths in the context of religious schooling. Mentor-guides instructed and cared for DP youths living on the various Zionist kibbutzim and *hakhsharot* (Heb., lit. preparation, here: agricultural training farms; sg. *hakhsharah*) established in and around the camps to prepare young DPs for life in Palestine. Additionally, *shlihim* (Heb., messengers, emissaries; sg. *shaliah*), highly trained emissaries from Palestine and later Israel, were dispatched by the Jewish Agency to teach about the Land of Israel as well as issues and matters of Jewish national and religious self understanding.

had a place for them. She told us that she was often compelled to lock the doors to prevent them from running away. She believed, however, that all the children's conflicts had been solved and that she had been successful in bringing them back to a faith in Judaism. When I pointed out that the children still kept crosses and prayer books underneath their pillows, she brushed this aside as an innocuous addiction to souvenirs. Unfortunately, after having discussed this particular problem with many of these children, I found it impossible to be as optimistic. Many of them had deep conflicts concerning their Jewishness, which for years had been a secret whose betrayal might mean death – conflicts which would require long study and therapy before they could disappear.

In fact, as a result of the identification that had sprung up during the Hitler years between these children and their Christian foster parents, a new secret Jew, a kind of Marrano²⁰ in reverse, had appeared on the scene. Many of these children exhibited anti-Semitic behavior. The case history of a boy of ten in liberated Warsaw came to my attention. He was the greatest anti-Semite in his school, constantly declaring that Hitler should have killed all the Jews. So difficult a disciplinary problem was he that he was given a psychiatric examination. It was discovered that the boy was Jewish and that he had been hidden in a closet for three years by non-Jews. In the European camps I also met children who admitted that they had been maltreated by their foster parents, yet still wished to return to them: in the world of the jungle that was Europe in the war years, the non-Jewishness of the foster parents had been the children's only security.

THE PROCESS of adjustment, of course, is by no means an easy one. For example, one boy of thirteen, when he first arrived at a kibbutz in Palestine, ran away again and again. When I asked him why he ran away, he could not tell me. But when I asked him why he had finally decided to stay, he pointed

20 The term "Marrano" refers to descendants of Jews living in Portugal and Spain in the 14th and 15th centuries who, in order to escape increasingly oppressive persecution and, ultimately, the Inquisition and a death sentence, converted to Christianity, but were suspected of continuing to practice Judaism in secret. Many Jews during this period did in fact convert to avoid the persecutory laws while continuing to secretly practice Judaism. The word appeared around the time of the first riots in the *Juderías*, or Jewish quarters, of Spain. It is unclear whether converted Jews referred to themselves as *Marrano* at the time, but the term was later embraced by their descendants as a badge of honor. David Graizbord, Art. Conversos, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*. vol. 2, 103–108.

to the woman in charge of the children: a middle aged woman who was one of the original founders of the kibbutz.

In another kibbutz I visited, I was particularly interested in a group of children I had met in Cyprus and who had been sheltered during the war by Gentile foster parents. Earlier I had found many of them still attached to their foster parents yet feeling at the same time a sense of guilt. It was a crucial difficulty for them, and I was impressed by the way their problems were handled by a kibbutz leader. This youth leader, who [510] seemed to have a deep understanding of the children's conflicts, asked them upon their arrival to write letters to their former foster parents thanking them for their years of care, telling them about their present lives, and so re-establishing contact with them.

If this gifted woman and man represent the best leaders in Palestine, they also demonstrate, by contrast with other leaders – unfortunately too *many* – Palestine's most urgent problem, that of the character of its leadership. It was Hans Beyth,²¹ one of the most gifted leaders of the Youth Aliyah²² – to the misfortune of all Palestine, he was recently killed by the Arabs after convoying a group of children to Haifa – who stressed this to me, and doubtless his appraisal of the situation is correct. We already know how easy it is for aggressive ideologies to gain a hold among frustrated and anxiety-ridden immigrants. Undoubtedly much of the attraction exerted by the Irgun and Stern²³ groups and their pernicious effect on the Palestine community can

21 Hans Beyth (1901–1947) born in Bleicherode, Germany, worked as a banker and later became a Zionist activist. Following the Nazis' rise to power, he joined the Youth Aliyah (Heb., lit. ascent, meaning immigration to Palestine) and resettled in Palestine in May 1935. He worked as the representative of Youth Aliyah in Germany and as an aide to its director Henrietta Szold (1860–1945). When Szold died in 1945, Beyth took over as director, serving from 1945 until his death.

22 Youth Aliyah, established in 1933, was initially founded by Recha Freier (1892–1984) as a work study training program, but it developed into an organization dedicated to saving Jewish children from the Nazi regime. Its activities were supervised by Freier in Berlin and Henrietta Szold, leader and founder of Hadassah (the Zionist, Jewish women's organization in the United States), in Jerusalem.

23 The Stern Group, also known as the Stern Gang, was an armed underground organization founded by Avraham Stern (1907–1942) in June 1940 when he and fellow members of Etzel left the organization in response to its declaration of a truce against the British during the war. The Stern Group declared a continuation of war against British Mandate authorities, opposed voluntary enlistment of Jews into the British Army, and went as far as to contact representatives of the Axis powers, leading to its reputation among the Allied powers as a "fifth column" of spies. Reacting to this reputation, British authorities pursued and killed leading Stern Group members,

be traced to psychological causes of the kind we have described. In times like ours, especially amid such a convulsive and precarious state of affairs as now exists in Palestine, it is not difficult for demagogues to divert the great load of suppressed aggression into anti-social channels. Some “realistic” people may indeed regard the war in Palestine as an excellent safety valve for the immigrants. And yet every psychiatrist knows that such a discharge of aggressive feelings never has a lasting and beneficial effect. The problem for Palestine, as for the world, is to find in peacetime a “moral equivalent of war.”

Much of the divisiveness and bitter hostility of the extremist groups in Palestine can only be explained in terms of deep psychological and irrational motivations. Time and again in the camps I came across outright expressions of hatred by one Jewish group of another, and many even expressed hatred of the relief organizations, whom they blamed for all their hardships and suffering. For years they had been subjected to the most terrible punishments at the hands of a seemingly omnipotent and invulnerable figure: the Nazi master. They had stored up great quantities of unexpressed hostility which had never been loosed on their real enemy. What then took place is what psychoanalysis calls *displacement* – the hostility which should have been directed at the Nazis was now poured forth on the very people endeavoring to help them. And the hostility was released all the more easily because the DP’s, like children who attack adults when they are sure they will not be punished for it, knew that there was little fear of retaliation.

ALL these important points must await a further elaboration. But I trust that even in this all too cursory treatment I have succeeded in pointing up the need for planned education and psychological guidance in order to recreate in these thousands of people the ability to live free and mature lives. Unfortunately, conditions in Israel today dictate an intense preoccupation with the rifle. However, if the proper program of education and mental hygiene can be instituted in a peaceful Israel, we will have reason to hope that the accumulated aggressiveness of the remnant may be harnessed to productive activities and the cultivation of the arts of peace.

including Avraham Stern. Remaining members renamed the organization *Loḥame Ḥerut Yisra’el* (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, abbr. Lehi) and resumed operations against British authorities, with some short interruptions, until the end of the Mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Israel Bartal, Art. Land of Israel, in: Hundert (ed.), YIVO Encyclopedia, vol. 1, 970–975.

When I reported on our findings last year in Tel Aviv to a joint meeting of the Neuropsychiatric Association of Israel²⁴ and all the welfare organizations concerned with the problems of adjustment and rehabilitation of immigrants, I met with profound understanding. The government of Israel has shown itself eager to establish an effective program of mental hygiene; the recent visits to the United States of delegates of the Israel government with the purpose of sponsoring this work is the best testimony to their comprehension of this vital project. A large committee has recently been set up in New York, consisting of psychiatrists, psychologists, and lay people, to assist in the task; in this as in so many other fields, close collaboration between American and Israeli specialists is essential to success.

Document 8

Hermann O. Pineas, "Die Seelenverfassung ehemaliger politischer KZ-Haeftlinge mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der juedischen"

Landsberg am Lech, February 10, 1946

Typewritten lecture, 6 pages; handwritten corrections and underlinings

Language: German

LBI Archives, New York, AR 4197 (Jews in Germany after 1945 Collection)

[Pineas describes the psychological state of former political concentration camp inmates, with a particular focus on Jewish survivors. As the Allied armies liberated the concentration camps in the spring of 1945, they found inmates in inhumane conditions, reduced to skin and bones, often crawling on all fours, and surviving on refuse and excrement. The liberation brought a mixture of relief and disorientation, as survivors experienced initial euphoria followed by deep psychological trauma. The prolonged exposure to death, starvation, and constant fear had left them in a state of extreme mental and emotional exhaustion. Pineas contrasts the experience of soldiers with those of camp inmates, noting the latter's complete powerlessness and lack of any means of defense. Despite this, survivors did not succumb to madness, demonstrating the resilience of the human spirit. After liberation, many struggled with the traumatic memories, and some fell into pessimism and lethargy. Pineas emphasizes the need for rebuilding their lives through productive work and looking toward Palestine as a new hope to overcome their deep-seated anguish and restore their dignity.]

24 The Neuropsychiatric Association of Israel was an organization of Israeli professionals in the field of neuropsychiatry which is no longer in existence.

DIE SEELENVERFASSUNG EHEMALIGER POLITISCHER KZ-HAEFTLINGE MIT BESONDERER BERUECKSICHTIGUNG DER JUEDISCHEN

Vortrag von Dr. Herman Pineas²⁵ (seinerzeit Memmingen (Allgau)) auf der ersten Zusammenkunft juedischer Aerzte in der amerikanischen Zone am 10. Februar 1946 in Landsberg am Lech.²⁶

Als in den Fruhjahrensmonaten des Jahres 1945 die alliierten Armeen die Hoellentore der Konzentrationslaeger oeffneten, trafen sie dort auf Wesen, die mit dem Begriff „Mensch“ vielleicht noch den Namen, aber sonst nichts gemein hatten. Sie bestanden buchstaeblich aus Haut und Knochen, aber auch die Haut war noch vielfach mit Geschwueren bedeckt, von Kratzwunden zerrissen oder hing faltig wie bei einer Leiche an den Knochen. Von Fettpolster oder Muskulatur war keine Rede. Aber der oft zitierte „aufrechte“ Gang, durch den sich der Mensch von den Tieren unterscheidet: was war aus ihm vielfach geworden? Zusammengesunken, vornueber gebeugt, oft auf allen Vieren kriechend: so fand man die Opfer Hitlers vor.

Wen kann es wundern, dass diese Wesen sich von sonst ekelerregenden Abfaellen aller {A}rt und sogar Exkrementen ernaeht hatten, dass sie von gefallenen und verendeten Tieren Fleischstuecke abrissen, um sie als Leckerbissen zu hueten und ihr elend gewordenes Leben damit zu fristen!

25 Hermann O. Pineas (1878–1975) was a German-Jewish neurologist born in Düsseldorf. When the Nazis rose to power, Pineas was practicing medicine in Berlin, where he lived with his wife Herta (née Appel; 1898–?). The two survived the war by going underground with falsified documents, settling in Memmingen in the Allgäu region; Pineas hid in plain sight under the assumed identity of Hans Günther, working as a salesman at the tool and machine factory Wilhelm Stehle. After liberation, the couple headed to Berlin, where they faced some difficulty in reclaiming their original names and proving their Jewish identity, a vital step in the process of reclaiming their prewar lives, filing claims for restitution, and securing housing, among other things. In 1946, Pineas and his wife left Germany and settled in New York. Hermann O. Pineas, [Erinnerungen, 1933–1944], in: LBI Archives, New York, ME 502 (LBI Memories Collection), 76 pp., and *ibid.*, AR 94 (Hermann Pineas Collection).

26 The congress was held under the auspices of the U.S. Military Government from February 9 to 11. In eleven lectures, ten physicians, among them Solomon Nabriski (1904–?) from the DP hospital in St. Ottilien and Lazar Goldstein (1901–1981), reported on the physical and psychological consequences of camp imprisonment as well as on experiments carried out by Nazi doctors in the concentration camps.

Wir sprechen nicht von den Millionen, die den raffiniert ausgedachten Martern schliesslich zum Opfer fielen. Sie haben gewiss den Tag des Todes herbeigesehnt und ihn mit Koheleth²⁷ besser als den Tag der Geburt empfunden. Welches aber war die seelische Verfassung der UEBERLEBENDEN in den Tagen ihrer Befreiung?

Um hier zu antworten, haben wir uns vorher zu fragen: welcher Art waren denn die Eindruecke, die in den vielen vorangegangenen Jahren auf diese Menschen eingewirkt hatten, von denen Millionen Juden waren?

Was hatten diese erlebt seit dem 1. September 1939 in Polen, seit dem |2| 10. April 1940 in Daenemark und Norwegen, seit dem 10. Mai desselben Jahres in Holland, Belgien und Luxemburg, seit dem 23. Juni 1941 in Russland?

Dasselbe, was man den deutschen Juden schon seit 1933 beibringen wollte: dass Judesein gleichbedeutend sei mit vernichtungswertem Verbrecher. Die Unbefangenheit, diese reizvolle Gabe des Kindesalters: dem juedischen Kind in der Diaspora geht sie fruehzeitig verloren. Darum machen juedische Kinder in den Goluslaendern²⁸ einen fruehreifen, unkindlichen, zu erwachsenen Eindruck. Juedische Kinder in Osteuropa waren im Umgang mit Nichtjuden oft scheu, aengstlich, geduckt, aber sie hatten wenigstens nicht fuer ihr Leben zu fuerchten.²⁹ Mit dem Einmarsch der Deutschen, der Soldaten wie vor allem der SS, der Gestapo und ihrer Trabanten war jeder Jude, Mann und Fra{u}, Kind und Greis, in seinem Leben bedroht.

Was fuer Todesaengste jene Ungluecklichen an dem Tag durchzumachen hatten, an dem sie erschosse [sic] oder, wie es so sachlich hiess, „liquidiert“ wurden, wir wissen es nicht. Sie hatten jedenfalls nicht lange auf den Tod zu warten. Wie anders waren die Qualen derer, die erst ins Ghetto gesperrt, dann

27 The Hebrew word *kohelet* (lit. preacher) refers to the part of the Book of Ecclesiastes read during Sukkot, the Jewish holiday celebrating the gathering of the harvest. Pineas is likely referencing a verse Qoh 3:1–2, noting that people longed for the day of death: “There is a time for everything, a season for every activity under the heavens: a time to be born and a time to die ...”

28 *Goluslaender* refers to the Jewish diaspora; *goles* (Yidd.) means exile.

29 Here Pineas is making a point about the genocidal violence that marked the Nazi occupation and specifically targeted Jewish children. However, he fails to acknowledge that Jewish children in Eastern Europe feared for their lives in the decades before the German invasion as well, as reflected in the well-documented history of violence and pogroms across the region. Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Midst of Civilized Europe: The Pogroms of 1918–1921 and the Onset of the Holocaust*, New York 2021; Elissa Bemporad, *Legacy of Blood: Jews, Pogroms, and Ritual Murder in the Lands of the Soviets*, New York 2019; Steven J. Zipperstein, *Pogrom: Kishinev and the Tilt of History*, New York 2018.

in Lager geschleppt wurden, um dort unter Umstaenden jahrelang all den raffinierten sadistischen Martern und Quaelereien ausgesetzt zu sein, hinter denen als letzte Drohung der Verbrennungsofen stand!

Sie alle mussten stuedlich auf den Tod gefasst sein, wenn bei der „Selektion“ der Daumen des SS-Arzt es sie in den Haufen der zu Vernichtenden wies, und wenn sie vielleicht auch heute von diesem Geschick verschont bleiben: wer sollte sie das naechstmal [sic] vor dem Untergang bewahren? Man koennte einwenden, dass der Soldat an der Front ganz demselben Geschick ausgesetzt sei, doch nur ein Schwachkopf koennte dies ernsthaft behaupten. Der Soldat hat ja Waffen, mit denen er sich wehrt und dem Gegner dasselbe Schicksal bereiten kann, das der ihm zgedacht hat. Er hat ferner eine Fuehrung, die ihm die Unbilden des Krieges und seine Gefahren so gering wie moeglich zu machen sucht. Die Lage des KZlers mit der des Soldaten gleichzusetzen heisst den Verdacht erwecken, man wolle ihn noch ver- |3| hoehnen! War doch fuer ihn der einfache, gemeine (oft charakterlich zutreffende) SS-Mann ein Gott, wo er doch oft genug schon vor einem Kapo zittern musste! Eine Fuehrung gab es also schon fuer ihn, aber eine, die nur auf seine Vernichtung sann.

Welches aber waren die Waffen des KZlers? Sie konnten nach Lage der Dinge nur geistiger Art sein, bestanden also im wesentlichen aus der blitzschnellen Erfassung der jeweiligen Situation, ihrer Verwendung zum eigenen Vorteil, der Ausnutzung der Schwaeche des sich in verschiedener Form darstellenden Gegners und zweckentsprechender Reaktion darauf.

Es ist kein Zufall, dass in diesem Kampf auf Leben und Tod unsere polnischen Glaubens- und Stammesbrueder ihren westeuropaeischen Schicksalsgefaehrten hunderttausendfach ueberlegen waren.³⁰ Ich vermerke hier nur die Tatsache, ohne auf die Gruende einzugehen, die uns von unserem Thema zu weit entfernen wuerden.

So lebt der KZler vom Beginn jedes Tages bis zu seinem Ende ununterbrochen in intensivster seelischer Spannung und schwerstem Druck, ohne

30 Pineas' comments are reflective of the "Ostjuden" stereotype, which emerged in the late 19th century in response to migration as well as direct contact during the First World War. The term referred to the depiction of Jews from Eastern Europe as "backward" Jews who maintained their premodern traditions, in contrast to the more "enlightened" modern Jews of Western Europe. Anne-Christin Saß, Art. Ostjuden, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 4, 686–693. The stereotype also appeared in intra-Jewish discourse, as it does here. Pineas seems to be implying that the more "refined" Western European Jews were less prepared for the horrors of National Socialism than their Eastern European brethren, who were simpler and more accustomed to savagery and mistreatment. The tone of the comments is sarcastic, bitter, and complex.

Moeglichkeit des wirklichen Ausruhens, ohne Erholungspause, und das nicht fuer Tage oder Wochen, sondern stets fuer Monate und Jahre.

Haette ein Romanschriftsteller in einem seiner Werke Schicksale gezeichnet, wie sie hunderttausendfach in den Laegern schaurige Wirklichkeit geworden sind, und haette er die von ihm geschilderten Menschen wahnsinnig werden lassen, unter der erdrueckenden seelischen Belastung, unter der sie standen: jeder von uns waere von der inneren Wahrheit der Schilderung ueberzeugt und erschuettert gewesen. Aber in der Wirklichkeit sind die Ueberlebenden nicht wahnsinnig, nicht geisteskrank geworden, und mit heftiger Regung stellt man fest, dass selbst dies Uebermass von Teufeleien ein urspruenglich gesundes Gehirn nicht voellig ausser Funktion setzten kann.³¹

Menschen dieser seelischen Beschaffenheit erlebten nun das Wunder der Be- |4| freiung; sie, die der Vernichtung geweiht waren, kehrten ins Licht des Tages zurueck. Es ist nur zu gut zu verstehen, dass sie anfaenglich von diesem Licht geblendet wurden, und so sehen wir in den ersten Wochen nach der Befreiung, nachdem der koerperliche Hunger der vielen Elendsjahre notduerftig gestillt ist, nachdem man schlafen kann, wann und solange man will, diese Befreiten in den Doerfern und Staedten Deutschlands, wo sie sich in kleineren und groesseren Gruppen zusammen gefunden haben, in einer Art von stae{n}digem Rauschzustand, der fuer den mitfuehlenden Beobachter etwas Ruehrend-Erschuetterndes hat. Nun, wo das ewig Ertraeumte, aber fuer unmoeglich Gehaltene Wahrheit geworden ist, naemlich den Tag der Befreiung zu erleben, nu{n} ist ihnen alles erlaubt, und so sehen wir sie in staendiger Unruhe, sprunghaft in der Unterhaltung, sprunghaft im Denken, sprunghaft auch von einem Ort zum andern reisend.³²

31 Early findings by medical and psychiatric professionals repeatedly pointed to the “surprising” lack of psychosis among survivors. These early diagnoses stand in contrast to the reality of some survivors who would later find themselves committed to psychiatric asylums in Israel. For an example of early professional psychiatric diagnoses of survivors living in the DP camps, see Document 7.

32 Here Pineas suggests that Jewish survivors could do anything they desired following liberation, failing to acknowledge the reality that life in the DP camps, particularly in the first several years of the postwar era, remained highly regulated. Even as some survivors managed to travel between DP camps, across occupied Germany, and even across borders to search for family, life within the confines of the camp continued to be restricted. For example, barbed wire continued to surround the perimeter of many camps (some of which had been concentration and forced labor camps during the war), and DPs could not enter or exit the camp without permission. These conditions were well documented by Earl G. Harrison in his report to President Truman regarding the hardships faced by the displaced Jews living in Europe (Document 15).

Aber ist es bloss der Freiheitstaumel, der sie treibt, bloss das Entzuecken darueber, der Peitsche des Aufsehers entronnen zu sein? Nur der oberflaechliche Beobachter koennte sich dadurch taeuschen lassen. Hinter diesem oft so wild erscheinenden Gebaren, dieser Unruhe und Geschaeftigkeit steckt die Angst, die Angst vor der Wirklichkeit, die ihre naechsten Angehoerigen hingemordet und sie selbst mehr oder weniger allein zurueckgelassen hat. (Aber vielleicht ist doch jemand uebrig geblieben, vielleicht findet man doch in dem oder jenem juedischen Lager hier oder dort einen Angehoerigen, einen Freund, und so sehen wir in den Sommer- und Herbstmonaten des Jahres 1945 die geretteten KZler in allen Eisenbahnzuegen Deutschlands auf vielen Lastautos, oft in Personenwagen auf der Suche nach Ueberlebenden, und ab und zu finden sich wirklich einzelne Familienmitglieder zusammen, oft auf sehr merkwuerdige Weise.)³³

In den ersten Wochen nach der Befreiung musste man sich koerperlich von den durchgemachten Strapazen erholen. Der Tag, den man spaet anfang, verging mit gemaechlicher Einnahme der guten und reichlichen Mahlzeiten, die einem nun zur Verfuegung standen, mit Spaziergehen, Einkaufeufen, Besuchen |5| der Schicksalsgenossen, mit Unterhaltungen mit amerikanischen juedischen Soldaten, die sich nach Moeglichkeit um die juedischen Naziopfer kuummerteten und ihren Erzaehlungen mit Grauen lauschten.³⁴ Zwischen- durch machte man Musik, trank Schnaps, den man aufgetrieben hatte; so

33 Many survivors and Jews from abroad assisting in the rehabilitation and resettlement process have described the constant and visible movement of survivors throughout Europe in search of loved ones after the war (Document 10). See also United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (henceforth USHMM) Archives, Washington D.C., RG 50.470*0012, Interview with Abraham Klausner, recorded February 23, 1995.

34 Regarding the reference to “good and pentiful meals,” it is difficult to tell whether Pineas is speaking sarcastically; scholarship has demonstrated the reality that while, in terms of calories, the DPs had “enough” food, that food was generally deemed by the DPs to be unsatisfactory in terms of dignity and health. Usually, the food provided to DPs was often entirely insufficient; it was rarely kosher, especially in the first years following liberation, and DPs had trouble cooking with or preparing the food they received because they had never seen or used such ingredients before. The nutrition was thus repeatedly inedible for the DPs, regardless of how plentiful the distributed food may have appeared to Military Government officials and local Germans. Atina Grossmann, Grams, Calories, and Food: Languages of Victimization, Entitlement, and Human Rights in Occupied Germany, 1945–1949, in: *Central European History* 44, (2011), no. 1, 118–148; Hagit Lavsky, *In the Wake of Starvation: Jewish Displaced Persons and Food in Post-Holocaust Germany*, in: Anat Helman (ed.), *Jews and Their Foodways*, New York 2016, 28–45.

verging der Tag. Aber nun kamen die schlimmen Naechte, in denen man durch nichts abgelenkt wurde von den Bildern x des Furchtbaren, das man durchlitten, dem Anblick der Gemordeten, die man gekannt und geliebt hatte.

Uebereinstimmend sagen alle Geretteten, dass diese Naechte furchtbar waren und das gehoert auch heute noch nicht der Vergangenheit an.

Dann kamen Wochen, in denen diesen und jenen ein leises Gefuehl der Oede ueberfiel, ein Wunsch, nicht weiter die Zeit totzuschlagen, sondern etwas {zu} leisten. Aber arbeiten? Arbeiten fuer die Deutschen, diese Bluthunde, die so Unsaegliches verbrochen hatten? Unmoeglich! Wir wollen nichts mit ihnen zu tun haben. Wir hassen sie und moechten sie am liebsten alle umbringen.

Diese und aehnliche Aeusserungen konnte man in den ersten Wochen oft genug hoeren und man begriff sie.

Nein; dann lieber in die polnische Heimat zurueck, die ja jetzt eine freie Republik geworden sein sollte.

Neue, bittere Enttaeuschung! Die „Heimat“ empfaengt sie mit Abneigung und Widerwillen, zeigt ihnen, dass sie unerwuenscht sind, verleidet ihnen den Aufenthalt, bedroht sie, wenn sie ihren frueheren Besitz wieder an sich nehmen wollen, ja man schreckt nicht vor offener Gewalttat zurueck, sie ihres Eigentums zu berauben. – Enttaeuscht, verbittert, mutlos kehren sie zu ihren in Deutschland verbliebenen Kameraden zurueck.

Was soll nun werden? Gegen Ende des Jahres 1945 findet man bei vielen ausserhalb der DP-Lager lebenden juedischen KZlern einen tiefen Pessimismus bei den Aelteren, der sich ausdrueckt in dem Wort: „Mir zajn ain ferloren Folk.“³⁵ Die juengeren leben nichtstuerisch in den Tag hinein, wobei die Zeit mit Kartenspiel, Rauchen, Trinken und Verkehr mit deutschen Maedchen totgeschlagen wird, wenn man nicht gerade Handels- und Tauschgeschaefte be |6| treibt.³⁶

35 It is uncertain what Pineas means when he refers to “older” survivors, given how young most of the survivors were. On the average age of survivors, in particular those living in the DP camps, see Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*. Perhaps because of the timing of his observations, Pineas also does not discuss the majority of survivors, who had outlasted the war in in the Soviet Union and its Central Asian Soviet Republics rather than in concentration camps. On Jewish survival of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union, see Edele/Fitzpatrick/Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust*; Adler, *Survival on the Margins*.

36 Pineas’ statement here is a typical but unusually frank reference to the “demoralization” of DPs, using the word “Verkehr” with its double meaning of social as well as sexual intercourse.

Wie kann man gegen diesen gefaehrlichen Pessimismus angehen, wie diesen verderblichen Muessiggang der jungen Menschen bekaempfen? Nur dadurch, dass man ihnen neue Ziele gibt, vielmehr die alten Ziele neu belebt. Sie alle muessen wieder oder neu lernen, dass Arbeit kein Fluch wie bei den Nazis, sondern ein Segen ist, wenn man Arbeit fuer sich, seine Familie, sein Volk, fuer Erez Israel leistet. Dorthin, nach Palaestina wird man die Blicke dieser Menschen lenken muessen, um sie aus ihrer gefaehrlichen Lethargie aufzuwuetteln, in der sie zu versinken drohen, und man wird dies bald tun muessen, damit es nicht zu spaet wird.³⁷

Wir haben so die Anamnese erhoben, den Befund festgestellt, die Therapie angegeben. Welche Prognose koennen wir stellen?

Wir befinden uns hier in der schwierigen Lage des Forschers, der ein bisher unbekanntes Gebiet betritt und nun die Richtung des Weges angeben soll. Soweit wir wissen, sind Menschen in diesem Ausmass derartigen koerperlichen-seelischen Foltern nie ausgesetzt worden #, wie wir Juden unter den Nazis.

Wenige haben ueberlebt, aber wir haben den sicheren Eindruck, dass diese Wenigen, die Unmenschliches ueberstanden haben, faehig sein werden, wenn man sie nun in menschliche Verhaeltnisse bringt, wieder etwas zu leisten, produktiv zu sein im Aufbau ihrer eigenen Existenz, im Aufbau ihres Landes, und damit den Frieden zurueckzugeben ihrer in langen Jahren verwuesteten und geschaendeten Seele.

37 Pineas again diagnoses the demoralization and apathy among the DPs identified by Jewish leaders and elites, specifying Zionism and the return to the Land of Israel as the most effective therapy or cure. However, the role of Zionism in the everyday lives of Jewish DPs was much more complicated, with DPs often joining Zionist organizations and youth groups for more practical reasons, such as the desire to reestablish a sense of family, without necessarily having the ultimate goal of resettling in Palestine or, later, Israel. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

Document 9

Meyer-Ber Gutman,³⁸ “Without Joy”

Feldafing, 1946³⁹

Published poem, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Meyer-Ber Gutman, *Farvolknite teg* [Overcast Days], Bergen-Belsen 1949, 24

אַן פרייד

וואָס איז אַ לעבן אַן פרייד?
ווי אַ טויטע כלה אין חופּה קלייד,
ווי אַ האַרץ פּוּסט און לער,

38 Meyer-Ber Gutman (1897–?) was born in Łódź, then part of the Russian Empire, into an affluent family. He received both a traditional Jewish and a general secular education. Gutman later worked as an artisan, and was still living in Łódź when the war began in 1939. He was imprisoned in the Łódź ghetto until August 1944, when he was deported to Auschwitz. Liberated from Auschwitz in April 1945, he resided in Germany as a DP until 1951. While living in Germany, in addition to publishing his book *Farvolknite teg* (Overcast Days), containing the poem herein, Gutman published articles in the DP newspapers *Unzer sztyrne* (Our Voice) in camp Bergen-Belsen in 1946, and *St. otilier bleter* (St. Ottilien Pages) in 1947. In 1947 and 1948, he served as co-editor of *Tsoytn – zamlheft far literatur, kritik un geselshaftleke frages* (Fringes – Collection of Literature, Criticism, and Social Issues) in Bergen-Belsen. In 1951, Gutman immigrated to the United States, becoming a teacher in the Workmen’s Circle schools in Chicago. His later life, including the date and place of his death, remains unknown. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets.*, 241; Sophie Fetthauer, *Musik und Theater im DP-Camp Bergen-Belsen: Zum Kulturleben der jüdischen Displaced Persons 1945–1950*, Neumünster, 2012, 66 f.

39 Sources diverge on the date of publication of *Farvolknite teg*; however, the digital reproduction made available by the National Yiddish Book Center in collaboration with the Steven Spielberg Digital Yiddish Library, as well as the physical copy of the work held by the USHMM Archives, indicate that the work was published in Bergen-Belsen in 1949, listing the publisher as *Farlag “Aleyn”* (Publisher “Alone”), which was likely Gutman’s way of stating that he had self-published the work. The poem itself was written in 1946 in DP Camp Feldafing, as indicated at the bottom of the poem. Thomas Rahe, *Die jüdische DP-Zeitung Unzer Sztyrne und die Shoa*, in: Anne-Katrin Henkel/Thomas Rahe (eds.), *Publizistik in Jüdischen Displaced-Persons-Camps im Nachkriegsdeutschland: Charakteristika, Medientypen und bibliothekarische Überlieferung*, Frankfurt a. M. 2014, 75–95, here 88 f.

ווי אַ אויג אָן אַ טרער,
 ווי אַ נאַכט אָן שטערן,
 ווי אַ פרוי אָן באַגערן.
 ווי אַ וואַלד אָן געזאַנג,
 ווי אַ ליידגע זאַנג,
 ווי אַ האַרבסטיקע נאַכט,
 ווי אַ פאַרשפּילטע שלאַכט,
 ווי אַן אַדלער אָן פּליגל,
 ווי אַ ברייך אָן זיגל.
 ווי אַ שטוב אָן ליכט,
 ווי אַ פאַרוויינט געזיכט,
 ווי אַ מענטש, אַלט געבוירן.
 ווי אַ מעדל מיט טריבע אויגן.
 ◇◇◇

ווי אַ טויטע כלה אין חופּה קלייד –
 איז אַ לעבן אָן פּרייד.

פעלדאַפינג
 1946

Translation

Without Joy⁴⁰

What is life without joy?
 It's like a dead bride in a wedding gown,
 Like a heart that's hollow and empty,
 Like an eye with no tear to shed.
 Like a night without stars,
 Like a woman who has no desires.
 Like a wood without song,
 Like an empty ear of corn,
 Like a night in autumn,
 Like a lost battle.
 Like an eagle without wings,

40 Although it is not apparent in the English translation, the poem is written in couplets in the Yiddish original, which explains the repeated phrasing and specific word choices.

Like a letter with no seal,
 Like a home without light,
 Like a tear-stained face,
 Like a man bent with age,
 Like a girl with a bleak gaze.

◇◇◇

It's like a dead bride in a wedding gown,
 Life without joy.

Feldafing⁴¹

1946

Document 10

Ernst-Günter Fontheim, "Befreite Juden"

Berlin, September 6, 1946

Newspaper article, 2 pages; includes 4 photographs (not reproduced here)

Language: German

*Der Weg. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums,*⁴² *September 6, 1946 (vol. 1, no. 7), 5f.*

41 Feldafing was the first DP camp exclusively for Jewish DPs in the American Zone, as well as the site of the first elected Jewish camp committee. It comprised of DPs, was subdivided into numerous departments to deal with all issues in the camp, including housing, sanitation, culture, legal matters, etc. Feldafing's camp court was exceptional as well, having initiated a program to codify the camp's laws in 1946, which led to a movement to standardize law for all of the *She'erit Hapletah* in the American Zone. The court also played a role in investigating the perpetrators of the Kielce pogrom, publicized information about Nazis believed to have been in the vicinity who were responsible for the murder of Lithuanian Jews during the war, and adjudicated matters concerning a number of former Kapos living in the camp. Angelika Heider, *Das Lager für jüdische "Displaced Persons" Feldafing in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone 1945–1951*, unpublished MA thesis, University Berlin 1994; Simon Schochet, *Feldafing*, Vancouver 1983; Isaac Norich, *Life in the DP Camps: The Special Role of the JDC*, in: Rosensaft (ed.), *Life Reborn*, 43–47, here 46 f.

42 *Der Weg. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums* was a weekly published by and for the surviving Berlin Jewish Community founded in March 1946, edited by Hans-Erich Fabian (1902–1974) and Heinz Galinski (1912–1992). In 1947/1948 *Der Weg* had a circulation of around 10,000 copies; temporarily, a separate issue in Frankfurt

*Ernst-Günter Fontheim*⁴³
„Befreite Juden“

Mit einer tiefen Sehnsucht haben wir Juden ständig während des Krieges auf die Zeiten des kommenden Friedens geblickt. Im schwersten Unglück war der Glaube an die Erfüllung dieser Sehnsucht unser einziger Halt. An ihn klammerten wir uns wie an einen Strohalm. Niemand von uns hätte damals daran gezweifelt, daß nach dem Zusammenbruch unserer Feinde auch für uns wieder Zeiten der Sicherheit und Ruhe anbrechen würden. Wie groß ist daher unsere Trauer, wenn wir von ständig wachsenden Zahlen jüdischer Flüchtlinge hören, die Haus und Hof im Stich lassen, um ihr nacktes Leben zu retten, und die sich auf Wanderschaft begeben und somit das Lagerleben mit all seiner Unfreiheit und seinen Einschränkungen dem Verbleib am Heimatort vorziehen!⁴⁴

am Main was published with c. 2,500 copies. The newspaper continued after 1953 under various titles and was a predecessor of the *Jüdische Allgemeine*, which still exists today. Atina Grossmann, Home and Displacement in a City of Bordercrossers: Jews in Berlin 1945–1948, in: Leslie Morris/Jack Zipes (eds.), *Unlikely History: The Changing German-Jewish Symbiosis, 1945–2000*, New York 2002, 63–100, here 75 f.; Andreas Nachama, Der Weg: Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums. Referenzquelle für Jüdisches Leben in Berlin nach der Befreiung, in: Anja Siegemund/Michael Wildt (eds.), *Gedächtnis aus den Quellen: Zur jüdischen Geschichte Berlins*, Leipzig 2021, 150–159.

43 Ernst-Günter Fontheim (1922–2019) was born in Berlin to an Orthodox Jewish family. As a boy, he witnessed the burning of the Fasanenstraße Synagogue during the November Pogroms in 1938. After his parents and sister were arrested and deported to Auschwitz in 1943, Fontheim went underground, hiding in plain sight on the outskirts of Berlin as an “Aryan” German with forged papers. After his liberation by Soviet forces, Fontheim returned to Berlin, living there for several years before he immigrated to the United States, where he completed a PhD in physics and became a professor at the University of Michigan. See USHMM Archives, Washington D.C., RG 50.030*0450, Interview with Ernest Fontheim, recorded March 12 and June 4, 1997.

44 Here, and later in the document, Fontheim refers to the several hundred thousand repatriated Jewish refugees, mainly of Polish origin, who had fled from Nazi-occupied Europe eastward and survived the war, often in harsh conditions, in the Central Asian Soviet Republics and Siberia. Coming back to Poland after liberation, many of these Jewish survivors were met with violence as they attempted to return to their homes, especially after the Kielce pogrom in July 1946. As a result, numerous survivors left Poland leading to a massive influx of Jewish refugees into the DP camps in American-occupied Germany. Jews also left Romania, Hungary, and other Eastern and East-Central European countries in smaller numbers for similar reasons. Atina

Vor einigen Tagen nun stattete ich jenen unglücklichen Menschen in einem neuerrichteten Lager in Tempelhof⁴⁵ einen Besuch ab. Der Eingang zum Lager wird durch eine aus Insassen gebildete Lagerpolizei bewacht, die weiße amerikanische MP-Stahlhelme mit einem blauen Magen-David trägt.⁴⁶ Überall in den Lagerstraßen begegnet man ihren Patrouillen, die für Ruhe und Ordnung sorgen. Das Lager selbst ist in mehreren großen, zusammenhängenden Neubaublocks untergebracht, die durch ein Straßenkarree abgegrenzt werden. Gleich auf den ersten Blick hat man den Eindruck einer fürchterlichen Überfüllung. In den Straßen wimmelt es von Menschen, die alle ärmlich gekleidet sind und gehetzt aussehen. Ich besuchte viele Wohnungen. Durchschnittlich schlafen sechs bis acht Personen in einem Zimmer von der Größe 4 Meter mal 5 Meter. Auch die Küchen sind ebenso belegt. Nur selten sah ich einen Schrank, und nie Tisch oder Stuhl. Viele unserer Brüder sind seit Monaten – einige seit Jahren – auf einer ununterbrochenen Wanderschaft. Die Leute erzählten mir ihre Schicksale, die häufig das in den Schatten stellen, was wir hier erlebten. Es befinden sich dort ehemalige KZ-Häftlinge ebenso wie Partisanen, die einen erbitterten Kampf gegen ihre Unterdrücker führten und ihren Beitrag zum Siege leisteten. Anderen wiederum gelang es rechtzeitig, sich dem Zugriff der deutschen Armeen zu entziehen. Ein Mann z. B. ist mit Frau und Baby wenige Stunden vor dem Einmarsch der Deutschen aus seinem polnischen Heimatstädtchen geflohen. Er mußte alles zurücklassen. Als dann der Überfall auf Rußland begann, ging es erneut weiter; die Umstände der Flucht waren grauenvoll. Die junge Frau hielt die Strapazen bei Wind und Wetter nicht aus. Sie starb irgendwo,

Grossmann, *Jewish Refugees in Soviet Central Asia, Iran, and India: Lost Memories of Displacement, Trauma, and Rescue*, in: Edele/Fitzpatrick/Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust*, 185–218; idem, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*; Adler, *Survival on the Margins*, 148–211; Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence*.

- 45 Fontheim is most likely referring to Mariendorf DP Camp, situated south of Tempelhof and north of Marienfelde in the American Zone on Mariendorf's Eisenacher Straße. The camp housed approximately 3,250 DPs from July 1946 until 1948, when conditions created by the Berlin Blockade made it necessary to transfer the inhabitants to Frankfurt am Main. Angelika Königseder, *Das Lager für "Displaced Persons" in Mariendorf*, in: Matthias Heisig/Sylvia Walleczek (eds.), *Tempelhofer Ansichten*, Berlin 2002, 39–57.
- 46 On the Jewish DP police, see Michael Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality*, Los Angeles, Calif., 2007, 197–219. Berkowitz explains that the Jewish police forces in the DP communities arose as responsible and respected institutions in which Jews could take pride, providing communities with stability and strengthening both the morale and physical welfare of DPs.

und das Töchterchen folgte ihr bald nach. Als seine polnische Heimat befreit war, kehrte er einsam und verlassen zurück. Zu Hause fand er nichts mehr vor. Jedes Fleckchen in seiner Geburtsstadt aber erinnerte ihn an seine Frau und das kleine Kind, – die Haltung der Bevölkerung war alles andere als freundlich. So entschloß er sich erneut zur Wanderung. Vor einigen Tagen nun traf er hier ein. Er hat keine Angehörigen, er hat keine Arbeit, keine persönliche Freiheit, er hat keine menschenwürdige Kleidung, sein Ziel ist in Dunkel gehüllt, die Zukunft ist trostlos. Das ist einer von 5000 in diesem Lager, und in den übrigen Lagern wird es nicht anders aussehen.

Auf meinem Rundgang besuchte ich auch einen Block, in dem Handwerker untergebracht waren. Mit dem Schuster unterhielt ich mich. Er gehört zu den wenigen Glücklichen, die im Lagerdienst eine Tätigkeit gefunden haben. Er ist somit nicht zu dem nervenzermürbenden, tatenlosen Dahinleben seiner Kameraden verurteilt. In den anschließenden zwei Räumen arbeitet ein Friseur. Einrichtung, Material (wie z. B. Seife) usw. wird alles von der UNRRA geliefert, die auch sonst in jeder Hinsicht die Versorgung des Lagers durchführt. Auch eine Schneiderwerkstatt gibt es, in der die dürftige Kleidung der Lagerinsassen zusammengeflickt wird.

Im anschließenden Hause befindet sich die Schule. Der Schulleiter erzählte mir, daß er zunächst keinen Stuhl und keinen Tisch vorgefunden habe. Er konnte den Betrieb nur dadurch aufnehmen, daß er aus allen Häusern diese Möbel zusammentrug und sie in den Dienst der Schule stellte. Deshalb leiden nun die Wohnungen so großen Mangel an diesen Einrichtungsgegenständen. Ich hörte dem Unterricht in mehreren Klassen zu. Bei dem Anblick der Kinder kam mir das Elend in seiner ganzen Größe zum Bewußtsein. Bei fast allen ist die Kleidung völlig unzulänglich. Einige haben Joppen, die so groß sind, daß sie der Vater getrost tragen könnte. Andere wiederum scheinen schon seit Jahren aus ihren Anzügen ausgewachsen zu sein. Alles an ihnen ist alt und abgetragen. Sie haben schlecht erhaltenes, zum Teil zeretztes Schuhwerk oder besitzen überhaupt keine tragfähigen Schuhe. Auf den ersten Blick sieht man es ihnen an, daß sie heimatlose Flüchtlinge sind – ohne eine feste häusliche Ordnung. Viele unter ihnen haben keine Eltern mehr. Sie befinden sich in der Obhut älterer Geschwister oder anderer Verwandter. Der Schulleiter erzählte mir, daß absolut nicht alle Kinder dieselbe Muttersprache sprechen; bei einigen ist es Polnisch, und bei anderen wiederum Jiddisch. Der Unterricht wird teilweise in Jiddisch abgehalten.⁴⁷ Allerdings ist es das Ziel der Schule, so schnell wie möglich Hebräisch zur alleinigen Unterrichtssprache zu erheben.

47 On the preliminary work of developing educational programs in the DP camps, see Document 24.

Bei den größeren Kindern werden schon die meisten Fächer in dieser Sprache gelehrt.

In den Räumen neben der Schule befindet sich der Kindergarten. Von der Leiterin hörte ich, daß bei ihr großer Mangel an gelernten Kräften herrsche. Auf je dreißig Kinder entfällt nur eine Kindergärtnerin. Das ist besonders hier ein sehr erschwerender Umstand, da die meisten Kinder bisher noch nie unter Leitung erfahrener Kräfte gespielt haben. Das ihnen übergebene Spielzeug machen sie häufig kaputt, weil sie nicht verstehen, damit umzugehen. Genau wie die Älteren in der Schule machen auch sie einen jammervollen Eindruck. Sie haben bisher in ihrem jungen Leben noch nichts gesehen außer Not, Elend und Furcht.

Besonders der Anblick der Kinder hat mich am meisten erschüttert. Sie leben zweifellos unter den schlechtesten Verhältnissen aller Kinder Europas – die ehemaligen Feindstaaten mit inbegriffen. Nirgend [sic] sah ich jenen typisch kindlichen Ausdruck der unwissenden sorglosen Unschuld. Sie blickten alle schwermütig [[6]] und ernst drein – so als ob sie schon alles verstünden, was um sie herum vorgeht. Wer fühlt nicht die Tiefe dieser Tragik? Ihre einzige Schuld besteht darin, daß sie Juden sind; und deshalb lautet ihr Schicksal: Wandern. Viele von ihnen wurden auf der Flucht geboren – wer weiß unter welchen Umständen?! Zum Teil kommen ihre Eltern mit ihnen aus Innerasien, wohin sie vor den Deutschen geflohen waren. Sie kennen kein Heim, keine häusliche Regelmäßigkeit, kein Glück und keinen Frieden. Das ist ein Problem, das auch uns angeht. Die Hilfe für unsere jüdischen Kinder ist unsere vornehmlichste Pflicht. Wir müssen uns klarmachen, daß sie aus demselben Grunde leiden, aus dem wir noch bis zum vorigen Jahre gelitten haben.⁴⁸ Heute sind wir zwar frei von Verfolgungen, aber die Ereignisse der vergangenen Zeit sind noch zu frisch in unserem Gedächtnis, als daß wir mit unseren Brüdern nicht mitfühlten. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, daß das jüdische Schicksal alle Juden auf der ganzen Welt – unabhängig von ihrem Herkunftsland – zu einem großen Bund zusammenschweißt.

48 Fontheim is arguing that despite the fact that many of these children and their parents had endured the war in Central Asia or had been born during the repatriation from the Soviet Union in Poland and subsequent renewed flight from antisemitic violence in Poland to the American Zone in Germany and Berlin, their suffering, like the suffering of Jews under Nazi occupation, was brought about by National Socialism. In other words, Fontheim asserts that these Jews, too, were victims of the Nazis. It is thus a noteworthy early reference to the presence of Jews in occupied Germany who survived the Holocaust in Central Asia.

Document 11

Mordkhe Shtrigler, "To You Liberated Sisters and Brothers. Postwar Problems for the Jewish People"

Buchenwald, May 1945

Published essay, 31 pages, extract (reproduced here: 3–6)⁴⁹

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Mordkhe Shtrigler, *Tsu aykh shvester un brider bafrayte. Nokhmilkhme-problemen fun yidishn folk* [To You Liberated Sisters and Brothers. Postwar Problems for the Jewish People], New York 1945⁵⁰

.1

שוין ... אַט זיינען מיר נאָכן קאַשמאַר ---

שוין שטעכט נישט מער דאָס שפיזנאוויג פון די מונדירטע בעסטעס אייער לייב און נשמה. שוין זיינען אויסגעלאָשן די לעצטע פייערן פון די קרעמאַטאָריום־פּיסקעס, וואָס האָבן אַזוי גיריק איינגעשלונגען די בעסטע הונדערטער־טויזנטער און מיליאָנען פון אונדזער פּאָלק ... שוין וועט אייך נישט ווייזן יענעד סעלעקציע־אַנגעשטעלטער שוידער־פּינגער דעם וועג צום גיהנום־טויער פון גאַז־אַנשטאַלט אָדער שיס־פּלאַץ.

געענדיקט האָט זיך אויך פאַר די ווייניק־געבליבענע דאָס לעבן אין שענדלעכער פאַרשקלאַפּונג, דערנידערונג און מאַראַלישער געפּאָלנקייט.

און דאָך ... דאָך מוז מען נאָך שרייען און אַריינשרייען טיף אין דער נשמה פון יעדן געבליבענעם ייד: העי, דו! דו ביסט שוין פריי! ... שוין האָבן זיך אויפגעהויבן די דראַטן־גרוילן, אין וועלכע מ'האַט אייערע גופים איינגעקלאַמערט אין מיידאַנעק אָדער אוישוויץ; בערגן־בעלזען, בוכענוואַלד, טערעזיענשטאַט, ראָוסנבריק (!) אָדער דאַכאַו; מ'מוז אָבער האָבן אין זיך דאָס אייגענע געפּיל פאַר באַפּרייאַונג, בכדי אַרויסצוקריכן פונעם פּסיכאָז, וואָס האָט זיך איינגעקריצט ביז משוגעת אין יעדנס נשמה ...

מיר מוזן זיך אַליין באַפּרייען אויפּסניי!

49 This is the first section of a longer essay by Shtrigler containing nine sections with a total of 29 pages, with a 2-page postscript he wrote in Paris in June 1945. The text was written in Buchenwald at the end of May 1945. Subsequent sections discuss how the surviving Jews as a people might best respond to what they experienced during the Holocaust, focusing primarily upon Jewish youth (seemingly defined broadly). Shtrigler highlights the importance of reviving Jewish cultural and religious life, and the need for a Jewish existence independent from other nations, or in other words, a Jewish state.

50 Shtrigler's brochure was published by *Arbeter-ring* (The Workmen's Circle), a non-profit group founded in New York in 1892 by Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jewish immigrants to support Jewish culture as well as social and economic justice; the organization became a national order in 1900. It was associated with the historic Jewish labor movement and was influential in the American labor movement.

יעדערער מוז זיך קלאַר מאַכן, אַז ייִדישקייט איז נישט קיין שאַנדפֿלעק, וואָס הויערט ווי אַ זונה־צייכן אויפן שטערן און פון וועלכן מען מוז זיך ביים ערשטן ווינטל באַפֿרייען!
 אמת איז נאָר אַז די יאָרן פון גרויל און פֿאַרניכטונג האָבן אונדז דעם באַוואוסטזיין פֿאַרנעפֿלט און אונדז קליין געמאַכט, זעלבסט־באַשפּיייעריש און אונטערטעניק. מיר האָבן זיך שוין צוגעוואוינט, צוליב די קראַנקע צייט־באַדינגונגען צום געדאַנק, אַז אַלץ וואָס ס'איז נישט ייִדיש איז בעסער אָדער באַקוועמער. און מיר האָבן זיך אויסגעלערנט חלומען פון ביליקער באַקוועמלעכקייט ...
 [4] און נישט איין מאָל וועט מען זיך מוזן אַריינשרייען אין די אייגענע געדאַנקען אַריין: **אַוועק מיט אָט דער "ייִדישער" געפֿאלנקייט!** אַוועק מיט יענע צייטן, ווען אונדזערס אַ שוועסטער האָט זיך געפּילט באַגליקט מיטן שמיכל אָדער אַ באַריר, וואָס איינער פון "יענער" זייט האָט איר געשענקט. נישט מיט קיין באַשולדיקונג זען איר זיך אַוועק קלערן וועגן אייך, שוועסטער מייע! ס'קומט אויך נישט פונעם געפּיל פון באַדויער, נעמענדיק אין אַכט יענע אומשטענדן, וואָס האָבן צו אַזעלכע דערפֿירט ...

ווען איר האָט זיך געדאַרפט באַנוצן מיט אַזעלכע פּאַפּירן, וואָס האָבן אַ געדיכטן פֿאַרהאַנג איבער אייעד האַרץ פֿאַרצויגן! ווען איר האָט זיך אין דער אייגענער נשמה אַריין – צוליב היפּער־מאַסקאַראַד – אַריינגעשפּיגן!

טרייסלט אַראָפּ פון זיך יענע קאַשמאַרפֿולע תקופה ווען איר האָט זיך געשעמט דערמיט מיט וואָס איר האָט באַדאַרפט שטאַלץ צו זיין!

מיט כבוד זאָלט איר טראַגן דעם שוואַרצן קאַפּ האָר און זאָלן ווידער אייערע גרויסע ייִדישע אויגן גלאַנצן מיט יענעם אומעטיקן שטאַלץ פון אַ פּאַלק מיט אַ געשיכטע פון פינף טויזנט יאָר "לא תרצח"־קולטור!

נישט איר האָט זיך צו שעמען מיט דעם וואָס מ'האַט אייך געברענט אויף די שייטערהויפּנס, נישט איר זענט שולדיק פֿאַר דער קללה, אַז "אויך צווישן די פעלקער וועסטו קיין רו נישט געפינען!"

איר אַליין אַנערקענט זיך פֿאַר שולדיק אין נישט־באַגאַנגענע פֿאַרברעכנס ווען איר אַנטלויפט פון אייער ייִדישן פרזוף. אַן אומשולדיקער דאַרף שטאַלץ קענען זיין אומשולד אויסטראַגן! גלייך דאַרף ער קענען קוקן זיין מערדער אין פנים! **ווער ס'פֿאַרוואַרפט זיין ייִדישקייט אין אַזאַ שווערן מאַמענט איז אַ פעפּערקאַרן, איז אַן אומדירעקטער בלבלול־מאַכער אויף זיינע אייגענע ברידער, אויף זיינע עלטערן און זיין פּאַלק!**

וועלן מיר זיך נישט באַפֿרייען פון יענעם מינדערווערטיקייט־קאַמפּלעקס, וואָס האָט אונדז זיך געלערנט שעמען מיט אונדזער ייִדיש געשטאַלט, מיט אונדזער ייִדישן טראַכט און אונדזער ייִדיש מאַמע־וואָרט?
 [5] אַ מיליטער־קראַפט האָט אונז אַראַפּגעריסן די קייטן, וועלכע זיינען אַנגעבונדן געווען אויף אונדזערע הענט, פיס און קערפּער. ווער וועט אונדז אָבער באַפֿרייען פון די גייסטיקע קייטן? ווער וועט אונדז באַפֿרייען פון דער פּסיכאָלאָגישער משא, אונטער וועלכער דער פּאַשיסטישער באַנדיטיזם האָט אונדזער גייסטיקן רוקן געבויגן – אויב נישט מיר אַ לייך?

נישט אַזוי לייכט איז עס אונדז, גלות־צעשפּרייטע, צו שפּירן אין זיך דאָס געפּיל פון זיין גלייך **מיט אַלע גלייכע אינעם אמתין, עכטן באַדייט** פון דעם דאָזיקן באַגריף; דאָס נאָטירלעכע, פשוטע געפּיל פון האָבן אַ שפּראַך, אין וועלכער מאַמעס האָבן קינדער געוויגט, אין וועלכער דיכטער האָבן געזונגען און אונדזערע פֿאַר־דורות האָבן אין איר געלאַכט און געוויינט ...

דאָס לעבן זעקס יאָר אין די היטלעריסטישע קאַזאַמעטן האָבן פון אונדז אויסגענאַגט דאָס לעצטע ביסל פֿאַרשטענדעניש פֿאַר יענער קולטור, וואָס האָט זיך אַדורכגעשלאָגן אַ וועג נישט מיטן כוח

פון מלוכה־פּאַנדן, נאָר מיט דער קראַפט פון אַ האַרטן, אומגעבויעגענעם פּאַלקס־ווילן; וואָס איז געבאָרן געוואָרן אין שטיקנדיקע פּראַלעטאַריע־הייזקעס אַדער אין די געסלקעס פון די יידישע געטאָס ... אַ קולטור וואָס האָט זיך נישט געלאָזט אונטערשווענקען אין טויזנטער יאָרן לעבן אויפן דיאַספּאָראַ־וועזן. ---

איר זאָלט וויסן: **איר זענט לעבנגעכליבן!** דער אזוי זיגערישער פּאַשום האָט אויף זיין שמוציק־בלוטיקער פּאַן אויפגעשריבן די רעשטלאָזע פּאַרניכטונג פון אונדזער פּאַלק. איז געקומען די געשיכטע און האָט אין דער לעצטער מינוט געפונען דעם וועג פון גערעכטיקייט, אויסשריייענדיק איר מוטיקן און הילכיקן: ניי! און איר ... און מיר ... געציילטע זיינען מיר פּאַרכליבן!
זאָל אונדז אײנס קלאָר זײן: יעדער וואָס וועט זײן שטאַם פּאַרוואָרפן, וואָס וועט פּאַרלאָזן דעם יידישן וואָרצל זײנעם – זעצט בלויז פּאַר די ווייטערדיקע אַרבעט פון יענע בלוטיקע הענקער! פון זײנע היילן און קאַטאַקאַמבן אַרויס וועט דאָן דער פּאַשיסטישער טײוול פּריילעך שטשירען מיט די גרויסע צײן איבער זײן ענדגילטיקן זיג איבער די לעצטע יידישע באַזיגער זײנע ...
" ... יאָ, וועט ער פּריילעך צו זיך אַליין ברומען – אין די גאַז־קאַמערן און קרעמאַטאָריומס איז געשטערט געוואָרן די אַרבעט בײם לעצטן צוג; זײ טראָגן אָבער אין זיך, אין זײער האַרץ יענע ווירקונג |6| פון מײנע פּאַרניכטונג־אַנשטאַלטן ... און יענע פּסיכישע סוגעסטיע וועט שוין טאָן סײַאיריקע אַז דער לעצטער ייד זאָל פּאַרשווינדן ..."

און פאַר יענע וועלן מיר בלויז האָבן דעם זעלביקן עקלדיקן שפיי אין פנים און די זעלביקע באַציאונג, וואָס מיר האָבן געהאַט און האָבן צו יעדן ביליקן האַנט־דערלאַנגערל פון פּאַשיסטישן טערראָר און פעלקער־אונטערדריקער!
[...]

Translation

1.

Already ... Here we are, after the nightmare – – –

The piercing eyes of the uniformed monsters stab your body and soul no more. The last flames of the crematorium maws that devoured so greedily the best hundreds of thousands and millions of our people are now extinguished ... That finger of terror pointed at you by selection will show you no more the way to the inferno gate of a gas chamber or to a place of execution.

And for the few survivors, life in shameful slavery, humiliation and moral degradation is also over.

And yet ... Yet it has to be shouted, shouted deep down into the soul of every Jewish survivor: Hey, you! You're now free! ... Lifted are the barbed wire horrors that restrained your bodies in Majdanek⁵¹ or Auschwitz; Ber-

51 Majdanek, also known as the Lublin main camp, was the only SS-Business Administration Main Office camp other than Auschwitz to use the poison gas method in the mass murder of Jews. Heinrich Himmler instructed SS and Police Leader Odilo Globocnik (1904–1945) to build the camp in July 1941 with a capacity for 25,000 to

gen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Theresienstadt,⁵² Ravensbrück or Dachau; but you must have in yourself your own feeling of liberation in order to get out of the psychosis etched on every soul to the point of madness ...

We must liberate ourselves all over again!

Everyone must realize that Jewishness is not a stigma that hovers on your forehead like a scarlet letter and which one must get rid of at the earliest opportunity!

The truth is that the years of horror and extermination have clouded our consciousness and made us small, self-despising and submissive. Due to the sick circumstances of the time we have gotten used to the thought that everything that isn't Jewish is better or more comfortable. And we've learned to dream of cheap comfort ...

[4] And not once will it be necessary to shout into your own thoughts: **Off with this "Jewish" degradation!** Off with those times when a sister of ours counted herself fortunate to have received a smile or a touch that one of 'them' had granted her ...

50,000 prisoners; the camp was key to Himmler's plan to make Lublin the center of an SS military-industrial complex. Lublin civilian authorities opposed the construction of a concentration camp in their district; as an evasion tactic, the SS announced that they were constructing a POW camp, which was officially designated Waffen-SS POW camp Lublin. Jews comprised a majority of the prisoners in the camp until November 1943 when many were murdered during the Operation Harvest Festival killings. In April 1944 the camp was evacuated almost entirely, and the final evacuation of the camp occurred on July 22, 1944. Elizabeth White, Art. Lublin Main Camp [aka Majdanek], in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. B, 876–879.

- 52 Theresienstadt ghetto, located in the town of Terezín around 70 km northwest of Prague, was the only ghetto established by the Nazis in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Starting in November 1941, the Jews of the Protectorate were concentrated there; the Nazis would deport the vast majority to the east. In January 1942, the complex was officially designated the "ghetto for the aged," or *Altersghetto*, and tens of thousands of mostly elderly Reich Jews were then sent to Terezín, as well as Jewish cultural and intellectual elites. Some Jews from Denmark, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Slovakia were also sent there. During its existence it served various purposes, functioning not only as a ghetto but also as a reception and transit camp. By the time the complex was liberated in May 1945, approximately 155,000 men, women, and children had been imprisoned there, around 35,000 of whom died in the ghetto and another 83,000 of whom perished following their deportation to extermination centers, ghettos, and labor camps in the east. Vojtěch Blodig/Joseph Robert White, Art. Terezín, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. A, 177–184.

It is with no accusations that I sit down to muse about you, my sisters! You do not deserve the feeling of regret, taking into account the circumstances that led to this ...

When you had to make use of such papers that pulled a thick veil over your heart! When because of the hyper-masquerade you spat in your own soul!⁵³

Shake off that nightmarish time when you were ashamed of what you should have been proud of!

May you hold with dignity your head of black hair and may your large Jewish eyes sparkle once again with that sad pride of a people with a five-thousand-year-old history of ‘Thou shalt not kill’ culture!

It is not you who should be ashamed of having been burnt at the stake, not you who are to blame for the curse of “And among these nations shalt thou find no ease!”⁵⁴

You yourselves plead guilty to crimes you didn’t commit when you run away from your Jewish physiognomy. An innocent person must be able to endure his innocence with pride! He must be able to look steadily into his murderer’s eyes! **Whoever casts his Jewishness aside at such a difficult moment is a black sheep, an indirect libeler against his own brothers, parents and his own people!**⁵⁵

53 Here Shtrigler is making a retrospective judgment about women using false papers (and by implication, as suggested by the reference to “a smile or a touch” by “one of them,” their sexuality) to survive, acknowledging that these women made the choice in order to survive, but identifying the choice as shameful nonetheless. For more measured analyses of women’s responses to and survival strategies during the Holocaust, see, e. g., Anna Hájková, *Sexual Barter in Times of Genocide: Negotiating the Sexual Economy of the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, in: *Signs* 38 (2013), no. 3, 503–533; Natalia Aleksium, *Gender and the Daily Lives of Jews in Hiding in Eastern Galicia*, in: *Nashim* 27 (2014), 38–61; Zoe Waxman, *Women in the Holocaust: A Feminist History*, New York 2017.

54 Deut 28:65.

55 Shtrigler appears to be excusing Jewish women for passing as non-Jews so long as they heed the call to return to their Jewishness with pride. For greater detail on the perceptions and self-understanding of Jewish women who had survived the Holocaust in the immediate postwar period, see, e. g., Judy Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *The Identity of Women in the She’erit Hapletah: Personal and Gendered Identity as Determinants in Rehabilitation, Immigration, and Resettlement*, in: Ofer/Ouzan/Baumel-Schwartz (eds.), *Holocaust Survivors*, 16–45; Margarete Myers Feinstein, *Jewish Women Survivors in the Displaced Persons Camps of Occupied Germany: Transmitters of the Past, Caretakers of the Present, Builders of the Future*, in: *Shofar* 24 (2006), no. 4, 67–89.

Will we not free ourselves from that inferiority complex that has taught us to be ashamed of our Jewish appearance, our Jewish mentality and our Jewish mother tongue?!

[5] A military force ripped off the chains that had been bound around our hands, feet and bodies. But who will free us from the spiritual chains? Who will free us from the psychological burden that the fascist banditry bowed our backs with if not *we ourselves*?

It isn't so easy for us, scattered in the Diaspora, to foster within ourselves the feeling of being **equal to our equals in the true, genuine sense** of the concept; the natural, simple feeling of having a language in which mothers rocked their children to sleep, in which poets sang and generations before us laughed and wept ...

Six years of living in Hitler's dungeons drained us of the last drop of understanding of a culture that pushed its way through not by the power of government funding but by the power of a strong unbending people's will born in the suffocating hovels of the proletariat or in the narrow alleys of the Jewish ghettos ... A culture that didn't let itself erode in the thousand years of living on the Diaspora Vesuvius. – – –

You should know: **you survived!** The so victorious fascism inscribed on its filthy, blood-stained banner the traceless extermination of our people. But history came and found the path of justice in the last minute, uttering a courageous and resounding "No!" And you ... and we ... There are but few of us remaining!

Let one thing be clear to us: whoever casts aside his tribe, whoever leaves his Jewish roots continues the work of those bloody executioners! From out of his caves and catacombs the fascist devil will then bare his large teeth, gloating over his ultimate victory over the last remnants of his Jewish conquerors ...⁵⁶

56 This paragraph argues that Jews are commanded to continue living as Jews, as to otherwise is to unwittingly continue the work of the Nazis. This line of argument bears striking similarity to Fackenheim's 614th commandment. Jewish philosopher and Reform rabbi Emil L. Fackenheim (1916–2003) survived the Holocaust by fleeing to Great Britain and, after the beginning of the war, was treated by the British as an enemy alien and sent to a remote internment camp in Canada, where he settled after his release. Fackenheim reasoned that, in addition to the 613 commandments that must be followed in Jewish tradition, after the Holocaust Jews should observe a 614th commandment, to continue living as Jews, as abandoning one's Jewish faith and culture as a response to the Holocaust "would be to hand him [Hitler] yet other, posthumous victories." Emil L. Fackenheim, *Jewish Values in the Post-Holocaust Future*, in: *Judaism* 16 (1967), no. 3, 269–273, here 269.

“... Yes,” he will rumble gleefully to himself, “in the gas chambers and crematoriums my work was hampered at the last moment; but they carry in themselves, in their hearts the aftereffects |6| of my extermination facilities ... And that psychological suggestion will see to it that the last Jew disappears ...”

And for those we shall only have the same disgusted spit in the face and the same attitude we have had and still do toward **every cheap scrap thrown to us by fascist terror and oppressor of a people!**

[...] ⁵⁷

Document 12

*Alta Kruk to “LOS” help committee in California*⁵⁸

Kassel, January 28, 1948

Handwritten letter, 4 pages; insertions in Hebrew

Language: Yiddish; the author used dialectal variants (e.g. “in” instead of “un” for “and”), a special feature is leaving out “h” while adding “h” at other

57 In other parts of his essay, Shtripler argues for the reconstruction of Jewish communities, both physical and spiritual, as well as Jewish self-understanding; he emphasizes the need for economic rehabilitation and social integration of DPs; he notes the severe psychological trauma, the need for mourning, and the struggle to find meaning and purpose after facing the unprecedented horrors of the Holocaust. He also calls for the preservation of Jewish memory, for example through education.

58 The letter of Alta Kruk, about whom unfortunately no further information is available, is one of many received by Bessie Adel (1901–1999), a Polish-Jewish immigrant living in the United States. Adel was born in the Polish shtetl of Stashov, then part of the Russian Empire, and immigrated with one of her sisters to Canada in 1920; later she moved to the United States. When the war began, she was living in Los Angeles with her husband Sam Adel. Bessie remained in contact with her family in Poland, but by the 1930s communication became sporadic, and it stopped altogether once Germany invaded Poland. When the war ended, she discovered that she had lost her entire immediate family, but she did manage to locate a few cousins, one of whom was living at a DP camp in Kassel. She began sending packages of food and clothing solicited from her many friends and the organizations in which she was active. Through her cousin, Adel received letters from thousands of Jewish families and individuals requesting assistance. Adel stayed in touch with and visited these families long after they had left the DP camps, the majority having immigrated to Israel. YIVO Archives, New York, RG 1169 (Bessie Adel Papers), box 1, folders 1 and 7.

places which thus become hypercorrections; translated by Avinoam J. Patt and Alexandra M. Kramen

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 1169 (Bessie Adel Papers), box 1, folder 1

בי"ה⁵⁹

Kassel 28. I. 1948

ואַהבֿתֿם אַתְּ הַגֵּר כִּי גֵרִים אַתֶּם הֵיִתְּם!

צו די גיערטע אין קשובע, אין אומבאקאנטע פריינד פין אילפס (!) קאמיטעט "לאָס" אין קאליפארניע.

איך קרוק אלטע בין געבורן אין "גאוואראווע" (פוילן) א שטעטל לעיבן ווארשע, געפין זיך יעצט אין א לאגער אין דייטשלאנד "קאסעל" איך מיט מיינע 4 יתומים זיצן נעבעך אין ווארטן ביז גיט וועט עלפן אין מיר וועלן ווערן פין דאנען אויסגעלייזט.

אין קורצע שטריכן וועל איך אייך איבערגייבן

מיין ביאגראפיע.

איך בין געבוירן אין פוילן "גאוואראווע". מיין מאן ז"ל דער גרויסער תלמיד חכם (!) איז אויך געבוירן געוויין (!) אין דער זעלבער שטאט אין מיר האבן זיך געלייבט בשלום ביז איטלער ימח־שמו האט האַנגעפאנגען (!) די לעצטע קריג. מיר זענען שוין געלייטענע פין יענער וועלט מלחמה אדער דאך האבן מיר געלייבט מיט אינדזערע |2| 6 קינדער ביז די צווייטע וועלט מלחמה. ווען די דייטשן האבן פארנימען אינדזער שטאט האבן זיי די שטאט פארברענט צוזאמען מיט די בתי־מדרשים אין ספרי־תורות אין מיר זענען געבליבן האן (!) א דאך איבערן קאָפּ. אייניקע מאנאטן זענען מיר געלייגן אויפן גאס צווישן די פארברענטע חורבות נישט גיעסן, נישט גישלאפן, נישט גילייבט. ענ[ד]לעך האבן מיר באשלאסן צי אנטלופן פין דער מערדערשער ערד ווי אינדערטער יידן זענען לייבן אינדז געשאסן געווארן, אין אויך אינדז זענען שוין וויפל מאל געוויין אינטער די ביקס פין די מערדער. גלייך אנטלופנדיק האט מען אינדז געכאפט. מיר מיט מיין אלטן מאן האט מען גורנישט געטון קיין קליינע קינדער האט מען אויך נישט גיטשעפעט מעו האט מיר בלוז ציגענימען מיינע 2 זון איינער פון 21 יאר אין דער צווייטער 18 אין ביז היינטיקן טאג ווייס איך נישט ווי זיי זענען אאין געקומען. אין מיר זענען געקומען קיין רוסלאנד. דארט מיין מאן (!) האט פאר צרות קראנק געווארן |3| פין דעם וואס ער האט נישט צי די 2 לעצטע זון וועלכע האבן די גאנצע יאהרן געווייזן אין די ישיבות אין פוילן, אין פין די צווייטע זייט דער גרויסער אינגער אין רוסלאנד איז מיין מאן דער צדיק ז"ל נפטר געווארן. געבליבן בין איך מיט מיינע 4 יונגע יתומים. אין אזוי וואנדערן מיר פין לאנד צי לאנד פין שטאָט צי שטאָט מיר האבן שוין קיין פּחֿ נישט צי די צרות. אין אזו זיצן מיר אין די לאגערן אין דייטשלאנד. וועגן דאס לעיבן דא ביי אינדז דארפן מיר אייך נישט שרייבן, ווייל איר ווייסט אליין. מיר אייבן זיך אויף יעדן טאג אין מאכן די כְּרֶכֶּה "כְּרוֹךְ אֶתָּה שְׁהַחֲזִיקֵי נְשָׁמָתִי". מיר דאנקען דעם אייבערשטן וואס מיר האבן זוכה געוויין צי בלייבן לייבן נאך 6 מיליאן קרבנות. אין וואס מיר זענן בי"ה בשלום אויפגעשטאנען פין שלאף.

59 בעזרת השם.

אלזא, דעריבער טייערע יידן זאלט איר זייען צי ראטעווען די אלמנה מיט די 4 יתומים אז מיר זאלן חלילה נישט דארפן שטארבן אויף די פארשאלטענער ערד, איר וועט זיך דאך קופן [4] עולם אבה מיט יעדער פריטה וואס איר וועט פאר אינדז האפשפארן (!] וועט איר ראטעווען א אלמנה מיט 4 יתומים אין ווער איז דען נאך בילכער ווי מיר? אין דעריבער בעט איך אייך, אין איך מיט מיינער קינדער ווינטשן אייך עס זאל אייך געשטארקט ווערן אייערער ענט (תחזקנה ידיכם)⁶⁰ אז איר זאלט קענען מיט ג'ט'ס אילף מיר עלפן און אין זכות דעם וועט איר דאך זוכה זיין צי האבן פיל גוטעס בעולם הזה אין זיין אין גן-עֶדֶן צווישן אלע צדיקים באולם אבה. אמן.
מיר דאנקען פאראויס

דאס איז אינדזער אדרעס:
Kruk Alta.
Kassel. Jägerkaserne [sic]
Frankfurtstrasse D.P. Camp.
Germany U.S. Zone.

Translation

With God's help

Kassel, 28.1.1948

And you shall love the stranger, for you yourselves were strangers!⁶¹

To the honored and important, and unknown friends of the help committee "LOS" in California.

I, Kruk Alta, was born in "Goworowa" (Poland), a shtetl near Warsaw, and I now find myself in a camp in Germany, "Kassel," I sit with my four orphans, poor things, and wait until God will help and we will be completely redeemed from here.

In brief I will describe to you

my biography.

I was born in Goworowa Poland. My husband z"l⁶² the great Torah scholar⁶³ was also born in the same town and we lived in peace there until Hitler, may his name be blotted out, started the last war. We were already victims of that [first] world war but we continued to live there with our [2] six children until

60 Text in parenthesis in Hebrew.

61 Reference to Deut 10:19: "And you shall love the stranger, for you yourselves were strangers [foreigners] in Egypt."

62 Abbr. for: May his memory be a blessing.

63 Lit.: student of sages.

the Second World War.⁶⁴ When the Germans occupied our city, they burned the city together with the synagogues and Torah scrolls and we were left without a roof over our heads. For several months we found ourselves on the street among the burnt-out ruins, not eating, not sleeping, not living. Finally, we decided to flee the murderous land as hundreds of Jews were shot near us, and we too have been under the gun of the murderers many times.⁶⁵ We were caught immediately upon fleeing. They did not do anything to my old husband and me, and they did not touch any of the small children, they only took from me my two sons, one aged 21 years and the second 18, and to this day I do not know what happened to them. And we made it to Russia.⁶⁶ There my husband became ill [3] both due to his sorrow over the loss of his two eldest sons, who had completed all their years of study in the yeshivas⁶⁷ of Poland, and on the other hand from the great hunger in Russia, my husband the righteous one z”l passed away. I remained with my four young orphans. And

64 Goworowa and many other Jewish shtetls in Eastern Europe, including Bessie Adel’s hometown of Stashov, became a battlefield between the Russians, Germans, and local Gentile populations as the Russians and then the Germans occupied the territory. In these towns, the Jewish population was often caught in the middle and suffered accusations of espionage and violent attacks from all sides. For additional descriptions of the violence in Goworowa and Stashov, see Aviezer Burstin/Dov Kossovsky, *Goworowa: Memorial Book*, Tel Aviv 1966 [Heb.]; YIVO Archives, New York, RG 1169 (Bessie Adel Papers), box 1, folder 7.

65 It is uncertain which “murderers” the author refers to here. Kruk may have had in mind the massacres of Jews perpetrated by the Einsatzgruppen during the German invasion of the Soviet Union – Bialystok, approximately 100 km from Goworowa, was the site of mass shootings and massacres of Jews by both Einsatzgruppen detachments and German Order Police battalions. Kruk could also be referring to violence committed by neighbors and local collaborators – Jedwabne, just 70 km to the northeast of Goworowa, was the site of brutal massacres of Jews by their Polish neighbors after the Germans occupied the city. On these and other massacres and mass shootings of Jews in Eastern Europe after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, see Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, New York 2002; idem, Art. Jedwabne, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 2, 451–456; Sandra Bender, Art. Bialystok, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 2, p. A, 866–871; Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York 1992.

66 Many (mostly Polish) Eastern European Jews fled eastward from the advancing Germans, into the Soviet interior and Soviet Republics of Central Asia. On the variety of Jewish experiences of survival in the Soviet Union, see Edele/Fitzpatrick/Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust*.

67 Religious schools for boys over the age of 13 and young men to study rabbinical texts and the Torah.

so, we wander from land to land [and] from city to city [and] we no longer have the strength to face our troubles. And so, we sit in the camps of Germany. About our life here we need not write to you, because you know it yourself. We wake up every day and say the prayer “blessed are you [God] for returning my soul to me.” We thank the Almighty that we were privileged to remain alive after 6 million victims. And that we, with the help of God, got up from sleep.

Therefore, dear Jews, you should see to it that the widow with the four orphans is saved, so that we should not, God forbid, have to die on the cursed soil, you will after all earn your place in [4] the world to come with every small coin which you will set aside for us, you will save a widow with her four orphans, and who could be more deserving than me? And therefore, I ask you, and also with my children wish, (that your hands may be strengthened), that you will be able, with God’s help, to assist us and on the merit of this with all the good you do in this world will you find yourself in Garden of Eden among all the righteous ones in the world to come. Amen.

We thank you in advance.

This is our address:
Kruk, Alta.
Kassel. Jägerkaserne [sic]
Frankfurtstraße D.P. Camp.
Germany U.S. Zone.

Document 13

H. Lejwik (Leivick Halpern), “Our approach to the She’erit Hapletah”

Munich, August 31, 1947

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish in Latin letters; translated by Janina Wurbs

Ibergang,⁶⁸ August 31, 1947 (no. 36), 4

68 The weekly *Ibergang* (Transition) was the organ of the *Federacje fun yidn fun pojln in der amerikanischer zone* (Federation of Jews from Poland in the American Zone), the largest *landsmanshaft* in the American Zone, and appeared in Munich between 1945 and 1948. It was one of the few periodicals intentionally printed in Latin letters (with Polish orthography) throughout its existence, even after Hebrew-letter typefaces became available in the American Zone. In 1947, *Ibergang* reached a circulation of 15,000 copies per issue. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*, 63 f. and 175 f.

H. Lejwik⁶⁹

Undzer cugang cu der Szejrit-Haplejšta

Zint in undzer tragiszer jidiszer geszichte iz ojfgékumen, nochn sof fun der cwejšter welt-milchome, dos kapitl „Szejrit-Haplejšta“, iz szoĵn beemes a jam mit tint ojšgenuct geworn, saj cu szrajbn wegn der⁷⁰ Sz.-H. un saj cu baszrajbn zi. A gance literatur iz szoĵn ojfgékumen wegn ir. Ober mitn gancn jam tint, wos mir hobn farnuct far dem, hobn mir nit bawizn – un mir zajnen nit bekojach – aropcuszwejnken chocz ejn sztejnđl fun dem groĵlikn cam, wos di hajntike zise un tajere welt hot awekgesztelt cwiszn der Sz.-H. un cwiszn alemen, cu wemen di Sz.-H. gehert.

Un mir ale, derhoĵt di Jidn in Amerike, hern doch nit ojf cu rejđn un cu szrajbn, az der goĵrl fun der Sz.-H. iz undzer goĵrl, az ir wej iz undzer wej; fundestwegn herszt noch alc cwiszn undz a blondszenisz, an umzicherkajt, a min tapn in der fincternisz, wen nor mir rirn zich cu cu dem pajnlechn kapitl. Es kumt oĵs, az mir rejđn noch alc wi wegn a jidiszn szejwet, wos iz farworfn geworn ergec ojf der lewone. Wen mir nemen trachtn wegn di noĵtn fun der Sz.-H., wegn ire problemen, wegn der tragik fun ire jechidim un wegn ir gancer kolektiwer retung, wendn mir on cu ir gor an ander cugang, wi mir woltn ongewendet cu zich alejn, wen mir woltn zich gefunen in aza lage.

Firn mir pilpulim: Wi zol zajn undzer cugang cu der Sz.-H. – ci zol undzer cugang zajn a romantiszer, ci a poetiszer, ci gor a sztreĵng realistiszer, wi a sztajger der cugang fun dr. Pinson, wegn welchn Sz. Niger cit undzer ojfmerksamzamkajt in an artikl fun“Tog“?

Ober wos ken undz helfn undzer szakle-wetarje un wuhin ken es firn? Beser gezogt: wos kenen undzere szakles-wetarjes, helfn bepoĵel mamesz ir, der Sz.-H. alejn? Dos iz noch majn mejnung dos wichtikste.

69 H. Lejwik, also spelled Leyvik or Leivick (1888–1962), was the pen name of Leivick Halpern, a prominent Yiddish poet and playwright, as well as an editor and journalist. Born in a small shtetl near Minsk, Lejwik became active in the Bund at a young age around the Russian Revolution of 1905. In 1906, he was arrested for Bundist activity and sentenced to exile and hard labor in Siberia. After three years of his four-year sentence, Lejwik escaped prison and made his way to the United States, arriving in 1913. He settled in New York where he wrote prolifically, becoming a central figure in Yiddish poetry. He remained active until becoming ill in 1958, several years before his death. Dan Miron, Art. Di Yunge, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 2, 285–290. For other examples of Lejwik’s work, see H. Lejwik, *Der goylem* [The Golem], New York 1921; idem, *Di khasene in Fernvald. Dramatische poeme in elf stsenes* [The Wedding in Föhrenwald. Dramatic Poem in Eleven Scenes], New York 1949.

70 *She’erit Haplejšta* is both used in the singular and in the plural form in this document.

Az mir weln cugejn cu der Sz.-H. mit dem same realistiszn cugang; az mir'n zich szojn gut funandergriblen in ale ire charakter-sztrichn, afilu in ire tunklste un fincterste nejungen un nisjoines (zej zajnen do in a hipszer mos); az mir'n zej szojn afilu derkenen, lomir zogn, mit der klorster un nichterster derkenntnisz, biz cu farklenern in zich afilu di hispajlesn far ir (wos dos wolt demonstrirt nor undzer ejgene farlojrnkajt), wos wolt zej, der Sz.-H. alejn, arojsgekumen derfun?

Jo, azoj darf men, ducht zich mir, szteln di frage: wos wet zi gewinen derfun?

Ale undzere cugangen hobn nit kejn mamoszes, ojb zi, di Sz.-H., kon nit geholfn wern durch zej chocz moralisz abisl.

Un am wincikstn konen zej geholfn wern fun undzer objektiwn palmesn zi fun undzer farlang, oftmol cu nemen zi un iberkern zi mit ir naketer neszome ceefnt ojf ale efenungen.

S'hobn efszer a recht ojf dem di, wos kumen arojs fun ir gufe; di wos zajnen alejn gewen in gehenems un alejn durchgemacht nit nor di alijes, nor ojch di jerides. Zej – jo. Zej hobn a recht ojf der sznajdikster naketkajt. Ober nit mir – nit di, wos zajnen gekumen cu ir nochdem – wer ojf a lejngerer cajt un wer ojf a durchfor, wer in a mundir un wer on a mundir. Undzer cugang cu der Sz.-H. in di lagern ken zajn nor an ejn ejnciker: Zi tor dortn nit zajn! Ale undzere andere ejces, argumentn un batrachtungen hobn nit kejn barechtikung. Alc, wos es tut zich in a lager, ale ejnzamkajtn fun di menczn, ale zejere cnerwezitetn, ale krumkajtn, ale afilu patologisze sztrichn, wos wajzn zich dort oftmol, darfn gezen wern durch der ejnejnciker monung: Zej torn dortn nit zajn!

Der doziker cugang wert farganct, muz wern farganct, mit der ejnejnciker frage: Wuhin wiln zej gejn fun di lagern? – Der entfer iz klor un poszet: A gewise tejl wil gejn umetum (a chuc Dajczland) wuhin nor men wet im lozn; der grester tejl wil gejn nor kajn E.-J.!

Wi batracht di Sz.-H. di lecte brejre – cu blajbn in Dajczland, ojb men wet zi in ergec nit lozn gejn? – Zi batracht di dozike brejre far dem grestn umglik, far der grester katastrofe – greser noch wi Treblinke, wi Majdanek ...

In'm licht fun aza min psichiszer szpanung darfn gezen wern ale iberlebungen, ale nejungen fun der Sz.-H. In dem dozikn licht darf gezen wern ojch ir moral un ir wiln cu hemszech. Undzer cugang cu ir darf zajn, un ken nit zajn kejn anderer, wi er wolt gewen, wen mir alejn woltn zich gefunen ojf ir ort – in a lager. Zi iz nit ojf der lewone, zi iz nit kejn umfarsztendleche machne – zi iz undzer same folk.

Wen a mencz zict in a turme, hinter grates, torn zajne frajnt nit mestn zajne iberlebungen un zajn bejnkszaft noch der frajhajt mit der mos fun zejeder dejnken. Zej darfn ojfnemen zajne iberlebungen azoj, wi zej alejn woltn

gewen hinter di grates. Wen zej woltn gewen hinter die grates, woltn zej gefilt, az alc, alc, alc drejt zich in dem arestans neszome arum dem ejnejncikn aks: bejnszafft noch frajhajt, bejnszafft arojszugejn un gejn ahin, wu im dacht zich, az es wart ojf im ru un nechome. S'iz nit recht cu kumen cu an arestant un, sztejendik ojf der zajt grate, farnemen zich merer mit psychologiske baobachtungen un mit gebn im politisz-gezelszafftliche ejces, ejder mit zajn hojpt-bejnszafft: arojsgejn fun turme un kumen cu zajne noentste, wos wartn ojf im.

Ejnejciker cugang iz do cu der Sz.-H.: arojsnemen zi fun di lagern. Aweknemen zi fun Dajczland leojlom woed, lozn ir gejn ahin, fun wanen es sztrekn zich cu ir briderleche korbngrejte hent. In bestn fal ahin, wuhin zi alejn bagert, oder ahin, wu s'iz ofn a grenec.

Wuhin zol zi gejn?

Hot emicer gezen, az di grojse welt meluches zoln zich rajsns culib der Sz.-H.? Az zej zoln zi rufn un zi zol nit weln gejn?

Hot emicer gezen, az Amerike zol zich ajnsznajdn di poles culib dem? Az Amerike zol nit cunojfkweczn ire hains szlos cu szlos un tojer cu tojer?

Hot emicer efszer gehert az Sowjet-Rusland zol farwarfn a wort fun ajnladung cu der Sz.-H. un zol zej rufn cu zich – chocz kajn Biro Bidszan?

Hot emicer efszer gehert, az di amerikaner Jidn zoln arojsgebn grupes jungelajt, wos zoln zich awaklozn besejter in di lagern un nemen machnes plejtim un brejngen zej ojf szifn kajn Amerike?

Hot emicer efszer gehert, az fun di sowjetiske Jidn un fun di sowjetisz-jidisze szrajbers zol chocz kumen ejner cu der Sz.-H. in di lagern un zogn ir chocz a szolem-alejcem [sic]? Ich rejdszojn nit fun nemen Jidn fun di lagern un firn zej cu zich ojf jeszuje un hacole ...

Di ejncike wos es hobn es geton, zajnen gewen di Jidn fun E.-J.

Kon noch den zajn a frage wegn dem wos mir darfn fun di ale faktn oplernen?

Kon noch den zajn a wikujach wegn dem, wi azoj mir zoln ojfasn dos gemit un di moral fun der Sz.-H.: wi azoj mir zoln cugejn cu ir nerwozitet, cu ir farcwejlung, cu ir sztejn ojfn rand fun cuzamenbruch, wen zi zet, az ir aktiwste un barechtikste hofenung – Erec-Jisroel – wert farcojgn mit a langer fincternisz?

Ken noch den zajn a wikujach wegn dem?

*Translation**H. Lejwik*

Our Approach to the She'erit Hapletah

Ever since the chapter entitled “She'erit Hapletah” occurred in our tragic Jewish history following the end of the Second World War, truly a sea of ink has been used up both to write about the She'erit Hapletah and to describe them. A whole body of literature has sprung up about them.⁷¹ And yet with all that sea of ink which has been used up for that purpose, we have failed to, and are unable to, wash away one single little stone from the terrible wall that the present-day sweet and lovely world has put up between the She'erit Hapletah and the others to whom the She'erit Hapletah belong.

And we all, particularly the Jews in America, do not cease to speak or to write that the fate of the She'erit Hapletah is our fate, and their pain is our pain; and yet we still find ourselves in the grip of straying, uncertainty, a kind of groping in the dark as soon as we touch upon the painful chapter.⁷² It seems as if we're still talking about a far-flung Jewish tribe somewhere on the moon. When we start thinking about the adversities of the She'erit Hapletah, their problems, the tragedies of individuals and their whole collective deliverance, we apply to them an entirely different approach than the one we would apply to ourselves if we found ourselves in the same situation.

So we're splitting hairs: What should our approach to the She'erit Hapletah be? Should it be romantic, poetic or perhaps strictly realistic, like, for instance, that of Dr. Pinson,⁷³ to whom Sh. Niger⁷⁴ draws our attention in his article in “Der tog”?

71 The “body of literature” includes the majority of the works featured in this volume, among many others.

72 Here Lejwik brings attention to the frequency of discussions about the Holocaust and its survivors, yet it would be decades before mainstream scholarship reflected that reality. Instead, a “myth of silence” developed, along the premise that survivors as well as Jews abroad avoided discussion of the Holocaust until the Eichmann trial in 1961, the first globally televised documentation of the genocide perpetrated against European Jewry. Scholarship in the last two decades has debunked this long standing myth, forcefully demonstrating through the documents of Jewish survivors themselves, that the reality was quite the opposite. Hasia R. Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962*, New York 2009.

73 Koppel S. Pinson (1904–1961) was an American educator and historian specializing in German and Jewish history. Born in Postawy, Lithuania (then part of the Russian Empire), Pinson immigrated to Philadelphia with his family in 1907. He completed

But how can our deliberations help us and where can they take us? Or better put, how can our deliberations actually help them, the She'erit Hapletah themselves? In my opinion, this is what matters most.

When we've approached the She'erit Hapletah from the most realistic angle; when we've scrutinized in depth all their character traits, even their darkest and most sinister inclinations and temptations (they are present to a considerable degree);⁷⁵ when we've even comprehended, let's say, with a knowledge of the utmost clarity and sobriety, even to the point of diminishing in ourselves the admiration for them (which would only demonstrate how lost we are), how would they, the She'erit Hapletah themselves, benefit from it?

Yes, this is how, it seems to me, the question should be phrased: what will the She'erit Hapletah get out of it? All our approaches have no substance if they can't help the She'erit Hapletah by at least lending some moral support.

And what can help them the least is our objective post-mortem on them and our demand often to take them and turn them inside out, baring their souls' every recess.

Perhaps it is the right of those who are part of them and who directly were in infernos and went through both rises and falls. They are entitled. They have a right to this most acute nakedness. But not we, not those who came to them after the fact: some, for a while, and some, only in passing, some, in uniform and some, without it.

his graduate studies in New York, and was on the faculty of Queens College of the City University of New York from 1937 until his death. In 1945, Pinson was appointed as the JDC's Director of Education and Culture for Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany and Austria and spent the next year working with and on behalf of Jewish DPs in various DP camps in the American Zone (see Document 24). Laura Almagor, Koppel S. Pinson: Scholar, Refugee Worker, Jew, in: Laura Almagor/Haakon Ikononou/Gunvor Simonsen (eds.), *Global Biographies: Lived History as Method*, Manchester 2022, 185–203.

74 Shmuel Niger was the pen name of Shmuel Charney (1883–1955), a prominent Yiddish literary critic and historian born in Minsk. Before immigrating to New York in 1919, Niger lived in Vilna, where he served as editor of the literary journal *Di yidishe velt* (The Jewish World), which is considered the most influential Yiddish journal of its type to emerge in Eastern Europe before the First World War. In New York, he continued to contribute to numerous periodicals and newspapers, including *Der tog* (The Day) and the *Jewish Daily Forward*.

75 Lejwik ironically calls attention to the difference and damaged condition of the survivors while arguing for the need to identify with the survivors as fellow Jews, using terms such as “alien” and “far-flung Jewish tribe on the moon” to describe how the rest of the Jewish world perceives the survivors. For an example of an early study on the psychological state of DPs, see Documents 7 and 8.

Our approach to the She'erit Hapletah in the camps can be one and one only: they mustn't be there! All our other advice, arguments and considerations have no justification. Everything that is going on in a camp, all the instances of the people's loneliness, nervousness, contortedness, even all the pathological traits that often manifest themselves there, should be seen through the sole demand: they mustn't be there!

This approach is completed, must be completed, by the sole question: where will they go from the camps? The answer is clear and simple: some want to go wherever (except Germany) they're allowed to, and the majority wants to go only to the Land of Israel!

How do the She'erit Hapletah see their last choice – to stay in Germany – if they're not allowed to go anywhere? They see this choice as the greatest disaster, the greatest catastrophe, greater even than Treblinka⁷⁶ and Majdanek ...

It is in the light of such psychological suspense that all the experiences and inclinations of the She'erit Hapletah should be seen. It is in this light that also their morale and the will to go on should be seen. Our approach to them should be and cannot be any other than what it would be if we ourselves had been in their place, in the camps. They are not on the moon, they are not some unfathomable crowd; they are our own people.

When a man is in prison, behind bars, his friends must not measure his experiences and his longing for freedom against their own thinking. They must accept his experiences as if they themselves were behind bars. If they were behind bars, they would feel that in the prisoner's soul everything, absolutely everything without exception, was revolving around the same axis: longing for freedom, longing to get out and go to the place where he believes ease and consolation awaits him. It is not right to come to a prisoner and, standing on this side of the bars, attend more to psychological observations and giving him sociopolitical advice than to his chief longing: to get out of prison and go to his near and dear who are waiting for him. There's only one approach to the She'erit Hapletah: to take them out of the camps. To take them out of Germany for ever and ever and let them go wherever brotherly hands,

76 Treblinka was the third extermination center built in the General Government and went into operation on July 23, 1942. The five months that followed its opening were the deadliest in the history of the Holocaust, as the Warsaw ghetto and ghettos across District Radom were liquidated and the inhabitants deported to their deaths in Treblinka. Just days before the opening of Treblinka, Heinrich Himmler had set a deadline of December 31, 1942, for the complete elimination of Jews from the General Government. Christopher Browning, Introduction, in: Dean/Hecker (eds.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 2, p. A, xxvii–xxxix, here xxxv–xxxvii; Yitzhak Arad, *The Operation Reinhard Death Camps: Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, rev. and exp. ed., Bloomington, Ind., 2018.

ready for victims, are reaching out for them. Best of all, where they themselves wish to go, or where there's an open border.

Where should they go?

Has anyone seen great world powers crave for the She'erit Hapletah, the former inviting the latter, and the latter refusing to go?

Has anyone seen America going to any trouble because of that? America not locking and bolting all their doors?

Has anyone perhaps heard of Soviet Russia dropping a word of invitation to the She'erit Hapletah and asking them to come over – at least to Birobidzhan?⁷⁷

Has anyone heard perhaps of American Jews dispatching groups of young people so that they could secretly go to the camps, take refugees in numbers and bring them on ships to America?

Has anyone perhaps heard of at least one of all the Soviet Jews and of all the Soviet-Jewish writers visiting the She'erit Hapletah in the camps and saying to them as much as a "How do you do?" I'm not even talking about getting the Jews out of the camps and taking them home to safety and security ...

The only people who have done that have been the Jews of the Land of Israel.⁷⁸

Can there still be a question about what we need to learn from all these facts?

77 Birobidzhan, in the Far Eastern reaches of the Soviet Union on the border with China, was designated by the Soviet Union as the Jewish homeland in 1928 and a Jewish autonomous region in 1934. Yiddish was the official language in the territory. The Soviet government established the territory as part of a broader policy of investing in the cultural and national development of its numerous ethnic minorities. Despite Soviet leaders' efforts to encourage Soviet Jews to relocate to Birobidzhan, it failed to become a center of Jewish life. Though there was a brief period of increased migration to the territory in the immediate postwar era, the Jewish population of Birobidzhan steadily decreased between the 1950s and the 1980s, and there was a major surge of emigration from 1989 through 1991. David Shneer, *Art. Birobidzhan*, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 187–189.

78 Lejwik argues here that, at the end of the day, only the Zionists have a practical solution to DP statelessness. Recent scholarship demonstrates that for Jewish DPs, Zionism was a multifaceted and functional ideology, not merely an instrumental ideology with the sole purpose of creating the State of Israel. Zionism played a variety of therapeutic, redemptive, and productive roles in the lives of DPs, satisfying an array of needs that other political, governmental, and humanitarian organizations failed or refused to address. A solution to DP statelessness through permanent resettlement was one of many such needs. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

Can there still be a dispute about how we should perceive the frame of mind and morale of the She'erit Hapletah; how we should approach their nervousness, their despair, their standing on the verge of breakdown when they see their most active and justified hope, the Land of Israel, being obscured by a long darkness?

Can there still be an argument about it?

Document 14

Miriam Warburg, "Children and Youth Aliyah"

London, February 12, 1946

Typewritten report, 2 pages; extract⁷⁹

Language: English

JDC Archives, New York, NY AR 194554/4/32/6/328

CHILDREN AND YOUTH ALIYAH

{Germany
Fohrenwald}

Woburn House,
Upper Woburn Place,
London, W. C. 1.

February 12, 1946.

Below we reprint the fourth and last of the series of reports from Mrs. M. Warburg.⁸⁰

79 Not included here are Warburg's accounts from December 17, 18, and 20, which discuss the disappointment of DPs who were unable to attend the execution of those convicted in the Dachau main trial (held between November 15 and December 13, 1945, in which the leadership of the Dachau main camp were prosecuted), inadequate food and living conditions of the kibbutzim in which many children from the camp were then living, and the expressed desire of nearly all of the children in the camp to immigrate to Palestine.

80 Miriam Warburg (née Goldberg; 1895–1976) was born in the German state of Hesse. Before the Second World War, she immigrated to London, where she became active in Youth Aliyah. There she met and married Dr. Gustav Otto Warburg (1900–1970),

December 9, 1945. Last week a boy of 14 died in the hospital here in Föhrenwald. He died through his own fault. He had his appendicitis removed [sic] and was naturally to remain without substantial food for some days after the operation. Instead, he ate and ate and ate from the first day onwards. His friends from the Kibbutz brought him meat, sweets, drinks etc. He was warned time and again to abstain from eating, but he would not listen. All these people have one creed only: eating as much as you want makes you healthy and happy; not to eat makes you ill and desperate. (It is terribly difficult to fight against this axiom, which has its origin in the years of life in concentration camps.) So, the boy died under terrible pains some day after the operation has been successfully concluded. He died on a Friday and was to be buried on Sunday. On Saturday night all the Kibbutzim were to celebrate a festival. When the Palestinian Madrich told them that this festival must, under the circumstances, be cancelled, they were extremely surprised: “Why, because one of us died? But what does one dead boy mean? We have <se>en so many, many dying!”

On Sunday, when the boy was taken to his grave by a large crowd of mourners, each Kibbutz marching in close formation, carrying its special flag with a black veil fastened onto it, I did not see one single person crying. Yet the scene was deeply touching. All those hundreds of young boys and girls and some little children walking slowly through the snow-covered camp, with the snow falling down slowly and covering everything brilliantly white. Later on, we discussed whether we should try to change this strange attitude of the young people towards life and death – or whether life might not be easier to bear for them, if they kept it up.

a member of the prominent Jewish-German-American Warburg family. She was serving as general secretary of Youth Aliyah when she was dispatched as a welfare officer to DP Camp Föhrenwald by the British-Jewish charitable organization JCRA to work on behalf of that organization's American counterpart, the JDC, in the summer of 1945. On September 23, after touring numerous camps in occupied Germany, she and fellow JCRA officer Yehoshua “Shea” Abramowicz (1920–2013) arrived to Föhrenwald, tasked with caring for unaccompanied and orphaned Jewish children and establishing a children's center at Föhrenwald, as well as ensuring educational opportunities for those under their care. Warburg spearheaded the transformation of the nearby Hochland camp complex, a former Hitler youth site, into a haven for Föhrenwald's Jewish youth housing numerous kibbutzim as well as agricultural and vocational training programs and workshops. From late 1946 to March 1948 the Haganah used the site to train personell and recruits. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 137 f.; Jim G. Tobias, “Sie sind Bürger Israels.” *Die geheime Rekrutierung jüdischer Soldaten außerhalb von Palästina/Israel 1946–1948*, Nürnberg 2007, chaps. 3 and 4; see also Document 31.

December 12, 1945. The number of people with nervous breakdowns and mental disorders is increasing at an alarming rate.⁸¹ A few days ago they brought a boy of 18 to the Hospital who, upon learning that his parents (whom he had thought killed) were alive in Poland, had a terrible nervous breakdown. He had fits, was only semi-conscious and beat around. He, like many others before him, had to be sent to a German mental hospital in Munich, as he could not be calmed down. The idea that we are sending just those people who have mentally suffered so much at the hands of the Germans, to a German hospital where they are treated by German doctors and attended by German nurses, is very disturbing, I discussed this problem with the very sensible doctor⁸² of the Central Committee for Jews in Bavaria.⁸³ He may succeed in fixing up one special Pavilion in a German hospital for Jewish mental cases from the camps only, under Jewish supervision. The greatest difficulty seems to be to secure a Jewish psychiatrist for this important task. There are non available here.

The matter is very urgent because we are all fully aware of the fact that we stand at the threshold of this wave of outbreaks of mental disorders. After the climax which followed the liberation, the newly-won freedom, the expectation of finding ones' relatives, of going to Palestine immediately etc. etc. – the anti-climax was bound to follow with all its terrible consequences.

We have quite a number of delinquent children too, and a plan was placed before me to-day to set up an "approved home" for them. I rejected the idea immediately. This is not the way to deal with these unfortunate children. Why should just they be honest in surroundings where everybody, right from the very top, is dishonest. We have to wait with their re-education and rehabilitation until they |2| are in Palestine.

81 Becky Althoff (1909/1911–1997) was a psychiatric consultant with the JDC overseas staff and spent a year in Germany working with children living in Föhrenwald. She found that the characteristic adolescent boy showed symptoms of personality disturbance, night terrors, depression and moodiness, feelings of loneliness and isolation, lack of response to others, secretiveness, and suspicions. The characteristic adolescent girl, Althoff observed, suffered from somatic illnesses including headaches and head pressure, weak heart, painful menstrual periods, and insomnia; appeared moody, tearful, insecure, slow in learning, fearful, tense, and suffering from near total loss of affect. Becky Althoff, *Observations on the Psychology of Children in a D.P. Camp*, in: *Families in Society. The Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 29 (1948), no. 1, 17–22, esp. 19–20. On Althoff's work in the DP camps, see Daniel Heller, *Mental Health in the Shadow of the Holocaust: Psychological Interventions in Jewish Displaced Persons Camps*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 59 (2023), no. 2, 1–21. On the psychological condition of DPs, see also Documents 7 and 8.

82 Most likely Dr. Zalman Grinberg (see Document 3).

83 Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria.

3. Allied Occupation

Document 15

Earl G. Harrison, Report

London, August 1945

Typewritten report, 15 pages; handwritten notes in the margins by unknown author giving short summaries of several paragraphs (not reproduced here); kink in the middle of the page; typewritten pagination starting on page 2; stamp of the archive on each page

Language: English

Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, box 116, Truman, Harry S. (4), NAID #12007695¹

[In part I of his report, Harrison provides an overview of the conditions in DP camps, describing severe overcrowding, lack of basic necessities, and insufficient medical care, which left residents in deplorable conditions similar to those in the concentration camps they had endured. He also emphasizes the psychological impact on DPs, who suffered from profound trauma and uncertainty about their future. Part II focuses on the administration of the camps, criticizing the Allied military authorities for their inadequate response and bureaucratic inefficiencies. Harrison highlights the lack of specialized personnel and resources dedicated to addressing the unique needs of Holocaust survivors, calling for improved leadership and coordination. The following part examines the specific plight of Jewish DPs, noting that they faced additional hardships due to persistent antisemitism and were often treated with indifference. Harrison recommends prioritizing aid and resettlement efforts for Jewish DPs. Part IV discusses the broader implications for international policy, advocating for more robust and compassionate refugee programs with the help of international organizations. The final part offers concrete recommendations, including the immediate improvement of camp conditions, expedited immigration processes, and increased support for resettlement initiatives, particularly to Palestine.]

1 On September 30, 1945, *The New York Times* published the report in full length; additionally, the JDC published it as a special issue under the title *The Plight of the Displaced Jews in Europe. A Report to President Truman, Released by The White House*. Reprints also appeared in: United States Department of State (ed.), *The Axis in Defeat: A Collection of Documents on American Policy Toward Germany and Japan*, Washington, D.C., 1945, 86–99; Paul R. Bartrup/Michael Dickerman (eds.), *The Holocaust: An Encyclopedia and Document Collection*, vol. 4: Documents on the Holocaust, Santa Barbara, Calif./Denver, Col., 2017, 1356–1363.

REPORT OF
EARL G. HARRISON²

Mission to Europe to inquire into the conditions and needs of those among the displaced persons in the liberated countries of Western Europe and in the SHAEF³ area of Germany – with particular reference to the Jewish refugees – who may possibly be stateless or non-repatriable.

London, England

The President,
The White House,
Washington.

My dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to your letter of June 22, 1945, I have the honor to present to you a partial report upon my recent mission to Europe to inquire into (1) the conditions under which displaced persons and particularly those who may be stateless or non-repatriable are at present living, especially in Germany and Austria, (2) the needs of such persons, (3) how those needs are being met at present by the military authorities, the governments of residence

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- 2 Earl G. Harrison (1899–1955), born in Philadelphia, was a distinguished American lawyer and public servant, known for his contributions to civil rights and refugee affairs. He pursued his education at the University of Pennsylvania, earning his law degree in 1923. Harrison became a partner at the law firm of Schnader, Harrison, Segal & Lewis in Philadelphia in 1932. During the Second World War, he was the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and from 1944 on he served as U.S. representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees created following the Évian Conference in 1938. Harrison was Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School from 1945 to 1948. In 1945, at the behest of President Truman, he conducted an investigation into the treatment of DPs in postwar Europe. Following Harrison's report, American authorities worked to ameliorate conditions for Jewish DPs, moving them to separate camps and agreeing to the appointment of an adviser on Jewish affairs. See introd., chap. 2.
 - 3 SHAEF, or Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces, was the main office of the commander of Allied forces in Western Europe from late 1943 until the end of the war. U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) served as Supreme Allied Commander of SHAEF from its inception until its dissolution on July 14, 1945. It was replaced by U.S. Forces, European Theater (USFET), which was reorganized as European Command (EUCOM) on March 15, 1947.

and international and private relief bodies, and (4) the views of the possibly non-repatriable persons as to their future destinations.

My instructions were to give particular attention to the problems, needs and views of the Jewish refugees among the displaced people, especially in Germany and Austria. The report, particularly this partial report, accordingly deals in the main with that group.

On numerous occasions appreciation was expressed by the victims of Nazi persecution for the interest of the United States Government in them. As my report shows they are in need of attention and help. Up to this point they have been “liberated” more in a military sense than actually. For reasons explained in the report, their particular problems, to this time, have not been given attention to any appreciable extent; consequently they feel that they, who were in so many ways the first and worst victims of Nazism, are being neglected by their liberators.

Upon my request, the Department of State authorized Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz⁴ to join me in the mission. Dr. Schwartz, European Director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, was granted a leave of absence from that organization for the purpose of accompanying me. His long and varied experience in refugee problems as well as his familiarity with the Continent and the people made Dr. Schwartz a most valuable associate; this report represents our joint views, conclusions and recommendations.

During various portions of the trip I had, also, the assistance of Mr. Patrick M. Malin,⁵ Vice Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on

4 Joseph J. Schwartz (1899–1975) was an ordained rabbi born in the United States. After joining the JDC, he was sent to Paris to serve as European deputy director. He was appointed Director of European Operations in 1940 after the Germans occupied France. He directed many rescue and aid operations, supervising the emigration of Jews who were still able to get visas to Western countries, and allotting funds for rescue activities throughout occupied Europe, where JDC workers rescued and hid many Jews. His commitment to rescue and relief efforts transcended all other duties and obligations; for instance, Schwartz supported armed Jewish resistance despite the American JDC's opposition to it and endorsed illegal immigration to Palestine in 1940 and 1941. After liberation, Schwartz sent JDC workers to help run the DP camps in Germany, dispatched teams to assist Jews in Eastern Europe, and aided refugees attempting to go to Palestine. Schwartz continued working for Jewish organizations until his retirement in 1970.

5 Patrick M. Malin (1903–1964) was born in Joplin, Missouri. Though a son of a banker who expected him to take over the family business, after graduating from business school he took a job as private secretary to International YMCA director Sherwood Eddy (1871–1963). In 1930 he took up a position as Economics professor at Swarthmore College, where he remained for twenty years before accepting the

Refugees⁶ and Mr. Herbert Katzki [sic]⁷ of the War Refugee Board.⁸ These gentlemen, likewise, have had considerable experience in refugee matters. Their assistance and cooperation were most helpful in the course of the survey.

position of American Civil Liberties Union executive director. However, during the war he worked for the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

- 6 The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was organized in London in August 1938 as a result of the Évian Conference of July 1938, which had been called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) to consider the problem of racial, religious, and political refugees from Central Europe. The organization was dissolved in 1947, when its activities were taken over by the IRO, a special agency of the United Nations. Tommie Sjoberg, *The Powers and the Persecuted: The Refugee Problem and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 1938–1947*, Lund 1991.
- 7 Herbert Katzki (1907–1997) worked with the JDC for 43 years. During the Second World War, he collaborated with the War Refugee Board, helping to organize the movement of Jewish refugees from German-occupied territories to Palestine, ship food and medicine from Geneva to Jews behind German lines, and organize the escape of Jewish refugees in occupied France to Spain. After the war, Katzki participated in JDC programs in North Africa, the Middle East, Scandinavia, and Western Europe, ultimately becoming Associate Executive Vice President of the organization. Even after his retirement in 1979, Katzki continued to volunteer for the JDC.
- 8 The War Refugee Board (WRB) was an American executive agency established in January 1944 by President Roosevelt to aid civilian victims of the Axis powers. The agency was created as a result of the frustration of a group of young Treasury Department lawyers, including John Pehle (1909–1999), Ansel Luxford (1911–1971), and Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. (1912–1983), with State Department delays relating to a license for relief funds to help Jews escape Romania and France. DuBois specifically found evidence that the State Department had actively attempted to suppress information about the murder of European Jewry from reaching the United States. DuBois then drafted what would become the “Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government to the Murder of the Jews,” written to convince Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (1891–1967) to go to President Roosevelt with their complaints, which Morgenthau did on January 16, 1944; the WRB was created shortly thereafter via executive order. The board is credited with rescuing the lives of tens of thousands of Jews from Nazi-occupied Europe with the help of Jewish organizations, resistance groups in Europe, and diplomats from neutral countries such as Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg (1912 – most likely 1947). The WRB was the only major effort taken by the United States government to save the lives of Jews during the Holocaust. Rebecca Erbelding, *Rescue Board. The Untold Story of America’s Efforts to Save the Jews of Europe*, New York 2018.

I
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Conditions

(1) Generally speaking, three months after V-E Day⁹ and even longer after the liberation of individual groups, many Jewish displaced persons and other possibly non-repatriables are living under guard behind barbed-wire fences, in camps of several descriptions (built by the Germans for slave-laborers and Jews), including some of the most notorious of the concentration camps, amidst crowded, frequently unsanitary and generally grim conditions, in complete idleness, with no opportunity, except surreptitiously, to communicate with the outside world, waiting, hoping for some word of encouragement and action in their behalf.

[2] (2) While there has been marked improvement in the health of survivors of the Nazi starvation and persecution program, there are many pathetic malnutrition cases both among the hospitalized and in the general population of the camps. The death rate has been high since liberation, as was to be expected. One Army Chaplain, a Rabbi,¹⁰ personally attended, since liberation 23,000 burials (90 percent Jews) at Bergen Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, fourteen thousand displaced persons are still living, including over seven thousand Jews. At many of the camps and centers, including those where serious starvation cases are, there is a marked and serious lack of needed medical supplies.

(3) Although some Camp Commandants have managed, in spite of the many obvious difficulties, to find clothing of one kind or another for their charges, many of the Jewish displaced persons, late in July, had no clothing other than their concentration camp garb – a rather hideous striped pajama

9 Victory in Europe Day is the day the war against Nazi Germany in Europe came to an end and the German armed forces agreed to an unconditional surrender.

10 Most likely Leslie Henry Hardman (1913–2008), an Orthodox rabbi, Senior Jewish Chaplain to the British Forces, and the first Jewish British Army chaplain to enter Bergen-Belsen. Upon encountering the survivors, Hardman made it a priority to comfort the survivors and treat both survivors and the dead with dignity. In addition to supervising the burial of over 20,000 victims, he also attempted to persuade army bulldozer operators not to push the bodies of the dead into a pit, in an attempt to return to the victims at least a small part of the dignity robbed from them in life. After his return to London, Hardman served as rabbi of Hendon United Synagogue until 1982.

effect – while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German S.S. uniforms. It is questionable which clothing they hate the more.

(4) With a few notable exceptions, nothing in the way of a program of activity or organized effort toward rehabilitation has been inaugurated and the internees, for they are literally such, have little to do except to dwell upon their plight, the uncertainty of their future and, what is more unfortunate, to draw comparisons between their treatment “under the Germans” and “in liberation.” Beyond knowing that they are no longer in danger of the gas chambers, torture, and other forms of violent death, they see – and there is – little change. The morale of those who are either stateless or who do not wish to return to their countries of nationality is very low. They have witnessed great activity and efficiency in returning people to their homes but they hear or see nothing in the way of plans for them and consequently they wonder and frequently ask what “liberation” means. This situation is considerably accentuated where, as in so many cases, they are able to look from their crowded and bare quarters and see the German civilian population, particularly in the rural areas, to all appearances living normal lives in their own homes.

(5) The most absorbing worry of these Nazi and war victims concerns relatives – wives, husbands, parents, children. Most of them have been separated for three, four or five years and they cannot understand why the liberators should not have undertaken immediately the organized effort to re-unite [sic] family groups. Most of the very little which has been done in this direction has been informal action by the displaced persons themselves with the aid of devoted Army Chaplains, frequently Rabbis, and the American Joint Distribution Committee. Broadcasts of names and locations by the Psychological Warfare Division at Luxembourg¹¹ have been helpful, although the lack of receiving sets has handicapped the effectiveness of the program. Even where, as has been happening, information has been received as to relatives living in other camps in Germany, it depends on the personal attitude and disposition of the Camp Commandant whether permission can be obtained or assistance received to follow up on the information. Some Camp Commandants are quite rigid in this particular, while others lend every effort to join family groups.

11 The Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF (SHAEF/PWD) was a joint Anglo-American organization established during the Second World War to conduct tactical psychological warfare against German troops and then in recently liberated countries in Northwest Europe during and after D-Day. The division used radio and leaflet propaganda to undermine German soldiers' morale; the PWD took over *Radio Luxembourg* as a means of doing so.

(6) It is difficult to evaluate the food situation fairly because one must be mindful of the fact that quite generally food is scarce and is likely to be more so during the winter ahead. On the other hand, in presenting the factual situation, one must raise the question as to how much longer many of these people, particularly those who have over such a long period felt persecution and near starvation, can survive on a diet composed principally of bread and coffee, irrespective of the caloric content. In many camps, the 2,000 calories included 1,250 calories of a black, wet and extremely unappetizing bread. I received the distinct impression and considerable substantiating information that large numbers of the German population – again principally in the rural areas – have a more varied and palatable diet than is the case with the displaced persons.¹² The Camp Commandants put in their requisitions with the German burgeoismeister¹³ and many seemed to accept whatever he turned over as being the best that was available.

[3] (7) Many of the buildings in which displaced persons are housed are clearly unfit for winter use and everywhere there is great concern about the prospect of a complete lack of fuel. There is every likelihood that close to a million displaced persons will be in Germany and Austria when winter sets in. The outlook in many areas so far as shelter, food and fuel are concerned is anything but bright.

II

NEEDS OF THE JEWS

While it is impossible to state accurately the number of Jews now in that part of Germany not under Russian occupation, all indications point to the fact that the number is small, with one hundred thousand probably the top figure; some informed persons contend the number is considerably smaller.¹⁴ The principal nationality groups are Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Germans and Austrians.

The first and plainest need of these people is a recognition of their actual status and by this I mean their status as Jews. Most of them have spent years in the worst of the concentration camps. In many cases, although the full extent is not yet known, they are the sole survivors of their families, and many have

12 On the food supplies distributed to the DPs see Document 8, n. 34.

13 Harrison here misspells *Bürgermeister*, the German term for mayor.

14 The report and Harrison's tour of the camps preceded the massive influx of Eastern European Jewish refugees, primarily from Poland, who were fleeing the antisemitism, violence, and pogroms they faced when they attempted to return home and reclaim their property. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*; Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence*.

been through the agony of witnessing the destruction of their loved ones. Understandably, therefore, their present condition, physical and mental, is far worse than that of other groups.

While SHAEF (now Combined Displaced Persons Executive) policy directives have recognized formerly persecuted persons, including enemy and ex-enemy nationals, as one of the special categories of displaced persons, the general practice thus far has been to follow only nationality lines. While admittedly it is not normally desirable to set aside particular racial or religious groups from their nationality categories, the plain truth is that this was done for so long by the Nazis that a group has been created which has special needs. Jews as Jews (not as members of their nationality groups) have been more severely victimized than the non-Jewish members of the same or other nationalities.

When they are now considered only as members of nationality groups, the result is that special attention cannot be given to their admittedly greater needs because, it is contended, doing so would constitute preferential treatment and lead to trouble with the non-Jewish portion of the particular nationality group.

Thus there is a distinctly unrealistic approach to the problem. Refusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect, in this situation, of closing one's eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which has already made them a separate group with greater needs.

Their second great need can be presented only by discussing what I found to be their

WISHES AS TO FUTURE DESTINATION

(1) For reasons that are obvious and need not be labored, most Jews want to leave Germany and Austria as soon as possible. That is their first and great expressed wish and while this report necessarily deals with other needs present in the situation, many of the people themselves fear other suggestions or plans for their benefit because of the possibility that attention might thereby be diverted from the all-important matter of evacuation from Germany. Their desire to leave Germany is an urgent one. The life which they have led for the past ten years, a life of fear and wandering and physical torture, has made them impatient of delay. They want to be evacuated to Palestine now, just as other national groups are being repatriated to their homes. They do not look kindly on the idea of waiting around in idleness and in discomfort in a German camp for many months until a leisurely solution is found for them.

[4] (2) Some wish to return to their countries of nationality but as to this there is considerable nationality variation. Very few Polish or Baltic Jews wish to return to their countries; higher percentages of the Hungarian and

Rumanian groups want to return although some hasten to add that it may be only temporarily in order to look for relatives.¹⁵ Some of the German Jews, especially those who have intermarried, prefer to stay in Germany.

(3) With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is definitely and pre-eminently the first choice. Many now have relatives there, while others, having experienced intolerance and persecution in their homelands for years, feel that only in Palestine will they be welcomed and find peace and quiet and be given an opportunity to live and work. In the case of the Polish and the Baltic Jews, the desire to go to Palestine is based in a great majority of the cases on a love for the country and devotion to the Zionist ideal. It is also true however, that there are many who wish to go to Palestine because they realize that their opportunity to be admitted into the United States or into other countries in the Western hemisphere is limited, if not impossible. Whatever the motive which causes them to turn to Palestine, it is undoubtedly true that the great majority of the Jews now in Germany do not wish to return to those countries from which they came.

(4) Palestine, while clearly the choice of most, is not the only named place of possible emigration. Some, but the number is not large, wish to emigrate to the United States where they have relatives, others to England, the British Dominions, or to South America.

Thus the second great need is the prompt development of a plan to get out of Germany and Austria as many as possible of those who wish it.

Otherwise the needs and wishes of the Jewish groups among the displaced persons can be simply stated: among their physical needs are clothing and

15 Although Jewish survivors continued to face antisemitism in the postwar period throughout Central, East-Central, and Eastern Europe, anti-Jewish violence was particularly acute in Poland, the Baltic states, and Slovakia. The Kielce pogrom in Poland in July 1946 is considered as perhaps the “most notorious pogrom” in postwar Eastern Europe, causing 120,000 Jews to flee Poland. Earlier pogroms had occurred, often in response to returning Jews attempting to reclaim their property. In Poland, anti-Jewish violence and pogroms came in waves, peaking in the months of March, April, and August of 1945. Violent outbreaks included the Kraków pogrom on August 11, as well as the killing of four Jewish survivors near Radom and anti-Jewish violence in Kielce, Kraków, Lublin, and Rzeszów earlier that month, and the grenade assault on a Jewish orphanage in Rabka the following day. The most notorious pogrom in Slovakia also occurred before the Kielce pogrom, in Topolčany in September 1945. Subsequent waves of anti-Jewish violence occurred there in the summer of 1946, the spring of 1947, and the summer of 1948 in cities and towns across Slovakia, with major episodes in Bratislava. Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence*, 7, 58 and 114–122; Tokarska-Bakir, *Cursed*.

shoes (most sorely needed), more varied and palatable diet, medicines, beds and mattresses, reading materials. The clothing for the camps too is requisitioned from the German population, and whether there is not sufficient quantity to be had or the German population has not been willing or has not been compelled to give up sufficient quantity, the internees feel particularly bitter about the state of their clothing when they see how well the German population is still dressed. The German population today is still the best dressed population in all of Europe.

III

MANNER IN WHICH NEEDS ARE BEING MET

Aside from having brought relief from the fear of extermination, hospitalization for the serious starvation cases and some general improvement in conditions under which the remaining displaced persons are compelled to live, relatively little beyond the planning stage has been done, during the period of mass repatriation, to meet the special needs of the formerly persecuted groups.

UNRRA, being neither sufficiently organized or equipped nor authorized to operate displaced persons camps or centers on any large scale, has not been in position to make any substantial contribution to the situation. Regrettably there has been a disinclination on the part of many Camp Commandants to utilize UNRRA personnel even to the extent available, though it must be admitted that in many situations this resulted from unfortunate experiences Army officers had with UNRRA personnel who were unqualified and inadequate for the responsibility involved. Then, too, in the American and British zones, it too frequently occurred that UNRRA personnel did not include English-speaking members and this hampered proper working relationships.¹⁶

[5] Under these circumstances, UNRRA, to which has been assigned the responsibility for co-ordinating [sic] activities of private social welfare agencies, has been in [sic] awkward position when it came to considering and acting upon proposals of one kind or another submitted by well qualified agencies which would aid and supplement military and UNRRA responsibilities. The result has been that, up to this point, very few private social agencies are working with displaced persons, including the Jews, although the situation cries out for their services in many different ways.

16 It is not entirely certain what Harrison means by this passage. However, the composition of UNRRA teams was international in nature, initially including many French and Scandinavian workers. Particularly after the establishment of Jewish DP camps, there was a push to recruit more workers with fluency in Yiddish.

It must be said, too, that because of their pre-occupation [sic] with mass repatriation and because of housing, personnel and transport difficulties, the military authorities have shown considerable resistance to the entrance of voluntary agency representatives, no matter how qualified they might be to help meet existing needs of displaced persons.

IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Now that the worst of the pressure of mass repatriation is over, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the next and perhaps more difficult period those who have suffered most and longest be given first and not last attention.

Specifically, in the days immediately ahead, the Jews in Germany and Austria should have the first claim upon the conscience of the people of the United States and Great Britain and the military and other personnel who represent them in work being done in Germany and Austria.

2. Evacuation from Germany should be the emphasized theme, policy and practice.

(a) Recognizing that repatriation is most desirable from the standpoint of all concerned, the Jews who wish to return to their own countries should be aided to do so without further delay. Whatever special action is needed to accomplish this with respect to countries of reception or consent of military or other authorities should be undertaken with energy and determination. Unless this and other action, about to be suggested, is taken, substantial unofficial and unauthorized movements of people must be expected, and these will require considerable force to prevent, for the patience of many of the persons involved is, and in my opinion with justification, nearing the breaking point. It cannot be overemphasized that many of these people are now desperate, that they have become accustomed under German rule to employ every possible means to reach their end, and that the fear of death does not restrain them.

(b) With respect to those who do not, for good reason, wish to return to their homes, prompt planning should likewise be undertaken. In this connection, the issue of Palestine must be faced. Now that such large numbers are no longer involved and if there is any genuine sympathy for what these survivors have endured, some reasonable extension or modification of the British White Paper of 1939¹⁷ ought to be possible without too serious repercussions. For

17 The British White Paper of 1939 was a key document in British policy toward Palestine during the Mandate period. Against the backdrop of the Arab revolt in Palestine between 1936 and 1939, the British White Paper restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, limited the ability of Jews to purchase land, and abandoned the previously accepted partition plan. Most controversial was the plan to limit total legal Jewish

some of the European Jews, there is no acceptable or even decent solution for their future other than Palestine. This is said on a purely humanitarian basis with no reference to ideological or political considerations so far as Palestine is concerned.

It is my understanding, based upon reliable information, that certificates for immigration to Palestine will be practically exhausted by the end of the current month (August 1945). What is the future to be? To anyone who has visited the concentration camps and who has talked with the despairing survivors, it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that the gates of Palestine should be soon closed.

[6] The Jewish Agency of Palestine [sic] has submitted to the British Government a petition that one hundred thousand additional immigration certificates be made available.¹⁸ A memorandum accompanying the petition makes a persuasive showing with respect to the immediate absorptive capacity of Palestine and the current, actual man power shortages there.

While there may be room for difference of opinion as to the precise number of such certificates which might under the circumstances be considered reasonable, there is no question but that the request thus made would, if granted, contribute much to the sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria and even other displaced Jews, who do not wish either to remain there or to return to their countries of nationality.

No other single matter is, therefore, so important from the viewpoint of Jews in Germany and Austria and those elsewhere who have known the horrors of the concentration camps as is the disposition of the Palestine question.

Dr. Hugh Dalton,¹⁹ a prominent member of the new British Government, is reported as having said at the Labour Party Conference in May 1945:

immigration to 75,000 for five years. Sergio DellaPergola, *Art. Demography*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 2, 253–261.

18 The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which was initially called the Palestine Office (of the Zionist Organization). The Palestine Office went through several name changes before being designated in 1929 as the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the organization provided for in the League of Nations' Palestine Mandate. Throughout its existence, the organization worked to create settlement and economic opportunities for Jews immigrating to or already living in Palestine; it would become the Jewish Agency for Israel after the establishment of the Jewish state. Amos Morris-Reich, *Art. Palestine Office*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 5, 717–722.

19 Hugh Dalton (1887–1962), also known as Edward Hugh John Neale Dalton and Baron Dalton, PC, was an economist and British Labour Party politician. He was Minister of Economic Warfare under Prime Minister Winston Churchill's (1874–1965) coalition government, serving from 1940 to 1942. Subsequently, he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1945 to 1947.

“This Party has laid it down and repeated it so recently as last April ... that this time, having regard to the unspeakable horrors that have been perpetrated upon the Jews of Germany and other occupied countries in Europe, it is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine now of any Jews who desire to go there ...

We also have stated clearly that this is not a matter which should be regarded as one for which the British Government alone should take responsibility; but as it comes, as do many others, in the international field, it is indispensable that there should be close agreement and co-operation [sic] among the British, American and Soviet Governments, particularly if we are going to get a sure settlement in Palestine and the surrounding countries ...”

If this can be said to represent the viewpoint of the new Government in Great Britain, it certainly would not be inappropriate for the United States Government to express its interest in and support of some equitable solution of the question which would make it possible for some reasonable number of Europe’s persecuted Jews, now homeless under any fair view, to resettle in Palestine. That is their wish and it is rendered desirable by the generally accepted policy of permitting family groups to unite or reunite.

(c) The United States should, under existing immigration laws, permit reasonable numbers of such persons to come here, again particularly those who have family ties in this country.²⁰ As indicated earlier, the number who desire emigration to the United States is not large.

If Great Britain and the United States were to take the actions recited, it might the more readily be that other countries would likewise be willing to keep their doors reasonably open for such humanitarian considerations and

20 In August 1945, existing United States immigration laws continued to operate on a quota system that had favored Northern and Western Europeans over Central, and even more so Eastern, European immigrants. It also required visa applicants to submit moral affidavits attesting to their identities and good conduct from several responsible and disinterested persons, as well as two financial affidavits and health certificates. This extremely restrictive system would persist until 1950, when President Truman signed the amended Displaced Persons Act into law. However, on December 22, 1945, Truman issued a statement known as the “Truman Directive,” which announced that DPs would be granted priority for American visas within the existing quota system. While overall immigration into the United States did not increase, between 35,000 and 40,000 DPs, mostly Jewish, entered the United States between December 22, 1945, and July 1, 1948, under the provisions of the Directive. Anonymous, Art. United States Immigration and Refugee Law, 1921–1980, in: USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia, <<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/united-states-immigration-and-refugee-law-1921-1980>> (May 27, 2024).

to demonstrate in a practical manner their disapproval of Nazi policy which unfortunately has poisoned so much of Europe.

3. To the extent that such emigration from Germany and Austria is delayed, some immediate temporary solution must be found. In any event there will be a substantial number of the persecuted persons who are not physically fit or otherwise presently prepared for emigration.

[7] Here I feel strongly that greater and more extensive efforts should be made to get them out of camps for they are sick of living in camps. In the first place, there is real need for such specialized places as (a) tuberculosis sanatoria and (b) rest homes for those who are mentally ill or who need a period of readjustment before living again in the world at large – anywhere. Some will require at least short periods of training or retraining before they can be really useful citizens.

But speaking more broadly, there is an opportunity here to give some real meaning to the policy agreed upon at Potsdam.²¹ If it be true, as seems to be widely conceded, that the German people at large do not have any sense of guilt with respect to the war and its causes and results, and if the policy is to be “To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves,”²² then it is difficult to understand why so many displaced persons, particularly those who have so long been persecuted and whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed, should be compelled to live in crude, over-crowded camps while the German people, in rural areas, continue undisturbed in their homes.

21 The Potsdam Conference was held from July 17 through August 2, 1945, by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1878–1953), British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (and later Prime Minister Clement Attlee, 1883–1967), and American President Truman in order to negotiate terms for the end of the war, continuing discussions that had begun at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. The primary question discussed was how to deal with Germany. Though the leaders had numerous disagreements, they managed to agree that Germany would be subject to complete demilitarization and disarmament, under four zones of Allied occupation. This included the dismantlement of all aspects of German industry that could be used for military purposes, the elimination of all German military and paramilitary forces, a ban on the production of all military hardware, and the remaking of German society along democratic lines including a program of denazification and the arrest and prosecution of those Germans deemed war criminals.

22 Quoted from: “Joint Report with Allied Leaders on the Potsdam Conference.” Extracts from the Potsdam Agreement, 2 August 1945, in: David G. Williamson, *Germany from Defeat to Partition, 1945–1963*, London/New York 2001, 123 f., here 123.

As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of S.S. troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

It seems much more equitable and as it should be to witness the very few places where fearless and uncompromising military officers have either requisitioned an entire village for the benefit of displaced persons, compelling the German population to find housing where they can, or have required the local population to billet a reasonable number of them. Thus, the displaced persons, including the persecuted, live more like normal people and less like prisoners or criminals or herded sheep. They are in Germany, most of them and certainly the Jews, through no fault or wish of their own. This fact is in this fashion being brought home to the German people but it is being done on too small a scale.

At many places, however, the military government officers manifest the utmost reluctance or indisposition, if not timidity, about inconveniencing the German population. They even say that their job is to get communities working properly and soundly again, that they must “live with the Germans while the DPs (displaced persons) are a more temporary problem.” Thus (and I am ready to cite the example) if a group of Jews are ordered to vacate their temporary quarters, needed for military purposes, and there are two possible sites, one a block of flats (modest apartments) with conveniences and the other a series of shabby buildings with outside toilet and washing facilities the burgomeister [sic] readily succeeds in persuading the Town Major to allot the latter to the displaced persons and to save the former for returning German civilians.

This tendency reflects itself in other ways, namely, in the employment of German civilians in the offices of military government officers when equally qualified personnel could easily be found among the displaced persons whose repatriation is not imminent. Actually, there have been situations where displaced persons, especially Jews, have found it difficult to obtain audiences with military government authorities because ironically, they have been obliged to go through German employees who have not facilitated matters.

[8] Quite generally, insufficient use is made of the services of displaced persons. Many of them are able and eager to work but apparently, they are not considered in this regard. While appreciating that language difficulties are sometimes involved, I am convinced that, both within and outside camps, greater use could be made of the personal services of those displaced persons who in all likelihood will be on hand for some time. Happily, in some camps

every effort is made to utilize the services of the displaced persons and these are apt to be the best camps in all respects.

4. To the extent that (a) evacuation from Germany and Austria is not immediately possible and (b) the formerly persecuted groups cannot be housed in villages or billeted with the German population, I recommend urgently that separate camps be set up for Jews or at least for those who wish, in the absence of a better solution, to be in such camps. There are several reasons for this: (1) a great majority want it; (2) it is the only way in which administratively their special needs and problems can be met without charges of preferential treatment or (oddly enough) charges of “discrimination” with respect to Jewish agencies now prepared and ready to give them assistance.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize that it is not a case of singling out a particular group for special privileges. It is a matter of raising to a more normal level the position of a group which has been depressed to the lowest depths conceivable by years of organized and inhuman oppression. The measures necessary for their restitution do not come within any reasonable interpretation of privileged treatment and are required by considerations of justice and humanity.

There has been some tendency at spots in the direction of separate camps for those who might be found to be stateless or non-repatriable or whose repatriation is likely to be deferred some time. Actually, too, this was announced some time ago as SHAEF policy but in practice it has not been taken to mean much for there is (understandably if not carried too far) a refusal to contemplate possible statelessness and an insistence, in the interests of the large repatriation program, to consider all as repatriable. This results in a resistance to anything in the way of special planning for the “hard-core,” although all admit it is there and will inevitably appear.²³ While speaking of camps, this should be pointed out: While it may be that conditions in Germany and Austria are still such that certain control measures are required, there seems little justification for the continuance of barbed-wire fences, armed guards, and prohibition against leaving the camp except by passes, which at some places are illiberally granted. Prevention of looting is given as the reason for these stern measures, but it is interesting that in portions of the

23 The term “hard-core” refers to those DPs who, as a result of chronic illness or disability afflicting either themselves or a family member, were unable or, for a variety of reasons, unwilling to qualify for existing immigration opportunities. Many would ultimately find themselves in DP Camp Föhrenwald; the last of these DPs were resettled in Munich and Frankfurt am Main in 1957.

Seventh Army area²⁴ where greater liberty of movement in and out of camps is given there is actually much less plundering than in other areas where people, wishing to leave camp temporarily, must do so by stealth.

5. As quickly as possible, the actual operation of such camps should be turned over to a civilian agency – UNRRA. That organization is aware of weaknesses in its present structure and is pressing to remedy them. In that connection, it is believed that greater assistance could be given by the military authorities, upon whom any civilian agency in Germany and Austria today is necessarily dependent so far as housing, transport and other items are concerned. While it is true the military have been urging UNRRA to get ready to assume responsibility, it is also the fact that insufficient cooperation of an active nature has been given to accomplish the desired end.

6. Since, in any event, the military authorities must necessarily continue to participate in the program for all displaced persons, especially with respect to housing, transport, security, and certain supplies, it is recommended that there be a review of the military personnel selected for Camp Commandant positions. Some serving at present, while perhaps adequate for the mass repatriation job, are manifestly unsuited for the longer-term job of working in a camp composed of people whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed. Officers who have had some background or experience in social welfare work are to be preferred and it is believed there are some who are available. It is most important that the officers selected be sympathetic with the program and that they be temperamentally able to work and to co-operate with UNRRA and other relief and welfare agencies.

[9] 7. Pending the assumption of responsibility for operations by UNRRA, it would be desirable if a more extensive plan of field visitation by appropriate Army Group Headquarters be instituted. It is believed that many of the conditions now existing in the camps would not be tolerated if more intimately known by supervisory officers through inspection tours.

8. It is urgently recommended that plans for tracing services, now under consideration, be accelerated to the fullest extent possible and that, in this same direction, communication services, if on open postal cards only, be made available to displaced persons within Germany and Austria as soon as

24 The Seventh Army area in August 1945 included the western parts of Germany; the troops were commanded by General Wade H. Haislip (1889–1971). Though its headquarters was initially located in Augsburg for a short time, it was moved to Heidelberg on June 22, 1945, where it remained until the Seventh Army was deactivated on March 31, 1946.

possible.²⁵ The difficulties are appreciated but it is believed that if the anxiety of the people, so long abused and harassed, were fully understood, ways and means could be found within the near future to make such communication and tracing of relatives possible. I believe also that some of the private agencies could be helpful in this direction if given an opportunity to function.

V

OTHER COMMENTS

While I was instructed to report conditions as I found them, the following should be added to make the picture complete:

(1) A gigantic task confronted the occupying armies in Germany and Austria in getting back to their homes as many as possible of the more than six million displaced persons found in those countries. Less than three months after V-E Day, more than four million of such persons have been repatriated – a phenomenal performance. One's first impression, in surveying the situation, is that of complete admiration for what has been accomplished by the military authorities in so materially reducing the time as predicted to be required for this stupendous task. Praise of the highest order is due all military units with respect to this phase of the post-fighting job. In directing attention to existing conditions which unquestionably require remedy, there is no intention or wish to detract one particle from the preceding statements.

(2) While I did not actually see conditions as they existed immediately after liberation I had them described in detail sufficient to make entirely clear that there has been, during the intervening period, some improvement in the conditions under which most of the remaining displaced persons are living. Reports which have come out of Germany informally from refugees themselves and from persons interested in refugee groups indicate something of a tendency not to take into account the full scope of the overwhelming task and responsibilities facing the military authorities. While it is understandable that those who have been persecuted and otherwise mistreated over such a long period should be impatient at what appears to them to be undue delay in meeting their special needs, fairness dictates that, in evaluating the progress made, the entire problem and all of its ramifications be kept in mind. My effort has been, therefore, to weigh quite carefully the many complaints made to me in the course of my survey, both by displaced persons themselves and in their behalf, in the light of the many responsibilities which confronted the military authorities.

25 Civilians in postwar-occupied Europe had limited mail service and had to use specific formats, usually through the International Red Cross, when sending mail.

(3) While for the sake of brevity this report necessarily consisted largely of general statements, it should be recognized that exceptions exist with respect to practically all of such generalizations. One high ranking military authority predicted, in advance of my trip through Germany and Austria, that I would find, with respect to camps containing displaced persons, “some that are quite good, some that are very bad, with the average something – under satisfactory.” My subsequent trip confirmed that prediction in all respects.

[10] In order to file this report promptly so that possibly some remedial steps might be considered at as early a date as possible, I have not taken time to analyze all of the notes made in the course of the trip or to comment on the situation in France, Belgium, Holland or Switzerland, also visited.²⁶ Accordingly, I respectfully request that this report be considered as partial in nature. The problems present in Germany and Austria are much more serious and difficult than in any of the other countries named and this fact, too, seemed to make desirable the filing of a partial report immediately upon completion of the mission.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the military authorities who have had to deal with it. The army’s ability to move millions of people quickly and efficiently has been amply demonstrated. The evacuation of a relatively small number of Jews from Germany and Austria will present no great problem to the military. With the end of the Japanese war,²⁷ the shipping situation should also become sufficiently improved to make such a move feasible. The

26 The U.S. State Department arranged for Harrison to conduct his inquiry into the condition of the DP camps in Germany and Austria and the current and future needs of the DPs living there in June 1945. He spent July and August touring the camps, sending his report to President Truman in late August. He visited 30 DP camps during his mission, accompanied by Dr. Joseph Schwartz. Anonymous, Art. The Harrison Report, in: USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia, <<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-harrison-report>> (May 27, 2024).

27 After Japan declared its unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, the Pacific War ended with the signing of the Japanese declaration of capitulation on September 2, 1945.

civilized world owes it to this handful of survivors to provide them with a home where they can again settle down and begin to live as human beings.

Respectfully,

EARL G. HARRISON.²⁸



Document 16

*Jerry (Jewish GI, last name unknown) to Mom and Dad
Munich, Rosh Hashanah (September 7–9), 1945
Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages; typewritten corrections and underlinings
Language: English
JDC Archives, New York, NY AR 194554/4/32/6/329*

–copy–

Rosh Hashona, 1945

Dear Mom and Dad,

I hope this letter²⁹ reaches you by Yom Kippur. If it does, perhaps you can give it to your Rabbi so he can read it to the Congregation during the sermon.

28 A week after receiving the Harrison Report, President Truman wrote to General Eisenhower asking him to take steps as soon as possible to improve the situation of Jewish DPs, particularly in the areas of housing and food supply. Letter from President Truman to General Eisenhower in Response to the Harrison Report, August 31, 1945, in: Bartrup/Dickerman (eds.), *The Holocaust*, 1363 f.

29 According to sources, American-Jewish chaplain Abraham Klausner used a “sensational sermon” delivered at Rosh Hashanah services at the Munich opera house in September 1945 to almost single-handedly organize a letter-writing campaign by Jewish GIs raising alarm bells surrounding the condition of Jewish DPs. Uniform letters, many likely drafted by Klausner himself and sent home to alarmed Jewish families in the United States, urged American Jews to come to aid of the DPs and supplement the inadequate aid of the JDC and UNRRA, warning that “immediate

I have just come from the Rosh Hashona services held in the Bavarian State Opera House conducted by a lieutenant from the 9th division, whose sermon was hardly less than sensational. He works in a DP team, and his revelations came as a surprise to almost everyone in the theatre this morning. I knew nothing about the conditions he described, even tho [sic] I work in the highest MG³⁰ headquarters of Bavaria. What I tell you here is what his [sic] lieutenant told us.

There are about 55,000 Jews in the U.S. zone, most of them from Poland, Russia, Rumania, and Hungary.³¹ They live in DP camps under the most miserable of conditions. The camps are the same ones where the people were before the liberation – concentration camps. The SS has gone, but everything else remains. The camps are filthy and have no sanitary facilities. Many sleep on cold cement floors. They have no clothes, no soap. Those in hospital wards must live under the same conditions. There is no soap or better food even for them. While German soldiers, beautifully suntanned, are cared for in elaborate and modern German hospitals – where they were before capture and where they still are – the sick Jewish inmates are DP's remain in the same so called “hospital wards” of the former concentration camps where they were before their “liberation.” Often, certain camps are “liquidated” and the inmates must be sent to another camp – fast.

The lieutenant told how he came across a cattle-car train filled with 800 DP's – 200 of them Jews – who had been travelling 4 days without food or water from one camp to another. That happened 3 weeks ago – sounds like a #|N|azi “transport to the east,” doesn't it?

He told us of one old, shabby-looking Jew who was sentenced to 30 days in jail by an MG court for stealing a cucumber. He stole a cucumber because he didn't like the black-bread-and-soup-diet he gets every day. Many Jews – like

help must come from you if these newly liberated victims of Nazism are to survive this coming winter.” Quoted from Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 146. See also Patt, “The People Must Be Forced to Go to Palestine.”

30 Military Government.

31 In a report dated August 19, 1945, the JDC's Director of European Operations, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, noted that while it was “impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of Jews among the displaced persons now in Germany,” estimates ranged from 50,000 to 125,000, with a “fair guess” being 75,000. It should be noted that the date of this report precedes the mass influx of “infiltrates” from Poland, mostly Jewish, who had been repatriated from the Soviet Union, but fled once again after facing antisemitism, violence, and pogroms when attempting to reclaim their homes and property. JDC Archives, New York, NY AR 194554/3/2/1/1025, Report of Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz (Paris, August 19, 1945); Gross, *Fear*.

all other DP's – have resorted to stealing. They steal clothes, they steal food, they engage in black market operations.³²

Consequently, many of them have landed in jail. These people must remain in Germany, because they have no place to go. They cannot return to their home towns – only ten days ago there was a pogrom³³ in Gracow [sic], a city in the “new, demogtratic [sic] Polish republic” – and they cannot go to Palestine because the new British government has not yet seen fit to re-open the gates of the Holy Land.³⁴ So, here they are and here they stay. Despite the many relief agencies and the money donated in the States, Jewish DP's live a life hardly better than the life they were used to under the Nazis. Perhaps it's the fact that the military has control, perhaps it's the indifference of certain headquarters, but the fact remains that relief agencies have not helped these people the way they should be helped. For every miserable Jew we see here we can say, “Here but for the Grace of G-D walk I.”³⁵

The lieutenant asked us to tell our people at home that certain things are urgently needed here and asks that parcels be sent of the following: Class 1. clothes; new clothes; Class 2. sanitary articles; soap, toothpaste, etc;

32 The constant struggle to obtain daily life necessities often required officials, locals, and DPs alike to engage in deceit, trickery, and extralegal methods to secure much needed supplies. So-called black market activity, involving not only Jewish DPs as occupying forces and local officials often suggested, but also local Germans, Americans, and non-Jewish DPs, was one manifestation of this ongoing struggle. Crago-Schneider, Jewish “Shtetls” in Postwar Germany; Anna Holian, Jews, Foreigners, and the Space of the Postwar Economy: The Case of Munich's Möhlstrasse, in: Simone Lässig/Miriam Rürup (eds.), *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, Oxford 2017, 263–279. See also Document 67 and Figure 4.

33 The Kraków pogrom took place on August 11, 1945. It was the first anti-Jewish riot in postwar Poland, and like many of the pogroms that would follow, it was inspired by a blood libel accusation modernized for the postwar period, which claimed that the Jews, exhausted from the Holocaust, would infuse themselves with the blood of Christian children. At least one Jewish woman was murdered, but the exact number of Jews killed during the pogrom remains unknown. Anna Cichopek-Gajraj, *The Cracow Pogrom of August 1945: A Narrative Reconstruction*, in: Joshua D. Zimmerman (ed.), *Contested Memories. Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and its Aftermath*, New Brunswick, NJ, 2003, 221–238.

34 The British government maintained its blockade of Palestine after the war, continuing the White Paper policy initiated in May 1939. Patrick Kury/Erik Petry, *Art. Basel*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC* vol. 1, 323–334.

35 Most likely an allusion to 1 Corinthians 15:10: “But by the grace of God I am what I am [...]”

Class 3. cultural items; German-English dictionaries, basic English grammars, prayer books, Hebrew literature, musical instruments, violin strings. Class 4. religious articles; tallit,³⁶ prayer books, and so on.

[2] I'm sure everybody can dig up a "request letter" to show to the postal clerk. These packages should be sent to Jewish Chaplain, 9th Division, APO 9, c/o P.M., New York, or they can be sent to me, and I'll turn them over to the headquarters of the Jewish committee in Munich.³⁷

Some Jews were lucky enough to be allowed to leave Germany. 300 Jewish children went to England, and ## |15| young Jews went to Palestine.³⁸ What generosity!

I don't want to spoil your holiday, but this lieutenant's appeal seems so just, I could not help but sit down immediately to write this letter.

Love,
Jerry

Document 17

*Irving Heymont*³⁹ to Joan Heymont

Landsberg am Lech, September 20, 1945

Published letter, 5 pages; "Heymont letters" on the top of every page close to the page number (not reproduced here)

36 *Tallit* (Yidd., prayer shawl; Yidd. pl.: *taleysim*, Hebr. pl.: *talliot*), a shawl with fringed corners (called *zizit*) worn over head and shoulders during religious services.

37 The headquarters of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews, which was initially located at the Deutsches Museum and later moved to 3 Siebertstraße.

38 Several groups of Jewish child survivors of the Holocaust, 732 children in total, were sent to Great Britain beginning in August 1945. These children, who initially were settled in the Lake District, formed a tightly knit group of friends bonded by their shared experience of trauma. A study of the group and its members' experiences before, during, and after the war is: Martin Gilbert, *The Boys: The Untold Story of 732 Young Concentration Camp Survivors*, New York 1996.

39 Irving Heymont (1919–2009) was the administrator of DP Camp Landsberg from September until December of 1945. He was born in New York to a Jewish family and worked as a metallurgical chemist before marrying his wife Joan (née Tobias; 1918–1994) and enlisting in the Army in 1940. During the war, he served in Germany and Austria as an officer in the 5th Regiment of the 71st Infantry Division. He assisted in the liberation of the Mauthausen subcamp Gunskirchen before being assigned to run Landsberg.

Language: English

American Jewish Archives (ed.), Among the Survivors of the Holocaust –1945: The Landsberg DP Camp Letters of Major Irving Heymont, United States Army, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1982, 8–12 (letter no. 2)⁴⁰

20 September 1945

... It is 0530 hours, and I am up and dressed. No one else is awake yet. So much has happened in so short a time that I can't sleep. It seems as though years have passed since I was in London. My letter written last night must have you as confused as I am. There is little that can be done now before the big inspection later this morning – might as well use this opportunity to describe the camp in more detail.⁴¹ It is located in a former Wehrmacht artillery *Kaserne*, or permanent military post. The dwellings, known as blocks, are three-story brick barracks typical of any permanent Army dwellings. The rooms are very large and afford no privacy. Washrooms and latrines have long rows of the usual tile fixtures. From a military viewpoint, the barracks are modern and well designed. For housing families, they could not be worse.

The DPs sleep in bunks of rough, unfinished lumber that are often double and even triple decked. Mattresses are straw-filled sacks. Bedding consists of

40 The originals of the letters contained in the cited publication, which were chosen and edited by Heymont for the publication, are held at the archives of the USHMM. However, the letter reproduced here does not appear in the collection. The location of the original version of this letter remains unknown; it is possible that it has been lost, damaged, or misplaced over time, or that it was removed from the collection prior to its donation to the USHMM. USHMM Archives, Washington, D.C., RG 19.038 (Irving Heymont Papers), Series I: Correspondence 1945–1995.

41 Landsberg was one of the largest DP camps in postwar-occupied Europe. Initially the site was an international DP camp, but following the Harrison Report (Document 15), it was converted to a camp solely for Jewish DPs. A survey of the 4,976 residents of the camp after its conversion, dated October 1, 1945, indicated that 75.2 percent (3,740) were Polish, 5.7 percent (283) Hungarian, and 3.3 percent (162) Romanian; between the summer and October of 1945, there was a sizeable repatriation of Hungarian and Romanian Jews. For the most part the Jews of Hungary and Romania sought to return home following liberation, while the Polish Jews (some 90 percent of the Jews liberated in Germany) were far more divided on the issue. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 27; idem, *The Formation of She'erit Hapletah*; YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 8, frames 1032–1037.

shoddy gray Wehrmacht blankets or U.S. Army blankets. Sheets seem to be unknown except in the camp hospital and among a few enterprising persons who must have black market resources. The people are provided with tall, narrow, wooden wall lockers. In these lockers (or occasionally in a wooden box, a battered suitcase, or a rucksack), they keep their worldly possessions, food supply, and utensils.

To afford some privacy, the wall lockers are placed so as to form partitions. Blankets, hung over cords, and scrap boards and panels are also used in a usually unsuccessful effort to get away from the ever-present view of the neighbors. I was immediately struck by the intense desire of the people to gain a little privacy – to be individuals and not part of an ordered mass.

In the *Kaserne*, there are a large number of two-story masonry stables and garages. Some of the stables are partly filled with abandoned Wehrmacht equipment – especially spare parts for half-track vehicles. Oddly enough, one stable is [9] filled with glass bed urinals. Wonder how they got here. A few of the garages and stables have been converted into classrooms and poorly equipped workshops. Most of them, in the upper stories, are used to house people. One of the riding halls in the *Kaserne* area is being converted into a recreational hall and camp theater. The other riding halls are just enormous barns with dirt floors.

The only organized kitchen facilities are in the two buildings that had been built as central kitchens. The equipment is fairly complete – but badly run down. Part of the kitchen equipment, I was told, was lost during the looting and confusion at the immediate end of the war. Both kitchens have very limited serving space. I would guess that, during the Wehrmacht days, only the officers actually ate in the kitchen buildings. I can't figure out where the enlisted men ate. One kitchen building is being used for a kosher (in accordance with Jewish dietary laws) kitchen and the other, slightly larger, is in use for the nonkosher people.⁴²

I received my first shock at the gates of the camp. The iron fence around the *Kaserne* had been increased in height by the liberal use of barbed wire. The

42 In the early period following liberation, securing kosher food in the DP camps was a major challenge. The JDC and the Orthodox relief agency *Vaad Hatzalah* worked with the adviser on Jewish affairs to address the issue. By January 1946, kosher slaughterhouses were opened in Munich, Regensburg, Nuremberg, Fürth, Stuttgart, Lampertheim, and Eschwege. For Passover 1946, the JDC also worked diligently to solve the problem of kosher wine, which also became widely available by April 1946. Within a year after liberation, most DP camps had kosher kitchens. Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*.

outside perimeter is patrolled by armed soldiers from the battalion. A soldier and a member of the camp police are stationed at the entrance gate. I learned that the people of the camp are permitted to leave only when they have a written pass. The passes are issued on a day-to-day basis – and only to a small number each day.⁴³ I saw large numbers of DPs lolling along the fence and watching the Germans walking freely along the opposite street. The battalion took over the guard system they found, but I am going to make changes just as soon as I can catch my breath.

Once inside the camp, I found the streets littered, but no more so than some of the streets in the poorer sections of New York City. There were signs that efforts, none too strenuous, had been made to clean the streets.

In the makeshift cubicles of the living quarters, groups are trying to revive family life. Eating together, it was explained to me, had come to be the high point of the day for the family group. Tables and chairs had been improvised from scraps of lumber and boxes. Almost every family group has an electric hot plate. With such an overload, it does not seem possible that the electrical circuits can still function. The wall lockers are littered with clothing, food, and eating utensils. The latter are generally quite filthy. I soon learned that there were no real facilities for washing them. While the bunk beds were fairly neatly made up, little or no sweeping had been done. Here and there, a very few family groups had spotless areas.

The number of idle people is surprising. Many of the beds were occupied by people either dozing or just lying there listlessly. One could sense an air of resignation.

The hallways are littered with trash and scraps of old food. Behind a number of the staircases, I saw signs of human excrement that obviously had been there for some time. In a few instances, I even saw some human excrement in the corridors!⁴⁴

43 Life in the DP camps, particularly in the first several years of the postwar era, remained highly regulated. Even as some survivors managed to travel between camps across occupied Germany, and even across borders to search for family, life within the confines of the camp continued to be restricted. For example, barbed wire continued to surround the perimeter of many camps, and DPs could not enter or exit the camp without permission, often in the form of a written pass. These conditions were well documented by Earl G. Harrison in his report to President Truman regarding the hardships faced by the displaced Jews living in Europe (Document 15).

44 On responses to the hygiene habits of traumatized survivors, see Atina Grossmann, *Living On: Remembering Feldafing*, in: Jürgen Matthäus (ed.), *Approaching an Auschwitz Survivor: Holocaust Testimony and its Transformations*, Oxford 2009, 7–94.

The toilets beg description. About half the bowls were inoperative but full of excrement. Toilet seats, while not entirely lacking, were smeared with excrement or wet with urine. No toilet paper was in sight. I was informed that toilet attendants had been designated – but not one could be seen on duty. In explanation of the deplorable state of affairs, I was told that the water pressure was low because of war damage to the water mains. However, the water pressure seemed more than adequate for at least the first two floors of each barracks building. What appeared to be low was the general sense of responsibility for communal sanitary facilities.

In the washrooms, most of the sinks were out of order. As we inspected, people came to wash dishes and pans. The remains of the food were just washed into the sinks. The utensils were dried with dirty rags or old paper and the paper often just dropped on the floor. The washrooms and toilets had an intense acrid odor that almost caused me to vomit.

The visit to the two central kitchens was another shock. We inspected the nonkosher kitchen first. The kitchen was so steamy that it was difficult to see. The tile floor was greasy, making walking difficult. Bags of potatoes were lying on the floor. The stoves and cauldrons looked as though they had not been cleaned for weeks. They were heavily encrusted with black grease and food debris. The |11| knives and forks, spatulas, and other utensils were filthy. I picked up a basting spoon only to have it drop from my grasp – it was so greasy. The cooks were obviously as dirty as their filthy aprons. I asked one cook, who was kneading dough, to extend his hands. His fingernails were encrusted with dirt, and his hands looked as if he had been greasing a wheel bearing. In the walk-in refrigerator, a meat carcass was lying on the floor. All meat hooks were rusty and dirty. The meat block, near the refrigerator, was improvised from a tree trunk and had a layer of old caked blood.

The little dining room (called a *Kasino*), where the camp committee and functionaries ate, was a welcome contrast. The tables and chairs were neat and clean, and the room was nicely decorated. Pictures of Theodor Herzl,⁴⁵ Ben-Gurion,⁴⁶

45 Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) was an Austro-Hungarian-Jewish attorney, writer, and political activist. He was the founder and first president of the Zionist Organization, the modern political movement to establish an independent Jewish state.

46 David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973), born David Grün in Plonsk, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), joined the Zionist movement in his youth and became a key figure in the establishment of the State of Israel, serving as its first Prime Minister. He played a central role in the Zionist movement and the establishment of the Jewish state, shaping its political and military development during its formative years. After the founding of the State of Israel, Ben-Gurion also oversaw the absorption of Jewish immigrants from around the world. Tom Segev, *A State at Any Cost: The Life of David Ben-Gurion*, New York 2020.

F. D. Roosevelt,⁴⁷ Harry Truman,⁴⁸ the flag of America, and the blue and white Star of David flag adorned the walls.

The kosher kitchen was even worse. I was amazed – to my mind, the word kosher had always had a connotation of cleanliness. The utter filth of this kitchen and its cooks and workers had to be seen to be believed. In a corner of the kitchen store room, I saw human excrement on the floor. I could not understand how it would be possible to eat food prepared in that kitchen and not suffer from diarrhea or dysentery. I instructed the man in charge that, unless the kitchen was cleaned up within 24 hours, I would close it as a menace to the health of the camp. As I spoke to him, my fingers were crossed. General Rolfe⁴⁹ had left instructions that we were to lean over backwards and make certain that nothing was done that could be interpreted as interference with religious practices.

The two bright spots of the inspection were the camp hospital and the camp schools. The few faults in sanitation that I saw at the hospital were very minor. The hospital, except for one UNRRA public health nurse and a few German nurses, is completely staffed and operated by personnel of the camp. Dr. Nabriskie [sic],⁵⁰ in charge of the hospital, has done a remarkable job. He has built up a nearly complete 200-bed hospital and nursing school. Starting with an empty barracks building and enthusiasm, he and his helpers have begged, borrowed, and even stolen equipment and supplies to bring their facilities to the point where they could care for almost all of the medical needs of the camp personnel. UNRRA and the Army have been helping with supplies, but it seems [12] that it is a constant struggle to secure enough. The

47 Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) was the 32nd President of the United States. Roosevelt was in office for more than twelve years having been elected four times; he was the longest-serving U.S. President in history. After his death, the Congress passed the 22nd Amendment, establishing a two-term limit for the office of the President.

48 Vice President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) became the 33rd President of the United States on April 12, 1945 following the sudden death of President D. Roosevelt.

49 Onslow S. Rolfe (1895–1985) was a career officer in the U.S. Army. He served in both world wars. Near the end of the Second World War, he was deployed to France as deputy commander of the 71st Infantry Division, where he took part in the Rhineland campaign and the Allied invasion of Germany. During the postwar occupation period, Rolfe commanded Land Area Salzburg and the 71st Infantry Division in Austria.

50 Solomon (Shlomo) Nabriski (1904–?) born in Kovno, then part of the Russian Empire, was a doctor in the city when the war began. After the Germans occupied the city, he was forcibly relocated to the Kovno ghetto. In 1944, he was sent to Dachau concentration camp. After liberation, Nabriski established and directed the Landsberg DP hospital.

Army apparently makes available only items from captured German stocks. It appears that these stocks are quite adequate, but it is virtually legerdemain to get anything because of the tremendous red tape involved. This will take some looking into.

I was amazed to learn from Dr. Nabriskie that the overall health rate of the camp is quite good. It does not seem possible. He read the look of disbelief on my face and wryly commented. "Remember, we are the survivors. Only the strong ones survived."

The schools of the camp were impressive. Under the leadership of a Dr. J. Oleiski,⁵¹ a graduate of a concentration camp, Landsberg has developed a remarkable school system. Despite the paucity of equipment and trained personnel, he had a number of garages converted into classrooms and vocational schools. Children are now learning to read and write. Adolescents, for the first time, are learning trades. Instruction is being offered in a great variety of skills, including garment making, all phases of shop working, auto mechanics, radio and repair and construction, and many others. Nor were the adults neglected. Former shopkeepers and salesmen are learning to work with their hands. A variety of evening courses in cultural subjects is also offered.

Everywhere in the school and cultural life of Landsberg, the influence of Dr. Oleiski is obvious. Before Hitler, this remarkable man had been a trained agronomist in Lithuania, working for the ORT organization. (ORT is the Jewish philanthropic organization that sponsors training in production skills.)⁵² Now, he is preaching and putting into practice his credo of salvation through work. His problems are tremendous. The schools are short of every essential: paper, pencils, tools, and raw materials of every description. I think the camp can best be helped by helping Dr. Oleiski – that is, after the camp has been cleaned up.

Time for breakfast now and later the big inspection ...

51 Jacob Oleiski.

52 ORT, the acronym of *Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda sredi yevreev v Rossii* (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor among Jews in Russia) was founded in St. Petersburg (then in Tsarist Russia) in 1880 by Nikolai Bakst (1843–1904), Baron Horace Günzburg (1833–1909), and Samuel Polyakov (1837–1888) to assist Jewish schools in offering handicraft and agricultural training and support Jewish artisans and farmers. In the early 1900s, the organization began establishing its own vocational schools. The organization grew, and was active throughout Europe by the end of the First World War. In 1921, an international office, the World ORT Union, was established in Berlin; today World ORT headquarters sits in London. Alexander Ivanov, Art. ORT, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC vol. 4, 667–672.

Document 18

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, "Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom"

Lausanne, April 20, 1946

Typewritten report, 92 pages; extracts (reproduced here: VII–VIII, 1–8, 12–18, and 48–51)

Language: English

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Washington, D.C., 1946 [In the preface of the report, the committee documents its purpose: addressing the postwar challenges faced by Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution in Europe and exploring solutions for the political and social issues in Palestine. The committee aimed to provide actionable recommendations to the governments of the United States and Great Britain to facilitate Jewish immigration and ensure fair treatment in both Europe and Palestine. Chapter I investigates the conditions of Jewish DPs and evaluates the possibilities for their resettlement, especially in Palestine. Through visits to various DP camps and direct testimonies from residents, the committee highlights the urgent need for international intervention to address the dire circumstances faced by Jewish DPs. The following part focuses on the severe conditions in DP camps across Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the residents' hopes for better prospects and their desire to reach Palestine. The report stresses the necessity of a comprehensive solution, emphasizing immediate and coordinated international efforts to facilitate Jewish resettlement. Chapter X rejects the idea of partitioning Palestine, deeming it impractical due to the deep-seated antagonism between Jews and Arabs, and instead advocates for a governance system based on cooperation and self-governance. It emphasizes improving local administration, protecting property rights, and calls for international collaboration to address the broader refugee crisis and foster peace and stability in the region.]

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry
Report to the United States Government
and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom⁵³
Lausanne, Switzerland, April 20, 1946

THE PRESIDENT,⁵⁴
The White House
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

We have the honor to transmit herewith the report of the Anglo American Committee of Inquiry.

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH C. HUTCHESON,⁵⁵
American Chairman
FRANK AYDELOTTE⁵⁶
FRANK W. BUXTON⁵⁷
BARTLEY C. CRUM⁵⁸

53 Although the Harrison Report from August 1945 (Document 15) served to link the resolution of the Jewish DPs' situation with the circumstances in Palestine, the British government still maintained its immigration blockade after the war, continuing the White Paper policy initiated in 1939. Following Harrison's findings, a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (AACI) was dispatched in fall 1945. Notwithstanding some concerns over Zionist propaganda and manipulation, after months of meetings and visits to Poland and Germany, a report was presented on April 20, 1946. The AACI based its findings in part on surveys conducted among the DPs and firmly believed that most of the Jewish DPs were ardently preparing themselves for a Zionist future.

54 Harry S. Truman.

55 Joseph Chappell Hutcheson, Jr. (1879–1973) was a judge in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

56 Frank Aydelotte (1880–1956) was an educator and the first non-Quaker president of Swarthmore College (Pennsylvania), who had assisted in the evacuation of German-Jewish intellectuals persecuted by the Nazis in the 1930s.

57 Frank W. Buxton (1877–1974) was a journalist and winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1924. He joined the *Boston Herald* in 1904, first as journalist and later as its editor.

58 Bartley C. Crum (1900–1959) was an attorney and vocal anti-Fascist who, having formerly served as special counsel on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee, was serving as National Vice President of the National Lawyers Guild and National Co-Chair of the Congress of Industrial Organizations – Political Action Committee.

JAMES G. MCDONALD⁵⁹
WILLIAM PHILLIPS⁶⁰

PREFACE

We were appointed by the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom, as a joint body of American and British membership, with the following Terms of Reference:

1. To examine political, economic and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.
2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.
3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs 1 and 2 above and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for ad interim handling of these problems as well as for their permanent solution.
4. To make such other recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under paragraph 2 above, by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

59 James Grover McDonald (1886–1964) was a diplomat and had formerly served as the League of Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany (1933–1935) and as Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees from 1938 until the end of the Second World War. In July 1948, he became Special Representative of the United States to Israel and later served as the first U.S. ambassador to Israel.

60 William Phillips (1878–1968) was a career diplomat and two-time Under Secretary of the State; at the time of his appointment, he had recently been made a special assistant to U.S. Secretary of State Edward Reilly Stettinius, Jr. (1900–1949).

The Governments urged upon us the need for the utmost expedition in dealing with the subjects committed to us for investigation, and requested to be furnished with our Report within one hundred and twenty days of the inception of our Inquiry.

We assembled in Washington on Friday, 4th January, 1946, and began our public sessions on the following Monday. We sailed from the United States on 18th January and resumed our public sessions in London on 25th January. We left for Europe on 4th and 5th February, and, working in subcommittees, proceeded to our investigations in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Greece. On [VIII] 28th February we flew to Cairo and, after sessions there, reached Jerusalem on 6th March. In Palestine, our sessions were interspersed with personal visits to different parts of the country, during which we sought to acquaint ourselves at first hand with its various characteristics and the ways of life of its inhabitants. Subcommittees visited the capitals of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia and Trans-Jordan to hear the views of the Arab Governments and representatives of bodies concerned with the subjects before us. We left Palestine on 28th March and have concluded our deliberations in Switzerland. The detailed itinerary is shown in Appendix I.

We now submit the following Report.

CHAPTER I

Recommendations and Comments

The European Problem

Recommendation No. 1. We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe.

But Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; the whole world shares responsibility for them and indeed for the resettlement of all “displaced persons.”⁶¹

61 According to JDC calculations, by the end of April 1946 there were 64,519 Jewish DPs in the American Zone of Germany and this number increased more than two-fold over the following six months, with the total population of Jewish DPs numbering 141,077 by the end of October 1946. Constant shifts in the size and location of the Jewish DP population made it difficult to gather accurate and reliable data on the actual size of the population at any given point in time. JDC, Jewish Population, U.S. Zone Germany, April 1946, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 3, folder 29, frame 63; Patt, Finding Home and Homeland, 269.

We therefore recommend that our Governments together, and in association with other countries, should endeavor immediately to find new homes for all such “displaced persons,” irrespective of creed or nationality, whose ties with their former communities have been irreparably broken.

Though emigration will solve the problems of some victims of persecution, the overwhelming majority, including a considerable number of Jews, will continue to live in Europe. We recommend therefore that our Governments endeavor to secure that immediate effect is given to the provision of the United Nations Charter calling for “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”⁶²

Comment

In recommending that our Governments, in association with other countries, should endeavor to find new homes for “displaced persons,” we do not suggest that any country should be asked to make a permanent change in its immigration policy. The conditions, which we have seen in Europe, are unprecedented, and so unlikely to arise again that we are convinced that special provision could and should be made in existing immigration laws to meet this unique and peculiarly distressing situation. Furthermore, we believe that much could be accomplished – particularly in regard to those “displaced persons,” including Jews, who have relatives in countries outside Europe – by a relaxation of administrative regulations.

Our investigations have led us to believe that a considerable number of Jews will continue to live in most European countries. In our view the mass emigration of all European Jews would be of service |2| neither to the Jews themselves nor to Europe. Every effort should be made to enable the Jews to rebuild their shattered communities, while permitting those Jews, who wish to do so, to emigrate. In order to achieve this, restitution of Jewish property should be effected as soon as possible. Our investigations showed us that

62 This quotation likely refers to section 3 of Article 1 in chap. 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, which was signed on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization and went into force on October 24, 1945. Chap. 1 outlines the purposes and principles of the organization, and section 3 of that chapter states its purpose “to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, June 26, 1945, <<https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>> (May 27, 2024).

the Governments chiefly concerned had for the most part already passed legislation to this end. A real obstacle, however, to individual restitution is that the attempt to give effect to this legislation is frequently a cause of active anti-Semitism. We suggest that, for the reconstruction of the Jewish communities, restitution of their corporate property, either through reparations payments or through other means, is of the first importance.

Nazi occupation has left behind it a legacy of anti-Semitism. This cannot be combated by legislation alone. The only really effective antidotes are the enforcement by each Government of guaranteed civil liberties and equal rights, a program of education in the positive principles of democracy, the sanction of a strong world public opinion – combined with economic recovery and stability.

Refugee Immigration Into Palestine

Recommendation No. 2. We recommend (a) that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; (b) that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit.

Comment

The number of Jewish survivors of Nazi and Fascist persecution with whom we have to deal far exceeds 100,000; indeed there are more than that number in Germany, Austria and Italy alone.⁶³ Although nearly a year has passed since their liberation, the majority of those in Germany and Austria are still living in assembly centers, the so-called “camps,” island communities in the midst of those at whose hands they suffered so much.

In their interests and in the interests of Europe, the centers should be closed and their camp life ended. Most of them have cogent reasons for wishing to leave Europe. Many are the sole survivors of their families and few have any ties binding them to the countries in which they used to live.

Since the end of hostilities, little has been done to provide for their resettlement elsewhere. Immigration laws and restrictions bar their entry to most countries and much time must pass before such laws and restrictions can be altered and effect given to the alterations. Some can go to countries where they have relatives; others may secure inclusion in certain quotas. Their number is comparatively small.

63 According to very low JDC estimates, at time this report was published, there were 64,000 Jews in the American Zone. See above, n. 61, and introd., chap. 1.

We know of no country to which the great majority can go in the immediate future other than Palestine. Furthermore, that is where almost all of them want to go.⁶⁴ There they are sure that they will [3] receive a welcome denied them elsewhere. There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives.

We believe it is essential that they should be given an opportunity to do so at the earliest possible time. Furthermore, we have the assurances of the leaders of the Jewish Agency that they will be supported and cared for.

We recommend the authorization and issue of 100,000 certificates for these reasons and because we feel that their immediate issue will have a most salutary effect upon the whole situation.

In the awarding of these certificates priority should as far as possible be given to those in the centers, and to those liberated in Germany and Austria who are no longer in the centers but remain in those countries. We do not desire that other Jewish victims who wish or will be impelled by their circumstances to leave the countries where they now are, or that those who fled from persecution before the outbreak of war, should be excluded.⁶⁵ We appreciate that there will be difficulty in deciding questions of priority, but none the less we urge that so far as possible such a system should be adhered to, and that, in applying it, primary consideration should be given to the aged and infirm, to the very young and also to skilled workmen whose services will be needed for many months on work rendered necessary by the large influx.

It should be made clear that no advantage in the obtaining of a certificate is to be gained by migrating from one country to another, or by entering Palestine illegally.

Receiving so large a number will be a heavy burden on Palestine. We feel sure that the authorities will shoulder it and that they will have the full cooperation of the Jewish Agency.

Difficult problems will confront those responsible for organizing and carrying out the movement. The many organizations – public and private – working in Europe will certainly render all the aid they can; we mention UNRRA especially. (Co-operation by all throughout is necessary.)

64 It should be noted that the AACI based this conclusion on surveys conducted with DPs during its visits to various DP camps; often in these surveys as high as 95 percent of DPs indicated Palestine as their preferred destination, even if they personally intended to go elsewhere. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*; Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*; Zeev W. Mankowitz, *Zionism and She'erit Hapletah*, in: Gutman/Saf (eds.), *She'erit Hapletah*, 211–230.

65 This anticipates what will become the large-scale migration of Jews from Eastern Europe as part of the *Briḥah* (Escape), a semi-clandestine Zionist organization to facilitate illegal immigration of European Jews to Palestine. Engel, *Ben shiḥrur li-vriḥah* [Between Liberation and Escape].

We are sure that the Government of the United States, which has shown such keen interest in this matter, will participate vigorously and generously with the Government of Great Britain in its fulfillment. There are many ways in which help can be given.

Those who have opposed the admission of these unfortunate people into Palestine should know that we have fully considered all that they have put before us. We hope that they will look upon the situation again, that they will appreciate the considerations which have led us to our conclusion, and that above all, if they cannot see their way to help, at least they will not make the position of these sufferers more difficult.

Principles of Government: No Arab, No Jewish State

Recommendation No. 3. In order to dispose, once and for all, of the exclusive claims of Jews and Arabs to Palestine, we regard it as [4] essential that a clear statement of the following principles should be made:

I. That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine. II. That Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state. III. That the form of government ultimately to be established, shall, under international guarantees, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

Thus Palestine must ultimately become a state which guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews and Christians alike; and accords to the inhabitants, as a whole, the fullest measure of self-government, consistent with the three paramount principles set forth above.⁶⁶

Comment

Throughout the long and bloody struggle of Jew and Arab for dominance in Palestine, each crying fiercely: "This land is mine" – except for the brief reference in the Report of the Royal Commission (hereinafter referred to as

⁶⁶ Here the AACI wades into the thicket created by the British Mandate. The Balfour Declaration of November 1917 declared that "[h]is Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," while also seeking to protect the civil and religious rights of pre-existing Muslim and Christian Arab communities. However, by May 1939, the British government had reversed itself in the White Paper, which placed limitations on immigration, stating that "His majesty's Government believe that the framers of the Mandate in which the Balfour Declaration was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country." Markus Kirchhoff, *Art. Balfour Declaration*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 1, 289–298.

the Peel Report) and the little evidence, written and oral, that we received on this point – the great interest of the Christian World in Palestine has been completely overlooked, glossed over or brushed aside.⁶⁷

We, therefore, emphatically declare that Palestine is a Holy Land, sacred – to Christian, to Jew and to Moslem alike; and because it is a Holy Land, Palestine is not, and can never become, a land which any race or religion can justly claim as its very own.

We further, in the same emphatic way, affirm that the fact that it is the Holy Land, sets Palestine completely apart from other lands, and dedicates it to the precepts and practices of the Brotherhood of Man, not those of narrow nationalism.

For another reason, in the light of its long history, and particularly its history of the last thirty years, Palestine cannot be regarded as either a purely Arab or a purely Jewish land.

The Jews have a historic connection with the country. The Jewish National Home, though embodying a minority of the population, is today a reality established under international guarantee. It has a right to continued existence, protection and development.

Yet Palestine is not, and never can be, a purely Jewish land. It lies at the crossroads of the Arab world. Its Arab population, descended from long-time inhabitants of the area, rightly look upon Palestine as their homeland.

It is therefore neither just nor practicable that Palestine should become either an Arab State, in which an Arab majority would control the destiny of a Jewish minority, or a Jewish State, in which a Jewish majority would control that of an Arab minority. In neither case would minority guarantees afford adequate protection for the subordinated group.

A Palestinian put the matter thus: “In the hearts of us Jews there [5] has always been a fear that some day this country would be turned into an Arab State and the Arabs would rule over us. This fear has at times reached the proportions of terror ... Now this same feeling of fear has started up in the hearts of Arabs ... fear lest the Jews acquire the ascendancy and rule over them.”

Palestine, then, must be established as a country in which the legitimate national aspirations of both Jews and Arabs can be reconciled, without either side fearing the ascendancy of the other. In our view this cannot be done under any form of constitution in which a mere numerical majority

67 The British Peel Commission was tasked with the responsibility of investigating the matter of creating a Jewish state in Palestine and making recommendations on how best to proceed. In its final report issued in 1937, the Peel Commission recommended dividing Palestine into two states – one Jewish and one Arab. Kury/Petry, Art. Basel.

is decisive, since it is precisely the struggle for a numerical majority which bedevils Arab-Jewish relations.⁶⁸ To ensure genuine self-government for both the Arab and the Jewish communities, this struggle must be made purposeless by the constitution itself.

Mandate and United Nations Trusteeship

Recommendation No. 4. We have reached the conclusion that the hostility between Jews and Arabs and, in particular, the determination of each to achieve domination, if necessary by violence, make it almost certain that, now and for some time to come, any attempt to establish either an independent Palestinian State or independent Palestinian States would result in civil strife such as might threaten the peace of the world.

We therefore recommend that, until this hostility disappears, the Government of Palestine be continued as at present under mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations.⁶⁹

Comment

We recognize that in view of the powerful forces both Arab and Jewish, operating from outside Palestine, the task of Great Britain, as Mandatory, has not been easy. The Peel Commission declared in 1937 that the Mandate

68 David Ben-Gurion became fixated on solving this demographic challenge, shifting his position on mass Aliyah, which he initially opposed in favor of a more gradual process, in response to the declining birthrate of Jews in Palestine coupled with the fact that on the eve of the Second World War, Arab Muslims and Christians outnumbered Jews by approximately two to one. United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, Supplement no. 11, Report to the General Assembly, vol. 1, chap. II, September 3, 1947, <<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-179435/>> (May 27, 2024); Anita Shapira, Ben-Gurion: Father of Modern Israel, New Haven, Conn., 2014, 50 f.; Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman, David Ben-Gurion and the “Demographic Threat”: His Dualistic Approach to Natalism, 1936–63, in: Middle Eastern Studies 51 (April 2015), no. 5, 742–766. See also Document 39.

69 Chap. XII of the United Nations Charter established the International Trusteeship System for the supervision of Trust Territories placed under it by individual agreements with the States administering them. The Trusteeship Agreement is intended to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of citizens of a Trust Territory, ideally enabling citizens of the territory to build a self-developing and independent state committed to respecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all individuals and nations of the world. See United Nations Charter, chap. XII. International Trusteeship System, June 26, 1945, <<https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-12>> (May 27, 2024).

was unworkable, and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations thereupon pointed out that it became almost unworkable once it was publicly declared to be so by such a body. Two years later the British Government, having come to the conclusion that the alternative of partition proposed by the Peel Commission was also unworkable, announced their intention of taking steps to terminate the Mandate by the establishment of an independent Palestine State. Our recommendations are based on what we believe at this stage to be as fair a measure of justice to all as we can find in view of what has gone before and of all that has been done. We recognize that they are not in accord with the claims of either party, and furthermore that they involve a departure from the recent policy of the Mandatory. We recognize that, if they are adopted, they will involve a long period of trusteeship, which will mean a very heavy burden for any single Government to undertake, a burden which would be lightened if the difficulties were appreciated and the Trustee had the support of other members of the United Nations.

[6]

Equality of Standards

Recommendation No. 5. Looking towards a form of ultimate self-government, consistent with the three principles laid down in Recommendation No. 3, we recommend that the mandatory or trustee should proclaim the principle that Arab economic, educational and political advancement in Palestine is of equal importance with that of the Jews; and should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists and raise the Arab standard of living to that of the Jews; and so bring the two peoples to a full appreciation of their common interest and common destiny in the land where both belong.

Comment

Our examination of conditions in Palestine led us to the conclusion that one of the chief causes of friction is the great disparity between the Jewish and Arab standards of living. Even under conditions of war, which brought considerable financial benefits to the Arabs, this disparity has not been appreciably reduced. Only by a deliberate and carefully planned policy on the part of the Mandatory can the Arab standard of living be raised to that of the Jews. In stressing the need for such a policy we would particularly call attention to the discrepancies between the social services, including hospitals, available in Palestine for Jews and Arabs.

We fully recognize that the Jewish social services are financed to a very great extent by the Jewish community in Palestine, with the assistance of outside Jewish organizations; and we would stress that nothing should be done which would bring these social services down to the level of those provided for the Arabs, or halt the constant improvements now being made in them.

We suggest that consideration be given to the advisability of encouraging the formation by the Arabs of an Arab community on the lines of the Jewish community which now largely controls and finances Jewish social services. The Arabs will have to rely, to far greater extent than the Jews, on financial aid from the Government. But the Jews of Palestine should accept the necessity that taxation, raised from both Jews and Arabs, will have to be spent very largely on the Arabs on order to bridge the gap which now exists between the standard of living of the two peoples.⁷⁰

Future Immigration Policy

Recommendation No. 6. We recommend that, pending the early reference to the United Nations and the execution of a trusteeship agreement, the mandatory should administer Palestine according to the mandate which declares with regard to immigration that “the administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions.”⁷¹

[7] *Comment*

We have recommended the admission of 100,000 immigrants, victims of Nazi persecution, as soon as possible. We now deal with the position after the admission of that number. We cannot look far into the future. We cannot construct a yardstick for annual immigration. Until a Trusteeship Agreement is executed it is our clear opinion that Palestine should be administered in accordance with the terms of the Mandate quoted above.

Further than that we cannot go in the form of a recommendation. In this disordered world speculation as to the economic position of any country a few years ahead would be a hazardous proceeding. It is particularly difficult to predict what, after a few years have passed, will be the economic and political condition of Palestine. We hope that the present friction and turbulence will soon die away and be replaced by an era of peace, absent so long from the Holy Land; that the Jew and Arab will soon realize that collaboration is to their mutual advantage – but no one can say how long this will take.

70 On the disparity in the standard of living of Arabs and Jews in Palestine, see Jacob Metzger, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine*, Cambridge 1998.

71 The recommendation refers to Article 6 of the Mandate for Palestine, approved by the Council of the League of Nations on September 16, 1922. United Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Legal Section, Mandats S578/8/3/2, Mandate for Palestine and Memorandum by the British Government Relating to Its Application to Transjordan, September 2, 1926, <<https://archives.ungeneva.org/mandat-pour-la-palestine>> (May 27, 2024).

The possibility of the country sustaining a largely increased population at a decent standard of living depends on its economic future, which in turn depends largely on whether or not plans referred to in Recommendation No. 8 can be brought to fruition.

The Peel Commission stated that political as well as economic considerations have to be taken into account in regard to immigration, and recommended a “political high level” of 12,000 a year. We cannot recommend the fixing of a minimum or of a maximum for annual immigration in the future. There are too many uncertain factors.

We desire, however, to state certain considerations which we agree should be taken into account in determining what number of immigrants there should be in any period. It is the right of every independent nation to determine in the interests of its people the number of immigrants to be admitted to its lands. Similarly it must, we think, be conceded that it should be the right of the Government of Palestine to decide, having regard to the well-being of all the people of Palestine, the number of immigrants to be admitted within any given period.

In Palestine there is the Jewish National Home, created in consequence of the Balfour Declaration. Some may think that Declaration was wrong and should not have been made; some that it was a conception on a grand scale and that effect can be given to one of the most daring and significant colonization plans in history. Controversy as to which view is right is fruitless. The National Home is there. Its roots are deep in the soil of Palestine. It cannot be argued out of existence; neither can the achievements of the Jewish pioneers.

The Government of Palestine in having regard to the well-being of all the people of Palestine cannot ignore the interests of so large a section of the population. It cannot ignore the achievements of the last quarter of a century. No Government of Palestine doing its duty to the people of that land can fail to do its best not only to maintain |8| the National Home, but also to foster its proper development, and such development must in our view involve immigration.

The well-being of all the people of Palestine, be they Jews, Arabs, or neither, must be the governing consideration. We reject the view that there shall be no further Jewish immigration into Palestine without Arab acquiescence, a view which would result in the Arab dominating the Jew. We also reject the insistent Jewish demand that forced Jewish immigration must proceed apace in order to produce as quickly as possible a Jewish majority and a Jewish State. The well-being of the Jews must not be subordinated to that of the Arabs; nor that of the Arabs to the Jews. The well-being of both, the economic situation of Palestine as a whole, the degree of execution of plans for further development, all have to be carefully considered in deciding the number of immigrants for any particular period.

Palestine is a land sacred to three faiths and must not become the land of any one of them to the exclusion of the others, and Jewish immigration for the development of the National Home must not become a policy of discrimination against other immigrants. Any person, therefore, who desires and is qualified under applicable laws to enter Palestine must not be refused admission or subjected to discrimination on the ground that he is not a Jew. All provisions respecting immigration must be drawn, executed and applied with that principle always firmly in mind.

Further, while we recognize that any Jew who enters Palestine in accordance with its laws is there of right, we expressly disapprove of the position taken in some Jewish quarters that Palestine has in some way been ceded or granted as their State to the Jews of the world, that every Jew everywhere is, merely because he is a Jew, a citizen of Palestine and therefore can enter Palestine as of right without regard to conditions imposed by the Government upon entry, and that therefore there can be no illegal immigration of Jews into Palestine. We declare and affirm that any immigrant Jew who enters Palestine contrary to its laws is an illegal immigrant. [...] ⁷²

CHAPTER II

The Position of the Jews in Europe

1. We are required in paragraph 2 of our terms of reference “to examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression, and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.”

2. In order to fulfill our task within the allotted period of 120 days |13| and on account of the urgency of the problem, we divided into subcommittees, which between the 8th and 28th February, 1946, visited the American, British and French zones of Germany and Austria. Subcommittees also visited France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Greece and Switzerland. Circumstances did not permit us to go to Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or the Russian zone of Austria, and we did not visit the Russian zone of Germany after we were informed by the Deputy Commander of the Soviet occupation forces that in that area there was no special Jewish problem.

72 The subsequent sections of chap. I, which cover recommendations on land policy, economic development, and education, and the need for peace in Palestine, have been excluded.

3. There are about 98,000 Jews from other countries – displaced persons – now living in Germany, Austria and Italy, and a small additional number scattered throughout the countries of Europe. We found that the majority of these Jews in the American and British zones of Germany and Austria were living in assembly centers, once known as “camps,” where accommodation and maintenance were provided by the military authorities. The Jewish occupants of these centers are not all “displaced persons,” that is to say, persons outside their national boundaries by reason of the war. Since the end of the war there has been a very considerable movement of Jews into the American and British zones of Germany and Austria. It is estimated that, so far, some 30,000 have come from Poland. There has also been some migration, though on a smaller scale, from Rumania and Hungary; this shows signs of increasing. Since we left Europe there has been a slight restriction in the movement of migrants generally, but the possibility that there may be a considerable increase in the months to come must be borne in mind.

The officer commanding the American forces⁷³ suggested the following as the reasons for the movement into the American zone of Germany: the expectation of generous treatment, the probability of finding relations there, the special activity in America on behalf of Jewish relief, and the feeling that the American zone was on the shortest route to Palestine. Detailed information covering the position of Jews in European countries is given in Appendixes II and III.

4. The nature of the accommodation of displaced Jews differed widely in character. In some centers barracks were used; in others, huts, hotels, apartment houses and cottages. For example, in Hohne, commonly referred to as Belsen, in the British Zone of Germany where 9,000 Jews were accommodated, the buildings were barracks formerly occupied by a unit of the German Army. At Bindermickel, in the American zone of Austria, flats built to house workers in the neighboring Gloering factory had been taken over, and in the south of Italy entire seaside villages had been made available for that purpose.

5. In the American and British zones, where the bulk of these persons were found, they were accommodated in separate centers from other displaced persons, or segregated voluntarily within a center. The maximum of self-administration is encouraged and there is usually a center committee which is responsible for directing group activities and for dealing with complaints. In many centers the occupants have their own courts for dealing with offenses and their own police.

73 Most likely General Joseph T. McNarney (1893–1972), the commanding general of USFET and commander in chief of the U.S. Forces of Occupation in Europe.

[14] 6. UNRRA has taken an increasing part in the relief and rehabilitation of these Jews. In the autumn of 1944, it began to operate in Italy, and in February, 1945, took over administrative responsibility for the larger centers in the south of Italy. In the summer and latter part of 1945, it was assisting the Army in the American zones of Germany and Austria. At the end of February last, UNRRA assumed responsibility for the internal administration of Hohne and it now administers other centers in the British and French zones of Germany and of Austria.

Most centers in the United States zones are now operated by UNRRA teams as agents for the Army, which provides the accommodation, food, clothing and medical supplies. Voluntary agencies specially concerned with Jewish persons have been invited by military authorities and UNRRA to give assistance and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad now have representatives in the centers. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provides specialists to assist with health, welfare and other services such as the supply of kosher food,⁷⁴ clothes, and material for spiritual and educational life. The Jewish Agency furnishes rehabilitation and resettlement services, particularly in regard to problems concerning projected emigration to Palestine.

7. We saw many conditions in the centers that might be criticized, owing to circumstances which were not always within the power of the military authorities to improve. There were lack of furniture, unsatisfactory cooking arrangements, overcrowding and a shortage of beds and bedding. We have no doubt that many of these conditions have been remedied and we saw evidence of the wholehearted effort of our authorities to do everything possible toward the well-being of these unfortunate people. Nevertheless, at the best, most of the centers could not be more than the place in which the occupants were given shelter, food and clothing. While everything possible was being done for their physical needs, there was little that could be done to improve their morale and relieve their mental anguish. Coming from the horrors of Nazi persecution, it was evident that they still felt themselves outcasts and unwanted.

It is perhaps unfortunate in some respects that nearly all of these settlements were in enemy territory. The displaced Jews see around them Germans living a family life in their own homes and outwardly little affected by the war, while they, usually the last surviving members of their families, are living still, as it seemed to them, under restrictions.

74 On kosher food, see Document 17, n. 42.

8. On the whole, having regard to the many problems with which they have had to contend, we feel that military authorities, UNRRA, and the various relief organizations concerned have every reason to be proud of what they have done to succor these remnants of Nazi persecution. In particular, we would like to pay our tribute to the men and women who are working so often in such depressing circumstances to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunate people.

[15] 9. In the cold print of a report, it is not possible accurately to portray our feelings with regard to the suffering deliberately inflicted by the Germans on those Jews who fell into their hands. The visit of our subcommittee to the ghetto in Warsaw has left on their minds an impression which will forever remain. Areas of that city on which for merry stood large buildings are now a mass of brick rubble, covering the bodies of numberless unknown Jews. Adjoining the ghetto there still stands an old barracks [sic] used as a place for killing Jews. Viewing this in the cold grey light of a February day one could imagine the depths of human suffering there endured. In the courtyards of the barracks were pits containing human ash and human bones. The effect of that place on Jews who came searching, so often in vain, for any trace of their dear ones, can be left to the imagination.

When we remember that at Maidanek and Oswiecim⁷⁵ and many other centers a deliberate policy of extermination, coupled with indescribable suffering, was inflicted upon the Jews, of whom it is estimated that certainly not less than five millions perished, we can well understand and sympathize with the intense desire of the surviving Jews to depart from localities so full of such poignant memories. It must also be understood that this happened in what were regarded as civilized communities.

10. There can scarcely be a Jew in Europe who has not suffered in greater or less degree either himself or herself or by the loss of relatives. Many non-Jews of all nationalities also suffered in the concentration camps and many of them died. This must not be forgotten. We are concerned in this report with the living survivors of European Jewry. We could harrow the feelings of those who read this Report by repetition of accounts we received of German frightfulness. We do not propose to do so. We wish to present a picture of the general situation as we saw it. Few of the older people survived; not many children, for special efforts seem to have been made to destroy them. The majority of the children who survived are orphans. The majority of the remaining survivors are young and middle-aged people. The latter escaped death only

75 Oświęcim is the Polish name of the town and railway station where the Auschwitz extermination camp was located.

by their strong physique enabling them to sustain either the ordeals of forced labor in concentration camps, or the privations accompanying hiding. The young people have had little or no education save that of cruelty. It is not too much to say that they all owe their lives to liberation by the United Nations.

11. These Jewish survivors have not emerged from their ordeals unscathed either physically or mentally. It is rare indeed to find a complete Jewish family. Those who return to their old homes find them destroyed or occupied by others, their businesses gone or else in other hands. They search for relatives, frequently undertaking long journeys on hearing a rumor that one has been seen in another part of the country or in another center. Such was the system of the Germans that it is difficult for them ever to establish the death of their dear ones. They are faced also with very great difficulties in securing the restitution of their property. In Germany and in Poland, [16] which were often described to us as “the cemetery of European Jewry,” a Jew may see in the face of any man he looks upon the murderer of his family. It is understandable that few find themselves able to face such conditions.

12. In Poland, Hungary and Rumania, the chief desire is to get out, to get away somewhere where there is a chance of building up a new life, of finding some happiness, of living in peace and in security. In Germany also, where the number of Jews has been reduced from about 500,000 in 1933 to about 20,000 now, and most traces of Jewish life have been destroyed, there is a similar desire on the part of a large proportion of the survivors to make a home elsewhere, preferably in Palestine. In Czechoslovakia, particularly in Bohemia and Moravia, and in Austria, the position in regard to the reestablishment of the Jewish populations is more hopeful. The vast majority of the Jewish displaced persons and migrants, however, believe that the only place which offers a prospect is Palestine.

13. Whatever the previous position in life of those in the centers, from a judge in Memel to a young man who by reason of years of persecution has never been able to earn his livelihood, there is the widespread feeling that they have been brought to the same level of mere existence and homelessness. The first sense of happiness, following release from concentration camps and slave labor, has passed. Now they are conscious only of the constraint of their camp life, even though it is under new and more favorable conditions.

14. Work to them is associated with concentration camps and slave labor. Their aim then had been to do as little as they could to assist their persecutors, and now they are unwilling to engage in any activity which is not designed to fit them for a new life in Palestine. Even though they have spent a considerable time in a center, they still regard themselves as merely in transit to that country and, generally speaking, show little willingness even to assist in improving the conditions in which they are living. Often their days are spent in aimless

wandering around. On the other hand, wherever facilities are provided for practical training for life in Palestine they eagerly take advantage of them.⁷⁶

15. We were deeply impressed by the tragedy of the situation of these Jewish survivors in the centers and by the tragedy of their purposeless existence. Many months have passed since they were freed from Nazi oppression and brutality, but they themselves feel that they are as far as ever from restoration to normal life. We consider that these men, women and children have a moral claim on the civilized world. Their pitiable condition has evoked a world-wide sympathy, but sympathy has so far taken the form only of providing them with the bare essentials of food, clothing and shelter. It seems to them that the only real chance of rebuilding their shattered lives and of becoming normal men and women again is that offered by the Jewish people in Palestine. Even though many might be glad to join relatives and friends in other countries, the doors of those countries at present appear to be closed to them. They are resentful because they are pre-vented from going to Palestine. In the meantime, as time passes, the new ties between those who are sharing this common frustration become stronger and, obsessed by their apparent rejection by other peoples of the world, their firm desire is to remain together in the future. It is this sense of cohesion, born of common suffering, which doubtless accounts for, if it does not wholly excuse, the firm resistance offered to proposals by competent bodies to remove young children to happier surroundings in other countries for careful rehabilitation. Men and women are marrying in the centers in increasing number, and, together with other members of the center communities, they wait with growing impatience for the time when they can go to the only friendly place they know.

16. If, as we hope, our recommendation for the authorization of immigration certificates is accepted, the great majority of the Jewish displaced persons whose situation requires urgent action will be provided for and it will be possible to achieve the desirable end of closing the Jewish displaced persons centers and thereby discourage the further migration of Jews in Europe. Jews have wandered through Europe almost as they wish, from center to center, zone to zone, and country to country.⁷⁷ Such movements have added to the

76 Kibbutzim and agricultural training facilities emerged throughout the American Zone with the express purpose of preparing displaced Zionist youths for life in Palestine (see Document 26). However, many took advantage of these opportunities without necessarily intending or desiring to immigrate to Palestine, as these facilities also served more practical and therapeutic purposes in the daily lives of DPs, for example providing access to improved housing conditions, better rations, and a renewed sense of family. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

77 Freedom of movement was not necessarily granted by authorities. Policy changes allowing DPs to enter and exit the camp without express permission happened at

difficulty of tracing relatives, as has the practice, acquired by some during the war, of using various names. They have also imposed a heavy burden on the authorities who have constantly had to improvise reception arrangements. Stabilization will give sympathetic governments a better opportunity of implementing national schemes of resettlement and will encourage the Jews themselves to give more careful consideration to such opportunities. Moreover, the resources of the Allied military authorities are limited and it is necessary that their commitments in connection with refugees be reduced.

17. We have also been asked to examine “the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression.” The governments of the countries we visited expressed their opposition to anti-Semitism, but this is a poison which after years of infection takes time to eradicate. We hope that their efforts will be successful. We would urge also that the United Nations should exert all possible pressure in Germany and Austria to eliminate all trace of discrimination against Jews or resistance to their rehabilitation.

18. Further, a most important practical step that can be taken to assist the Jews in Europe who wish to remain is to secure the speedy restitution of their property. We realize that there are difficulties, but nonetheless we do not think that all that is possible is being done. Some governments have passed the necessary legislation; others are about to do so or have just done so. Many months have passed since the war has ended and from our inquiries it appears that only a few Jews have yet recovered what is properly theirs.

Further, we think that the governments of the countries where the Jews were persecuted should themselves provide assistance in the re- |18| establishment of those Jews who seek to remain. This assistance might take the form of providing property in lieu of restitution.

19. Taking into account the possibility that an improvement in the economic and political conditions in Europe may affect the attitudes of those who now see no hope of reestablishing themselves in their countries, we estimate that as many as 500,000 may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe.

As described by many witnesses, a factor which has greatly increased the urgent, indeed frantic, desire of the Jews of Europe to emigrate is the feeling that all doors have been shut to them and that there is no exit.

different times depending on the occupation zone. It remained difficult to travel outside of the zone, and it was illegal to cross borders without obtaining a travel permit. However, many survivors living as DPs crossed borders illegally to find family or to reclaim homes and property due to the extreme difficulty (or complete impossibility) of securing the necessary permits from the authorities.

We feel that our recommendations both in regard to the authorization of certificates for admission to Palestine, and in regard to the relaxation of immigration laws generally as an emergency and humanitarian measure, will not only bring succor to those to whom certificates are granted but also in great measure relieve the feelings of urgency with which the Jews look beyond Europe. They will be encouraged either to resettle themselves in Europe, if that is possible, or wait patiently in their respective countries until their time has come to leave. [...] ⁷⁸

CHAPTER X

General

1. In view of the dissolution of the League of Nations and of the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons on the 13th November, 1945, we assume that the British Government will in the near future prepare a draft Trusteeship Agreement for eventual submission to the United Nations, and that this Agreement will include the terms under which Palestine will be administered. We do not propose to refer to the existing Mandate in detail; it is set out in Appendix VI.

2. Our views on future immigration policy are contained in Recommendation No. 6 and in the Comments thereunder, and we have nothing to add to them.

3. With regard to the future government of Palestine, we have reviewed the question of a solution by partition.

The Peel Commission stated (Chapter XX, paragraph 19): "Manifestly the problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. The answer to the question 'which of them in the end will govern Palestine?' must surely be 'Neither.'" That is the view which we also have formed. They recommended the termination of the Mandate, the partition of the country

78 Chaps. III to IX address the urgent plight of Jewish refugees and the contentious issue of the future of Palestine. Chap. III assesses the dire conditions faced by Jewish DPs in postwar Europe, underscoring the necessity for prompt resettlement solutions. Chap. IV analyzes Palestine's capacity to absorb these refugees, evaluating economic, agricultural, and social factors. Chap. V provides insights into Arab opposition to Jewish immigration, rooted in political, cultural, and historical contexts. Chap. VI presents Jewish aspirations for a homeland in Palestine. Chap. VII delves into the legal and administrative complexities, including land rights and governance challenges. Chap. VIII surveys international reactions, focusing on U.S. and British policies and their implications. Chap. IX culminates in recommendations advocating for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine and proposing an Anglo-American trusteeship to mediate between Jewish and Arab interests, aiming for a balanced, equitable resolution.

between the Arabs and the Jews (excepting the Holy Places) and the setting up of two independent States in treaty relations with Great Britain. These recommendations were rejected by the Arabs, and they did not meet with the complete approval of the Jews. They were adopted in the first instance by the Government of Great Britain, but subsequently a technical Commission was sent to Palestine to ascertain facts and to consider in detail the practical possibilities of a scheme of partition. As a result of the Partition Commission's Report, His Majesty's Govern- [49] ment announced their conclusion that the examination by the Commission had shown that the political, administrative and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish States inside Palestine were so great that the solution of the problem was impracticable. The proposal accordingly fell to the ground, and His Majesty's Government continued their responsibility for the government of the whole of Palestine.

We have considered the matter anew and we have heard the views of various witnesses of great experience. Partition has an appeal at first sight as giving a prospect of early independence and self-government to Jews and Arabs, but in our view no partition would have any chance unless it was basically acceptable to Jews and Arabs, and there is no sign of that today. We are accordingly unable to recommend partition as the solution.

4. Palestine is a country unlike any other. It is not merely a place in which Arabs and Jews live. Millions of people throughout the world take a fervent interest in Palestine and in its Holy Places and are deeply grieved by the thought that it has been the seat of trouble for so long and by the fear that it may well become the cockpit of another war. Lord Milner⁷⁹ in 1923, having declared himself a strong supporter of pro-Arab policy, said:

“Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter. You cannot ignore the fact that this is the cradle of two of the great religions of the world. It is a sacred land to the Arabs, but it is also a sacred

79 Alfred Milner (1854–1925) was a German-born British diplomat. A staunch imperialist, his pursuit of British suzerainty as high commissioner in South Africa and governor of Cape Colony helped to bring about the South African War (1899–1902). After resigning his posts in South Africa and returning to England in 1905, he became an active member of the House of Lords and went on to publish numerous texts on British imperialist policy. The quote referenced in this passage comes from a speech made by Milner during a debate over policies regarding Palestine in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923. Hansard, House of Lords Parliamentary Debate, vol. 54, cc 654–682, June 27, 1923, <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1923/jun/27/palestine>> (May 27, 2024).

land to the Jews and the Christian; and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country of the present day.”

The Peel Commission having cited those words wrote (Chapter II, paragraph 51): “The case stated by Lord Milner against an Arab control of Palestine applies equally to a Jewish control.” That expresses our view absolutely.

Efforts have been made from time to time to encourage both Arabs and Jews to take part in the Government of the country, but these efforts have failed through mutual antagonism; perhaps they might have been pursued further. It is not the case of a backward people going through a period of tutelage; the issue lies between Jews and Arabs.

We believe this can only be met by acceptance of the principle that there shall be no domination of the one by the other, that Palestine shall be neither an Arab nor a Jewish State. The setting up of self-governing institutions is dependent on the will to work together on the part of Jews and Arabs. There has been little sign of that in recent years and yet we hope a change may take place if and when the fear of dominance is removed. We do not think that any good purpose would be served by our going into further detail, once the will to [50] work together appears, representatives of both sides will be of help in framing a constitution; until that happens no step can be taken.

Meantime Palestine must remain under some form of Mandate or Trusteeship. We have suggested elsewhere in our Report that much can be done to encourage general advancement by the improvement of educational facilities and measures directed to narrowing the social and economic disparities. We feel, too, that it should be possible to draw the communities closer together and foster a popular interest in self-government at the local level. Especially in the country districts, a spirit of good neighborliness exists among the common people, Arabs and Jews, despite the general state of political tension in the country. Practical cooperation is evident in day-to-day affairs. We suggest that local administrative areas might be formed, some purely Arab or Jewish in composition, but some of mixed population where a corporate sense of civic responsibility can be encouraged, and a new beginning made in the development of self-government.

5. Land questions have been the cause of much friction and dispute between Jews and Arabs. We are opposed to legislation and practices which discriminate against either, and for the reasons already given we recommend the rescission and replacement of the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 and the prohibition of restrictions limiting employment on certain lands to members of one race, community or creed.

We are aware of the criticisms of the existing Land Ordinances, and we do not wish it to be thought that we consider that they afford adequate protection

to the Arab small-owners and tenants. In our opinion it should be possible to devise Ordinances furnishing proper protection to such Arabs no matter in what part of Palestine they may reside.

6. We have already stated that the 100,000 certificates for Palestine, the immediate authorization of which we recommend, will provide for only a comparatively small proportion of the total number of Jewish refugees in Europe. The general problem of refugees must, we feel, be dealt with by the United Nations. In our considered opinion it is a matter for regret that this distressing problem has not been dealt with before this time. True the great Powers have had many problems facing them and they have dealt with many displaced persons, but the fact remains that Jews and others have remained in camps or centers for very many months.

We observe that at a recent meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations the problem of displaced persons and refugees of all categories was recognized to be one of immediate urgency, and it was referred to the Economic and Social Council which has since established a special Committee for its consideration. Without presuming to advise that Committee, and with no desire to go beyond our Terms of Reference, we cannot but observe that international bodies already established for dealing with refugee problems have been unable, through insufficiency of financial resources or other reasons, to fulfill the hopes placed in them at the time of their formation. The world looks forward, we believe, to the birth of a truly effective agency of international collaboration in the humanitarian task of migration and resettlement.

We make grateful acknowledgement of our deep indebtedness to the civil and military officers of our two Governments. They have given us willing and able assistance throughout our long journeyings and made it possible for us to complete the report within the period allotted.

Our staff listed in the Appendix has worked admirably and efficiently under pressure and often in difficult circumstances.

Finally, we desire to tender our sincere thanks to our efficient Secretaries, H. G. Vincent,⁸⁰ L. L. Rood,⁸¹ H. Beeley,⁸² and E. M. Wilson.⁸³

80 H. G. Vincent was a member of the British parliament.

81 Leslie L. Rood (1913–2010) was raised in Linden, New Jersey, where his father owned the local newspaper. At the time of the formation of the Committee, he served in the State Department; previously he had been a lieutenant-colonel in the U.S. Army on General Douglas MacArthur's staff in the War Department.

82 Sir Harold Beeley (1909–2001) was a member of the British Foreign Service.

83 Evan M. Wilson (1910–1984) was born in Pennsylvania and served for 30 years in the U.S. Foreign Service in various capacities, beginning in 1937, when he was appointed

Signed at Lausanne, Switzerland, on April 20, 1946.

JOSEPH C. HUTCHESON, American Chairman
JOHN E. SINGLETON, British Chairman.⁸⁴

FRANK AYDELOTTE (US)
FRANK W. BUXTON (US)
W. F. CRICK⁸⁵ (UK)
R. H. S. CROSSMAN⁸⁶ (UK)
BARTLEY C. CRUM (US)
FREDERICK LEGGETT⁸⁷ (UK)
R. E. MANNINGHAM-BULLER⁸⁸ (UK)
JAMES G. MCDONALD (US)
MORRISON⁸⁹ (UK)
WILLIAM PHILIPS (US)

LESLIE L. ROOD, American Secretary.	H. G. VINCENT, British Secretary.
EVAN M. WILSON, American Secretary.	H. BEELEY, British Secretary.

as a consular officer in Mexico. At the time of his retirement in 1967, he was serving as consul general in Jerusalem.

- 84 Sir John Singleton (1885–1987) was Judge of the King’s Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in London.
- 85 Wilfred P. Crick was an economic adviser to the Midland Bank of London.
- 86 Richard H. S. Crossman (1907–1974) was a British Labour Party politician who joined the House of Commons after the 1945 election. As a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, he endorsed the call to grant 100,000 immigration certificates for Jewish DPs to Palestine. Crossman later became Assistant Chief of the Psychological Warfare Division under Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- 87 Sir Frederick Leggett (1884–1983) was Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Labor and National Services.
- 88 Major Reginald Edward Manningham-Buller (1905–1980) was a lawyer and Conservative Party politician; since 1943 he was member of the British parliament.
- 89 Lord Robert Craigmyle Morrison (1881–1953) was a Labour Party politician and member of the British parliament.

Document 19

Levi Shalitan, "To the American G.I."

Munich, May 10, 1946

Published poem, 1 page

Language: English

Undzer veg,⁹⁰ May 10, 1946 (no. 32), *Our Way, English Supplement*, 4, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004284, reel 20.01

TO THE AMERICAN G.I.

by

Lavi [sic] Shalitan⁹¹

Just a year ago I hungered for food and freedom,
 Just a year ago I stood upon a German street, my famished face wet with
 tears of freedom, my hand stretched out in search of my liberator the
 American G.I.

90 *Undzer veg* (Our way), the weekly, later daily, newspaper of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone appeared from October 12, 1945, till December 25, 1950, with a circulation of up to 20,000 copies per issue in Munich. Ruvn Rubinshteyn (1891–1967) took over as editor in 1947, succeeding founder Levi Shalitan. In addition to covering current news, it was crucial for the editors to publish literary contributions because of the shortage of books. In January 1946, e. g., excerpts from H. Lejwik's poem collection *In Treblinka bin ikh nisht geven* (I was not in Treblinka) were republished in *Undzer veg*. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*, chap. 1. Some, but not all, issues of *Undzer veg* were accompanied by English supplements translating a selection of the Yiddish articles contained in that issue.

91 Levi Shalitan (1916–1994) born in Kuibyshev, Russia, was a young journalist living in Shavli (Siauliai), Lithuania when the Second World War began. After the Germans occupied the city, he was forcibly relocated to the Shavli ghetto, where he became active in the underground movement. In 1944, he was deported to Dachau and later to one of its subcamps in Kaufering near Landsberg. In 1945, he was evacuated along with those prisoners still alive in a death march and was liberated near Wolfratshausen, Bavaria. Shalitan founded *Undzer veg* (Our Way), serving as its editor; he also managed to find a set of Hebrew letters and brought them from Frankfurt am Main to Munich; this set later provided the template for four newly produced print sets used by other DP periodicals. He subsequently immigrated to South Africa and, later, to Israel. At some point after his emigration from Landsberg to Munich, Shalitan began publishing under the name Levi Shalit.

Just a year ago my parched lips blessed you with a blessing richer than the one
your mother gave you when you went off to war.

You must then understand my words to you, glorious sons of freedom!

Through ominous days and startling nights while I rested upon my bed of
boards, my dreams were filled with you.

In the dreadful silence I heard the proud march of your feet and the victorious
roar of your tanks.

You did not know the story of my dreams, you could not know the food of
my thoughts.

And there was much more that you did not know.

You were the child that Destiny chose to be the modern saviour,

You were my liberator, though the mission entrusted in your hands was not
clear to you.

You were to stay the hand of death already drenched with the blood of
millions of my people.

I was a slave to Hitler,

I was imprisoned in the notorious Concentration Camp.

Beyond my window the flaming fires of the crematorium threw mocking
shadows,

At my side a friend gasped with the gas of the death chambers, though the gas
was still held within the confines of the chamber walls.

You were late in your coming,

I counted the dead and added up the rows of figures that told of friends who
were mercilessly killed,

The numbers climbed into the millions, and still you did not come.

Then my tear filled eyes witnessed the miracle of your arrival.⁹²

Proudly you fell upon the brown-shirted⁹³ devil and in my presence destroyed
his treachery.⁹⁴

92 Most death camps with gas chambers and crematoria were not liberated by American troops, but by the Soviets, including Auschwitz and Majdanek.

93 In the original, the line "I cannot call home" follows, most likely a typesetting error. It has been moved to its proper location in the reproduction above.

94 It cannot be discerned whether Shalitan is referring to violent physical revenge carried out by the Allied troops on behalf of the survivors, as had occurred for example during the liberation of Dachau, or to the process of liberation more generally.

Then I raised my weary arms in glorious salute, and my lips burning with hunger, feared to touch your face and were buried in the hem of your khaki garment.

Like a wounded animal, warm tears flooded from their sockets and dampened your garment.

You lifted me up from off my knees and caressed me with tears,
You could not find words with which to comfort me.
That was one year ago on the 2nd of May, 1945.

Like a child fondling a toy, I patted your tank and kissed it, I spoke and know that it understood me.

You unbuttoned your shirt, took it off from your back and gave it to me.
At a nearby brook I washed my wounded body and dressed myself in the freshness of your shirt.
My wounds were healed as if balsam had been applied because in that shirt there was love and brotherhood.

You were in a hurry, time was unkind to me,
With your tanks you hastened into the Tyrol hills in pursuit of the enemy.⁹⁵
But your warm embracing shirt remained with me, entrusted to my zealous care.

Thus month replaced month and a year rolled by.
My physical wounds have slowly been healed.
There are some that are yet open and faster with pain, for there is no love, no friedliness [sic] with which to heal them.
You, my liberator, are no longer here, you see.
In your place others came, others so much like you and yet so unlike you.
The newcomers never knew [my] wounded body and brought me no friendship.⁹⁶
They are cold and unconcerned and many times mock my unhealing wounds.

95 The 3rd U.S. Army moved through Bavaria toward Italy, pursuing retreating German forces and Nazi SS officials who had evacuated camps, taking survivors on death marches toward the Tyrol mountains to evade the Allies (see Document 1).

96 The troops who liberated the concentration camps did not remain in occupied Germany for long and were quickly replaced with “fresh” manpower. However, these “fresh” troops had not confronted the horrors of the concentration camps in person and were often much less sympathetic to the plight and circumstances of survivors. Grossmann, Jews, Germans, and Allies, esp. 118–127 and 131–182.

Think of it!

It is now a year after the liberation!

I do not dwell in the camp in which you found me, but in another camp which
[I can not call home.]

In the comfort of your home in your free American city, you may not know
that I am still a prisoner, for what is liberation without home?

Now and then a familiar fear creeps over me, I hear and then I see the body
of one of my people lying in its cold blood, fresh blood let by the same
tyrannical hand.

My faithful friend and redeemer,

Why must I live as I do?

Why can't I have the freedom you gave me?

I do not know if after these years of battle, my words will move you,

But, if you will recall my face on this day one year ago, the day you liberated
me and bathed me in your goodness,

If you would know that every time I see your fellow G. I. my heart fills with
thanks to you,

Perhaps, today, a year after liberation, you will help me to my complete
freedom.

Document 20

Anonymous, "Chief Rabbi Says DP Camps Are in 'Wretched' Condition"

Berlin, February 2, 1947

Newspaper article, 2 pages

Language: English

*The Stars and Stripes.*⁹⁷ *Italian Edition, February 3, 1947 (no. 39), 1 and 12*

⁹⁷ *The Stars and Stripes* is an independent news outlet, which publishes information and news for the U.S. military community. The first official edition was published in Paris for the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) during the First World War, and was intended to provide uncensored news written by soldiers, for soldiers. During the Second World War, the news outlet published different editions for each theater of war in Europe, Africa, and the Mediterranean. Following the war, *The Stars and Stripes* continued to produce European editions as well as Pacific editions published in various cities, including Altdorf, Griesheim, and Pfungstadt in Germany as well as in Rome, Paris, and Tokyo. Ken Zumwalt, *Stars and Stripes: World War II and the Early Years*, Austin, Tex., 1989.

Chief Rabbi Says DP Camps Are in “Wretched” Condition

BERLIN, Feb. 2⁹⁸ (UP) – Animals in a zoo live better than thousands of Jewish displaced persons crowded into cold huts and barracks at camps in the British and U.S. zones of Germany. Dr. Barnett Brickner,⁹⁹ chief of American rabbis with the Army and Navy, said on completion of a Germany-wide tour.

After visiting many camps and talking with hundreds of inmates, Brickner's conclusion was: “They get too much food to die on and too little to live on.”

The Cleveland rabbi described living conditions for the DPs as “wretched.”

Approximately 200,000 Jews are living in camps in Germany and Austria, Berlin officials of the American Joint Distribution Committee estimated.

Brickner said he found DPs in |12| almost every camp shivering in unheated rooms. What food they do get, he said, is “monotonous, the same day after day.”

He described how two and three families live crowded together in a single room “without privacy even for their love-making.”

The rabbi explained the rampant black market, which has become closely affiliated with DP camps, as a result of Jews having too little food, clothing and the necessities of life. He added that those Jews engaged in black marketing for the most part serve only as middlemen between the Germans and the military.

An average meal, he said, consists of black bread, potatoes and peas. Oatmeal is another food which the DPs get plenty [sic] of, but strange enough to an American, the rabbi said, the DPs don't know what to do with it or how to prepare it. He said he saw large stacks of oatmeal packages piled in rooms of DPs. Even if they could prepare it, they would be without milk and sugar, he said.¹⁰⁰

98 This article was written in February 1947 following a massive influx of so-called infiltrees. The poor conditions in the camps were a chronic problem; here, yet again, the camps were found in a “wretched condition,” 21 months after liberation and a year and half after the Harrison Report's (Document 15) scathing criticism of the treatment of Jewish DPs by U.S. occupation forces, which resulted in the establishment of all-Jewish DP camps with the goal of improving conditions.

99 Barnett Robert Brickner (1892–1958) was born in New York City, where he was ordained as a rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in 1919. He then moved to Cincinnati, Ohio; he received his PhD in social science in 1920. During the First World War, he served as director of the Training School and Personnel Division of the Jewish Welfare Board with the United States Army and Navy. During the Second World War, he was administrative chairman of the Committee on Army and Navy of the National Jewish Welfare Board, supervising Jewish chaplains in the armed forces.

100 On the food supplies distributed to the DPs see Document 8, n. 34.

Brickner said the Jewish DPs have two desires: to get to Palestine and to work. But, he said, they refuse to work at anything which will aid the German economy.

“They feel that they want to earn their keep,” he said. “The handout days are over.”

Document 21

Anonymous, “The Forceful Operation of the Jews in the British Zone in Connection with the Offloading of the S.S. Exodus 1947 in Hamburg”

Bergen-Belsen, September 14, 1947

Newspaper article, 2 pages

Language: Yiddish; translated by Caroline Emig

*Unzer sztyrne. Organ fun der she'erit ha-pleita in der englisher zone,*¹⁰¹ *September 14, 1947, 45 f., in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004276, call no. 1964-Y-463.464, reels 12.3 and 13.1*

די אקציע פון די יידן אין דער בריטישער זאנע אין צוזאמענהאנג מיט דער אויסלאָדונג פון
"עקזאָדוס 1947" אין האַמבורג

זייט וואָכן האָבן קורסירט קלאַנגען, אַז די ענגלישע רעגירונג האָט זיך דאָך דעצידירט אויפן אונמעגלעכע אַקט פון צוריקשיקן די מעפילים נאָך דייטשלאַנד. דער דאָזיקער ברוטאלער אַקט האָט אַרויסגערופן די טיפסטע עמפערונג צווישן דער גאַנצער יידישער באַפעלקערונג. נאָך מער איז די אויפרעגונג געוואָקסן, ווען ס'זיינען באַקאַנט געוואָרן די פאַרבאַרייטונגען צו דער אויסלאָדונג

101 *Unzer sztyrne. Organ fun der she'erit ha-pleita in der englisher zone* (Our Voice. Organ of the Surviving Remnant in the British Zone) was the major DP newspaper in the British Zone of postwar Germany. The first issue appeared handwritten in Celle under the founding editors Rafael Olewsky, or Olewski (1914–1981), David Rosenthal (1919–?), and Paul Trepman (1916–1987) on July 12, 1945. Later issues were published in Bergen-Belsen; from the fifth number, the biweekly newspaper was printed in Hebrew letters and in several thousand copies per issue. In addition to daily news, the Zionist-oriented gazette featured political commentaries on the situation of the DPs, memories of Holocaust survivors, search lists for relatives, but also poems and literary essays. In December 1947, *Vochebblatt* (Weekly) replaced *Unzer sztyrne*. Rahe, *Die jüdische DP-Zeitung Unzer Sztyrne und die Shoa*. A selected German edition of *Unzer sztyrne* appeared in: Harck (ed.), *Unzer Sztyrne*; this article, *ibid.*, 115–117.

פון די שיפן ווי אויך די באדינגונגען אין וועלכע די מעפילים וועלן ווערן געהאלטן אין די צוויי לאגערן ביי ליבעק.

אויף דער פרעסע־קאָנפֿערענץ דעם 4טן סעפטעמבער ד.י. אין האַמבורג, גערופן דורך די ענגלענדער האָבן די רעגיאָנאַל־קאָמענדאַנטן בערי און בישאָף ווי אויך אַנדערע הויכע ענגלישע מיליטערי־לייט אָפּגעגעבן פּאָלגנדיקע דערקלערונגען:

דאָס אָנקומען פון די שיפן ווערט דערוואַרטעט אין לויף פון דער נאַכט, אָדער פונעם מאָרגנדיקן פּאַרמיטיק, די אויסלאָדונג וועט זיך אָנהויבן זונטיק 6 אַזיגער באַגינען לויט אַ פּריער באשטימטן פּלאַן און נעמלעך: מען וועט אויפֿאָדערן די מעפילים דורך מעגאַפּאָנען אין פּאַרשיידענע שפּראַכן רויק און פּרידלעך צו פּאַרלאָזן די שיפן. ווען די דערמאָנטע אויפֿאָדערונג וועט נישט ווערן אויסגעפירט וועט אונטערגענומען ווערן אַ צוואַנגס־אַקציע מיט טרערן־גאַז און וואַסער. צו דער אַקציע אין האַמבורג זיינען מאָביליזירט געוואָרן 1.400 סאָלדאַטן. געווער וועט ווערן באַנוצט נאָר דאָן, ווען ענגליש לעבן וועט ווערן באַדראָט. ביים פּאַרלאָזן די שיפן וועט מען אונטערזוכן די מעפילים, צי זיי האָבן נישט ביי זיך קיין געווער. די מעפילים זאָלן ווערן איינגעאַרדנט אין האַלץ־באַראַקן, אַ צאָל אָבער פון 750 מאַן וועט קומען אין געצעלטן. אין די קיכן און אין די באַראַקן אַרבעטן ביז 200 דייטשן אונטער דער אויפזיכט פון ענגלענדער. די לאַגערן וועלן ווערן צוויי וואַכן באַוואַכט דורכן ענגלישן מיליטער. אויף דער צייט איז אויסגערכנט געוואָרן די אויספאַרשונג פון די מעפילים. די, וועלכע מען וועט פעסטשטעלן, אַז זיי זיינען דיפּיס, וועלן צעשיקט ווערן אין דיפּי־לאַגערן, די איבעריקע וועלן ווערן באַטראַכט ווי דיישישע בירגער און זיי וועלן ווערן איינגעאַרדנט אין דייטישישע שטעט אָדער דערפער. די מעפילים ווערן געהאלטן צום באַפעל פון דער בריטישער רעגירונג.

די אויסלאָדונג פון די שיפן זיינען באַרעכטיקט בייצווווינען צוויי גרופן פון זשורנאַליסטן: די ערשטע וועט באַשטיין פון 25 זשורנאַליסטן פון דער וועלט־פּרעסע – זי וועט קומען ביזן פּאַרט, נאָר 5 זשורנאַליסטן וועלן ווערן צוגעלאָזט צו די שיפן. די צווייטע גרופע וועט באַשטיין פון 5 דייטישישע רעפּאָרטערן. עס איז נישט דערלויבט די אַקציע צו פּאַטאַגראַפירן.

דאָרט אַהין וועלן זיי ווערן צוגעפירט אין ספּעציעלע אויטאָס. פּריוואַט־וואַגנס איז נישט דערלויבט צו באַנוצן. די ביטע פון די פּראַנצוישע [!] זשורנאַליסטן, אַז זייערע פּרעסע פּאַרשטייער זאָלן האָבן די מעגלעכקייט צו באַטייליקן זיך אין דער ערשטער גרופע איז געוואָרן אָפּגעוואָרפן. עס זיינען אויך געבליבן דערפּאָלגלאָז די באַמיונגען וועגן צולאָזן פּראַנצויזישע אָדער סקאַנדינאַווישע פּרעסע־אַגענטורן צו די שיפן. פון דער דאָזיקער פּריווילעגיע האָט גענאָסן נאָר די "רויטער"־אַגענטור. די פּרעסע־פּאַרשטייער איז אויך געוואָרן פּאַרווערט מיטצופאַרן מיט די מעפילים אין די לאַגערן.

די דאָזיקע מאַסנאַמען, וועלכע די מיליטע־רעגירונג אין האַמבורג האָט אונטערגענומען האָבן נאָך מער צעהיצט די שוין אַזוי גענוג אויפגעברויזטע געמיטער.

דער צענטראַל־קאָמיטעט איז געשטאַנען אין פּאַרלויף פון דער גאַנצער צייט אין אַן ענגער פּאַרבינדונג מיט אַלע פּאָליטישע פּאַרטייען, מיט דער אָנפירערשאַפט פון די אויסלענדיש־יידישע הילפס־אָרגאַניזאַציעס, ווי אויך מיט די פּאַרטערטער פון דער אויסלענדישער און אינלענדישער פּרעסע.

אין אַ קאָנפֿערענץ מיט די העכסטע מיליטערישע אויטאָריטעטן אין דער בריטישער זאָנע האָט דער צ.ק. דורך זיינע פּאַרשטייער יוסף ראָזנאַפּט און נאָרבערט וואַלהיים שאַרף פּראָטעסטירט קעגן דעם צוריקשיקן די מעפילים און קעגן די אונמענטשלעכע באדינגונגען אין די לאַגערן אין וועלכע זיי וועלן ווערן איינגעאַרדנט.

דער צ.ק. האָט גערופן מאַסן־פּאַרזאַמלונגען אין בעלזן ווי אויך אין דער פּראָווינץ, וווּ ער האָט אויפגעקלערט זיין שטעלונג אין דער פּראָגע. וועלנדיק באַקאַנען די וועלט־עפּנטלעכקייט מיט די סקאַנדאַליעזע פּלענער פון די נייע קאָנצענטראַציע לאַגערן פאַר די מעפּילים, האָט דער צ.ק. גערופן נאָך האַמבורג אויף דעם 4טן ד.ח. אַ פּרעסע־|46| קאָנפּערענץ אין וועלכער ס'האַבן זיך באַטייליקט אַלע אין האַמבורג אַנוועזנדיקע אויסלענדישע ווי אויך דייטשישע זשורנאַליסטן. אויף דער דאָזיקער פּרעסע־קאָנפּערענץ האָבן די ח'י ראָזנאָפּט און וואָלהיים איבערגעגעבן וועגן דעם אויפּברויז פון דער יידישער באַפעלקערונג צוליב די ענגלישע מאַסנאַמען קעגן די שיפּן. מיט יעדער שעה – האבן די פּאַרשטייערס פון צ.ק. דערקלערט – וואַקסט די שפּאַנונג צווישן די יידן. דעם אַקט פון דער בריטישער רעגירונג צוריקצושיקן די מעפּילים גראָד נאָך דייטשלאַנד, אין דעם לאַנד, וואָס טראַגט די פּאַראַנטוואָרטלעכקייט פאַר דעם אומקום פון מיליאָנען אונדזערע ברידער, האַלטן מיר פאַר ברוטאַל און אונמענטשלעך. צוליב דעם וועט דער צ.ק. ווי אויך אַלע יידישע הילפּס־אַרגאַניזאַציעס אין דער בריטישער זאָנע, אַלס צייכן פון פּראָטעסט קעגן דער דאָזיקער ברוטאַלער האַנדלונג און אַלס אויסדרוק פון סאָלידאַריטעט מיט די מעפּילים, נישט זיין פּאַרטראַטן ביי דער אויסלאָדונג פון די שיפּן אין האַמבורג. אויף דער דערמאַנטער פּרעסע־קאָנפּערענץ האָט אויך דער צ.ק. אויפגעדעקט דאָס שוידערלעכע בילד פון די לאַגערן פאַר די מעפּילים. די לאַגערן – האָבן דערקלערט די צ.ק. פּאַרשטייער – אונטערשיידן זיך גאַרנישט פון די ערגסטע לאַגערן אינעם היטלעריסטישן דייטשלאַנד. זיי זיינען אַרומגעצוימט מיט שטעכל־דראַט, באַזיץן וואַך־טורמעס און באַוואַפּנטע סאָלדאַטן. דער צ.ק. האָט אויך אָפּגעלייקנט די ידיעות פון גענ. בישאָף וועגן אַנטייל פון "דזשוינט" און "רעליף" אין דער הילפּס־אַקציע פאַר די מעפּילים. "מיר וועלן – האָבן געזאָגט די פּאַרשטייער פון צ.ק. – טאָן נאָר דאָס, וואָס וועלן פון אונדז פּאַרלאַנגען אונדזערע שוועסטער און ברידער אויף די שיפּן."

דעם הויך־פּונקט האָט די אויפּרעגונג דערגרייכט אין דער נאַכט פון שבת אויף זונטיק דעם 7טן סעפטעמבער 6 אַזייגער באַגינען. אין מאַמענט, ווען עס האָט זיך געזאָלט אָנהויבן די אויסלאָדונג פון די שיפּן, האָבן זיך גרויסע מאַסן מענטשן אָנגעהויבן זאַמלען אויפן "פרייהייטס־פּלאַץ" אין בעלזן, וווּ ס'איז אָפּגעהאַלטן געוואָרן אַ פּראָטעסט־מיטינג. דעם זעלבליקן טאָג 12 אַזייגער האָט זיך ווידעראַמאָל די בעלזענער יידישע באַפעלקערונג פּאַרזאַמלט, כדי צו ברענגען צום אויסדרוק איר שאַרפּן פּראָטעסט קעגן דער ענגלישער מאַכט. אויף דעם מיטינג זיינען אויפגעטראַטן יוסף ראָזנאָפּט, אפּריס לאַנדנער און דער יידישער עסקן און קעמפּער פון פּראַנקרייך ה' מאַרק יאַרבּלום ווי אויך ד"ר באָרו (י.ו.ק.). אין דער זעלביקער שעה זיינען אין אַלע יידישע קבוצים פון דער בריטישער זאָנע פּאַרגעקומען סאָלידאַריטעט־פּאַרזאַמלונגען. די יידישע באַפעלקערונג איז נישט אָפּגעקומען נאָר מיט ווערטער. דינסטיק 5 אַזייגער פרי זיינען פון בעלזן אָפּגעפּאַרן נאָך האַמבורג הונדערטער יידן, כדי צוצוקומען צום פּאַרט מאַניפעסטירן אויפן אַרט פון דער שענדלעכער דערפּאַרטאַציע [!] אונדזער גורלי־פּאַרבינדונג מיט די מעפּילים. די מאַניפעסטאַציע איז אָבער געוואָרן צעטרופן דורך ענגלישע און דייטשישע פּאָליציי.

וועגן פּאַרלויה פון דער אויסלאָדונג גופא וועלן מיר באַריכטן אין נאַענטסטן נומער.

*Translation***The Forceful Operation of the Jews in the British Zone in Connection with the Offloading of the S.S. "Exodus 1947" in Hamburg¹⁰²**

For weeks rumors have been circulating that the British government decided upon the inhuman act of deporting the illegal emigrants to Germany. This brutal act has provoked the profoundest outrage among the entire Jewish population. The indignation further increased when the preparations for the offloading of the ships became known, as well as the conditions in which the [clandestine] emigrants would be kept in the two camps near Lübeck.

102 In the summer of 1947, rumors of a mass departure on a large illegal immigrant ship swirled around the DP camps. Generally, such information had proven false in the past, although on this occasion such a ship did in fact exist. The *Briḥah* had acquired a large passenger vessel, the *President Warfield*, in Baltimore, which it intended to use to bring immigrants from France to Palestine. Thousands were organized in the DP camps of Germany for transfer to France at the end of June 1947. A French transit visa for 1,700 people was forged and copied by *Briḥah* agents in Germany in order to facilitate the transfer of over 5,000 DPs. On July 7, a total of 4,500 people snuck across the German border via Mulhouse and Strasbourg. They boarded the *President Warfield* on July 10, in Sete in southern France. All of the passengers bore entry visas to Colombia although they had no intention of sailing across the Atlantic; their goal was to reach Palestine instead. The vessel departed Sete on July 11, with 4,052 men, women, and children. On the way to Haifa, the name was changed to "Exodus 1947" (*Yezi'at Eyropah 1947*). British warships intercepted the *Exodus*, and the passengers fought them until they were subdued. The British resolved to teach the illegal immigration movement a lesson, and rather than allow the passengers to disembark in Palestine or even Cyprus, they decided to force the DPs to return to France. The transfer of the DPs to prison ships in Haifa harbor took place within full view of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine commissioners, a notable diplomatic and propaganda coup on the part of the Zionist enterprise. Although the prison ships were returned to France, the passengers refused to disembark, and the French government refused to force them to do so. The DPs even went so far as to stage a hunger strike to arouse sympathy for their plight. They were finally returned to Hamburg, a practical defeat for the DPs in their effort to depart German soil, but a victory for the Zionist movement in its ongoing diplomatic struggle against the British blockade. Aviva Halamish, *The Exodus Affair: Holocaust Survivors and the Struggle for Palestine*, Syracuse, NY, 1998; Idith Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power. Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel*, Berkeley, Calif., 1998, 67–72.

At the press conference on September 4 of this year in Hamburg, convened by the British, the Regional Commanders Berry¹⁰³ and Bishop,¹⁰⁴ as well as other high-ranking British military personnel, provided the following briefing:

The arrival of the ships is expected during the night or in the course of tomorrow morning. The offloading will commence on Sunday at 6 AM according to the prearranged plan, namely: the illegal emigrants will be asked to evacuate the ships calmly and peacefully in different languages through megaphones. If the aforementioned order fails to be complied with, a forceful removal operation with tear gas and water will be carried out. 1,400 soldiers have been mobilized to the operation in Hamburg. Arms will be used only when there is danger to British lives. At the point of evacuating the ships, the emigrants will be searched for weapons. The emigrants shall be housed in wooden barracks; 750 men, however, will stay in tents. In the kitchens and barracks there are up to 200 German staff working under the supervision of the British. The camps will be guarded for two weeks by the British military. This time has been designated for the investigation of the emigrants. Those who will have been confirmed to be DPs will be sent to DP camps. The rest will be regarded as German citizens and will be settled into German towns and villages. The emigrants are to abide by the orders of the British government.

Two groups of journalists are permitted to be present at the offloading of the ships. The first group will consist of 25 journalists of the international press; they will come as far as the port, but only 5 journalists will be allowed to the ships. The second group will consist of 5 German reporters. It is forbidden to take photographs of the operation.

They will be taken there in special cars. Use of private vehicles is prohibited. The request of the French journalists to afford their press representatives an opportunity to participate in the first group has been denied. The efforts regarding the admittance of French or Scandinavian press agencies to the

103 Likely Sir (Henry) Vaughan Berry (1891–1979), who was dispatched to Germany by the British government in 1946 to take charge of the civil administration in Hamburg as Regional Commissioner Hansestadt Hamburg of the Control Commission for Germany (British Element); he held the position until 1949.

104 Most likely Sir William Henry Alexander “Alec” Bishop (1897–1984), a British Major General who became the Chief of Information Services and Public Relations of the Control Commission in Germany in 1945. Subsequently, he served as Deputy Chief of Staff for North Rhine-Westphalia from 1946 to 1948, and as the territory’s Regional Commissioner from 1948 to 1950.

ships have also been unsuccessful. It was only the Reuters Agency¹⁰⁵ that was able to enjoy the privilege. The press representatives were likewise forbidden to accompany the emigrants to the camps.

The following measures undertaken by the Military Government in Hamburg further exacerbated the already sufficiently agitated public sentiments.¹⁰⁶

Throughout the entire time the Central Committee has been in close contact with all the political parties, the leadership of the international Jewish aid organizations, and with the representatives of the international and home press.

At a conference with the top military authorities in the British Zone, the Central Committee through its representatives Josef Rosensaft¹⁰⁷ and Norbert Wollheim¹⁰⁸ severely protested against deporting the emigrants and the inhuman conditions in the camps in which they would be placed.

The Central Committee has convened mass gatherings in Belsen and the provinces where it clarified its position in the matter. Wishing to make the scandalous plans of the new concentration camps for the emigrants known

105 Reuters is a news agency founded in 1851 in London by Paul Reuter (1816–1899). In the 20th century, it became one of the largest and most trusted news agencies in the world.

106 See Figure 5.

107 Josef Rosensaft (1911–1975) was born in Będzin, then part of the Russian Empire, and an active youth member of the Zionist labor movement. After being deported to Auschwitz, he escaped, but was captured again and finally liberated in Bergen-Belsen. He established the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone and was elected to serve as its first chairman. Rosensaft opposed the British policy of restrictive immigration to Palestine. He and his family lived in Montreux, Switzerland, before immigrating to the United States in the late 1950s.

108 Norbert Wollheim (1913–1998) grew up in Berlin. He was forced out of his academic studies in 1933 because of his Jewish background. After the November Pogroms in 1938, he helped organize the transports of Jewish children to Great Britain and Sweden. In 1943, he was arrested by the Gestapo and along with his entire family deported to Auschwitz. While he was singled out for slave labor, his wife, son, and sister were sent to the gas chambers. Wollheim managed to flee during a death march after the evacuation of Auschwitz in January of 1945. After liberation, he settled in Lübeck, in the British Zone, where he helped rebuild Jewish life in western Germany. He was elected the second chairman of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone, and was co-founder of the Jewish Trust Corporation in the British Zone. Later he became chairman of the Association of Northwestern Germany's Jewish Congregations and board member of the Central Council of Jews in Germany. He immigrated to the United States in 1951, settling in New York.

to the world, the Central Committee convened on the 4th of this month in Hamburg a press [46] conference attended by all the international and also German journalists currently present in Hamburg. At this press conference Messrs. Rosensaft and Wollheim reported on the outrage of the Jewish population at the British measures against the ships. The tension among the Jews, stated the representatives of the Central Committee, is growing with every passing hour. We regard the act of the British government to deport the emigrants precisely to Germany, the very country that is responsible for the destruction of millions of our brothers, as brutal and inhuman. For this reason, in protest against this brutal treatment and as an expression of solidarity with the emigrants, the Central Committee, as well as all the Jewish aid organizations in the British Zone, will have no representation at the offloading of the ships in Hamburg. At the same press conference the Central Committee also revealed the appalling picture of the camps for the emigrants. The camps, stated the Central Committee representatives, are in no way different from the worst camps in Hitler's Germany. They are fenced off with barbed wire and have watchtowers and armed soldiers. The Central Committee also denied Gen. Bishop's information regarding the participation of the "Joint" and "Relief" in the aid action for the emigrants. "We shall do only what our sisters and brothers on the ships will require of us," said the Central Committee representatives.

Agitation peaked on the night of Sabbath to Sunday, September 7, at 6 AM. At the moment when the offloading of the ships was due to commence, large crowds started to gather on "Freedom Square" in Belsen where a demonstration of protest was held. At 12 noon on the same day the Jewish population of Belsen assembled once again in order to express their severe protest against the British power. The speakers at the meeting were Josef Rosensaft, Efraim Londner¹⁰⁹ and Jewish activist and fighter from France Mr. Marc Jarblum,¹¹⁰

109 Ephraim (also Efrayim and Efroim) Londner (1910–2007) was born in Będzin, then part of the Russian Empire, where he became a rabbi. Londner and his wife were deported to Bergen-Belsen, where they were liberated; their eight-year-old daughter, Gitel, had been separated from them in 1943 and perished shortly thereafter in Auschwitz. In the DP camp, Londner was a leader in religious life. He and his wife immigrated to Israel, where their second daughter was born and raised.

110 Marc (Mortkhe) Jarblum (1887–1972), born in Warsaw, was the younger brother of the Polish-Jewish writer Mikhl Jarblum (1879–1921). He was among the founders of Poale Zion in Poland. He continued his activism in the Labor Zionist movement after settling in Paris, where he was living when the Second World War broke out. A member of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), Jarblum was active before and during the war in relief work with Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and for a time

as well as Dr. Barou¹¹¹ (WJC). At the same hour gatherings of solidarity took place in all the Jewish settlements of the British Zone. The Jewish population didn't stop at words alone. On Tuesday at 5 AM hundreds of Jews left Belsen for Hamburg in order to gather at the port and demonstrate at the site of the shameful deportation the bond between our fate and that of the emigrants. However, the demonstration was dispersed by the British and German police.

We will report about the course of the actual offloading in the coming issue.

Document 22

Max Cinman,¹¹² Untitled

Munich, April 5, 1946

Newspaper cartoon, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Avinoam J. Patt and Alexandra M. Kramen

Undzer veg, April 5, 1946 (no. 27), 5, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004284, reel 20.01

was involved with both the French and the French-Jewish Résistance. In the summer of 1943, he was brought to Switzerland, where he continued his relief work, helping to centralize the help for Jews in France. After liberation, he returned to Paris and was a French representative at the United Nations, where he advocated for the creation of a Jewish state. He also published several books and was a regular contributor in the Parisian French-language press, as well as in Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers in the Americas and Israel. Jarblum immigrated to Israel in 1955.

111 Noah Barou (1889–1955) was one of the founders of the WJC. Born in Poltava, then part of the Russian Empire, Barou joined Poale Zion as a youth, and remained an active member while living in Russia and, later, London. During the First World War, he was a leading figure in the Jewish War Relief Organization, and in the interwar period became a general secretary of the All-Ukrainian Central Council of Trade Unions. Barou immigrated to London in 1923, where he was active in the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Trades Advisory Council of British Jewry. After co-founding the WJC in 1936, he headed the organization's European Executive, serving in that capacity until 1948.

112 The background and biographical data of the author of the cartoon remain unknown.



שוין ברוך השם באלד א יאר ווי די הויכע הערן קענען זיך נאך אלץ נישט פונאנדערקלייבן, ווער די פארשלעפטע זיינען ...

Translation

“Well thank god, almost a year has already passed and the high-ranking officials still cannot determine who the displaced are ...”¹¹³

113 This caption is a sarcastic reference to the fact that collaborators throughout Eastern Europe fled their homelands in the early days of liberation to avoid potential prosecution for the crimes they committed, often posing as victims of Nazi persecution in order to obtain DP status and gain entrance into one of the DP camps in the Western zones of occupation. The collaborator in the cartoon hides a gun behind his back, symbolic of both his criminal past as well as the deception used to gain DP status. The cartoon points out that still, nearly a year after liberation, officials had failed to address the problem of collaborators deceiving officials into granting them DP status and conferring upon them the benefits that went along with that status, despite Jewish DPs’ identification of such collaborators to occupation authorities and calls for their removal and prosecution. The occupation authorities’ screening process remained lax, and the military rarely exercised its authority to identify, remove, and prosecute these collaborators. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 11–17.

4. Relief and Rehabilitation

Document 23

Shammai Waks,¹ "On the Way to Freedom!"

Stuttgart, December 1945

Newspaper article, 3 pages

Language: Yiddish; translated by Caroline Emig

Oyf der fray,² December 1945 (no. 1), 1–3

שמאי וואקס.
אויף דער פריי!

עס האָבן זיך געעפנט די טויערן פון די קאָנצענטראַציע־לאַגערן און מיר זענן אַרויס, פריי! פריי פון אַנגסט פאַרן טויט וואָס האָט אונז געדראָט ביי יעדער געלעגנהייט. פריי פון קלעפּ וואָס זענן געווען אַ טאַג־טעגליכע ערשיינונג אין די פונסטערע [!] באַדינגונגן פון ק.צ. פריי פון שווערער אַרבייט וואָס האָט אויסגעזויגן אונזערע כוחות, פון באַליידיגונגן און שמוץ וואָס אונזער פיינד האָט געוואָרפן אויף זיינע ווערלאָזע קרבנות מיט דער פולער האַנד. פריי!

מיר זענן אַרויס אויף דער וועלט מיט אַ שפאַר ביסל האַפנונג אויף אַ בעסערן מאַרגן. פיל [!] האָבן געטראַכט, יעצט וועט זיין בעסער, ליכטיגער, מען וועט זיך אָפּנעמען פאַר די צרות וואָס מיר האָבן דורכגעמאַכט, וואָס מיר זענן געוואָרן געפייניגט און געמאַטערט.

ס'האָט טאַקי געהערשט גרויס פאַרצווייפלונג און טרויער ביי דער גרעסטער טייל פון די איבערגעבליבענע, וואָס האָבן אַלע פאַרלוירן און אַלץ אָנגעוויירן. אָבער אין די מינוטן פון פאַרגעסנהייט, אין דער רגע ווען דאָס לעבן האָט גובר געווען דעם צער, האָט מען געהאַפט, געוואָרט און געפרעגט, וואָס וועט זיין מאַרגן? צו וועט נאָך פאַר אונז אויפשיינן די זון פון אַ מענשליך לעבן אין נאַרמאַלע באַדינגונגן, צווישן נאַרמאַלע געזונדע מענשן אין אַ געזונדער סביבה. עס זענן געקומן צו אונז פאַרשידענע מענשן. מיר האָבן געהערט שטענע פראַזן אין הויכע ווערטער. מען האָט אונז געהייסן וואַרטן און האַפן. עס ווערט אַלעס געטון פדי לייכטער צו מאַכן אייער מצב, פדי צו פאַרזיכערן אייער צוקונפט. זייט רוהיג, מען אַרבייט פאַר אייך און מען געדענקט אין אייך. מען האָט געוואָרט.

1 Shammai Waks (also Shamai or Shmai Waks), was a journalist in Radom on the eve of the Second World War. Waks was one of many survivors from Radom who made their way to the DP camp in Stuttgart following their liberation. Here, Radomers dominated the Jewish committee and its various departments. Waks was elected to the Jewish committee in Stuttgart and was appointed to both the camp's commission for culture and press and its historical commission. He also published many of his poems in *Oyf der fray* (On the Way to Freedom).

2 *Oyf der fray* was a handwritten and later mimeographed newspaper published in DP Camp Stuttgart. Besides providing the latest news, it called on its readers to submit poems or short stories.

דערווייל האָט דאָס לעבן געפֿאָדערט דאָס איריגע [!]. אַראָפֿגעוואָרפֿן די ק.צ. מלבושים, האָט מען געברויכט אַנטיען אַנדערע. ס'זענן אָבער נישט געווען די נויטיגע קליידער און אויב ס'איז שוין יאָ געלונגן צו באַקומן עפעס, איז קיין שניידער נישט געווען. די דייטשן ווילן נישט אַרבייטן פֿאַר אויסלנדער [!]. זיי האָבן גענוג אייגענע קאַמעראַדן, פֿאַר וועלכע זיי ווילן אַרבייטן. אויסער דעם זענן די מלבושים גלאָט נישט געווען צום טראָגן, אַלץ אויסגעריבענע און פֿאַרפעטצטע לומפֿן.

דאָס עסן איז אויך נישט געווען גענוג. דרייסיג דק. ברויט, צוויי דק. פּוטער, אַביסל האָלב זיסע קאַווע און אַ ליטער זופּ. דאָ מוז מען באַמערקן אַז פּיל האָבן אונז געהאַלפֿן יודן פֿון דער אַרמיי, סיי מיט עסן און סיי מיט קליידונג, ווי ביי אונז איז געווען דער פֿאַל מיטן ראַבינער העסעלקאַרן, אָבערלויטנאַנט האַט לער און פּלעסנער.

נאָר אין איין הינויכט איז עטוואָס לייכטער געוואָרן. מיר האָבן באַקומן שיינע בלאַקן צום וווינן. אָבער מען האָט געמוזט ווייטער זאָרגן וועגן אַרגאַניזירן מלבושים, עסן א.ז.ו. דאָס אַלטע גוט בעקאַנטע לאַגער שלאַג-וואַרט "אַרגאַניזירן" האָט ווייטער באַקומן זיין ווערטפֿולן אינהאַלט.

איז טאַקי געקומן צו אַזאַ צושטאַנד, אַז דעם וואָס ס'איז געלונגן, דער האָט געהאַט און דער איידעלער, סובטעלער און אַ ביסל צוריקגעהאַלטענער עלעמנט איז אַרומגעגאַנגן קרועה-בליעה און טאַקי אַמאָל נישט דערעסן אויך. די פּריי האָט פּערלירן איר רייץ. וואָס פֿאַר אַ פּריי איז דאָס, אַז מען שטעקט נאָך מיטן קאַפּ אין די פֿאַדינגונגן פֿון אַ לאַגער-לעבן. אין יעדנס האַרץ האָט זיך אַנגעהויבן אַריינגעבען פֿאַרביטערונג און ענטוישונג.

אויך איז די אַדמיניסטראַטיווע-מאַכט אונז מיט גאַרנישט אַקעגנגעקומן. איר שטעלונג צו אונז איז לגמרי נישט געווען קיין פּאָזיטיווע. נישט קיין אַנזען, נישט קיין פֿאַרשטענדניש.

מיר האָבן אויך אינגאַנצן נישט געפּילט די אויבערהאַנד, וואָס זאָל זאָרגן און קלערן פֿאַר אונז. אויסלאַנד, ברודער-יודן פֿון מעבר-לים האָבן אונז געלאָזט אויפֿן חסד פֿון דער אַדמיניסטראַציע און מיט גאַרנישט מער אונז אַקעגנגעקומן. מיר האָבן זיך דערפּילט פֿאַריתומט נאָך מער ווי פּריער, אויסגעלאָשן איז געוואָרן די האַפֿנונג אויף אונזערע ברודער פֿון מעבר-לים.

אווודאי, מען טרייבט הויך-פּאָליטיק ביי גרינע טישן און ביי אַ גלעזל-טיי, מען [2] דינגט זיך און מען אַמפּערט. דערווייל לויפֿן טעג נאָך טעג, שווערע טעג און טרויריגע נעכט. די נערוון אַנגעשטרענגט ביז גאַר, דער מאָרגן פּינסטער און אַן אויסזיכט.

די איינשטלונג [!] פֿון די אויסערליכע יודישע פּאַקטאָרן, שפּיגלט ריכטיג אָב די פּאַלגנדע ווערטער פֿון דזשינט-פֿאַרשטעהער: ער האָט אונז באַזוכט אין לאַנגצעל און געזאָגט: "עס גייט נישט אין דעם, אויב איר באַקומט אַ שטיקל ברויט אָדער אַ קלייד מער אָדער וועניגער. עס גייט קודם-כל אין אַ פּאָזיטיוון אויסגאַנג פֿון גאַנצן עמיגראַציע-פּראָבלעם פֿון דייטשלאַנד. איר האָט געליטן אַזוי פּיל, אַז אַ פֿאַר מאַנאַטן מער אָדער ווייניגער שפּילט פֿאַר אייך קיין ראַלע."

אין דער טעאָריע קלינגט עס זער שיין. אָבער אַדורכצופּירן פּראַקטיש - אייך ווייס נישט אויב מיינע ווערטער וועלן צו אייך דערגיין און אויב יאָ וועט איר זיי אוודאי לעזן ביי רונדע טישן, אין ברייטע געבעטע סאַפעס, ביים ליכט פֿון שיינע זשיראַנדאַלן - איז עס געבונדן קודם-כל מיט אַ גרויסן פֿאַרלוסט פֿון זעלבסטווירדע און מיט אַ מינדערווערטיקייטס-געפּיל וואָס וועט אונז פּייניגן אַזוי לאַנג ווי לאַנג מיר וועלן זיך נישט קאָנן אויסלעבן ווי פּרייע מענשן אין געזונדע פּאַדינגונגן, ביי קאַנסטרוקטיווער אַרבייט. טראָגן טאַקי לייטישע קלעידער און עסן נישט לויט די צאָל קאַלאָריעס, נאָר לויטן געשמאַק.

די פּריי האָט אונז געגעבן נאָר אַ פֿאַרגעשמאַק וואָס פּרייהייט קאָן געבן. אָבער געניסן פֿון דער פּריי האָבן מיר נישט גענאָסן. אונזערע פּלערליי אַפּיעקונעס און וועגווייזער האָבן אונז געהאַלטן אין איין לערנן, דאָס טיט מען נישט, יענץ זאָגט מען נישט, איר מוזט פֿאַרגעסן אין די יאָרן פֿון ק.צ.

און ווערן מענשן ווי אַלע גלייך. שײן. אָבער העלפן אונז אַרויסצוקריגן זיך פון דער מאַראַלישער בלאַטע אין וועלכע מיר האָבן געשטעקט אין די לעצטע פּאַר יאָר, דאָס האָט קיינער נישט געטען. מענשן אויסגעוהונגערטע, מענשן נאַקעטע און נידערגעשלאָגענע האָבן מיטאַמאַל אַראַפּעוואָרפן פון זיך די קייטן פון געפאַנגנשאַפט און זעקס יעריגער יאָך. צו איז ווער פון אונזערע אויסלענדישע פאַרוואַרער געווען דאַמאַלט אויפן אָרט פּדי צו קערעוון מיט אונזערע טריט און מעשים אין דער קריטישער צייט פון אונזער איבערגאַנג פון טויט אויף לעבן!!!

ניין. עס איז גענוג געווען ווען מען האָט אַהערגעשיקט אַ 2-3 בעאַמטע פון אונראַ און פון דזשוינט. יונגע מענשן וואָס האָבן צוגעטיילט דאָס ביסל עסן און קאווע אַז מען זאָל זיך אָביסל דערכאַפן. אַזוי אַרום האָט זיך דאָס אַרגאַניזירן, וואָס האָט אין אָנהויב געהאַט אַ מאַמענטאַלן סטיכישן כאַראַקטער פּערוואַנדלט אין אַ סטאַבילע געווינהייט. די אויסלנדישע (!) יודן האָבן זיך מיט אונז נישט פאַראַינטערעסירט ווי עס געהער צו זיין. זיי האָבן נישט געשאַפן די געהעריגע אינסטיטוציע, וואָס זאָל דיספּאָנירן מיט מאַטעריעלע מיטלן און בילדן דעם מאַראַלישן כוח, וואָס זאָל אונז צוגעבן מוט און גלויבן, אַז מיר זענן נישט פאַריתומט, אַז עס קלאַפט נאָך פאַר אונז אַ פריינדליך האַרץ ביי אונזערע ברודער מעבר־לים, אַז זיי קלערן פאַר אונז, זאָרגן פאַר אונז און ווילן אונז העלפן.

מיר האָבן זיך טאַקי יאָ דערפילט פאַריתומט, איינזאַם און אָן אַ הילף, די פריי האָט אונז ענטוישט, מיר האָבן געטראַגן די קעפּ אַראַב, אָן מוט, אָן גלויבן, אָן האַפנונג, פול מיט רעזיגנאַציע און אַנגסט פאַר דעם קומנדן מאַרגן. אַזוי דאָס טאַגטעגליכע לעבן. טאַמער האָט זיך איינער אַוועקגעריסן פון דעם היינט און טאַקי גענומן קלערן וועגן מאַרגן, האָט אים אַ שווינדל געטיען פאַר די אויגן דאָס פּראַבלעם עמיראַציע.

יודן ווילן אַוועק פון דייטשלאַנד. ווהיין? די וואָס האָבן קרובים אין פּאַלעסטינע ווילן פּאַרן קיין פּאַלעסטינע. די וואָס האָבן קרובים אין אַמעריקע ווילן פּאַרן קיין אַמעריקע. און די אַנדערע, וואָס האָבן קיין קרובים נישט אין פּאַלעסטינע און נישט אין אַמעריקע ווילן ווידער פּאַרן אין די צוויי לענדער. קיין אַמעריקע די וואָס ווילן און האָפן אַז עס וועט זיי לונגן צו מאַכן אַ לעבן. קיין פּאַלעסטינע ווידער די וואָס זייער נאַציאָנאַל געפיל דאַמינירט און זיי ווילן זיך אויסלעבן אין אַן אייגענער יודישער סביבה.

דערווייל זענן אַוועק מאַנאַטן און די זאָך ווי זי האָט אויסגעזען פריער, אַזוי זעט זי אויס ווייטער. נישט קיין עמיגראַציע, נישט קיין אַמעריקע, נישט קיין פּאַלעסטינע. עס פּאַרן רוסן, עס פּאַרן טשעכן, עס פּאַרן פּאַלאַקן, דאָס פּראַבלעם פון יודישער עמיגראַציע רירט זיך נישט פון אָרט. עס איז אַליין אין אַ טויטן פּונקט און עס איז פאַרגליווערט געוואָרן. אָביסל יודן פון אונגאַרן זענן צוריק אין זייערע פריערדיגע וווינערטער. קיין פּוילן איז נישטאַ קיין צוריקוואַנדערונג, פאַרקערט, די אויסוואַנדערונג פון די יודן וואָס זענן נאָכן וואַפּנשטילשטאַנד אַריין קיין פּוילן פאַרגרעסערט זיך פון טאַג צו טאַג. די אַנטיסעמיטישע עלעמענטן אין פּוילן רוען נישט און זעצן [3] פאַרט זייער אַרבייט. מען הרגעט, היינט דאָ מאַרגן דאַרט און עס גיסט זיך יודיש בלוט. קומן יודן פון פּוילן קיין דייטשלאַנד אין וואָס אַ גרעסערער צאָל און פאַרמערן דעם עלעמנט וואָס האַפט און וואַרט אַרויס צו קריגן זיך פון דעם דייטשן גן־עדן ... אָבער די אויסזיכטן דערווייל זענן נישטאַ.

די דעקלאַראַציע פון בעוויזן האָט נאָר פאַרערגערט די לאַגע. אויב די יודן האָבן געהאַפט אויף אַ גרעסערע עמיגראַציע מעגליכקייט קיין פּאַלעסטינע, איז זייער האַפנונג יעצט צונישט געוואָרן. 1500 סערטיפיקאַטן אַ מאַנאַט. יודן פּראַטעסטירן, יודן אַרדנען איין מאַניפעסטאַציעס און אַ הונגער־שטרייק. אין פּאַלעסטינע גאַסן־דעמאָנסטראַציעס געגן דער רעגירונג. טויטע און פּערוואַנדטע יודן. דאָס איז דער סך־הכל: טויטע און פּערוואַנדטע, סטרייקן און דעמאָנסטראַציעס

פון ק.צ. ילער אין שטוטגארט, מינכן, לאַנדסבערג, בערגן-בעלזן און אַנדערע יודישע לאַגערן אין דייטשלאַנד.

אַכט חדשים נאָך דער באַפֿרייונג. נאָך שווערע יאָרן פון טויטע האַרעוואַניע און אונמעגליכע יסורים אין די קאָנצענטראַציע-לאַגערן, דרייט זיך אַרום אַ הייפל מענשן אויף די חורבות פון זייער אַמאָליגן גיהנום, אָן אַני אויסזיכט אויף דעם מאָרגן, אָן אַ צוקונפט און זינקט אין דעם געמויעכטס פון די שיינע דרשות, הויכע פּראָזן פון פּאַרזאָרגער און קאָמיסעס מכל-המינים. קומט איין קאָמיסע און שרייבט, קומט די צווייטע און שרייבט און ביי אונז ווי עס איז געווען אַזוי איז און בלייבט.

ווען מיר טענהן און פּרעגן וואָס וועט דאָך זיין דער תּכלית? ענטפּערט מען אונז, עס איז נאָר אַ דורכגאַנגס-צייט, אַ פעריאָד וואָס מיר אָדורן. וואָרט נאָך אַביסל אונטער, די צייט איז מיט אייך און פאַר אייך.

גוט. מיר מיוון וואָרטן אויף אַ פּאָזיטיוון אויסגאַנג פון די באַמיונגן וואָס ווערן פאַר אונזער טובהס וועגן געמאַכט, מיר ווילן גלויבן אַז אונזערע ברודער אין אויסלאַנד האָבן טאַקי אונזער טובה אין זיגן און אַז זיי ווילן נישט שלאָגן קיין הויך-קאַפיטאַל אויף אונזער קאַנטאַ.

אַבער איר מיזט וויסן, אַז יעדן טאָג וואָס מיר פאַרברענגן אין די יעצטיגע באַדינגונגן ברעכט אונזער מוט און פאַרסט אונזער בלוט. די גרעסערע טייל פון אונז טיט נישט די האַנד אין קאַלטן וואַסער, מען פּוסט און פּאַסעוועט און עס גלוסט זיך נישט די מינדעסטע זאָך צו טיען.

דער עולם ווייסט, אַז אונזער דאָזיגן איז נאָר אַ פּאַראַיבערגעהנדעס, אַז סוף-פּליסוף וועט מען מיין אַוועק. עס בילדעט זיך ביי יעדן אַ אונזיכערקייטס-געפיל, מען ווייסט נישט צו וואָס זיך צו נעמן, עס איז נישטאָ וועמן צו פּרעגן און מיט וועמן זיך צו באַראַטן. טאַמער נעמט מען זיך שוין צו עפעס אַ באַשעפטיגונג איז עס נאָר ווייל מען וויל זיך אַליין פאַרטומלן און פאַרגעסן. מען פילט די אונפּראָדוקטיווקייט פון דער אַרבייט און עס שאַפט זיך אַני אונווילן צו יעדער מין אַרבייט און באַשעפטיגונג.

אַזוי זעט אויס אונזער פּריי.

הינטער אונז אַ ים מיט טרערן, פאַר אונז דער מאָרגן אַ גרויסער פּראַגע-צייכן, דער היינט ווידער פול מיט שטערונגן, טרויעריג, טונקל און גרוי.

עס בלאַנקעט זיך אויף דער פּריי אַ רעשטל אונגוטיגע מענשן. ווער ברויך אונז, ווער וואָרט אויף אונז?

יעדע שעה פאַרערערט אונזער לאַגע, יעדער טאג אַ קאטאסטראפע.

אויפן האַרזאנט פּלאַטערן 4 פענער. דער בלויווייסער שטיצט זיך אויף די אַנדערע דריי. עס איז סימבאָליש אַבער ליידער, אַ טרויעריגער סימבאָל. מיר זענען דאָך נאָר אַ שפּיל אין די הענד פון די זיגרייכע מלוכות און אונזער גורל ליגט אין זייערע הענד, אַזוי בנוגע דער דעציזיע פון אַרץ-ישראל-פּראָבלעם, אַזוי בנוגע דער עמיגראַציע אין אַנדערע לענדער.

וועלן זיי אונז פאַרשטיין, וועלן זיי אונדז העלפן?!

וועלן מיר אַרויס פון דייטשן-גן-עדן?

ווען און וווּהיין? ...

Translation

Shammai Waks

On the Way to Freedom!

The gates of the concentration camps opened, and we emerged, free! Free from fear of death that threatened us at every turn. Free from blows that were a daily occurrence in the grim conditions of concentration camps. Free from the hard work that sapped our strength, from insults and filth that our enemy unsparingly threw at their defenseless victims. *Free!*

We emerged into the world with quite a bit of hope for a *better tomorrow*. Many of us thought, now it will be better, brighter, we'll be recompensed for the hardships we went through, for having been tortured and tormented.

Indeed, the largest part of the survivors who lost all and everything were in the grip of great despair and grief. But in the moments of forgetfulness, in the instant when life *prevailed* over grief, they hoped, waited and asked themselves: *What will be tomorrow?* Will yet shine for us the sun of human life in normal conditions, among healthy people in a healthy environment?

Different people came to us. We heard fancy phrases conceived in lofty words. We were told to hope and wait. Everything is being done to improve your situation, to secure your future. Rest assured that we're working for you and remembering you.

We waited.

In the meantime, life came into its own. Having discarded the *KZ* garb, we needed to put on a different one. However, there was no necessary clothing, and if by chance anything could be procured, no tailor was available. The Germans don't want to work for foreigners. They have enough of their own buddies for whom they want to work. Apart from that the clothes weren't suitable for wearing, all worn and oily rags.

Food, too, wasn't sufficient. 300 gr of bread, 20 gr of butter, a little semi-sweet coffee and a liter of soup. At this point it has to be mentioned that the Jews from the Army helped us a lot, both with food and clothing, as was the case with Rabbi Hesselkorn [sic], first lieutenant *Hatler* and Plessner.³

3 Rabbi and military chaplain Abraham Haselkorn (1905–1982) and First Lieutenant Hatler (a Senior Officer in the U.S. Military Government in Heidelberg) were instrumental in transferring the Radomer survivors to an UNRRA-operated DP camp in the American Zone after their liberation. Plessner could not be identified. On the Jewish chaplains of the U.S. Army and their work in the DP camps, see Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame*.

Only in one aspect was there something of an improvement. We were provided with beautiful blocks to live in.

Yet we had to continue “fixing” clothes, food, etc. The old familiar camp byword “fix” reacquired its valuable sense.⁴

It actually came to the situation whereby those who succeeded had stuff, while the refined, subtle and a little shy element walked about in rags and sometimes went hungry, too. *Freedom* has lost its appeal. What kind of freedom is this when people are still stuck head first in the conditions of camp living? Embitterment and disappointment began to steal into every heart.⁵

The administration offered us no assistance either. Its attitude to us wasn't at all positive. No regard, no understanding.

Nor were we at all aware of any authority taking care of us. Foreign countries, fellow Jews from across the ocean left us at the mercy of the administration and didn't assist us with anything else. We felt even more orphaned than before; extinguished was our hope for our brothers from across the ocean.

Of course, high politics is played out at green tables and over glasses of tea, amidst [2] bargaining and arguing. In the meantime, days go by, hard days and cheerless nights. The nerves are stretched to breaking point, the future is gloomy, with no prospects.

The position of the foreign Jewish factors is accurately reflected by the following saying of a “Joint” representative; he visited us in Langenzell and said, “It's not a matter of whether you get one more piece of bread or an item of clothing or one less. What's above all at issue here is the positive outcome of the emigration problem of Germany in its entirety. You have suffered so much that a couple of months more or less makes no difference to you.”

In theory it all sounds very well. But to carry it out in practice – I don't know whether my words will reach you and if they do, you'll certainly read them at round tables, on wide upholstered sofas, by the light of beautiful girandoles – first and foremost, it has to do with a great loss of self-respect and a feeling of inferiority that will torment us for as long as we are unable to start living as free people in healthy conditions, doing constructive work, wearing decent clothes and *eating* not on the basis of calorie count, but on the basis of *taste*.⁶

4 The term “fix” is used in reference to the act of making arrangements for oneself or other people, particularly those illicit or devious in nature.

5 Rabbi Abraham Klausner similarly reflects about the phenomenon of being “liberated but not free.” (Document 4)

6 There was a disconnect between the needs expressed by the DPs and those that relief workers from the JDC and elsewhere could satisfy. On the food supplies distributed to the DPs see Document 8, n. 34.

Being free gave us only a foretaste of what freedom can offer. But as for our enjoyment of it, we didn't get any. Our various guardians and guides kept teaching us: you don't do this, you don't say that, you must forget about the years in the concentration camps and become people like others. Lovely. But as for helping us get out of the moral mire in which we were stuck for the past years, no one did that.

Famished, naked, downtrodden people suddenly threw off the chains of imprisonment and a yoke of six years. Did anyone of our foreign providers stand guard at the time to guide our steps and actions in the critical time of our transition from *death to life*?!!!

No. It sufficed to have sent here 2 or 3 staff members from the UNRRA and "the Joint," young people who handed out some bread and coffee so that we could fortify ourselves a little. In this way the organizing, which at first had an instantaneous and spontaneous character, morphed into a set habit. The Jews from abroad weren't sufficiently interested in us. They didn't create a relevant institution that would have at its disposal material resources and would build up moral strength so as to lend us courage and faith that we are *not* orphaned and that the friendly hearts of our brothers across the ocean are beating for us, that they care about us and want to help us.

Yet we did feel orphaned, lonely and without help. Freedom disappointed us, we bowed our heads, without courage, without faith, without hope, full of resignation and fear of the coming tomorrow. This is the everyday life.

If anyone detached himself from today and actually started thinking about tomorrow, he found the problem of *emigration* swaying before their eyes.

Jews want to go away from Germany. Where to? Those who have relatives in Palestine want to go to Palestine. Those who have relatives in America want to go to America. And those who have relatives neither in Palestine nor in America still want to go to the two countries. To America, those who want to *and* hope that they'll succeed in making a living. To Palestine, on the other hand, those with a prevailing sense of nationality who want to live their life in their own Jewish environment.⁷

7 There were a number of factors at play in the decision about where one wished to immigrate after the Holocaust, and the decision was not always straightforward. Recent scholarship has demonstrated how some DP youths, despite joining Zionist youth groups committed to immigration to Palestine and later Israel, joined the groups for emotional and psychological reasons like regaining a sense of family, better living conditions, and better opportunities, as opposed to commitment to Zionist ideology. It also documents the plight of many Jews who, despite having immigrated to Israel with the greatest hopes of making it their homeland, found themselves unable to adjust to the difficult and physically demanding life that awaited them there,

In the meantime, months have gone by and the situation looks just as it did before. No emigration, neither to America nor to Palestine. The Russians are going, the Czechs are going, the Poles are going, but the problem of Jewish emigration isn't getting anywhere. It has hit a dead end and congealed there. A small number of Jews from Hungary returned to their former places of residence. As for Poland, there's no repatriation there, on the contrary, the expatriation of the Jews who entered Poland after the truce is increasing every day. The anti-Semitic elements in Poland aren't idle and are [3] hard at work. Today there's a murder here, tomorrow, a murder there, and Jewish blood is flowing. As a result, Jews come from Poland to Germany in ever growing numbers and enlarge the element that is hoping and waiting to get *out* of the German paradise ... But the prospects for it are non-existent at the moment.

Bevin's declaration only made the situation worse.⁸ If Jews had hoped for a greater possibility of emigration to Palestine, now their hope was shattered. 1,500 certificates a month. Jews protest, Jews organize mass demonstrations and a hunger strike.⁹ In Palestine, there are street demonstrations against the government. Dead and injured Jews. This is the upshot: dead and injured, strikes and demonstrations of concentration camp inmates in Stuttgart, Munich, Landsberg, Bergen-Belsen and other Jewish camps in Germany.

It has been eight months after the liberation. After the difficult years of deadly labor and inhuman sufferings in the concentration camps, a handful of people are languishing on the ruins of their former inferno, without prospects

ultimately deciding that their best option was to return to the DP camps in the American Zone in Germany. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*. On the experiences and expectations of Jewish survivors emigrating to Palestine and Israel from Europe, see Ouzan/Gerstenfeld (eds.), *Postwar Jewish Displacement and Rebirth*, esp. 171–220; Yehudai, *Leaving Zion*.

- 8 Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) was Foreign Secretary in Britain's postwar Labour government from 1945 until 1951. His refusal to remove limits on immigration to Palestine in the aftermath of the Second World War triggered the ire of Zionists and was the source of many Zionist-led protests throughout the DP camps and across the globe. He was widely criticized as insensitive, with some critics accusing him of antisemitism. Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*.
- 9 The protests were specifically against the provisions of the British White Paper of 1939, which limited Jewish immigration to 75,000 for five years and restricted Jews from buying Arab land in all but five percent of Mandate Palestine. At the end of the five years, in 1944, only 51,000 of the 75,000 immigration certificates had been issued, and the British thus offered to allow immigration to continue beyond the original cutoff date at a rate of 1,500 certificates per month until the remaining quota was filled. A quota rate of 1,500 certificates per month was maintained from December 1945 until the Mandate's end in 1948. DellaPergola, *Art. Demography*.

for tomorrow, without a future, and are getting bogged down in the sludge of beautiful orations and exalted phrases of providers and commissions of all sorts.¹⁰

There comes one commission and writes a report, then comes another one, and writes another report, while for us things are just as they have been and *no change* is forthcoming.

When we persevere and ask what the *outcome* will be, we're told it's just a transition time, a period that must run its course. Just wait a little bit longer, *time is with you and for you*.

Good. We must wait for the positive outcome of the attempts that are being made *for* our good, we want to believe that our brothers abroad indeed have our good in mind and that they do not wish to profiteer at our expense.

But you must know that every day spent in the present conditions crushes our spirit and poisons our blood. The majority of us don't lift a finger, we're idling away the time and don't feel like doing anything at all.

The people know that our stay here is only temporary, that eventually we'll have to leave. We're developing a sense of uncertainty, we don't know what to do with ourselves, there's no one to ask and no one to consult. If someone takes up some kind of an occupation it's only because they want to distract themselves and become oblivious of everything. The unproductivity of such work is acutely felt and creates an aversion to any kind of occupation.

This is what our freedom looks like.

Behind us is a sea of tears, ahead of us is the big question mark of tomorrow, and *today* is full of obstacles, sad, grim and grey.

A handful of unneeded people are stumbling around, on the way to freedom. Who needs us, who's waiting for us?

Each hour makes our situation worse; each day is a catastrophe.

Four flags are fluttering on the horizon. The blue and white one is reliant on the other three.

It is symbolic, but *unfortunately*, it's a sad symbol. We are obviously just a *toy* in the hands of the victorious states and our fate lies in their hands. It's true of the solution of the Eretz Israel problem and it's true of emigration to other countries.

Will they understand us, will they *help* us?

Will we get out of the German paradise?

When and where to?

10 Morale declined in the DP camps during the first winter after liberation and hopelessness began to take over many DPs, who were realizing that their time in the camps would not be as temporary as they had initially expected.

Document 24

Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany: A Study of the Jewish DP's."

New York, April 1947

Journal article, 25 pages; extracts (reproduced here: 101–114)

Language: English

Jewish Social Studies 9 (1947), no. 2, 101–126¹¹

*[Pinson offers an in-depth exploration of the conditions and experiences of Jewish DPs in postwar Germany. He highlights the demographic composition of the DP population, noting that most were not native Germans but Eastern European Jews who had survived concentration camps, with partisan groups, or in the Soviet Union, and now form a significant part of the populations in the American and British zones. Pinson describes the diverse living conditions within the camps, ranging from former military barracks to repurposed hotels and sanitariums. The Jewish DPs were largely governed by UNRRA teams, which provided administrative oversight and facilitated the creation of semi-autonomous communities. Despite the harrowing experiences of the DPs, Pinson finds a remarkable effort to rebuild cultural and communal life, with a particular emphasis on educational and religious institutions. Delving into the psychological and social impacts of displacement, Pinson notes a general fatigue and reduced sense of social responsibility among the DPs. However, he emphasizes that these traits were not universal and that many survivors show resilience and a strong desire to rebuild their lives. Pinson touches also upon the tension between maintaining traditional religious practices and adapting to new, often secular environments within the camps.]*¹²

11 *Jewish Social Studies*, founded 1939 by the Conference on Jewish Relations, is an eminent scholarly journal for contemporary Jewish studies. Under its editor Salo W. Baron (1895–1989) it played a decisive role in establishing the field of Holocaust studies. David Engel, Art. *Jewish Social Studies*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 3, 486–490.

12 On Pinson's experiences working in the DP camps, see Almagor, Koppel S. Pinson; JDC Archives, New York, NY AR 45–54/00034/00947, Report of Preliminary Work for Educational Program of JDC Among Displaced Jews in Germany and Austria, September 18–October 25, 1945.

JEWISH LIFE IN LIBERATED GERMANY

*A Study of the Jewish DP's**

By KOPPEL S. PINSON

*Menschheit erwache! Rette deine Kinder,
Das neue, im Dunkeln irrende Geschlecht!*(Leokadja Justmann, Gestapo prison, Innsbruck, 1944)¹³

* The present study is based primarily upon a record of the personal observations and experiences of the author, who spent the period between October 1945 and September 1946 in Germany as Educational Director for Displaced Jews in Germany and Austria for the American Joint Distribution Committee. During this period the author lived in DP camps, traveled over 30,000 miles, visited almost all the more important DP camps in all of Germany, exclusive of the Russian Zone (the Russian authorities claim there are no Displaced Persons in their zone and do not permit outside relief workers to operate in their area), met and talked with representatives of all groups and parties, and followed closely the literature relating to the problems of Displaced Jews in Germany. Documentation of the kind usually expected for scholarly articles is, in this case, not only impossible but may even be dangerous and misleading. The reporting by American Jewish journalists from Germany has thus far been unreliable and untrustworthy on many of the aspects of this problem. Among the relief workers operating in Germany there were very few trained social scientists who also had an adequate background in Jewish studies; and all members of UNRRA teams and the JDC were, particularly in the first year after liberation, too pressed and harassed by the elementary problems of food, clothing and shelter, to be able to devote time to scientific observation or accurate statistical compilations. Rumor and hearsay were very often transmitted from one desk to another and made the basis for official reports. Neither can the DP newspapers be taken as reliable sources for information. They had neither the adequate facilities, nor the trained personnel, nor the necessary regard for objective reporting to make their columns useful as source material. Their value is almost exclusively in terms of a reflection and revelation of intellectual and emotional attitudes rather than of objective data. As a result, there is practically no literature available thus far on the *inner* life of the Jews of Germany. The external and formal aspects of the problem are best found in the various UNRRA publications. In the same category of purely formal reports may be placed the study by Zorach Wahrhaftig, *Uprooted* (New York 1946), made for the Institute of Jewish Affairs. The moving articles by the Yiddish poet, H. Leivick, which have appeared in *The Day*, are more a record of the influence of Jewish DP life upon the sensitive and poetic soul of Leivick than an objective record of conditions. By far the best analysis thus far made is "Why the DP's Can't Wait," by Leo Srole in *Commentary* (January 1947) 13–24. His essay, while tending to over-idealization and while concerned only with the DP camp at Landsberg, nevertheless remains the only worthy analysis of the problem from the inside published thus far.

13 Leokadja (or Leokadia) Justmann (1924–2002, married Justmann-Wisnicki) was born in Łódź, Poland. During the war, she passed as a Gentile Pole and was sent as a

The term DP stands for Displaced Person. It referred originally to those millions of non-Germans who were found by the Allied armies when they liberated German territory. The great majority of these people, with the help of the military and UNRRA, were repatriated and sent back to their countries of origin – to France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR [sic]. But about one million non-Germans, officially classed DP's, remained in Germany, Austria and Italy, and are considered non-repatriable. These people may roughly be divided into three categories: (1) Non-repatriable non-Jews from Poland, the Baltic States and the USSR, who are genuine DP's, in the sense that they were uprooted from their homes and forcibly brought by the Ger- |102| mans to be utilized in their system of slave labor, but who cannot now be returned to their home countries because of honest political differences with the new regimes established there; (2) A large group of Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Balts, who are not DP's in any real sense at all. They are people who came willingly to Germany and who were most enthusiastic accomplices of the Nazi regime, particularly in the systematic extermination of Jews.¹⁴ These people do not return to their homes for fear of criminal prosecution as traitors or war criminals. They are just as deserving of trial by the Allies as war criminals as are German Nazis. Among them are some of the bloodiest henchmen of the S.S. and the Gestapo. The problem of screening the DP's in order to separate these war criminals from those who are merely members of opposition groups is a tremendous one and, therefore, has not even been tackled by the Allied military authorities, who have their hands full with the Germans. But it is a job which justice demands be done and which responsible Jewish organizations should press for action.*

* It is no accident that the Baltic DP's have the most efficient and best organized schools and cultural institutions of all the DP's in Germany – ranging from kindergartens to universities. Their élite was not liquidated, as in the case of the Jews, and their ranks are relatively abundant with priests, teachers, professors, writers and other intellectuals.

forced laborer to Seefeld in the Tyrol region of Austria. On March 13, 1944, she was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in Innsbruck until January 1945. After the war, Justmann spent several years in Vienna before immigrating to the United States in 1950.

- 14 By 1946, a sizable population of non-Jewish DPs remained in Germany, including approximately 400,000–500,000 non-Jewish Poles and Polish Ukrainians, and about 175,000–200,000 Balts (from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) unwilling to return to their Sovietized homelands. A number of these non-Jewish DPs had collaborated with the Nazis; after liberation they fled their home countries and disguised themselves

(3) The Jewish DP's, who are in a group by themselves because they were so set off by the Nazi rulers, irrespective of the degree of Jewish national consciousness of the individual, and so have become a true *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*.¹⁵ They, moreover, have no place to which to be repatriated. Jews from France, Holland, Belgium and some from Greece gladly returned to their former homelands and were, on the whole, well taken care of by their govern- |103| ments.¹⁶ But German Jews and Jews from the Eastern European countries remain in Germany waiting for resettlement elsewhere.

Population and Distribution

Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany number now about 200,000.* Only about 10,000 of these are natives of Germany. The great majority of German Jews had either emigrated before 1939 or were exterminated after that. Most of the Jews in Germany today, therefore, are Jews from the East – from Poland, Hungary, Russia, the Baltic Countries, the Carpatho-Russian region (formerly Czechoslovakia), and small numbers from Rumania and Greece. These Jews may in turn be divided into three groups: (a) There are the original inmates of the concentration and labor camps who were liberated by the Allied armies – those who managed to survive the hells of Treblinka, Maidanek, Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Bergen-Belsen, Theresienstadt, Stutthof, the Silesian labor camps and similar places. These are known as *kotzetler* or *kotzetniks*, a term coined from *kotzet* (concentration camp). They were the only Jews left in Germany in 1945, except for isolated Jews who had evaded the Nazis or a few “privileged Jews,” who had been spared because of marriage

* Population figures for Displaced Jews are to be treated with a great deal of reserve and caution. Up to the end of 1946, there were no reliable agencies for accurate statistical compilation. Registration figures at the DP centers were at times too high and at times too low. Many Jews were registered at more than one camp; very few ever bothered checking out when they left a camp. UNRRA directors took advantage of higher figures in order to get a little more food rations and thus add to the scanty ration allotted to each individual. Population figures quoted here are given only as rough estimates and taken from sources the author considered to be most reliable and best informed.

as persecuted victims to gain admission into the DP camps in an attempt to avoid prosecution for their wartime crimes (see Document 22). Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism*.

15 Germ., community of fate.

16 Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 27 f.

to “Aryans.” A rough estimate of the number of Jewish DP’s at the time of the German capitulation would be about 60,000.* They consisted almost entirely of men and women between the ages of 18–45. There were practically no children and no older persons. Neither of these latter categories fitted into the slave labor program of the Nazis, and they were sent to extermination in the death chambers and crematoria. (b) The *kotzetler* began to be joined in the fall of 1945 by the *Partisans*. These were the young men and women who had escaped from the ghettos and death transports and who had joined the guerrilla bands operating against the Nazis on the Eastern front and in the Balkans. They had fought with the Soviet Army, the Polish Army or under Marshal Tito.¹⁷ Many of them had earned numerous decorations for heroism. These were also young men and women, but surprisingly enough they also brought with them infants and children. For even in their underground existence, in heavily wooded forests or often buried literally underground, they carried on a family life, brought children into the world and saved other children whose parents had perished. Psychologically as well as physically, these partisans represented a healthier element than the *kotzetler*. They had [104] not been subjected to the torture and the degrading humiliation experienced by the latter and hence presented somewhat better integrated personalities. (c) The third group are often referred to as “infiltrates” or “persecutees.” They are Jews from Poland and Russia who had never been in Germany before but who for one reason or another found it either impossible or undesirable to settle down in Poland. The overwhelming majority of these are Jews who fled to the Soviet Union in the face of the Nazi conquest of Poland and the Baltic states and who, after the end of the war, were repatriated by the Soviet government from the far ends of the USSR back to Poland. Some tried for a while to begin life again in their old home towns. But the wave of antisemitic feeling that swept over liberated Poland, followed as it was by a series of violent anti-Jewish incidents, combined with the general state of insecurity in the country and Zionist influence, all created a psychosis of fear which drove

* The figure usually given at the time was 100,000 and that is the origin of the demand for 100,000 certificates to Palestine. That figure was regarded by most competent observers, however, as too high.

17 Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) was the head of the Yugoslav Communist partisan movement. At the height of the partisan war in Yugoslavia in 1943, Tito’s partisans engaged some 35 Axis divisions, which otherwise might have been in service on the Italian or eastern fronts. After the Second World War, he served as prime minister of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1944 to 1953 and as its president from 1953 until his death.

thousands to abandon their homes and newly-established economic positions and to start on the dreary and harrowing trek to the DP camps in Germany, with the hope of eventual migration to Palestine or to some other non-European country.¹⁸ Among these Polish and Lithuanian Jews are also a small number of Russian Jews, who had always been inhabitants and citizens of the USSR and who took advantage of the general state of confusion to leave the Soviet Union. Most of these are orthodox Jews for whom the intellectual climate of the USSR was anything but friendly. These “infiltrates” represent, on the whole, the healthiest element among the Jews in Germany. They are of all age groups. With them came the first large groups of children, either their own, or orphaned children. With them too came larger groups of older people. Among them, for the first time, one saw in Germany bearded Jews of the traditional East-European type with all the tempo of the formerly bustling Jewish communities of Warsaw, Vilna or Lodz. These are Jews who |105| had not lost completely a sense of organized community life, who had been able to maintain contacts with cultural institutions – with schools, synagogues, libraries, etc. As a result, they contain a larger percentage of intellectuals than any of the other DP groups and are gradually assuming a leading role in the cultural life of the DP camps.

The overwhelming majority of Jews in Germany live in what are technically known as DP Assembly Centers or more commonly as DP camps. The term DP camp is, in reality, only a juristic concept. For otherwise DP camps present a varied picture. Some, like Landsberg, Feldafing, Föhrenwald, Belsen or Eschwege, are former German military barracks and present all the familiar features of barrack life. Others, like Lampertheim and Zeilshiem, are entirely of a different character; here German homes were evacuated and Jewish DP's moved into them. Outwardly, the appearance of the camp is that of a typical small town with certain of the streets of one- or two-story houses inhabited by Jews. There are no barracks, no gates, no large buildings. In Stuttgart the Jewish DP camp is but a group of apartment buildings on Reinsburger Strasse, while in Stuttgart-Degerloch it is a former sanitarium situated beautifully on top of a hill. In some instances, hotels or summer resort places were taken over and put at the disposal of Jewish DP's, as in the beautiful DP center at Heidenheim, nestled in the hills, or in the Karwendel Hotel in Mittenwald. Still in other cases hospitals were utilized for this purpose, as in Gauting or in

18 Over the course of 1945–1946, over 100,000 Jews left Poland as part of the *Briḥah* movement, with over one third being youth organized in the kibbutzim of the various pioneering youth movements. On the kibbutzim of the pioneering youth movements, see Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

St. Ottilien, the latter a former military hospital and part of a monastery where priests and nuns still occupy the greater part of the buildings and where crosses still continue to adorn the rooms of the Jewish DP's. What makes all these varied types of physical installations DP camps is the fact that they were set up as separate communities under the jurisdiction of the military authorities but administered by an UNRRA team. A DP camp, therefore, may be defined as a community of Displaced Persons governed by an UNRRA team.*

Although most Jews live in such DP camps, a considerable number, [106] preferring to retain a greater sense of freedom and individualism have settled as private individuals in various German cities and towns. These Jews do not receive assistance from UNRRA nor are they subject to its jurisdiction. In the beginning, there was little community life. Later, attempts were begun to introduce some form of community organization and institutions. Such Jewish communities sprang up in Frankfurt, Marburg, Munich, Kassel, Regensburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Hamburg, Hanover and Lübeck and, of course, Berlin. Outside of Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt are the largest communities; most of the others number only a few hundred Jews in each.

Berlin represents a special category all for itself. Here some 7,000 Jews are gathered. At first the majority were German Jews, while for the Eastern European Jews Berlin served merely as a transient center on the way to the more important permanent DP camps in the U.S. Zone. A small DP center, operated at first without UNRRA help, was created in the city's French sector, in Wittenau, and a larger transient center, under an UNRRA team, in the U.S. sector, at Düppel Center in Zehlendorf (erroneously referred to as Schlachtensee). The increased number of infiltrates from Poland in the summer of 1946 converted the former transient centers into more permanent camps and forced the opening of new centers in the U.S. sector and the introduction of an UNRRA team in the Wittenau center. The German Jews of Berlin receive no aid from UNRRA and depend entirely for help upon the American Joint Distribution Committee. Over half of them are half-Jews, quarter-Jews and Jews married to "Aryans." A Jewish community organization was set up in the old Gemeinde Haus [sic] on Oranienburger Strasse and the attempt made to carry on the tradition of the old Berlin Jüdische Gemeinde. The unusual composition of this community, however, makes such a prospect

* The following is a list of the more important Jewish camps (over 500 persons) in Germany: Backnang, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Belsen, Bensheim, Düppel Center (Berlin), Mariendorf Center (Berlin), Biberach a. Riss, Deggendorf, Eschwege, Feldafing, Föhrenwald, Fulda, Fürth, Gauting, Heidenheim, Hessische [sic] Lichtenau, Lampertheim, Landsberg, Leipheim, Neu Freimann Siedlung (Munich), Pocking, St. Ottilien, Stuttgart, Ulm, Wasserburg, Zeilsheim, Ziegenhain.

rather hopeless. It must be admitted that a very substantial number of persons listed officially as members of the Berlin Jewish community are only interested in the material advantages to be derived at present from being considered a Jew. Such Jews are frequently referred to as *Paket-Juden* (Jews who receive food parcels from the J.D.C.).* Moreover, the [107] division of Berlin into four sectors creates difficulties for Jewish community organization just as it does for the German population.¹⁹

In the earlier period after liberation, the greatest concentration of Jews was in the U.S. Zone, in Bavaria. The only large Jewish camp in the British Zone was at Belsen, where at one time there were 13,000 Jews. In the French Zone there were relatively few Jews; the only large Jewish DP camp is at the former British prisoner-of-war camp, Jordanbad, in Biberach a. Riss, with about 1,000 Jews. A group of several hundred Jewish DP's also took over the former Jewish buildings in Geilingen [sic], a little town on the Swiss border near Constance in which, before Hitler, the majority of the population had been Jews. The Jews in the French Zone are on the whole cut off from the rest of the Jews in Germany. They are not as numerous as the Jews of Belsen, they are visited very infrequently by Jewish relief workers, communication with the Jews in the U.S. Zone is not easy, and hence they display much less initiative in institutional and cultural activity and organization than do the Jews in the British and U.S. Zones.

In the U.S. Zone the largest concentration of Jews at first was in Bavaria. Here the large camps of Landsberg, Feldafing, Föhrenwald, Pocking, each with about 4,000–5,000 Jews, together with the community of over 6,000 Jews in Munich, made Munich the focal point for Jewish DP's and the birthplace of their central organization, first known as the Central Committee of Liberated Jews of Bavaria and later transformed into the Central Committee of

* It is one of the curiosities of history that present-day Germany (at least for the time being) presents the unusual spectacle of persons battling to be considered Jews in place of the more usual situation in Jewish history of Jewish self-denial. This has also carried over to non-Jews, who in their eagerness to be considered politically untainted will cite either traces of Jewish ancestry or close friendship for Jews.

19 After the influx of Jewish “infiltrates” from Poland starting in late 1945 and peaking after the pogrom in Kielce in July 1946, the American, British, French, and Soviet authorities constituting the Allied Kommandatur tried, mostly unsuccessfully, to move the many new arrivals, especially pregnant women and children, into the DP camps in western Germany. Until the 1948 blockade, however, most Jewish DPs in Berlin remained in UNRRA camps in Berlin. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 119 f.

Liberated Jews of Germany.²⁰ It is presided over by Dr. Zalman Grinberg, a physician, formerly of Kaunas, and at present also the chief physician at St. Ottilien.* In the northern part of the U.S. Zone, the only important camps were in Stuttgart, with about 1,000 Jews, Lampertheim, also with about 1,000, and Zeilsheim, with about 4,000 Jews. The last mentioned, because of its proximity to Frankfurt, the headquarters of the American Army, and, in the beginning, also the seat of J.D.C. headquarters (at Hoechst), received a great deal of attention, was the most visited camp and, in many ways, was considered one of the model camps.

With the coming of the Partisans and especially the infiltrates, the population center began to shift northward from Munich. New large [108] camps were opened in Leipheim, in Eschwege (near Kassel), in Ulm, in Bensheim,

* Dr. Grinberg has since emigrated to Palestine, and he has been succeeded as President of the Central Committee by David Treger.

20 The Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria was established as the official elected body of the *She'erit Hapletah* in the American Zone. After initial meetings of representatives of Zionist survivor groups with a delegation from the (Palestine) Jewish Brigade on June 20 and 24 in the former German Neu Freimann army barracks, on July 1, 1945, 41 representatives gathered in Feldafing DP Camp to form an official elected leadership. They were supported by U.S. Army chaplain Abraham Klausner who was named Honorary Chairman; Samuel Gringauz and Dr. Zalman Grinberg, survivors of the Dachau satellite camp Kaufering, took on the roles of president and chairman. On July 2, the Central Committee established its headquarters in the bombed-out premises of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. On July 25, 94 delegates representing some 40,000 Jews from almost 49 DP camps and assembly centers in (Western) Allied-occupied Germany gathered in St. Ottilien monastery and on the next evening appeared at the site of the infamous beer hall, where Adolf Hitler had launched his November 1923 coup, to read a proclamation demanding entry to Palestine. On September 7, 1946, U.S. Military Government recognized the Central Committee as the legal and democratic representation of the liberated Jews in Germany. The Central Committee met at three official congresses of the *She'erit Hapletah*: in Munich in January 1946 and in Bad Reichenhall in February 1947, and March 30–April 2, 1948. It presided over departments dealing with historical documentation, education, culture, religious affairs, employment and training, supply and distribution, family tracing and immigration, legal affairs, and restitution as well as health and hygiene. The Central Committee dissolved itself on December 17, 1950, and was succeeded by the Central Council of Jews in (West) Germany. See among many sources, Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*; Bauer, *The Initial Organization of Holocaust Survivors*.

in Hessische [sic] Lichtenau, Lindenfels, and for a time in Babenhausen. The largest number of new Jewish arrivals have, therefore, come into Hessen and Württemberg, rather than Bavaria. The later arrivals, too, as already indicated, above, changed the age composition of the Jewish DP group. The problem of child care and schooling now came to loom large, whereas it had been but an insignificant factor in the earlier period. Special colonies of children were set up, as in the center at Lindenfels. By November 30, 1946, there were about 26,000 children up to the age of 17 and about 18,000 up to the age of 13 in the U.S. and French Zones, as compared to about 2,500 at the end of March, 1946.²¹

The Personality of the DP

Any general statement regarding the personality of the DP is both difficult and hazardous. Apart from the different groups present among the DP's, which makes for temperamental and psychological variations, it is also wrong on general principles to set up a pattern of DP personality. In the main they are a cross-section of ordinary Eastern-European Jews, who have been harder hit than other Jews and who naturally bear scars of these experiences. But these scars are not necessarily permanent in character, nor are they so obvious and all-pervasive as to cast the mold of the entire personality complex. It is only with such extremely cautious reservations that one should proceed to indicate personality traits of the DP.

The Jewish DP usually reveals a very high state of emotionality. Tears come easily, although not always when most expected. Thus, for example, I was very much surprised to see that at weddings the chanting of the *El Male Rahamin*²² (the prayer for the deceased parents of the bride and bridegroom), a moment which usually elicits a profusion of weeping at Jewish

21 Children were an object of particular focus for Jewish DP leaders and aid agencies, including UNRRA, the JDC, Jewish Agency, and other organizations. Cohen/Ofer (eds.), *Starting Anew*. The JDC conducted regular population surveys to keep track of shifting demography. See, e. g., YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, box 9, folder 57, frame 713, AJDC Calculations, The change of Jewish population in the American Zone of Germany from Jan. 1946 to Dec. 31, 1946 (indicating that population rose from 39,902 to 145,735, a 356 percent increase, during that time); YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, box 9, folder 57, frame 749, Georg H. Muentz (AJDC Statistical Office Munich) to Leo W. Schwarz (AJDC Director, American Zone), Population report for the year 1946.

22 Heb., Merciful God; a prayer dedicated to the soul of a deceased person, typically recited at the graveside during the burial service and commemorated at memorial services throughout the year.

weddings, had no such effect here. There was not a tear shed. On the other hand a fleeting memory suddenly coming to the mind of a DP in the course of preoccupation with other things may well bring forth a sudden burst of tears.

The DP is preoccupied almost to the point of morbidity with his past. His historical interest has become enormously heightened and intensified. He is always ready to recount in minutest detail the events of his past or the past of his relatives. In their entertainments and in the education of [109] their youth there is this constant preoccupation with their experiences under the Nazis, – gruesome recapitulation of concentration camp incidents combined with vows of undying loyalty to these memories and hopes for vengeance. It is especially depressing to see young boys and girls of 8–12 years of age, whose rehabilitation to normal childhood should emphasize obliteration of these memories, participate in and be encouraged to share in such demonstrations of emotional reliving of the past.

With this preoccupation with their immediate past has come a heightened historical sense that is responsible for the almost passionate devotion of the DP's to the collection of historical and material data on ghetto and *kotzet* life and death. Every DP is a private document center and every DP camp has an historical commission.²³ So deep is this passion that often Jews risked their lives in the ghetto or *kotzet* to accumulate records of their oppression and extermination. There is of course the case of the organized effort of the historian and martyr, Dr. Emmanuel Ringelblum,²⁴ in Warsaw, who amassed a

23 The historical commission branches evolved from independent efforts to study the fate of individual Jewish communities under German occupation to a centralized endeavor to write a comprehensive history of Jewish life and death during the Nazi era. The Central Historical Commission in Munich, a department of the Central Committee, was formed to supervise and unify the efforts of the numerous local historical commissions that emerged across the DP camps in the American Zone. The Munich Central Historical Commission and other similar centralized documentation efforts across postwar Europe, performed a plethora of restorative functions, serving as a form of mourning and commemorating the dead, and as a means of legal, moral, and material redress. Even the choice of paper, stamped with official Nazi symbols and abandoned by German forces as they fled in the face of the Allies, “symbolized the act of ‘turning the page’ to a new era in which the survivors of genocide took revenge on their tormenters by registering the details of their crimes.” Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 4; idem, *Khurbn-Forshung*.

24 Emanuel Ringelblum (1900–1944) was a historian, social welfare, and political activist based in Warsaw. In the Warsaw ghetto, he founded a clandestine organization code-named *Oyneg Shabes* (Yidd.; or *Oneg Shabbat*, Heb., lit. the joy of the Sabbath) that aimed to provide an accurate record of events taking place in German-occupied Poland while the ghetto existed. The so-called Ringelblum Archive collected

notable collection of documents and other materials, while living illegally outside the ghetto, and who buried these materials in tin boxes underground, firmly convinced that the day of victory over their oppressors would surely come and that these materials could then be utilized.* But even more interesting is the case of a simple Jew, Hirsh Kadish²⁵ of Kaunas, who set up a Leica camera under his garments with only a small hole open for the lens, connected the shutter to a long cord which he kept in his pocket, and went around the ghetto in Kaunas photographing scenes of Jewish life, hope, despair and death under the very eyes of the Nazi police and military. His collection of 6,000 pictures is of enormous historical value.**

The interest of the Jewish DP in Germany revolves almost entirely around himself. The Jewish problem for him is identical with the DP problem and the world problem with the Jewish problem.*** It is but natural that after such suffering in the past and living as yet without much hope for the future that

* See the remarkable letter of Dr. Ringelblum and a colleague on “Die Yiddische kultur arbet in die getos fun Poiln” [The Yiddish Cultural Work in the Ghettos of Poland], in: Yivo Bleter, vol. xxiv (1944) 3–8, and an appreciation of Ringelblum by Raphael Mahler, loc. cit., 307–17.

** “Der Held mit der Kamera,” in: Feldafinger Magazin (Dec. 7, 1945), 12.

*** When Jewish DP’s took over the farm formerly belonging to Julius Streicher, the infamous Jew-baiter of Nuremberg, and converted it into a *hakhsharah* camp, they found a sign hanging over the villa which read: *Ohne Lösung der Judenfrage gibt es keine Lösung der Weltfrage*. They allowed the sign to remain in place.

thousands of pages of material (documents, journals, newspapers, photos, artistic works, and more) and remains an invaluable resource about life in the ghetto and German policy toward the Jews of Poland. Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive*, Bloomington, Ind., 2007.

25 Hirsh Kadish (1910–1997), also known by the name George, was born Zvi-Hirsh Kadushin in Raseiniai, then part of the Russian Empire. As an adolescent, he moved with his family to Kovno, where he went to university to study engineering and joined the Betar Revisionist Zionist youth movement. Leading up to the war, he started to develop an interest in photography, building his own cameras. During the war, after his forced relocation to the Kovno ghetto, Hirsh used his cameras to clandestinely document daily life in the Kovno ghetto, including the ghetto’s final days, which he photographed from outside the ghetto after his escape in 1944. After liberation, Kadish retrieved his collection from its hiding place in the ruins of the ghetto, and left Lithuania for the American Zone in Germany, where he held photographic exhibitions for survivors living in the DP camps. Kadish’s collection constitutes one

the preoccupation of the DP should be |110| with himself. He is also restless. The impression one gets at a Jewish DP center is one of constant movement – *Men geyt*.²⁶ Not all the motion is purposeful motion. Very much of it is emotional restlessness that arises from the situation in which these people find themselves. During the greater part of the first year of liberation, much of the restlessness and wandering of the Jewish DP's was an almost mad hunt for family and friends. The tracing bureaus set up by the relief agencies never inspired sufficient confidence among the DP's for either their efficiency or speed.²⁷ And so, driven by a mad fury, the first thought of liberated Jews was to rush about seeking traces of their lost relatives. The slightest clue would send them on a trek of hundreds of miles over many a border and without concern for personal safety. Sometimes the clues led to successful reunion with another surviving member of the family; most of the time it became only a search for details regarding the last days of the sought ones – when and where it happened.

The Jewish DP's also show an incapacity for sustained effort and concentration. They become fatigued after a few hours' work or after a stretch of intellectual concentration.²⁸ Combined with these physical and psychic effects of the harassed life they led, have also come moral and social effects evidenced particularly in a reduced sense of social responsibility and in a diminution in the sense for private property. The years spent without community life and without security of property, together with the unstable conditions in which they still find themselves, have thus left their mark. But it must be reiterated again that these personality traits are not to be exaggerated nor considered all-pervasive. There is no DP type in any sense of the word. The vast majority are ordinary normal people who have suffered more and are therefore more emotionally tense, but given once again normal surroundings and community life, these exaggerated and intensified personality traits can easily be reduced to something approximating normal.

The greater number of the Jewish DP's are not religious. The belief that the experience of suffering of the kind they went through brings people back to religion and induces a mystical trend of thinking is not borne out by the

of the most significant photographic records of ghetto life during the Holocaust. Rachel E. Perry, George Kadish's "Modest but Important Beginning": Exhibiting the Holocaust to Survivors through Photographs, 1945–1946, in: *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 37 (2023), no. 3, 244–270.

26 Yidd., they move.

27 Pinson did not mention the *She'erit Hapletah* lists of survivors compiled by Abraham Klausner. Patt, "The people must be forced to go to Palestine."

28 See Documents 7 and 8.

Jewish DP group in Germany. Whatever mystical trend or return to religion has been induced by the Hitler persecutions seems to have come among Jews who did not experience the suffering themselves but who watched from afar with sympathy and with philosophical [111] questioning the process of Jewish liquidation. The indifference to religion is to be explained largely by the fact that the orthodox religious elements, consisting of older people, were liquidated in greater numbers, and those surviving were mainly the younger, more worldly and more assimilated elements of the Jewish population. Even among those who belonged to the religious groups, the life in a *kotzet*, or for that matter even in a DP camp today, tended to demoralize religious observance and religious piety. Thus, for example, in one camp the members of the orthodox group one Saturday wanted to impress the author with their desire to set up a synagogue and furnish it. He had to remind them, however, that it was Saturday, and that it would hardly be appropriate to move the stove and other furniture into the synagogue as they announced they were going to do. Small groups of the *kotzetler* did form a militant orthodox group and they strove to introduce the typical symbols of orthodox Jewish life – a synagogue, kosher meat, and a *mikveh* (ritual bath). Many a battle was fought in the camps between this militant minority and other agencies in the camp as to whether scarce lumber, building materials and labor should be diverted from housing or other projects to that of building a *mikveh*.²⁹ And usually the determined and unbending attitude of orthodoxy had its way. Thus, while there may be formal observances and official symbols there is little true piety. In no Jewish DP camp, for example, is it possible to experience the real feeling of the traditional Sabbath, the kind of spirit that hovered over the small towns of

29 Most likely the large Orthodox contingent in DP Camp Föhrenwald where the revered Klausenberger rebbe, Yekutiel Yehuda Halberstam (1905–1994), and his community of Hasidic followers settled during its conversion into a DP camp solely for Jews. Halberstam fought for increased supplies of kosher meat, the establishment of a kosher slaughterhouse (see Document 17, n. 42) and a Hasidic synagogue, and the building of the first *mikveh* (Heb., lit. collection [of water], ritual immersion bath) in the camp. The majority of the non-Orthodox Jewish DPs in the camp often spoke out against the provision of resources to Halberstam and his followers, alleging that the effort and resources dedicated to the small group was disproportionate, depriving the majority of much needed assistance that rightfully belonged to them. As a result of Halberstam's efforts, the camp would become the center of religious life for all Orthodox Jewish DPs in the American Zone. Kierra Mikaila Crago-Schneider, A Community of Will. The Resettlement of Orthodox Jewish DPs from Föhrenwald, in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 32 (2018), no. 1, 93–110. On Rabbi Halberstam and his activity in Föhrenwald, see Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 106 f. and 129 f.

Galicia, Poland and Lithuania on the last day of the week. It is much more akin to the spirit one finds on the upper West Side in New York or on a crowded Jewish street in Brooklyn.

The religious leadership in the DP camps during the first year was almost entirely in the hands of Hungarian and Slovakian Jews. Almost all the rabbis active in the camps were from Hungary and Slovakia. Hungary and Slovakia were the last Jewish areas to be ravaged by the Nazis, and liquidation of Jews then did not begin until 1944. While most of the Polish and Lithuanian rabbis, therefore, had long been exterminated, a larger number in Hungary and Slovakia survived. It is only with the coming now of infiltrees from Russia and Poland that religious groups and leaders from these countries are also beginning to play an active role. Among these are considerable numbers of *Habad hasidim*, [112] followers of the Liubavicher [sic] Rabbi, some of them indigenous Russian Jews who had never been outside the USSR before.³⁰

The cultural complexion of the DP group reveals a considerable degree of assimilation. Although the vast majority of the East European Jews know and speak Yiddish, the greater number of the young people as well as a considerable number of the middle-aged lapse more naturally into Polish, Russian or Hungarian. In many camps, official signs in the offices, posted by DP's themselves, are in Polish. So widespread was this state of linguistic assimilation that the DP leaders adopted an official line of propaganda based on the slogan "Speak Yiddish, learn Hebrew."* In seeking to impose a Jewish nationalist pattern upon community life these leaders recognized that Yiddish was the only Jewish language that could be enjoined upon the masses of Jews, while their Zionist ideology and their preparations for settlement in Palestine

* A slogan spread by *Unzer Weg* reads: "Jews, do not flirt with foreign languages, foreigners also flirt very little with you." (no. 16 of *Unzer Weg*).

30 Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn (1880–1950) was the sixth Rebbe, or spiritual leader, of the Chabad Lubavitch Hasidic movement. Born in Lyubavichi in the Russian Empire, he succeeded his father in 1920 and was imprisoned in 1927 by Soviet authorities, charged with counterrevolutionary activities; after his release he managed to leave the Soviet Union for Riga. He was in Warsaw until the beginning of the Second World War and arrived in New York in May 1940, where he worked to rebuild the movement in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneersohn (1902–1994). Pinson noted that in addition to periodicals, he also brought with him 1,000 Yiddish books from YIVO, 1,000 Hebrew books from the Histadrut Ivrit of America (movement for the revival of Hebrew language founded in 1916), and over 500 books given to him by the Lubavitcher rebbe as well as 50 Hebrew textbooks from the American Association of Jewish Education.

required emphasis upon Hebrew as the language of the future.³¹ Cultural assimilation is even more apparent in the music most popular among the Jewish DP's. It is not Jewish folk music or religious song; it is rather of the light musical comedy or salon variety. Even where the words are Yiddish the tune is almost invariably borrowed from light opera, the music hall or Slavic military marches.*

The attitude towards the Germans among whom the Jews live is a dual one. One must distinguish between the pragmatic attitude of an individual Jew to an individual German and his conception of the collective attitude of Jewry towards the Germans as an organized people. Individually they carry on business relations, sex relations and there are even some cases of intermarriage.³² Formally, too there have been some political relations, as e.g. the invitation extended to the Bavarian Prime Minister Hoegner³³ to address the first general conference of liberated Jews in Munich in January, 1946. Other such invitations are extended to German dignitaries in connection with similar ceremonial occasions. There are a few DP's here and there who recog-

* "From an examination of collections of 'Kotzet' songs published in Europe, I think there are several observations to be made. First is their complete un-Jewishness. The musical inspiration is almost entirely of the popular salon and dance or else of Russian marching songs." (Hilda Pinson, "Jewish Music in New York," in *Menorah Journal*, vol. xxxv, 1947, p. 82.)

31 The Board for Jewish Education was founded in February 1947 in Munich to centralize and organize the educational work of the Jewish DP population. Later, it would formally emphasize Hebrew language education in its programs.

32 At least a quarter of the Jewish DPs opted to leave the confines of the DP camps and settled as "free livers" in German cities and towns. Jews relied on Germans to fulfill a multitude of functions, as physicians and nurses when Jewish health professionals were in short supply, printers of their newspapers, owners of workshops where Jews apprenticed, teachers of trades in vocational schools, professors in the universities where some survivors sought to gain higher education, and even as housekeepers and nannies for the babies born to Jewish DPs (see Documents 49 and 50). Likewise, many Jewish babies were born in German hospitals where they were cared for by German doctors and nurses. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 5.

33 Wilhelm Hoegner (1887–1980) served as the Bavarian Prime Minister from 1945 to 1946 and again 1954–1957. As a social democrat who had been involved in Bavarian government before 1933, he was forced to flee Germany after the Nazi's rise to power, first to Austria and later Switzerland where he spent the war assisting other German political refugees. He helped draft the new Bavarian democratic constitution after the Second World War. Moreover, Hoegner addressed the first Congress of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria.

nize a distinction between so-called “good” Germans and “bad” Germans. Some of these owe their [113] lives to individual acts of sympathy and assistance rendered by German individuals. For the overwhelming majority of Jewish DP’s, however, national bitterness against the people who are responsible for the extermination of six million Jews remains the predominant mood. This bitterness very rarely has led to active conflict with Germans; it has to date remained purely an intellectual and emotional attitude rather than an activating philosophy. For most Jewish DP’s it means having as little to do with Germans as possible and carrying on whatever relations may be necessary in a purely formal and business-like manner.* On one point, there is universal agreement – that Jews must not in any way contribute to the rehabilitation of the German economy. “We have slaved for the Germans enough,” they say, “and we will not contribute to the recovery of the nation that is responsible for the mass slaughter of our people.” This attitude is largely responsible for the failure of Jewish DP’s to seek gainful employment in Germany. They will work for UNRRA, they will work for the occupying powers, they will work for their own camp, but they steadfastly refuse to seek any integration into German industry or commerce. With this comes also a general aversion to doing menial chores, even for themselves in the camp. “We slaved for the Germans long enough, let them slave for us now,” is a statement often heard in justification of this attitude. Only in the *kibbutzim*, where a communal life is organized as preparatory training for life in Palestine, is there a different attitude towards menial chores. Here it is considered part of the necessary training to do such things and it is attached to a definite motivation and goal.³⁴

* A broader view on this subject is expounded by Ernst Landau in an article, “Wir Juden und die Umwelt,” in *Jüdische Rundschau* (August–September 1946). He contrasts the numerous instances of active aid given to Jews by Christians of countries other than Germany with the paucity of such active sympathy from the Germans, whom he accuses of “lack of will to convert into deed the words of their Jesus Christ: ‘Help the persecuted.’” The German people, he concludes, must be re-educated and: “To this education we too must contribute our share. That is our human obligation, born out of the lofty ethics of Sacred Scriptures of Judaism.” “Men were never yet brought to the right path by cold rejection and hate. If we want to help in making the future world a peaceful world, then we, in our modest dimensions, must also help in educating the German in such a way that he gives first place not to the collective concept of Germanism but to the individual concept of man.”

34 The Zionist youth movements organized kibbutz groups of survivor youths, meant to prepare young people for their future lives in the Land of Israel through communal living, agricultural training, education in Hebrew language, Zionist history, and more. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*.

Contact with Nazism has, however, also left certain traces of totalitarian influence even upon these very victims of Nazism. Emphasis upon discipline, a monolithic conception of group life, educational techniques |114| carried on in military, drill-like fashion, concern with marching, demonstrations, banners and uniforms, the widespread resort to agitation, propaganda and indoctrination, and the persistence on the whole of a certain kind of regulated intolerance in most camps all betray, perhaps unconsciously, the effects of living for many years under totalitarian rule. These manifestations of what Jewish DP's themselves would call "disciplined unity" are only further intensified by the continued stay in DP camps. For the Jewish DP's the war has not yet ended, nor has liberation in the true sense really come as yet. Their problems still unsolved, their future not in their own hands, they still consider themselves at war with the world and the world at war with them, and they feel they must maintain a totalitarian conception of unity at all costs. In many ways, they have become totalitarians. All cultural activity must have only one aim, to make propaganda for Palestine. The leaders do not trust open discussion of intellectual problems. They are cold and at times arrogantly indifferent to pleas for tolerance, intellectual freedom and the like. Their approach to such questions dangerously resembles that of their former masters – an emphasis on the state of crisis, a mistrust of the ordinary person's intelligence and a burning conviction in their own possession of truth. Disillusioned in their expectation that since they were the first victims of Nazi tyranny they would also become the first concern of the victorious democracies, they have a feeling that Jews have no one on whom to count except themselves.* In such a state of "national emergency" disciplined unity, therefore, is considered a national necessity. [...] ³⁵

* "We do not believe in progress," exclaims Dr. Gringauz, "we do not believe in the 2,000-year old Christian culture of the West, the culture that, *for them*, created the Statue of Liberty in New York and Westminster Abbey on the Thames, the wonder gardens of Versailles and the Uffizi and Pitti palaces in Florence, the Strassbourg *Münster* and the Cologne cathedral; but *for us*, the slaughters of the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, the blood bath of Khmielnicki, the pogroms of Russia, the gas chambers of Auschwitz and the massacres of entire Europe." (*Landsberger Lager Cajtung*, no. 16, p. 9.)

35 The article continues with sections addressing conceptions of the Jewish future and the pattern of institutional and cultural life in the camps.

Document 25

Philip Skorneck, "Report on Berlin"

Paris, February 21, 1946

Typewritten report, 21 pages (two pages marked 18 in the original); hand- and typewritten corrections; partly faded; some letters are blurred; on page 9, the left margin was cut, in most lines the first and sometimes second letter is missing; these missing letters were inserted by the editors

Language: English

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 45, folder 516

[Philip Skorneck, JDC representative in Berlin, describes the challenges of the relief work for DPs during his first five months in office. In addition to initiating relations with the reestablished Jewish community and the relevant offices of the different military governments as well as UNRRA, the basic question of who was to receive JDC aid had to be settled at the outset. The report describes the problems of providing food, delivering messages and parcels, and many other day-to-day aspects. The accommodation of the DPs in mostly inadequate places and their constant arrival and transit were an ongoing challenge to the administration of the JDC.]

{Germany Report}

REPORT ON BERLIN.

BY

PHILIP SKORNECK.³⁶

{Paris,} 21st February, 1946.

For some time the Berlin-Jewish community had sent urgent requests to the ADJC [sic] for a representative to be assigned to Berlin. Unfortunately, months elapsed before I arrived in Berlin on October 15th. The information about the situation, which had reached us by means of letters and reports of interested American soldiers, was contradictory and confusing. The estimates of the number of Jews in Berlin had varied from 2,000 to 15,000 and the reports about their circumstances were equally contradictory.

When I arrived in Berlin, I arranged to have myself attached to the Ameri-

36 Philip Skorneck (1909–1987) was an executive staff member of the JDC from 1944 to 1949 and became the first permanent JDC representative in Berlin in October 1945.

can Office of Military Government in Berlin District and also to the UNRRA team which was operating a transient camp for the American Military Government.

My first two weeks were spent in meeting the various governmental and civil authorities who were interested in the Jewish problem and in observing the conditions, which existed in Berlin.

The Judische [sic] Gemeinde had reorganized itself immediately after the liberation of Berlin and had established offices and shelters in various houses, which had previously been the property of the organised Jewish community.³⁷ Shortly before my arrival in Berlin, some dissatisfaction had been expressed about the leadership of the Gemeinde and under the guidance of an American Chaplain who had been there at the time, an “election” had been held in the Judische Gemeinde two weeks before I reached Berlin.³⁸ It subsequently appeared that this was an election in name only. The Jewish community as a whole did not participate and were not advised of the election and the same people who had taken office on their own were retained in office. Mr. Erich Neuhans³⁹ was the President. I found him to be a rather weak individual and not a good organiser.

[2] Mr. Julius Meyer,⁴⁰ whose official title was, Director of the Section of Victims of Fascism⁴¹ for the City of Berlin, was also very active in the Judische

37 As survivors from Berlin began to emerge from hiding and return from concentration camps, several individuals, including Erich Nelhans, Moses Fernbach, and Hans-Erich Fabian, quickly formed a provisional board of co-chairmen and reestablished the *Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin* (Berlin Jewish Community) as a self-governing body with the goal of rebuilding Jewish life. Later it would be officially reestablished as a public corporation. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, esp. 3–78, 100–111, and 135–159; Grossmann/Lewinsky, *Way Station*, 57–84.

38 Most likely U.S. Army Chaplain Joseph Shubow (1899–1969).

39 Erich Nelhans (1899–1950), also spelled Nehlhans, survived the Holocaust in hiding in Berlin. After liberation, he was one of the first postwar Berlin Jewish Community chairmen, and later was instrumental in officially reestablishing the Berlin Jewish Community as a public corporation. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 3.

40 Julius Meyer (1909–1979) was a survivor of Auschwitz and an early leader of the postwar Berlin Jewish Community and the victims’ organization *Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes* (VVN; Union of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime) in the Soviet-occupied sector of the city. He had intentionally settled in East Berlin to participate in the building of a Communist future, but later escaped to West Berlin after facing the harsh realities of Soviet rule, and ultimately immigrated to Brazil after having difficulties adjusting in West Berlin due to his prior involvement with Communism and the Soviets and rumors about his role under Nazis (referenced by Skorneck). *Ibid.*

41 Committees of the victims of fascism (Germ.: *Opfer des Faschismus*; OdF) were organized by political opponents of the Nazis and liberated prisoners in many cities

Gemeinde. He is an erratic but forceful individual and seemed to be the only one who could get things moving whenever action was necessary.

Unfortunately, there was considerable question about the personal honesty of both these men and I have since come to believe that this question had some basis in fact. Mr. Meyer, for instance returned from the concentration camp without a mark and is not a very wealthy man. Other leaders like Mr. Karl [sic] Busch,⁴² Mr. Fermbach [sic],⁴³ Mr. Cohn and Dr. Fabian⁴⁴ are also subject to attack on the basis of their personal honesty and also apparently with some basis. It was nevertheless obvious that it would be necessary to work through the organized Jewish community because of lack of JDC staff and records and because it was necessary to help the organized Jewish community [to] find some secure basis for activity as part of a rehabilitation program.

Berlin is occupied by the four powers and is divided into four sectors governed by each of the powers. The city as a whole is governed by the Komman-

throughout the four occupation zones to provide surviving victims with basic living necessities, healthcare, and housing as well as to advocate on their own behalf. The main committee of the OdF was formed in Berlin on June 14, 1945, by the resistance fighter Ottomar Geschke (1882–1957), along with founding members from various German political parties and movements involved in resistance efforts, including the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, organized Christian resistance, left-wing intellectual resistance, and the so-called racially persecuted resistance, which referred to Jewish resistance activists. Julius Meyer was the founding member representing the Jewish resistance.

- 42 Carl Busch (1904–?) survived two and a half years of forced labor during the Holocaust. After liberation, he became an early leader of the Berlin Jewish Community in the western sector Berlin, notwithstanding rumors about his role under the Nazi regime (referenced by Skorneck).
- 43 Moses Fernbach (1893–1983) was a religious teacher in Schleiden, Rhineland, before being driven out of his home by the Nazis in 1938. After surviving the Holocaust, he made his way to Berlin, where he was among the first group of co-chairmen of the postwar Berlin Jewish Community.
- 44 Hans-Erich Fabian (1902–1974) was born in Bromberg, Prussia (today Bydgoszcz, Poland). Moving to Berlin in 1920, he studied law and subsequently served in Prussian judicial service. Losing this position after the Nazis rose to power, he found employment in the Berlin based *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* founded in 1872. Fabian was deported to Theresienstadt in 1943 and returned to Berlin after the Holocaust. He was among the first group of co-chairmen of the postwar Berlin Jewish Community and founded the weekly *Der Weg. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums* in March 1946. However, in 1949 he left Germany for the United States, where he settled in New York.

datura on which delegates from the four powers sit. In addition, each national sector is divided into a number of “verwaltungs besirke” [sic].⁴⁵ For instance, the American section has six. Each of these “verwaltungs besirke” [sic] has its own military government detachment. In addition to the Berlin District Headquarters, Berlin also houses the Offices of Military Government U.S. which has the responsibility for all of the U.S. Zone in Germany, and the Control Council which governs all of Germany through delegates from the four powers, also has its office in Berlin. This complexity of governmental offices makes official work in Berlin extremely difficult. In each of the districts there are also many civil governmental agencies.

The Jewish community itself is a complex and confusing one. There are full Jews, half Jews and quarter Jews and there are Jewish Protestants, Jewish Catholics and there are Jews married to non-Jews without children and there are Jews married to non-Jews with children who are either Jewish or non-Jewish and each of these categories had a different status under Hitler.

One of the first problems I faced was to decide who would be helped by the AJDC. This was an academic question until the AJDC supplies began to come into Berlin, and this brings up another point.

When I arrived in Berlin, I came with a promise that food would follow me within a week. This promise unfortunately was not kept and despite the most serious representations to our offices in Frankfurt and Paris, the food did not arrive until five weeks after I came to Berlin.

After the first couple of weeks, the situation put me on the defensive in relation to the community. There was much grumbling about my coming for information or making suggestions since I did not bring any concrete help.

[3] There were a number of Jewish soldiers in Berlin who on their own were seeking to help the community with advice, with money and with supplies which they received in packages from home. One of the most active of these soldier workers was Technical Sgt. David J. Eizenberg⁴⁶ whom I hired to work for AJDC as soon as he could obtain release from the Army. His assistance throughout the period was invaluable. I met with many of the Jewish U.S. soldiers and U.S. civilians and they agreed to turn over to AJDC the many packages they were receiving from home. Over 5,000 five lb. packages were received and distributed by the Joint in the first two months of my work in

45 *Verwaltungsbezirke* (Germ., administrative districts).

46 David Eizenberg (1911–1993) was born in eastern Poland (then part of the Russian Empire, today Ukraine) and immigrated to the United States at age eleven. During the Second World War, he served as a technical sergeant. After liberation, he worked for the JDC and HIAS in DP camps and accompanied children going to Palestine.

Berlin and this constituted the first material help the Joint was able to give to the Jewish Community.

A plan was worked out with the Gemeinde in preparation for the arrival of AJDC food, for storage at Gemeinde headquarters and for a *s#{}ystem* of distribution of the food.⁴⁷ Ration cards were issued to all registered Jews and entries were made on these cards at the time of the issue. I also decided in consultation with them that the food was to be distributed to people of the Jewish faith only and that as far as the AJDC was concerned anyone acceptable to the Judische Gemeinde as a Jew was acceptable to the AJDC. Although it had earlier appeared that there were no more than 3,500 Jews in Berlin, registration for the distribution of food showed that there were approximately 7,000 Jews in Berlin. According to the Gemeinde records of these approximately 7,000 Jews, 1,628 had been in concentration camps, 1,321 had lived in hiding or with false papers in Germany, 2,126 were married to non-Jews and had no children and 1,995 were married to non-Jews and had children who were being brought up as Christians. This makes a total of 7,070. The last two categories were “privileged” Jews during the Hitler era. They were permitted ration cards marked “Jude” and were permitted to do certain types of work. They were not deported or sent to concentration camps.⁴⁸

Other categories of people have protested this method of distribution of food. First, those Protestants and Catholics who were considered Jews under the Nurenberg [sic] Laws because there [sic] were of Jewish extraction felt that since they had suffered on account of Hitler, they should get some help from the Joint. The next category were the Christian spouses of Jews who said that they too had suffered because they were subjected to criticism from the Germans and because they had to share their rations with their Jewish husbands and wives who did not get enough food on their “Jude” cards.

My answer to them has been that the Joint would like to help everyone who suffered from the Nazi regime but that our resources are limited and so must be used for a limited number of people. If we tried to spread it over all the categories, then no one would get enough to help them and we felt therefore that it was better for us to confine ourselves to helping people of the

47 The headquarters of the Berlin Jewish Community was located on Oranienburger Straße.

48 On the fate of “privileged Jews” in mixed marriages, see Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, New York 1998; Wolf Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße. Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der “Mischehen”* 1943, Frankfurt a. M. 2005.

Jewish faith and that perhaps other agencies would help people of other faiths who had suffered.⁴⁹

During my third week in Berlin, I requisitioned a fairly large house through Berlin District Headquarters for an office. The house is centrally located in relation to the various American Military Government offices as well as to transportation lines so that Jews from all over the city could get to it. It was requisitioned on November 8th and we opened [4] for business on November 10th. Fifteen civilian workers were hired through the M.G. Labor Office⁵⁰ and receive payment from the city of Berlin. They are all Jews except for the housekeeper and furnace man. Immediately after opening, we established a Tracing Section and a Post Office and Welfare Department.

In the Post Office, we had immediately several hundreds of letters and packages, which had been received by service men [sic] who were unable to deliver them to the people for whom they had been sent by relatives in the United States. We registered these letters and parcels and sent out notes inviting people to the office to pick up the mail. Several thousands of packages and many more letters have since been delivered through this office. The office also received mail for transmission by courier through our Frankfurt office for eventual delivery in many countries. Perhaps 10,000 letters have been transmitted in this way. We were also able to send some mail directly to Poland, Roumania and other Eastern European countries, through the assistance of various soldiers of the armies of these countries who were returning to their homes from Berlin.

Many persons received their first word from relatives abroad in our office and we have listened to thousands of expressions of gratitude.

At the same time, a Tracing Office was opened and people immediately began to register requests for information about their relatives in Germany and abroad.⁵¹ Many service men of all four occupying powers have also visited this office to register search requests. We have succeeded in establishing contact between hundreds of people and have transmitted many more requests for information to our various offices. We also cleared search requests from the UNRRA Central Tracing Bureau and established liaison

49 There were numerous initiatives during the war by members of various churches to assist Christians who were considered Jewish under the Nuremberg laws. One of the Protestant groups was the Office of Pastor Heinrich Grüber (1881–1975), through which the majority of assistance from within the *Bekennende Kirche* (Confessing Church) was channeled. Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler*, Oxford 1992.

50 Labor Office of the Military Government.

51 Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 3.

with the Public Safety Division, Berlin District Hqrs. who searched captured Nazi documents and Police records for information about people in whom we were interested.

A Personal Advice and Help Bureau was established which spent 12,750 Marks up to December 15 {31}, 1945, on cash relief. The usual amount granted per person is 100 M⁵² to help pay rent or to buy some special item.⁵³ Other needs are met on an individual basis. For instance, 5,000 M were loaned to a doctor in order to buy a practice so that he could begin to serve the Jewish community, which needed his services; smaller loans were made to two dentists and another doctor to help establish them in business. Arrangements were made with all of these people to treat anyone referred by the Joint, which will subsequently pay the bill. The Personal Service Section also receives many requests for help in dealing with governmental agencies, such as complaints about requisition of properties by various army units and requests for housing and for heating, light and professional services. We have also interceded in many cases with the authorities – in cases of arrest for various infractions of the regulations and succeeded in obtaining remission or reduction of punishment in many instances.

We have also been called upon for advice and help in emigration, (transportation was arranged for a number of persons with Swedish and Swiss visas and others were helped to get to South American consular offices in other cities) employment (jobs were obtained for numerous people with various departments of the American Military Government).

[5] All this work was hampered because of lack of trained personnel. We were unwilling to hire anyone but Jewish help in this work and it was unfortunately true that Jews had had little opportunity to develop any skills in white-collar work in the last 12 years. It has been our practice since the beginning to supplement the salaries of these people who are paid by the magistrate of the city of Berlin. Repeated requests to JDC Headquarters for more personnel in Berlin were unmet.

Urgent requests for secretarial help were unanswered until Miss Rae Karp came at the end of December.⁵⁴ We were also hampered by lack of transportation. The first several weeks I was forced to scrounge transportation

52 Marks.

53 Prior to the introduction of the *Deutsche Mark* (DM) in 1948, the Allies introduced a military rate of forty marks to one British pound and ten marks to one US dollar. Thus, the amount Skorneck refers to here would have been approximately ten dollars then, which would be equivalent to approximately 152 US dollars today.

54 Mrs. Rae Karp (incorrectly referred to as “Miss”), was a JDC worker who came to occupied Germany from the United States to assist Jews living in the DP camps.

in an area where transportation was not plentiful. Although cars had been purchased in Paris, none were sent here until I finally prevailed upon a Berlin friend who was travelling to Paris on business to drive back a Jeep for me. He was furnished with one of the poorest vehicles available, he told me, and we have had considerable difficulty with it since. Continued requests for at least one more vehicle have gone unmet to date. We were able to borrow two autos through a friend in one of the offices of military government, neither was in good condition and one was subsequently stolen so that we have been continuously hampered in our work because of lack of transportation. Transportation has been vitally important in Berlin because the city covers a tremendous area and the various offices and institutions with whom we deal are located in every part of the city. Other means of transportation are not feasible.

UNRRA has had a team in Berlin but they did not work with the community at all. They were engaged in operating a transient camp for the American Military Government and this was the limit of their activities. Comparatively few Jews receive any services at this camp, which was engaged in the repatriation of many other Allied nationals. In fact, for a while, it was even repatriating French, Dutch and Swiss SS men who claimed that they had been coerced into the German army. The team Director, Mr. C. J. Taylor,⁵⁵ was a man of deep understanding and sympathy and was very helpful in relation to Jewish problems. He did not try to limit AJDC activities and when requests were made for additional facilities he helped. Quite soon, after I arrived in Berlin, we agreed that a team should be called forward to work with the DP's [sic] or assimilated DPs living in the community. This request was transmitted through Mr. Taylor to UNRRA headquarter, Wiesbaden. At the same time, I attended two meetings of the Berlin Kommandatura welfare committee as advisor on Jewish problems and persuaded the Kommandatura to pass a resolution requesting UNRRA to work in Berlin. A resolution was finally drafted and approved by the committee requesting "international agencies" to work with displaced persons in Berlin but this resolution was never acted upon by the Kommandatura itself.

Mose [sic] of the German Jews were living in their own homes in the community. Some had re-established themselves in business and there were a few professionals. Their housing was, in the main, not adequate. There were a small number of German Jews who were in transit to other parts of Germany, and they, together with eastern Jews, were living in the various shelters which

55 Charle J. Taylor, the UNRRA Director in Berlin, who had served in the American military during the Second World War.

had been established by the Gemeinde. The following institutions existed in Berlin at the time of my arrival:

[6] A Durchgangshaus [sic]⁵⁶ at 31 Oranienbergerstrasse [sic] with a capacity for about 300 people, which was filled to capacity. Another Durchgangshaus at 3 Iranischestrassen [sic], with a capacity for about 300. This house had been severely damaged by bombing; the roof was missing, it was constantly wet from rains, and the 300 people who lived there were living under miserable circumstances. Another transit house at 53 Rykestrasse, with a capacity for about 450 people, which was the best of the lot and had the best house leader, so that conditions here were comparatively good as far as physical conditions were concerned. All the houses were poorly equipped and some were badly damaged by bombing. Apparently, the only reasons they were being used was because of the Gemeinde's anxiety after the liberation of the city, to recover property which was formerly theirs. Real leadership and foresight in the beginning would have enabled them to secure the best possible facilities. By the time I arrived, it was too late for them to get new places.

All these houses received food through the burgomeister [sic] of the city of Berlin, who issued the food to the Gemeinde as a recognized social welfare agency. The food was very inadequate. A typical day's meal consisted of a cup of black coffee in the morning and 400 grammes [sic] of bread, which was supposed to last all day: a plate of thick, hot soup and a few potatoes in the afternoon and another cup of black coffee in the evening.

In addition to these institutions, there was a Jewish hospital at 2 Iranischestrassen and a Jewish old age home attached to it at number 4.⁵⁷ The Jewish hospital had less than 20 % Jewish patients. For instance, in January 1946, there were only 37 Jewish patients out of approximately 230. There was also another old age home in Buch, a suburb of Berlin, with about 70 Jews, while the one on Iranischestrassen had about 45. There was a children's home

56 *Durchgangshaus* (Germ., transit home).

57 Berlin's Jewish hospital, founded in 1756, is the oldest Jewish institution serving the same function for its entire existence. 800 Jewish adults and children survived the Holocaust at Berlin's Jewish hospital, which had gained permission from Nazi authorities to continue its operations as a means of preventing the spread of alleged "Jewish diseases." The hospital staff found various ways to save patients from deportation, including the use of false medical diagnoses and unnecessary surgical procedures, and assisting patients to escape. After liberation, the hospital continued to operate, treating both Jewish and non-Jewish patients. The hospital's synagogue was rededicated on June 3, 1946. See Document 8. Daniel B. Silver, *Refuge in Hell: How Berlin's Jewish Hospital Outlasted the Nazis*, New York 2003.

with about 50 orphans, on Moltkestrasse in Niederschoenhausen, an outlying part of the Russian sector of Berlin.

The offices of the Gemeinde were at 28 Oranienbergerstrasse, next door to the Durchgangheim.⁵⁸ These two houses, and the house at Rykestrasse and the old age home in Buch, are in the Russian sector of Berlin. The houses on Iranischestrasse are in the French sector. There are no Jewish institutions in either the British or the U.S. sectors.

Very soon after my arrival in Berlin, I presented myself to the French chief of staff, Capitaine des Vaisseaux Cherdel,⁵⁹ and his deputies, and made representations to them about the very poor conditions of the transit home on Iranischestrasse. Several French officers made an inspection of the place with me and agreed that the conditions were very bad, and that they would be willing to provide other facilities. After many lengthy negotiations they finally turned over to the A.J.D.C. seven large apartment houses on Eichborndamm, in Wittenau, in the French sector of Berlin, which we agreed would house from 500/600 persons, and it was proposed at that time that the house in Iranischestrasse should be [7] closed as soon as the people could be moved over. However, as will be explained subsequently, this became impossible, and the houses in Wittenau had 2,400 residents within two weeks after they were turned over to us.⁶⁰

The Polish and a few other eastern Jews were arriving in Berlin starting in late September, in small numbers. Between 15 and 30 a day were able to go westward through the facilities of UNRRA transit camp which shipped this small number of Jews ostensibly as German Jews being repatriated to their homes in western Germany.

Shortly after my arrival, the number of eastern Jews arriving in Berlin began to increase, and I was able to arrange with Mr. Taylor, Director of UNRRA transit camp, to ship 50 Jews a day and subsequently 100 Jews a day. Actually through personal arrangements with other UNRRA staff members, we were able to ship between 140 and 200 a day out of Berlin. The number of Jews arriving in Berlin began to increase at a much faster rate,

58 The postwar location of the offices of the Gemeinde was the site of the *Neue Synagoge*, which suffered extensive damage as a result of bombings during the Second World War.

59 René Cherdel (1900–1968) was a member of the French Navy and a Captain at the time of the events described here.

60 The houses in Wittenau would become the Berlin-Wittenau DP Camp, which was located in the French sector of Berlin. It closed in September 1948 as a result of the Berlin Blockade and its remaining DPs were transferred to camps in West Germany.

however, so that in late November they were arriving at the rate of 250 per day. The facilities available for them soon became overcrowded, and the number that could be shipped out was always smaller than the number who came in.

I consulted with Mr. Taylor about this problem, and he agreed that we should ask for greater facilities for transportation of these people westward, and a meeting was arranged which was attended by Lt. Col. Messick and Lt. Col. Carn{e}y, both of the Office of the Military Government for the U.S. Zone of Germany; Lt. Col. Harold Mercer⁶¹ and Major Albert Paddock,⁶² of the Office of the Military Government for Berlin district; Lt. Col. Carroll, of the Combined Repatriation Executive, and Mr. Taylor and myself. At that time, there were approximately 2,500 eastern Jews in Berlin. Their living conditions were very bad; for instance, the house on Oranienbergerstrasse had approximately 800 people, which was a good deal more than twice its capacity. The meeting was necessary for another reason. The authorities had become aware of the fact that these people, who were being sent to western Germany, were not German Jews, but were Polish Jews, and they were independently looking into the question. At the Conference, it was agreed that the Combined Repatriation Executive would seek to arrange for a train – or two trains – to transport all 2,500 people to Bavaria. In the meantime, it was agreed that we could continue to use the Army and UNRRA facilities for transporting the official 100 per day.

The transit camp in Berlin sends people to a British camp at Hesslingen, near Helmstedt, in the British Zone of Occupation. From there, the Jews would board trains for Hanover and subsequently other trains would take them to Munich, Frankfurt and other parts of Bavaria for which they were heading.

[8] On December 5th, 1945, the British authorities ordered that no more Jews were to be sent to the British camp at Hesslingen. I immediately consulted with Colonel Thickness, the chief of the D.P. section of the British Military Government in Berlin, and he not only agreed to rescind the order, but also agreed to request facilities for the shipment of an additional 200 Jews a day under British auspices. However, on December 6th, the very next day, an order came from British Headquarters at Bunda [Bonn], that no more Jews were to be shipped out of Berlin, and that any Jew who had already been

61 Harold Mercer served until December 1945 as Chief of the Public Welfare Branch of the Military Government.

62 Albert W. Paddock served from July 1945 to June 1946 on the staff of the Public Welfare Branch of the Military Government.

shipped to Hesslingen were to be sent back. This stopped the only official means of exit from Berlin, and I immediately began negotiations with the American authorities to arrange for convoys to go all the way through the British Zone to the neighbourhood of Kaesel [sic],⁶³ which is the nearest town in the U.S. Zone.

It should be explained that Berlin is an island in the middle of hundreds of miles of the Russian Occupied Zone of Germany. There is only one free road available to other allied military transport through this zone from Berlin, and that is the road which leads to Helmstedt and which was used by the UNRRA trucks.

While we were negotiating in Berlin about the other possible roads to Bavaria, the American authorities in Frankfort [sic] issued an order that no more Jews were to be shipped out of Berlin to the U.S. Zone, and all the official exits were therefore effectively closed. Since the Jews continued to come in at about the rate of 250/300 per day, there were soon over 5,000 Polish Jews in Berlin. The house at Oranienbergerstrasse had over 1,000 people: the house at Rykestrasse had approximately 800, the very inadequate house at Iranischestrasse had about 650 people, and the houses in Wittenau had over 2,400 people and only 200 beds were available for them. Several hundred others were living privately in other parts of Berlin. The whole problem was taken up at a Kommandatura meeting, which was slow in taking action.⁶⁴ After deliberating a week, they issued an order that the Jews were to remain in the shelters where they were: that they would be entitled to draw from the burgomeister the equivalent of a #3 ration, which is equivalent to 1,600 calories per day; and that the whole matter would be referred to Control Council for a decision about what should be done with these Jews who had come into Germany in violation of the regulations and had no legal right there.

The Russian attitude during this time was a matter of "hands off." The British refused to recognise a Jewish problem. It was simply a matter of Polish nationals who were leaving their homeland and should be forced to return there. The French were officially very sympathetic, but stated that they had no material help that they could give. They were a little annoyed that the houses that they had furnished for 500/600 people had more than four times that number living there. The lower echelons of the French authorities were willing to seek ways to transport some of the Jews to the French Zone of Occupation, from which they could |9| very readily make their way to the U.S. Zone, but the higher echelons were unwilling to permit any action

63 Most likely Kassel, Hesse.

64 Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 3.

while the matter was pending at Control Council. The U.S. attitude was: "We don't have a Polish-Jewish problem because none of them are living in the U.S. sector of Berlin and we don't want to have a Jewish problem, so we will not permit them to live in the U.S. sector."

Conditions became increasingly bad. I prevailed upon the U.S. authorities to offer material assistance to the French and Russian authorities ~~to offer material assistance to the French and Russian authorities~~ in caring for these people. They agreed to give beds, blankets and food if the other authorities asked for them. I secured 200 beds from UNRRA for the houses in Wittenau and subsequently the French authorities made a request to the U.S. Military Government for beds, and were given 500 more.

The Russians never were willing to ask for help from the U.S. authorities for this problem, and so no help was sent to them. Whatever food was left in the J.D.C. warehouse after the first distribution to the German Jews, was turned over to the Polish Jews in the various shelters. In addition, we sent them all the food and clothing that was turned over to us by the many GI's and U.S. civilians in Berlin, plus some clothing which we purchased. Finally, at the end of December, after several Kommandatura meetings at which the problem was discussed, the Russians issued an order to the approximately 2,500 Jews in the transit homes in the Russian sector telling them that they would be moved to a camp in the Russian Zone of Occupation at Prenzlau, which is near the new Polish border. Since they gave the Jews 48 hours notice, it is possible that this was a manoeuvre on their part to get the Jews to leave the Russian sector. In this they were successful.

The Joint had, in the meantime, organised the Polish Jews into committees. There was a committee for each shelter and a central committee for the entire city made up of delegates from the various shelter committees. The central committee met regularly with Mr. Eizenberg and me at the Joint offices. As soon as the Russian order was issued, the Committee convened at the Joint offices, together with the leaders of the Judische Gemeinde, and the problem was discussed. It was agreed that the best solution would be for the people to leave the Russian sector and to move into the U.S. sector. The Joint communicated with a wealthy German Jew who owned considerable property in Berlin, and he agreed to permit the people to move into the "Swedish pavilion" – a large summer home which he owns in Wannsee, a suburb of Berlin, in the U.S. sector. The Jews organized themselves beautifully. By the next morning, not a single one was left in the houses in the Russian sector. Some moved out to Wittenau to join their friends already crowded into the houses there – some stayed in with private families: about 250 were helped to leave Berlin illegally on a train, which was transporting German refugees who were being sent from Poland to their homes in western Germany, and about

600 moved into the “Swedish Pavilion.” Later in the day, I |10| notified the U.S. Military Government authorities that a committee of Jews had come to tell me that they had established themselves in the U.S. sector and wanted help from the U.S. authorities. These authorities, who had for weeks been trying to prove that the Joint was responsible for the movement of Jews from Poland to Berlin, became immediately convinced that the Joint was responsible for the movement of Jews from the Russian sector to the U.S. sector of Berlin. For two days they refused to do anything except to order us to curtail our activities. We were ordered not to operate in any sector but the U.S. sector. I was personally ordered to work completely through military channels and not to see anyone outside those channels without prior permission from Colonel Howley,⁶⁵ the Military Governor, or General Barker,⁶⁶ the Commanding General of the U.S. sector of Berlin. The Military Government for the U.S. Zone at the same time ordered us to discontinue our mail service, the petrol allowances for our vehicles were discontinued because of a technicality, and we were subjected to an investigation from a large group of C.I.C.⁶⁷ agents, our telephones were monitored, our mail was opened and read, but the authorities were unable to prove that the Joint had anything to do with the movement of Jews. Hundreds of Jews who were questioned said that the Joint had advised them that it could do nothing to help them, since the Kommandatura had ordered that they were not to move from one sector to another.

65 Frank L. Howley (1903–1993) was an American colonel (later promoted to brigadier general) who served as commandant of the American sector of Berlin after the Second World War. In his memoirs, Howley details his four years as commandant of Berlin and his difficult interactions with the Soviets throughout the period of the blockade and the Berlin Airlift (1948–1949). Frank L. Howley, *Berlin Command*, New York 1950.

66 Ray Barker (1889–1974) was an American general and from October 1945 until May 1946 commander of the American sector of Berlin. Barker became the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-5, of the European theater from 1943 to 1944, and Deputy Chief of Staff for Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force. In January 1946, he assumed command of the 78th Infantry Division, headquartered in Berlin and was the commander supervising demilitarization of Germany until the deactivation of the 78th in May 1946.

67 The Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) was the successor to the Corps of Intelligence Police (CIP) founded in 1917. Following the American entry into the Second World War, the CIP was renamed to CIC on January 1, 1942. CIC recruited men with backgrounds in investigative work (legal and police) and sought recruits with foreign language skills. Further, it conducted background investigations and became involved in various efforts to screen alleged Communist sympathizers.

Previously, I had brought to Colonel Howley's attention the fact that the United States transit camp housed approximately 200 women who were either in the late stages of pregnancy or had very young children. The husbands of these women were, many of them, living in the Russian sector of Berlin. The Russian order that they move to Prenzlau would have meant that the fathers would be removed from these family groups, and I requested that the husbands be admitted to the American camp to join their wives. The U.S. Military Government responded to this request by issuing an order to the camp authorities to transport the women and children to the Russian sector the next morning to join their husbands. The women became panic stricken and rushed to the Joint offices for advice. They were told to refuse to go and when they did so the next morning the UNNRA team director refused to move them by force.

In the meantime, we secured food, which was sent to the people at Wannsee in vehicles rented by the Gemeinde. The people were sleeping on the floor or on whatever bedding they had brought with them: they were cold and miserable, but they were willing to go through any hardship rather than be forced to return to Poland. After three days, the U.S. authorities opened the camp in the U.S. sector which it calls an "Infiltree Camp," and the people were moved in.⁶⁸ Other people moved in from other parts of Berlin and newcomers were accepted there without difficulty.

There are now 1,600 Jews registered in this camp, which is quite adequately equipped and is run by an UNNRA team, which was called forward for this purpose. There are actually only about 1,200 people living in the camp. Of the other 400 who |11| were registered, some have left Berlin by illegal means and others are living privately in various other parts of the city. Today there are only about 2,400 in all of Berlin.

Throughout the period when the Jews were arriving in Berlin, I was frequently called to the office of Colonel Howley, Military Governor, or General Barker's office, and was questioned about the movement of Jews from Poland. They wanted to know why the Jews were moving, and I was able to tell them that I had spoken to thousands of Jews personally, and heard from

68 Presumably Düppel Center, also known as Schlachtensee DP Camp, the largest camp in the American sector of Berlin, established by the U.S. Army in January 1946. By November 1946, Berlin officially housed 7,845 Jewish DPs including some 1,000 infants and children, with the largest number in Düppel. It was closed in July 1948, when the Berlin Blockade forced the abrupt evacuation of DPs, who were airlifted by the U.S. Army to Frankfurt am Main. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 118–127.

all of them stories of attacks and persecutions, which made it impossible for them to remain in their homes. They explained that these attacks started in small communities and congregated in the larger cities, such as Lodz, Warsaw, Katowice, Krakow. Even in these cities, they said there was repeated persecution. When they were recognized as Jews, they were insulted in the streets, and constantly heard calls of “Jid.” They were pushed off public conveyances, attempts were made to break into their homes at night, they were the recipients of anonymous notes, some of which were shown to me in Berlin and which I in turn showed to the authorities. A typical note to a whealthy [sic] Jewish lumberman told him that if he would pay 20,000 slotys [sic] to an organized group, he would be given two weeks in which to leave his home. If he did not pay the requested sum, he and his family would be killed forthwith. Some of the people brought with them photographs of murdered relatives, and I was able to give the authorities a set of such photographs with an affidavit from the living relative who escaped.

In questioning these thousands of people I discovered that only a small proportion of them had witnessed the atrocities or attacks, but that all of them had heard about the attacks on other people that had occurred in the next street or the next town, and all of them said that they had a feeling of lack of safety. I have no doubt that they felt that their lives were not safe. The Polish Jews who came to Berlin were, many of them, fairly well-to-do. They left home with considerable money and were well clothed.⁶⁹ Many of them were robbed at the borders and all of their possessions taken. In the main, they were a young, healthy group: most of them were under 35 years of age, and it is significant that even when they lived under bad physical circumstances, there was very little illness among them, except for outbreaks of scabies or similar disorders.

A large number of pregnant women had congregated in Berlin. At one time, there were 180 in the seventh month or later. The reason for their coming to Berlin was probably the easiness of the travelling from Poland to Berlin. The Jews simply boarded a train in Poland, which took them to Stettin.⁷⁰ At

69 The image of the “rich Jew” attempting to enter occupied Germany was a common antisemitic trope at the time, but also reflected the reality that refugees did attempt to take as much of their belongings – from either their former homes in Poland or their exile in Central Asia – with them to the American Zone after experiencing antisemitism and violence when they attempted to return home. *Ibid.*

70 Stettin (today Szczecin, Poland), the capital and largest city of the West Pomeranian Voivodship, was part of Germany until 1945. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, the Allies began systematically expelling Germans from the city in

Stettin, they changed to another train which brought them into Berlin, or else they came by a motor vehicle which they rented at Stettin for the trip to Berlin. [12] During the height of the hardship I requested permission from Colonel Howley for a group of the highly pregnant women to be admitted to the UNRRA transit camp where facilities were very good. (It should be explained that this camp was actually a military government camp which was being run by an UNRRA team.) I told Colonel Howley that there were 13 pregnant women in my office who had no place to go. He suggested that I sent them to the shelters available in other sectors, and I reminded him that there was a Kommandatura order that people were not to be sent from one sector to another, to which he responded that they must have come through the Russian sector to get into the U.S. sector, and so they could be sent back. That afternoon I was called to General Barker's office on another matter, and requested the General's permission to send pregnant women to the transit camp. He agreed, and so in the next three days we sent 180 pregnant women into the camp. Colonel Howley was quite upset when he found out how many had been admitted. In my opinion, the latter is a subtle antisemite of the "my best friends are Jews" school.⁷¹ Not only has he told me on several occasions that his best friends are Jews, but he has also told me that he is a graduate of a "Jewish University," by which he means New York University, which has a large Jewish registration. He was responsible for all the attempts to hamper A.J.D.C. activities in Berlin. He recommended to the General that our scope of work be restricted to work with the infiltrees in the U.S. camp: that we be forced to give up our office and our vehicles, and that we be prohibited from working in other sectors. He issued orders to the UNRRA director that I was not to be advised of any governmental plans or activities in relation to the Jewish problem. The same orders were issued to all the military government officials with whom I worked. I was, of course, constantly informed of all developments, inadvertently by some people and directly by others. On two occasions, Colonel Howley was over-ruled [sic] by General Barker, first in relation to the opening of the camp and secondly in relation to the activities of the A.J.D.C.

February 1946, a process which continued until late 1947. Poles from other parts of Poland, as well as ethnic Poles repatriated from other states and Greek refugees of the Greek Civil War, were moved into the former homes of the expelled Germans. In 1945 and 1946, the city was also the starting location of the northern route used by the *Briḥah* for clandestine immigration to Palestine.

71 For his memoir see Howley, Berlin Command.

At a meeting with General Barker in late January which was attended by Herbert Katzki, Mr. Doughty,⁷² UNRRA Field Supervisor, and I [sic], General Barker agreed that we could continue to operate on the basis that we had previously worked, and that we would be entitled to all the supplies and facilities from the army that UNRRA received. He asked only that the supplies and facilities be obtained through UNRRA channels, and that we maintain channels in our relationship with the military authorities. I had previously submitted, at his request, a report on the activities and plans of the AJDC in Berlin. A copy of this report has already been forwarded to the Paris and New York offices.

The Infiltration camp has a capacity of about 3,500 people. I have been told unofficially that when its population nears capacity, steps will be taken to move the people to western Germany, U.S. Zone. The camp is administered by an UNRRA team directed by Harold Fishbein.⁷³ The latter has created many difficulties for the people because of a blind adherence to directives, an unwillingness to interpret orders liberally and a general military manner of administration. When the camp was opened, the military [13] governor ordered that the people were to be fed 1,600 calories per day, which were to be drawn from the German civilian food stocks. At just this time, an A.J.D.C. shipment of food arrived in Berlin and I offered to supplement the food drawn from burgomeister's stocks for the people in the camp. This was refused by Mr. Fishbein, who said that he was under orders to feed the people 1,600 calories, which was the level, set by the Kommandatura. I submitted a memo to the Military Government and General Barker subsequently approved a diet of 2,300 calories for the people, 1,600 to be taken from German civilian stocks and the other 700 to be made up by the J.D.C. food. Within a week, I had secured approval for the drawing of the 700 calories from the Military Government stocks, with A.J.D.C. food to be used only to vary the diet and to provide some items, which were unobtainable from other sources.

Altogether, 10,000/11,500 eastern Jews came through Berlin up to the end of December 1945. The figures are approximately as follows: –

August, September, October:	3,000/3,500
November:	3,500/4,000
December:	3,500/4,000

72 Leonard Doughty, Chief Program Analyst of the UNRRA in the American Zone.

73 Harold Fishbein (1898–1996) was the UNRRA Director of the Düppel Center, Schlachtensee DP Camp.

During the height of their concentration in Berlin, as many as 400 people a day visited the Joint office to leave letters, to request that telegraphic communications be sent to relatives in other countries, to request financial help and clothing, and to seek advice about many problems. As soon as we had organized committees of the Polish Jews, we helped them raise money from local sources. There were a number of wealthy eastern Jews living in Berlin, who had arrived earlier, who were willing to help their brethren in distress. In one week, with our help, the committee raised 90,000 marks. They were told that 10,000 marks would be available from the Joint if they needed it, but this sum was never asked for. It made it possible for us to refer to the committees in each of the shelters all of the cases where financial help was requested for eastern Jews, and they were able to give larger sums than we could have in the individual cases because their money was cheaper. In connection with this, it is necessary to say a word about the fantastic black market situation in Berlin. At the time I arrived, a one dollar bill was worth from 150/200 marks on this black market. This price later increased to approximately 400 marks to the \$ 1.00 (or 40 [sic] to 1) and even today, 300 marks are obtainable for one dollar. Many offers were made to the Joint office to provide unlimited numbers of marks in return, not for actual cash dollars, but for deposits, which might be made in a number of other countries. A carton of cigarettes is worth 1,500 marks on the Berlin black market: 1 lb. of butter is worth 500 marks.⁷⁴ It is therefore obvious that Joint marks, at the rate of 10 per dollar had a very small purchasing value, and this accounts for the small cash expenditures made by the Berlin office. We did manage to buy some clothing at regular government fixed prices, which were probably less than would pertain for the same garments in the U.S. but only an extremely small quantity was available. Most of the cash ex- [14] penditures were made to German Jews. Many of them in Berlin are physically unable to work and are living on a government dole of 35 marks per week per person, or 60 marks for a couple. They frequently found that it was impossible to pay their rent and to buy the food to which they were entitled on their ration cards. A grant of 100 marks per month to them would more than pay for their rent and leave a little over for the purchase of food, or perhaps for some small items of clothing for which they received a ration card. Most of our cash expenditures were made for such purposes.



74 See Document 67.

FOOD SUPPLIES

The German Jews living in Berlin were entitled to the assimilated status of D.P.s [sic] because they had been victims of persecution on account of their race or religion during the Hitler regime. This status entitled them to one higher food ration category than the German in the same labour status received. The rations, which were established by the Berlin Kommandatura were of five different grades, ranging from #5⁷⁵ for a person who did no work, to #1 for heavy labourers, etc. #5 consisted of 1,100 calories and this was increased in recent weeks to 1,500 calories. #3 consisted of 1,600 calories and #1 of 2,300 calories. For a three months period the Jews in Berlin were given, instead of one ration category higher than their regular ration, a #1 ration card in addition to their regular ration card. This did not, however, mean that they got the food to which their cards entitled them. Very frequently, the foods were unobtainable on the regular market and many of the people could not afford to buy them on the black market; particularly such foods as fats and meats were difficult to obtain. Of recent weeks, this situation has improved considerably. The Kommandatura has maintained for some time that the food was actually available at regular prices, but the testimony of many people who came to our office indicated that this was not uniformly so.

A shipment of ten tons of JDC food has been made to Berlin before I arrived there. This had been delivered to the Judische Gemeinde and distributed by them. During November, a long promised shipment arrived. It consisted of 37 tons of very necessary foods, such as butter, fresh eggs, marmalade, powdered milk, salt fish and some cod liver oil, and soap. As indicated in this report, this was again turned over to the Gemeinde and distributed by them on the basis of controls which had been set up by the Joint and the Gemeinde together. After this distribution, the Gemeinde report indicated that 7,070 persons had received a ration consisting roughly of 1 lb. of butter, 1 lb. fish, 1 lb. milk, 1 lb. marmalade and six eggs. Our files in Berlin are full of expressions of gratitude from the people for this help.

[15] However, many difficulties had been encountered in relation to this food. The Gemeinde store rooms were not safe. There were a number of robberies and considerable pilfering, and constant alarms, which caused us to rush down to the Gemeinde in the Russian sector at all hours of the day and night. The Russian authorities made investigations and we received many complaints from people about the handling of food. We therefore determined to secure our own warehouse in the U.S. sector to handle subsequent shipments. When the next shipment arrived in January, which also consisted

75 The following # are part of the original document.

of 37 tons of similar food, it was stored in a warehouse which we rented in the American sector with the help of some friends in the U.S. Military Government, as well as in the burgomeister's office. (I would like to mention that Capt. Harry Nowalsky,⁷⁶ of New Orleans, a Military Government official in the U.S. forces in Berlin, was extremely helpful to us in our work, and it was with his help that this warehouse was secured.) The warehouse was staffed by people hired by the Joint plus people assigned by the Gemeinde, and they served as a check on each other. Mr. Eizenberg devoted a great deal ###⁷⁷ of his time to getting the place organized and a distribution of food was carried out on the basis of cards mailed by the Gemeinde to its registered members, who then presented the card, together with their ration book, at the warehouse. As many as 1,400 people were served in one day.

A subsequent shipment of 65 tons of food arrived about ten days later, in January, and additional warehouse space was rented at the same place. This space was severely taxed when a shipment of 1–2,000 Red Cross parcels, weighing two Kg. each, arrived from Switzerland a few days later. It should be noted that the rental for the warehouse space is nominal.

It is interesting that when we completed a distribution under our supervision, only 6,200 people received rations, indicating that the previous lists when the Gemeinde handled them, were padded. The controls we had over this distribution were also quite loose, and much stricter controls have been established for the third distribution, which is now taking place. When this is completed, we shall have a very accurate count of the actual number of Jews in Berlin.

An index was established on the basis of cards received during the second distribution and cards for the third distribution are checked against these. In addition, no card will be accepted which was not delivered through the mails, and a spot check is being instituted by some of our staff members to determine whether the people whose cards are in the file are actually Jews living at the addresses given and that they were actually recipients of our food. Additional food was made available to the Committee of Polish Jews who were living in the French sector, and they distributed individual rations to the people living there.

76 Harry Nowalsky (1906/1907–1993) was born in Halle, Germany; together with his parents, he immigrated to the United States where they settled in New Orleans in his early childhood. When he finished his military service in Berlin, the Jewish community held a banquet in his honor. Back in New Orleans, he practiced as lawyer and became a member of the Louisiana and American Bar Associations.

77 Half a line crossed out.

In the U.S. sector it had to be handled differently, because the military authorities and the UNRRA team refused to allow direct [16] distribution. Food was made available to them to supplement the diet of the Jews in their camp, but was distributed through central kitchens. When the Red Cross parcels arrived, 1,500 of them were given to the UNRRA team at the infiltree camp in the U.S. sector for distribution among the people. They insisted on breaking down the parcels and distributing only those foods, which could be readily consumed without preparation, as well as cigarettes and tobacco, which many of the packages contained. This created considerable dissatisfaction among the people there, who wanted the complete packages. These packages were well worth the money paid for them, although it was found that many of the biscuits were wormy, some of the tins of meat were spoiled and some of the packages were in poor condition for other reasons. However, there was enough left, including 100 cigarettes, in most of the parcels, and some tobacco, which was absolutely unobtainable from other sources, to make them well worth what the Joint paid for them.⁷⁸ They are, however, difficult to handle if they are not distributed in units. Since it was discovered, though, that many of the biscuits are wormy, it is contemplated that the packages will be broken down and the biscuits perhaps exchanged through the food control section of the government for other foods, which may be available there. This was something that was left for my successors to decide, because the packages are being held until the other foods in the warehouse are distributed to prevent the possibility of spoilage of such foods as butter, cheese, eggs and salt fish.

Through the help of several military government officers a matzah⁷⁹ factory has been established in Berlin, which will provide all the matzahs necessary for that community.⁸⁰ The plan is that the factory will draw flour from burgomeister stocks and that the Jews will then present their bread ration coupons in return for an equivalent amount of matzah. I proposed that the Joint should pay for this matzah and distribute it gratis to the Jews in Berlin.

78 The breakdown and distribution of the Red Cross food packages is one of the many aspects of Jewish life in the DP camps captured in the photographs of Roman Vishniac (1897–1990), considered one of the great documentary photographers of the 20th century. While Vishniac's images of Jewish life in Eastern Europe before the Holocaust are his best-known work, he also extensively photographed life in the DP camps. Atina Grossmann/Avinoam J. Patt, *Vishniac and the Surviving Remnant*, in: Maya Benton (ed.), *Roman Vishniac Rediscovered*, New York 2015, 205–210.

79 Traditional unleavened bread eaten during the Passover holiday.

80 The Sarotti baking plant had been reopened under supervision of a Jewish family. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 118; Grossmann/Lewinsky, *Displaced Persons*, 57–84.

It will, of course, be necessary for the Joint to secure the equivalent number of bread ration coupons. The Jews in the camps will not have to purchase matzahs, since they can be requisitioned by the authorities responsible for the camps for their use. I have just been informed that the first matzahs were baked with appropriate ceremonies on schedule on Feb. 21st, 1946.

The present plan for distribution of food is to have a distribution every three or four weeks. To do so, it is estimated that 35 tons of food per month are necessary. This will leave a small reserve which will increase as time goes on, and will be available in case the influx of eastern Jews picks up again, or to meet other emergency situations. The kinds of food, which we received from the Scandinavian countries was extremely good and very well suited to the needs of the people. Two shipments of food came to Berlin by rail – the other three came by truck convoy. The latter method is much more suitable for Berlin because of the [17] difficulty of securing truck transport, and also the difficulty of the necessary loading and un-loading operations to get the food from the railroad yards to the warehouse.

A source of considerable difficulty for us was the U.S. Army chaplain who arrived in Berlin shortly after we opened our office there. Chaplain Shubow⁸¹ is a completely irresponsible person who began to fued [sic] with the Joint as soon as he arrived. Both Eizenberg and I bent over backwards in attempts to secure his cooperation in meeting Jewish problems. His response was to attack us publicly, to call us racketeers and black-marketeers, to blame us for all the difficulties the Jews were experiencing, to charge the Joint with responsibility for the death of millions of Jews because of their actions twenty-five years ago. This he also did publicly. He made similar attacks with the same lack of provocation on another chaplain, Lt. Abe Klausner,⁸² on leaders of the Gemeinde, on UNRRA officials and others. He created an incident in the French sector by shaking a French sentry, which was blamed on the Joint because to the military mind all the people who interest themselves in Jewish

81 Chaplain Joseph Shubow (1899–1969) was an active member of the American Zionist movement and the leader of Congregation B'nai Moshe in the Boston area, which would eventually grow into one of the largest and most influential congregations in the New England region. He enlisted in the Chaplains Corps in 1943 and attended the Harvard Chaplains School before requesting to be sent overseas in 1944, where he joined the 9th Army. After liberation, he was sent to Berlin to work with Jewish survivors and DPs in the area; he remained there until 1946, when he returned to the United States and resumed his leadership of Congregation B'nai Moshe. He would also hold several leadership positions in the Zionist Organization of America.

82 Abraham Klausner.

affairs are lumped together. At the time when we were seeking to get the American authorities to open a camp for the Polish Jews who were coming to Berlin, Shubow let loose an unwarranted blast against conditions in the U.S. transit camp, which was housing a small number of Jewish women. This caused the American authorities to shy even further away from desiring any contact with the “Jewish problem.” The problem was discussed several times with our office in Frankfurt and once at their suggestion with Judge Rifkind.⁸³ No action was taken. The military authorities finally reprimanded him for his activities and in recent weeks a state of armed truce has existed between him and the Joint.

In the educational and cultural field the JDC was also active. We helped the Polish Jews establish schools for children in both the camps in Berlin. The teachers were recruited from among the refugees and are very sympathetic, willing people. The camp in Wittenau has about 25 pupils up to 13 years of age and the camp in Schlachtensee, which is run by UNRRA, has about 50 pupils up to the same age. The Joint secured school equipment such as copy books, blackboards, pencils, chalk, etc. for both places.

In November, we cooperated with the Jewish Agency in arranging for the transport of 44 children to Paris on their way to Palestine. We subsequently arranged for the transport of several groups of children to children’s centers in Bavaria. These movements were arranged through the cooperation of UNRRA and the Combined Repatriation Executive.

Mr. Eizenberg, in what may euphemistically be called his spare time, organized groups of singers and artists who not only [18] participated in entertaining at community functions, but also gave public performances.

We helped in the establishment of synagogues in both camps. These are both serviced by Rabbi Itchkowitz [sic],⁸⁴ a Polish refugee who has worked very closely with the Joint and who is a member of the Central Committee of Polish Jews in Berlin.

RESUME

It is difficult to recall at this late date, and without the records in the Berlin files, the many services, which the Berlin Joint office gave to Jews. There was no Jewish problem, which was not brought to it for help. We subsidized dozens of weddings, many Jews were provided with food and sacramental wine for other religious ceremonies, such as “Births.” At various times we

83 Simon Rifkind (1901–1995) was a United States district judge of the Court of the Southern District of New York and a trial lawyer, who served as an adviser on Jewish affairs for the U.S. Army from 1945 to 1946.

84 Rabbi Shmul Itzkowitz was the head of the DP camp in Wittenau, a suburb of Berlin.

adopted orphans and gave them shelter and food on our premises, or else a mother and young children lived there. The house was never without a guest. In the beginning, when no organized shelter was available for the Polish Jews working in Berlin, many of them came directly to the Joint Office after weary journeys, and they were given their first hot meal in days in the kitchen of the Joint offices. They were also given a package of food to take away with them when they were sent to a place of shelter. Up to 50 people a day were fed there. No one went away hungry.

Several weddings were held in the Joint Offices, where we not only provided the food, but a three piece orchestra as well. Government officials and civilians who were invited to some of these functions were very much impressed. We helped establish people in business and we interceded with government authorities when they got into difficulties. We arranged for better quarters and helped them secure adequate furniture. We secured medical and dental services for them, and transportation. We arranged for the baking of bread and matzah. We assisted in educational and cultural activities.

We made surveys and reports for government authorities, and kept them constantly aware of the needs of the Jewish community. We cooperated completely with UNRRA and handled the UNRRA mail service for the Jewish community in the U.S. sector of Berlin. Returning servicemen and other friends send us hundreds of packages of clothing and food. We are one of the biggest recipients of mail in the Berlin area, and this, too, has created some difficulty with the military authorities.

Hundreds of tracing requests arrive at the office each day and mail comes in and out at a very great rate. The need for additional trained personnel has always been acute. The week before I left Berlin I hired a U.S. civilian who had been working in Berlin for the army. Mr. Julius Steinhäuser has been given the [19] responsibility for establishing an immigration department, since requests for immigration advice and help have suddenly taken a great upsurge. He is also supervising the mail and tracing services. The tracing service, until now, had been in the hands of a young D.P. Larry Lubetsky,⁸⁵ who began to work with us when we opened our doors. He has done a very fine job without adequate assistance, and we have arranged to have him classified as an UNRRA employee to continue to work with the JDC. The Gemeinde leadership in Berlin has considerable more security than it had previously. The Joint has contributed immeasurably to their increased standing. The leadership is still unsatisfactory. They are constantly maneuvering and intriguing in attempts to

85 Larry Lubetsky (1925–2011) was a young survivor liberated from Dachau who was brought on by the JDC as director of the organization's tracing office in Berlin. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 105.

have JDC food supplies placed under their control, as it was in the beginning. They do not welcome the influx of eastern Jews, but nevertheless much of what was done for the latter was done under their auspices.

The JDC office in Berlin is now functioning on a stabilized basis. It has the respect and recognition of the government authorities and now has the permission of the commanding general to continue its work. Very fine relationships have been established with all parts of the community as well as with all parts of the occupying forces. At the request of the commanding general, a memo was submitted asking for official permission for JDC to operate in the Russian sector of Berlin. This request has received the endorsement of the UNRRA field supervisor and the U.S. Military Government and is at present being transmitted to the Russian Military Government.

Our mail service is now permitted to function, and there is a memo in our files from Colonel Boyle of the Office of the Military Government of the U.S. rescinding the previous order that we discontinue it.

One of the first tasks facing the office now is to secure a complete list of eastern Jews who have come through Berlin. They were registered in various places, but only partial lists have been secured so far. The next step would be the typing up of these lists with other communities in Germany to which some of the people subsequently went.

We have made arrangements with the UNRRA transit camp whereby a limited number of Jews continue to be transported unofficially under UNRRA auspices to western Germany. This needs to be expanded and steps have already been taken in this direction.

The immigration department will assume added importance as soon as the American and British consulates open in Berlin. This is expected to take place round April 1st.

The tracing service needs more personnel, and at least one [20] vehicle. It is not expected that the office will again face the crisis that it faced two months ago, and its work can be done on a more planned basis.

I wish to reiterate in conclusion that Mr. Eizenberg's services to the Joint throughout this period were invaluable. Many of the ideas were his. He did not stint of himself in service to the people. His many valuable contacts made possible the securing of critically needed supplies and facilities. As for myself, I am grateful for the opportunity I had to work at a most stimulating and interesting and productive task.

Document 26

Nochum Sienicki,⁸⁶ “Guidelines for the Organization and Work of the Agricultural Hakhsharah”

Munich, May 15, 1946

Journal article, 1 page; on the top margin stamp (first line cut off) “of the CENTRAL-COMMITTEE OF LIBERATED JEWS IN AMERICAN OCCUPATION ZONE, 3, Siebertstraße Munich.”

Language: Yiddish in Latin letters; translation by Avinoam J. Patt and Alexandra M. Kramen

Landwirtschaftlecher Wegwajzer,⁸⁷ May 15, 1946 (no. 1), 1, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004290, reel 11.03

Inz. agr. Nochum Sienicki

Insp. far landw. hachszara bajm C.K.

Richtlinjes far der organizacje un arbet fun der landwirtschaftlecher hachszara

S'iz nyt meglech bajm hajntikn moment forojscuzen, wi lang wet noch dojern der golus Dajczland fun der Szejris-haplejt. Cu unzer do-zajn iz a frage fun ejnike chadoszim, oder efszer, cholile, lenger. Ojf dem kenen mir forlojfik kejn konkrete tszuwe nyt gebn. In cuzamenhang mit der doziker umzicherkajt, iz nyt meglech ojscuarbetn a feste program fun arbet un organizacje fun der landwirtschaftlecher hachszara, un mir muzn zich bagre necn mit gewise richtlinjes ojf dem dozikn gebit.

Cuerszt muz batont wern, az landwirtschaft szelt mit zich for a zejjer komplicirtn un farszejdn-artikn feld fun arbet un wisnszaft, chotsz di mejnung iz baj a sach sztetlsze jidn, welche hobn gehalten an aker-ajzn in hant oder nor gezen, wi der pojer hot gearbet baj zej ojf der erd, az zej zajnen fulkome landwirtn-fachmener, szier nyt agronomen.

Bichdej cu wern a moderner, forgeszritener landwirt, gertner oder cichter, darf men a sach lernen un prakticirn. Zicndik do, wi ojf a wokzal, iz, selbstfarsztendlech, az es iz nyt meglech cu firn a systematisze ojsbildung un a

86 Nochum Sienicki was an agricultural engineer and co-editor of *Landwirtschaftlecher Wegwajzer* (Agricultural Guide), along with Jacob Oleiski.

87 *Landwirtschaftlecher Wegwajzer* was created as a monthly publication dedicated to professional instruction of Zionist youth in the latest scientific agricultural techniques. It was published through the Productivization Department of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Munich.

dojerhafte fachmenisze hachsara. Deriber wil ich zogn, az ojb unz wet gelingen unzer jugnt fun di landwirtszaftleche kibucim gebn an antszprechendike landwirtszaftleche dercijung durch farinteresirn un gewinen zi far der landwirtszaft, – dan iz unzer cil dergrejcht. Ojb mir weln zicher zajn, az unzer jugnt fun di landwirtszaftleche kibucim, nochn kumen kejn Erec-Jisroel, wet nyt blajbn in sztot bajm handl-wandl, nor wet zich onszlisen on dem landwirtszaftlechn ojfbow-werk fun land, dan weln mir zogn, az unzer landwirtszaftleche hachsara hot ir ojfgabe derfult. Mir darfn zich, alzo, szteln far a lejt-motiw, wi wajt meglech, in a szneln temp bakenen di jugnt, zol dos afile zajn oberflechlech, mit di farszejdene cwajgn fun der landwirtszaft, wajzn ir di gance szejnkajt un efektfule rezultatn fun der doziker produktiwer arbet, durch derwekn baj der jugnt libe cu der sztabiker chaje un der flancung u. a. w., kurz: gewinen ir far der zach. Alzo, in unzer badingungen szpilt di hojpt-role nyt azoj di grindleche fachmenisze ojsbildung, nor di landwirtszaftleche dercijung fun der jugnt. Un do hot der agronom, der pedagog, zajn dankbarn un hechstwichtikn arbets-feld.

Bichdej dem ojbndermontn cil cu dergrejchn, szlog ich for, bazirndik zich ojf majn langjoriker landwirtszaftlecher pedagogischer tetikajt, folgendike richtlinjes far der landwirtszaftlecher hachsara:

1. Widmen in unzer hachsara-punktn asach ojfmerkzamkajt dem *landwirtszaftlechn unterricht*. Di teoretisze lekcjes darfn zajn a wichtike dergencung cu der praktischer arbet un darfn gefirt wern in a farbindung mit ir, d. h. di ale arbetn, welche wern in meszech fun tog ojsgefirt, muzn wern noch der arbet arumgeredt, alzajtik balojchtn un analizirt, in a wi wajt meglech populerer un interes-wekndiker form. Kdej dos cu dergrejchn, muzn mir sztrebn arajncucijen in der arbet ale jidisze agronomen, welche zajnen imsztand cu gebn teoretiszn unterricht.
2. Di *praktisze arbetn* darfn getejlt wern in di kibucim ojf 4 kategorjes: 1) feld-arbet (landwirtszaft); 2) gertneraj un sederaj; 3) cucht fun sztabike chajes un 4) ordnungs-arbetn. Entszprechndik cu di dozike arbetn darfn ale chawejrim fun kibuc ajngetejlt wern in 4 arbets-grupn. Di chawejrim in di arbets-grupn blajbn nyt sztendik, nor darfn zich bajtn ale 2–3 wochn. Dos iz wichtik, kdej cu gebn der jugnt di meglechkajt cu bakenen zich un ontejlcnemen in di farszejdene sezon-arbetn. An ojsnam in der hincicht iz di cucht-grupe, wu di arbet trogt a mer-dojernhaftikn charakter. Ojb durch dem oftn iberwarfn fun der arbets-kraft wet lajdn der normaler lojf fun der wirtszaft, muz angazirt wern an entszprechndike bacolte landwirtszaftleche arbets-kraft fun cwiszn der ortiker bafelkerung. Berosz fun di bazundere arbets-grupn darf sztejn der a. g. grupn-onfirer, welcher iz farantwotlech [sic] far der richtiker fartejlung un ojsfirung fun der arbet. Di grupn-onfirer bajtn zich cuzamen mit zejere grupn.

3. Ale chawejrim fun kibuc muzn firn *arbets-tog-bicher* (joman awoda), in welche zej baszrajbn tog-teglech di ojsgefirte in meszech fun tog arbetn. Di grupn-onfirer firn ojch, ojser zejere individuelle arbets-tog-bicher, an arbets-tog-buch fun der gancer grupe, in welch es wert farszribn ale ojsgefirte in meszech fun tog arbetn, wi ojch di farwendete dercu arbets-kreftn, wi mentszn, ferd, oksn, traktorn, dan bamerkungen wegn der ojsgefirter arbet un der weter-baricht.
4. Umophengik fun der tog-teglecher arbet in der arbets-grupe, darf jeder chawer fun kibuc bakumen cu zajn eigener dispozicje a sztikl erd in der grojs, lomir zogn, fun 1 ar (100 kw.m.), ojf welcher er firt ojs a rejn *individuelle arbet* ojf a balibiker ojsgewejlter durch zich teme, wi, lemoszl, kultiwirung fun pomidorn, ugerkes, krojt u. a. Kdej cu dermeglechn di chawejrim cu firn di arbet ojf individuelle parceln, muz in dem algemejnem sejder-hajom fun kibuc forojsgezen wern tog-teglech ojf dem cwek cajt, a szo oder merer.
5. Jeder kibuc muz farzorgt wern mit a populerer landwirtszaftlecher *biblijotek* fun di nojtikste landwirtszaftleche bicher un cajtszriftn. Dos wet gebn der jugnt di meglechkajt in fal fun feln fun agronomen un instruktorn cu gefinen entfers ojf farszejdene fragn un sfejkes.
6. Bichdej cu dermeglechn di ale chawejrim fun di landwirtszaftleche kibucim, welche hobn zich ojsgecejchnt in der arbet un wajzn arojs a specjele libe un farinteresirung cu a gewisn cwajg fun der wirtszaft, zich cu farfulkomen – muzn geszafn wern kurc-terminike *landwirtszaftleche kursn*, wi, lemoszl, hiner-cucht-kurs, fi-cucht-kurs, krolikes, fisz- un binen-cucht u. a. w. In dem program fun di kursn muzn arajngejn ojser di teoretisze lekcjes ojch gewisse praktisze arbetn un bazuchn in di ortike modern-ajngeordnte wirtschaftn.

Dos zajnen mer oder wejniker di wichtikste richtlinjes fun der landwirtszaftlecher hachszara in unzere badingungen. Ich wolt gewen zejer dankbar, wen di chawejrim agronomen un hachszara-madrichim zoln zich arojszogn ojf di szpaltn fun cajtszriftn un bajbrenge zejer sztand-punkt in dem injen.

*Translation*Agric. Eng. Nochum SienickiInspector for the agricultural Hakhsharah⁸⁸ in the Central Committee**Guidelines for the Organization and Work of the Agricultural Hakhsharah**

It is not possible at the present moment to foresee how long the exile in Germany of the She'erit Hapletah will last. Whether our being here is a question of a few months, or perhaps, god forbid, longer. We can't give any concrete predictions on this for the time being. In connection with this uncertainty, it is not possible to work out a fixed program of work and organization in the agricultural hakhsharah, and we have to limit ourselves with certain guidelines in this area.

First of all, it must be emphasized that agriculture represents a very complex and diverse field of work and science, although the opinion of many small-town Jews, who held a plow in their hand or only saw, as the farmer worked on their land, that they are complete farm-professionals, even agronomists.

In order to become a modern, advanced farmer, gardener, or breeder, one needs to study and practice a lot. Sitting here, as at a terminal, it is self-evident that it is not possible to carry out a systematic education and a permanent professional training. That is why I want to say that if we succeed in giving our youth from the agricultural kibbutzim a solid agricultural education through getting them interested in and winning them over regarding agriculture, then

88 *Hakhsharah* (Heb., lit. qualification, preparation) refers to agricultural training farms where Jews prepared for their immigration to the Land of Israel, which first emerged in the late 1910s. The elevated status of agricultural work in the Zionist youth movement was not new to the postwar context. The goals of the youth movements in bringing young adults to farms echoed prewar statements regarding the purpose of *hakhsharah*. In independent Poland (1918–1939), the pioneering Zionist youth movements were central to fulfilling the aims of the larger Zionist movement. The productive training of the Jewish people through the creation of an agricultural and working class in Palestine was one of the primary goals of Labor Zionism. By the end of April 1946, there were 27 *hakhsharot* in the American Zone, with almost 2,300 members working on them. David Zayit, *Ha-utopyah ha-shomrit. Ha-shomer ha-zair be-polin, 1921–1931* [The Utopian Ideal of Shomer. Hashomer Hazair in Poland, 1921–1931], Sde Boker 2002, esp. chap. 12; Israel Oppenheim, *The Struggle of Jewish Youth for Productivization: The Zionist Youth Movement in Poland*, Boulder, Col., 1989.

our goal has been achieved.⁸⁹ If we ensure that our youth from the agricultural kibbutzim, after coming to the Land of Israel, will not stay in the city to trade, but will join in the agricultural development of the country, then we will say that our agricultural hakhsarah fulfilled its task.⁹⁰ So, we need to set as a leitmotif, as far as possible, the acquaintance of the youth with the various branches of agriculture at a fast pace, even if it is superficial, to show them the whole beauty and effective results of this productive work, by awakening in the youth a love for the domestication of animals and for plants etc., in short: win them over for our cause. So, in our circumstances, the main role is not so much the in-depth professional education, but the agricultural education of the youth. And here the agronomist, the pedagogue, has his rewarding and most important field of work.⁹¹

In order to fulfill the above-mentioned goal, on the basis of my extensive agricultural pedagogical activity, I suggest the following guidelines for the agricultural hakhsarah:

1. Dedicate in our hakhsarah points a lot of attention to *agricultural pedagogy*. The theoretical lessons must be an important supplement to practical work and need to be conducted in connection with it, that is, all of the work which is carried out during the day must be discussed after the work, illuminated and analyzed in as far as possible a popular and interest-awakening form. In order to achieve this, we must strive to involve in the work all Jewish agronomists who are able to give theoretical instruction.

89 The program advanced in the pages of the *Landwirtschaftlicher Wegwajzer* supported a Zionist position, but reflected the tensions inherent in providing Zionist agricultural education for youth whose ultimate priority was departure from the land they were to work only temporarily.

90 The Agricultural Department of the Central Committee organized courses in theoretical agriculture, veterinary care, mushroom and fish cultivation, and tractor and machine usage, providing exams and certification upon successful completion of the course. Thus, the Agricultural Department worked to instill a love of agricultural labor in Jewish youth, with the ultimate goal of either directly or indirectly assisting in the building of the Yishuv. Nonetheless, paradoxically, Aliyah continued to drain the farms of labor and manpower, thereby making the work of the office that much more challenging. In the case of the training farms, they would have to be successful enough to justify their continued existence and instill in the Jewish DP youth a love of agricultural work, but at the same time, they were only temporary way stations on the journey to Palestine, where youth focused on eventual Aliyah. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 178–180.

91 See Figure 6.

2. *Practical work* must be divided in the kibbutzim into 4 categories: 1) Field-work (agriculture); 2) gardening and orchard-work; 3) work with domesticated animals and 4) organizational work. In correspondence with this work, all members of the kibbutzim must be divided into four work groups. The members in the work groups do not remain fixed, but need to be changed every two to three weeks. This is important in order to give the youth the possibility to become familiar with and participate in the various seasonal jobs. An exception in this regard is the breeding group, where the work has a more long-term character. If the normal course of the economy will suffer due to the frequent turnover of the labor force, an adequate paid agricultural labor force must be engaged from among the local population. At the head of the separate groups must stand the a. g.⁹² group leader, who is responsible for the correct distribution and execution of the work. The group leader rotates along with their groups.
3. All members of the kibbutz must keep a *work diary* (yoman avoda),⁹³ in which they record daily the different kinds of work performed. The group leaders also keep, in addition to their individual work diaries, a work diary of the whole group, in which all the work carried out during the day is recorded, as well as the [amount of] labor used for this, such as people, horses, oxen, tractors, then comments about the work that was done and the weather report.
4. Independent of their daily work in their work group, each member of a kibbutz must obtain at his own disposal a piece of land in the size, let's say, of 1 ar (100 square meters) on which he carries out purely *individual work* on a topic chosen by oneself, for example, cultivation of tomatoes, cucumbers, cabbage, etc. In order to allow the members of the kibbutzim to carry out the work on individual parcels, an hour or more daily must be anticipated for this purpose in the general agenda of the kibbutz.
5. Each kibbutz must be equipped with a popular agricultural *library* of the necessary agricultural books and newspapers. This will give the youth the opportunity to find answers to various questions and concerns in the absence of agronomists and instructors.
6. In order to enable all members of the agricultural kibbutzim, who have excelled in their work and show a special love and interest for a certain

92 This likely is shorthand for the previously mentioned work groups, or *arbets-grupn* in the original.

93 In Hebrew, the word *yoman* refers to diary, while *avodah*, which literally means work, worship, and service, was traditionally applied to sacrifices offered in the temple of Jerusalem. However, in a more modern context, *avodah* is also used to refer to agricultural work.

branch of the economy, to perfect their skills – we must create short-term *agricultural courses*, such as, for example, a chicken-breeding course, cattle-breeding course, rabbits, fish- and bee-breeding etc. In addition to the theoretical lessons, the program of the courses must also include certain practical work and visits to the local modern-organized farms.

These are more or less, the most important guidelines for the agricultural hakhsharah in our conditions. I would be very grateful if the agronomist comrades and haksharah madrikhim would respond to the column of the newspaper and provide their own opinions on the issue.

Document 27

Henri Laufer,⁹⁴ “Report on the Situation of the Jews in the French Zone”

Constance, November 19, 1946

Typewritten report, 8 pages; handwritten insertions

Language: English

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, roll 45, folder 514

[Laufer describes the conditions and difficulties faced by both Jewish DPs and JDC workers in the French Zone as of late 1946. As the report reflects, Constance was the center of Jewish DP life in the French Zone. DP camps and communities in the French Zone existed under a variety of conditions, including kibbutzim, homes and apartments requisitioned from local Germans, and converted hotels. The report details the precarious living conditions, e. g., struggling with poor sanitation and a lack of basic necessities. Kibbutzim workshops suffer material shortages that hinder their effectiveness. Laufer emphasizes the logistical

94 Henri Laufer (1918–?) was born in Metz, France, to Jewish parents. Before being appointed director of the French Zone at the JDC office in Constance in 1946 Laufer had worked in DP and refugee care centers and was involved with repatriations to Czechoslovakia and Poland. He remained Director of the JDC’s Constance office until it was closed on January 1, 1950. The Emigration Department, however, remained in Constance, providing direct assistance to the few Jews remaining in the area after the closure of the zone’s DP camps. On Jewish DPs in Oberschwaben and the French Zone see Reinhold Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*, in: *Oberschwaben-Portal*, 2019 <https://www.oberschwaben-portal.de/files/tl_filesOPO/Autoren/Adler/JuedischeDPinOberschwaben_Adler2019.pdf> (May 27, 2024).

difficulties in distributing supplies to distant locations and the need for better coordination with UNRRA and the JDC. Emigration efforts for Jewish DPs are hampered by complex administrative processes. The report concludes with a call for increased support and understanding from higher authorities to address the unique challenges faced by the DP communities in the French Zone.]

Nov./19/46

Report on the Situation of the Jews in the French Zone.⁹⁵

I have the honor, once more, to draw your attention to the situation of the Jews in the French Zone. As to questions concerning the situation in general, please see my report, which I have sent you on the {2 September}. As you have not taken into account, up till now, as far as I know, my demands and my suggestions, I will take the liberty to repeat certain things.

Southern District. The Jews of the Southern District mostly live in the Kibboutzim [sic] and in fixed communities. Some isolated persons write us directly, overwhelming us with letters, constantly asking us to come and see them (as traveling is particularly difficult in the French Zone, they think that perhaps it is easier for us, in uniform, to overcome the difficulties).

a) BIBERACH-JORDANBAD. In Biberach there are {338} Jews. {219} in the Kibbouts [sic] Haschomer Hazair⁹⁶ and {119} in the so called American House.

The Kibbouts Hachomer [sic] Hazair: Comfortable house, where the young men, however, are rathe [sic] crowded (4 beds in one hotel room).

95 For more on the division of responsibility within the JDC across the Western zones of occupation, see Koenigseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 55–77. On the efforts of American-Jewish relief workers in postwar France, see Laura Hobson Faure, *Un plan Marshall juif: La présence juive américaine en France après la Shoah, 1944–1954*, Paris 2013. On the experiences of Jewish survivors in Postwar France, see Daniella Doron, *Jewish Youth and Identity in Postwar France: Rebuilding Family and Nation*, Bloomington, Ind., 2015.

96 The *Hashomer Hazair* (The Young Guard) was a Zionist socialist youth movement, which educated and trained Jewish youths for immigration to kibbutzim in Palestine. It originated in 1916 in Galicia, with its Zionist and socialist ideas crystallizing during the 1920s. After the Second World War, the organization played a key role in organizing the mass movement of East European Jewry to Palestine in what became known as the *Briḥah*. Marcos Silber, Art. Ha-Shomer ha-Tsa'ir, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 1725–1726; Zayit, Ha-utopyah ha-shomrit [The Utopian Ideal of Shomer].

Not very good food from U.N.R.R.A. No heating. 40 children have arrived lately from the U.S. Zone and have no warm winter clothing. Any efforts in the Joint of Munich, in order to cloth these children decently, have until now been made in vain.

The so called American House. Wonderful house, where during the war the so called anglo-saxons, whose nationality is not acknowledged by the different countries, whose citizens they pretend to be, have been living. On the whole these Jews are rather well off. They are particularly complaining of lack of coal and traveling difficulties.

On the whole, the situation in the Jewish Camps of Biberach-Jordanbad is the most satisfactory in the French Zone.

RAVENSBURG. {30} Jews. Live in a hotel "Zum Deutschen Kaiser," where they pay the rent. Are registered by U.N.R.R.A., which provides them with food, cooked in a common kitchen.

[2] SAULGAU. {120} Jews. Are living in apartments in town. Most of them are young men with no definite occupation. The different authorities complain, and perhaps they are right of the young men's idleness.

A certain number of isolated Jews in the surrounding villages are registered at Ravensburg and Saulgau for the distributions of the Joint.

LINDAU. {40} Jews. In this place, we thought it practical to create a new Jewish Community, whose president is Mr. Spiegel.⁹⁷ As soon as the Joint would provide us with possibilities for doing so, there might be much interesting work to do. Actually, Mr. Spiegel has told us that a certain number of villas belonged to Jews and we might place a certain number of children there. I stress the fact of the excellent climate and the beautiful surroundings of Lindau.

CONSTANCE. {181} Jews. This town is at the moment the Jewish Center in the French Zone. The Central Jewish Committee [sic] is stationed there as well as the different Jewish Voluntary Agencies and the Jewish Chaplain. At the same time, Constance is the meeting place for all the Jews from the Zone and for those, who have relatives in Switzerland [sic]. Accordingly, there is an important transit center, which I shall mention once more on speaking of the food situation. The Jews of Constance are living in town. They have their meals in a common Jewish restaurant, part of the food is distributed individually.

97 This could be Max Spiegel (1902–1987). His parents owned a well-known clothing store in Lindau. While studying business in Cologne, Max met his Catholic partner, married her and converted to Catholicism. Disguised as a Polish farm laborer, Max Spiegel survived the Holocaust in the Cologne area, while most of his Jewish family was murdered in Theresienstadt, Treblinka, and Auschwitz.

EGG, {75} Jews. Kibbouts Dror.⁹⁸ Jews having recently arrived from the U.S. Zone with permission from the French authorities and summoned by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the Jewish Chaplain.⁹⁹ The camp is situated at a distance of 10 km from Constance near the lake. Originally, they intended to learn fishing there. On account of the neighbourhood of the Swiss frontier,

98 *Dror* (Heb., freedom) is the name of two geographically distinct youth organizations with shared ideological and political philosophies. The Zionist Socialist Federation *Dror* developed out of a group of Jewish youths that came together in Kiev in 1914 under the leadership of Ze'ev Zelikin and Yeshayahu Pisarevsky. The group called themselves *'Et Livnot* (Heb., A Time to Build). The *Dror* Federation was established in late 1917, centered around members of *'Et Livnot*. After the Bolsheviks' seizure of power, *Dror* members left for the West, crossing illegally into Poland. In Poland, *Dror's* members held national and regional posts in the Polish *He-Ḥaluz* organization, which organized immigration of Jewish youth to *He-Ḥaluz*-operated kibbutzim in Palestine and implemented an educational system in line with *Dror's* mission of educating the Jewish youth to lead the Jewish masses. In 1925, *Dror* members joined the kibbutz movement of Yitshak Tabenkin (1888/1889–1971), which in 1927 founded the youth organization *Frayhayt* (Yidd., Freedom), a Socialist Zionist organization with a focus on political and professional activities in the Jewish communities and on the Socialist education of its members, predominantly working-class youths. The organization later shifted its full focus to preparing its members for life in the pioneering kibbutzim in Palestine, becoming the dominant body in *He-Ḥaluz*. In 1934, *Frayhayt* became one of the founding organizations of the World Organization *Dror*, with branches subsequently emerging in Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Hungary in addition to Poland, all of which were composed predominantly of working-class youths. Eli Tzur, Art. *Dror*, in: Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 429 f.

99 The first delegation of 20 Jewish Agency emissaries (Heb.: *shliḥim*), technically operating under the auspices of UNRRA, had arrived in Germany in the middle of December 1945, and secured positions in the DP camps of Landsberg, Föhrenwald, Feldafing, Deggendorf, Leipheim, Pocking, Freimann, and Strüth (Ansbach), where they focused their efforts on organizing cultural and educational work and in preparing *kibbutzim* for *hakhsharah* (agricultural training farms; see Document 26). Keynan, Lo nirga ha-ra'av [And the Hunger was Not Staunched]. Working under the direction of Chaim Hoffman (later Yahil, 1905–1974), an Israeli diplomat and in 1948/1949 the Israeli Consul in Munich, the emissaries focused on the organization of Aliyah in the framework of certificates allocated by the British government as well as training for agricultural and vocational work. Jewish Agency emissaries were also active in providing general education to DPs by offering instruction in UNRRA-established schools. In March 1946, the Jewish Agency mission established a Department of *Hakhsharot* to organize the acquisition of land for the movements and the *kibbutzim*, to obtain equipment for the *hakhsharot*, and to inspect the equipment, health, and sanitation in the settlements.

the French Marine unfortunately thinks it's impossible to grant them the necessary fishing-licence. While waiting for the settling of this question, they are being given lessons of fishing theory. Some of them do agricultural work. These people are living under very bad conditions, in barracks, which are not heated. Personally, we intend to let them stay on there during the winter but the leaders of the Kibbouts as well as the J.A.F.P.¹⁰⁰ representative by no means agree with us.

[3] Accordingly, this Kibbouts needs blankets, warm clothing, raincoats and military boots.

GAILINGEN. {284} Jews, living in three Kibboutzim and one common house. Kibboutzim Dror {102}, Moledeth {36}, Haganah {48}, of whose mysterious leaving for an unknown destination we have recently been informed.

{98 J.} Friedrichsheim, comfortable house, where the Jews live in family groups. Few of them have any definite job.

Dror. Agricultural school. Everybody works. Bad building, hygienic and sanitary conditions not satisfactory; blankets and sheets are lacking. The building is not heated.

Moledeth: {36} All of them are doing agricultural and housekeeping work. Blankets and sheets are lacking. The house is not heated.

Haganah: The house of Haganah is empty at the moment. We think it will be occupied soon again.

{95 Juifs} FRIBOURG: We've asked Mr. Rosenberger,¹⁰¹ acknowledged officially by the French authorities as President of the Chief Counsel of the Jewish Committees in Baden, to coordinate the work for all Jews especially of German origin and living in Fribourg, Baden-Baden, Constance and surroundings, Villingen and Offenburg. All these Jews are living in town. Most of them don't get anything from U.N.R.R.A.

Besides these communities, we are in charge of the Jews, ill in hospitals and sanatories [sic], of students in Fribourg and Tubingen [sic], of isolated persons, whose homes are far from Jewish Centers.

WORKSHOPS. I inform you that every Kibbouts has a workshop for tailoring, dressmaking and shoemaking. We have great difficulties in getting the necessary materials, for these workshops work exclusive for the benefit of the

100 Jewish Agency for Palestine.

101 Nathan Rosenberger (1874–1953) was born in Nonnenweier and served as chairman of the Jewish community in Freiburg until 1942. He survived Theresienstadt with his wife and daughter, and returned to Freiburg in June 1945, becoming a key figure in reestablishing the Jewish community after the Second World War. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*.

Kibbouts. Several months ago already I have been informed about the immediate arrival of a delegate from ORT, but up till now nothing has been done. [4] I don't know if this report conveys to you the difficulties, we have to overcome on distributing justly and transporting the supplies from the JOINT.

Collaboration with the communities.

We have organised our work in the following way: every center is represented by a delegate, who is responsible to us for the distribution of the supplies we give him. Every demand from you for an investigation, every affidavit sent us from you, is in its turn sent by us to the delegate for the community, in which the person in question lives. At the head of all the communities is the Central Committee, whose president collaborates with us concerning the distributions in the whole of the Southern French Zone. Enclosed I send you a report on the last meeting in the Central Committee [sic].

ZONE NORD.

During my conversations with Mr. Katzki¹⁰² and Mr. Biehl, I always maintained that due to material reasons, it was impossible for me to take of the Northern Zone. Mr. Katzki seemed to understand this. However, since the moment, which we had agreed upon my not taking care of the Northern Zone, I've daily received letters concerning that Zone. We summoned to Coblenz the {21 Octobre} representatives from the districts of Speyer, Mayence, Treves, Saarbrucken [sic] and Landau. At this meeting were specially present a delegate from the Military Government, the Jewish military chaplain from the Northern Zone as well as a German lawyer. We agreed to organise the work here as it had been done in the Southern Zone. All these communities, where almost exclusively German Jews are living, were to constitute a central status and being acknowledged by the Occupation Authorities. We have furthermore sent an application to U.N.R.R.A. H.Q.,¹⁰³ asking for U.N.R.R.A. aid to these Jews as soon as they have got there [sic] legal status.

However, I should like you to take a map and see where we get our food (Munich), and then please tell us how to send it on rapidly to Saarbrucken, considering the means of transport you put at our disposal. After having had an interview with Dr. AUERBACH,¹⁰⁴ it would be far more practical, to my

102 Herbert Katzki.

103 Headquarter.

104 Most likely Dr. Philipp Auerbach (1906–1952), a German-Jewish political activist born in Hamburg and survivor of several concentration camps including Auschwitz. After liberation, Auerbach rose to become the most prominent political spokesperson of the reestablished Jewish communities in Germany. He first served as a high official

mind, to provide these Jews with supplies from JOINT in Dusseldorf [sic]. These supplies should be shipped to Coblenz, to be distributed there in [5] the same way as we do it in Constance for the Southern District.

FOOD SUPPLIES. Please find enclosed a food distribution plan from U.N.R.R.A. in the French Zone. The German Jews only have a double German ration-card and don't get anything from U.N.R.R.A. Furthermore, is enclosed the list of monthly supplementary food, provided by JOINT. I stress particularly the great lack of clothes. Coal supplies throughout the Zone is a real tragedy.

Collaboration with U.N.R.R.A.

Our relations with U.N.R.R.A. H.Q. and the teams are excellent. We inform them of our distribution. Every team director is regularly informed by us of the supplies distributed to the Jews living in their camp. Due to the fact, that U.N.R.R.A. in the French Zone is very poor, our relations with U.N.R.R.A. are only diplomatic. Supplies from U.N.R.R.A. to ourselves is materially impossible, not on account of ill will, but because they're poor themselves. Thus, we can find no solution to the gas problem. I get 500 liters a month, which definitely does not meet my needs. Furthermore, I must provide with gas the Dentist Car from JOINT-OSE,¹⁰⁵ Dr. Kurland,¹⁰⁶ who is creating

for the affairs of individuals persecuted under Nazi rule in the British Zone and was subsequently employed as State Commissioner for Persons Subject to Racial, Religious, and Political Persecution in the American Zone, where he established the Bavarian Office for Restitution. In 1949, false allegations of misuse of office, fraud, and illegal use of an academic title were brought against Auerbach. He was tried in August 1952 and found guilty of corruption, attempted blackmail, perjury, and illegal use of academic title, and was sentenced to two and a half years in prison by judges who were former Nazis. The following night, Auerbach committed suicide. Auerbach was posthumously rehabilitated by an investigative committee of the Bavarian State Parliament in 1954. Hans-Hermann Klare, *Auerbach: Eine jüdisch-deutsche Tragödie oder Wie der Antisemitismus den Krieg überlebte*, Berlin 2022.

105 Oeuvre de secours aux enfants (Society for Assistance to Children; OSE) is a French Jewish humanitarian organization founded in the Russian Empire in 1912 with the initial purpose of providing medical assistance to Jewish communities victimized by pogroms. During the Second World War, OSE operated children's homes throughout France to hide Jewish children and save them from internment and deportation.

106 Leon Kurland (1913–1984) was born in Dębica, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). He relocated to France in 1932, where he received his medical degree in 1939 and later joined the Résistance. After the Second World War, he worked with the JDC and UNRRA, and was responsible for the tuberculosis sanatorium project in the French Zone, through which a number of sanatoria in the region were prepared to receive Jewish DPs afflicted with tuberculosis.

the sanatorium of NORDRACH¹⁰⁷ and Miss Lambert¹⁰⁸ for her work in Gailingen. I'm sorry that at Munich nobody has taken the trouble to solve that problem for us. It's most awkward for us, every time we go to Munich to beg for gas in order to be able to return to the French Zone.

[6] {1} EMIGRATION. We must admit that the only persons, who up till now have emigrated from the French Zone, have done so by their own efforts and not with any help from JOINT. Actually, the French Zone has not any of the advantages to be had in the other Zones, as there is no American Consulate here. The emigration to France is very difficult, as France only admits certain categories of emigrants, especially hand-workers. At the same time, we receive instructions from Munich, Frankfort [sic] and Paris, a fact which does not facilitate our work. The questions must be settled at Fribourg and Baden-Baden. Personally, I haven't got the time to go to Fribourg for every case brought to my attention. In order to do the work properly it is necessary first to travel there, finally settle the question by letter. Besides the questions of emigration cannot be settled by letter alone, especially in the French Zone, where the different branches of administration are disarranged. Accordingly, I suggest that a special JOINT officer sees to emigration problems in the French Zone. I should like equally to draw your attention to the illegal emigration. Enclosed I'm sending you one of the numerous letters I have received from Paris on that subject. There're [sic] in Constance and Saarbrucken a certain number of Jews, who not well informed, think, they may go to France or to Switzerland. Imprisoned or sent back, these Jews must be supported by the communities of Constance or Saarbrucken for some time. As these communities are not able to feed their own members properly, they ask the JOINT to send a certain quantity of food destined for these persons in transit. I should be much obliged to you for writing me by return of post, what you intend to do for these persons.

{2} MEDICAL- AND SOCIAL WORK. As you know, we have at the moment an important sanitary mission JOINT-OSE, consisting of Dr. Kurland, Miss Lambert and the members of the dentist car (Dr. Schlesinger, M. Szenkier and the driver).¹⁰⁹

107 The Jewish sanatorium in Nordrach was founded by the Baroness Adelheid de Rothschild (1853–1935); it was taken over by the Nazis in 1942 and closed in April 1945.

108 Ruth Lambert (1914–1996) was a nurse from France and worked in the medical team of Leon Kurland.

109 For a short time, a mobile dentist service did exist in 1946; it consisted of Dr. James Schlesinger (head), the dental technician Ayzur Szenkier, and the driver Albert Pattaroni.

Dr. Kurland is now in charge of the sanatorium of Nordrach, Miss Lambert, in collaboration with the U.N.R.R.A. team, reorganises the camp of Gailingen, where we meet much difficulties on account of the hostile attitude of the last team.

[7] I agree with Miss Lambert, that after the reorganisation of Gailingen (in about 3 weeks' time) Miss Lambert's presence in Gailingen is not required any longer and she might be put in charge of more important work.

As a matter of fact, Miss Lambert in Gailingen has worked as deputy for the director, welfare, secretary and so on. Up till now the dentist car has treated the camp of Biberach-Jordanbach and is now in Gailingen. This week it's coming to the camp of Egg. Besides the publicity of this car in the French Zone, it must be mentioned that Dr. Schlesinger is an excellent dentist, who has won the sympathy of all his patients. But I must say, that the driver's behaviour is not satisfactory and that another driver should be sent.

Even though my personal collaboration with the JOINT-OSE team is excellent, I should like you to tell me as quickly as possible, how the position of the OSE is, in connection with JOINT. At any rate I've been obliged to send instructions to U.N.R.R.A. Haslach, in order to tell them that everything concerning deployment leave of travel orders for the personnel from JOINT, as well as from OSE, had to be signed by me.

THE NORDRACH SANATORIUM. The work to be done in connection with the opening of the sanatorium at Nordrach is considerably hindered by the fact that Dr. Kurland is still without a car and that might he get a car, he's not got enough fuel. Actually, it's necessary to visit every fournight [sic] the military authorities in Rastatt, Baden-Baden, Fribourg etc. personally. Up till now I must put my car at Dr. Kurland's disposal. This fact doesn't solve the problem, for as long as Dr. Kurland uses my car, I can't do anything. As soon as I get the reports from Dr. Kurland on the progress of his work, I'll send them on to you.

CONCLUSION. I think that as long as nobody from the U.S. Zone has spent a fortnight in the French Zone, you'll think that our difficulties are sheer nonsense. You must have travelled from Constance to Coblenz in order to know that you've got to go by Karlsruhe. You must realize that the JOINT team is reduced to an absolute minimum, that Saarbrücken is not in the neighbourhood of Constance, that every Jew is a Jewish problem and much more work is required for 1500 Jews living separately than for [8] 3,000 Jews in a camp.

Together with Mr. Lang,¹¹⁰ we think it impossible to continue our work under the present circumstances. The way, in which we're received at Munich,

110 Max Lang was Henri Laufer's secretary at the JDC office in Constance.

the way in which we must beg for the most necessary things in order to do a decent job has worn us out. After having tried for 5 months in vain to make the French Zone a Zone, not a stepchild, we don't intend to become JOINT functionaries and prefer to let others have the trouble of getting on.

H. Laufer,
Senior Representative A.J.D.C.

Document 28

*Rita Yelgin*¹¹¹ to Noah Becker

Hessisch Lichtenau, January 25, 1948

Handwritten letter, 1 page; corrections

Language: Yiddish and German; translated by Lena Watson

*American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, MS-286, 2/1, Grodno Relief Society of Boston (Boston, Mass.)*¹¹²

Hess. Lichtenau, den 25/I-1948

טייערער און חשובער פריינט הי' נח בעקער!

אייער בריוו פון 2טן יאנואר האב איך ערהאלטן צוזאמען מיט דער טייערער מתנה פון די \$ 2 פארוואס מיר זיינען אייך אלע זייער דאנקבאר. איך גלויב ענדע פעברואר צו באקומען אייער פאקעט קליידונג און שפייז. מיר דאנקען אייך אלע פון טיפן הארצן און איבערהויפט מיין טאכטערקע.

111 Rita Yelgin (née Gurwitz; 1921–2010) was born in Slonim, Lithuania, but raised in Grodno, Poland. After the German invasion, anti-Jewish legislation was implemented in Grodno in 1941. Her family was confined to Grodno's ghetto B, where Yelgin was subjected to forced labor. During the liquidation of the ghetto, she managed to escape and joined a group of Jewish partisans, where she met her future husband, Henry Yelgin (1915–1978). They were liberated by the Soviet Army in 1944 and subsequently made their way to Germany, where they ended up in the Lampertheim DP Camp in 1945. They remained in Lampertheim until 1949, when they immigrated to the United States.

112 The Grodno Relief Society of Boston, Mass., was one of many *landsmanshaftn*, or mutual aid societies of Jewish immigrants from the same European town or region. This specific *landsmanshaft* appears to have been formed in 1939 specifically to assist refugees and, later, Holocaust survivors from Grodno, which was then a part of Poland (today Belarus).

וועלכע ברויכט מער פון אונז, ווייל מיר האבן זיך שוין אין דער פינסטערער צייט אויסגעלערנט בעהערשן דעם הונגער, זי ליידער וויל פון גארניט ניט וויסן. אויב ה' בעקער איר וועט מיר קענען שיקן א C.A.R.E. פאקעט וועט איר אונז מיט דעם טאן די גרעסטע טובה, ווייל די פאקעטן זיינען דאָ פון גרעסטן ווערט. עס פרייט אונז זייער וואס עס פער אייניקן זיך די גראדנער פער איינען ענדליך, וועט שוין טאקע די הילף קומען אביסל אפטער, ווייל ס'איז אזוי שווער אויסצוקומען מיט דעם וואס מען באקומט דא. אַמֶָרגסטן איז דא מיט דער ראַציאָן פון פעטס און צוקער. וועגן אונז רעדט זיך דא אינגאנצן ניט, אבער מיר האבן דאך א קליינע קינד וועלכע בעדארף אזוינע זאכן האבן. ניט מיינט ה' בעקער אז מיר זיינען דאס פלוצלינג געווארן אזוינע פרעסערס אויב איך בעט אביסל פעטס; נאר מיר באקומען א קליין שטיקעלע פלייש אויף שבת, עסט {מען} צוויי טעג ניט קיין פאָסטנע, איז אויך מוז איך פארן קינד זען פון דעם אפנעמען, איז אמאל האבן מיר גארניט, ווייל זי איז שוין א מיידעלע פון 4 יאר און האלט אין וואקסן און פון די פאָסטנע עסניס איז זי אלע וויילע הונגעריק און איר מוז איך דאך געבן. און מיר עסן ברוך־השם אגאנצע וואך פאסטנע, איז זאל גאט ניט שטראפן – עס קריכט שוין פשוט ניט אין האלז. און מיר הייסן דאך שוין יעצט פרייע מענשן און אונזער לאגע איז נאך ווייט ניט קיין סך בעסער ווי זי איז געווען ביים דייטשן אָקופאַנט, האטש מיר האבן שוין היינט אַקאַנטאקט (!) מיט דער וועלט און דעמאלט זיינען מיר געזעסן פער אורטיילטע צום טויט פערשטעקט אין וואלד. דעם פאקעט שפייז מיט קליידונג האב איך נאך ניט דערהאלטן, ווי איך וועל אים בעקומען וועל איך אייך גלייך ענטפערן; ער איז ווארשיינליך ארויס ענדע דעצעמבער וועל איך אים מן־הסתם בעקומען די ערשטע טעג פעברואר. איך וועל אייך בעטן ה' בעקער אקליינע (!) טובה: אויב איר וועט האבן ביי זיך אפאר (!) זומערדיקע לייכטע טופל נומער 36, האט מיר ביטע אין זינען, ווייל זינט איך בין ארויס פון וואלד לייך איך זומער זייער אויף די פיס. מיר דאנקען אייך זייער אלע איך און מיין מאן און טאכטערקע פאר די הילף וואס איר האט אונז ארויסגעשיקט און איבערהויפט פאר אייער טרייען וועגן אונז.

מיין מאן און טאכטערקע לאזן אייך הערצליך גריסן.
טניירפ רעיידא וּפּ שנוואו וּטיוּל טנוועג טייז

ריטא יעלגין.

Translation

Hess. Lichtenau, den 25/I-1948

Dear and esteemed friend Mr. Noah Becker,

I received your letter of January 2 along with the dear present of \$ 2, which we all are very grateful to you for. I believe I will have received your parcel of clothing and food by the end of February. We all thank you from the bottom of our hearts, in particular my dear daughter, who has greater needs than we do as we learnt in the harshest times to control the hunger while she unfortunately just doesn't want to know. Mr. Becker, if you were able to send

me a C.A.R.E. package¹¹³ you would do us thereby the greatest favor as these packages are here of the highest value. We're delighted that the Grodno unions are finally joining together, hopefully the aid will arrive a little more often as it's so very difficult to make ends meet with what we receive here. The worst here is the ration of fat and sugar. We are not talking about ourselves at all, but we do have a small child, who needs to have such things.

Do not think, Mr. Becker, that we have all of a sudden become such gluttons if I'm asking for some fat: we get a small piece of meat for Sabbath and for two days we don't eat just vegetarian, but I must also set aside a portion out of it for my daughter. Sometimes we ourselves get nothing for she is already a child of 4, is growing fast and is constantly hungry on the vegetarian food, so I have to give it to her. We eat, thank G-d, vegetarian food all week and – may G-d not punish for the words – it simply doesn't go down anymore. Yet we're now called free people, but our situation is by no means much better than what it was under the German occupation, despite the fact that now we have contact with the outside world and back then we were in hiding in the woods, doomed to die. The package with clothing and food hasn't arrived yet; as soon as I receive it I'll reply to you straightaway. It was probably posted at the end of December, so I should get it in the first days of February. I have a small favor to ask of you, Mr. Becker: if you happen to have a pair of light summer boots, size 36, please keep me in mind because since I left the woods I've been having severe pains in my feet in the summer.

We all, myself, my husband and daughter, thank you very much for the aid you sent us and above all for all your efforts for our sake.

My husband and daughter warmly greet you.
Keep well as wishes you your friend,

Rita Yelgin

113 CARE packages were the original aid packages distributed by the humanitarian organization CARE (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere). Initially, CARE was known as the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, formed in 1945 with the mission to create a program to send food relief to Europe for those at risk of starvation in the aftermath of the Second World War. CARE leaders worked with the U.S. Army to acquire 2.8 million Army surplus food rations that had been reserved for an invasion of Japan that never took place. These MRE (meals ready to eat) parcels became the first CARE packages distributed by the organization in 1946.

Document 29

Regina Kissman,¹¹⁴ Mrs. Kissman's Report on her Visit to WIZO Groups in D.P. Camps in Austria and Southern Germany (Munich), at the LWE Meeting on July 12th, 1948

Munich, July 12, 1948

Typewritten report, 3 pages; extract (reproduced here: 2f.)¹¹⁵

Language: English

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, F49 (Women's International Zionist Organization), 435

MUNICH

The WIZO¹¹⁶ Organisation in Munich is strong and efficient.¹¹⁷ It comprises 42 groups with over 5,000 members who are doing a magnificent job. It is difficult to describe in detail the various jobs they are doing, jobs that only women can do, visiting lonely people in hospital, providing them with the right foods, exchanging the parcels from the JOINT, which are not always suitable etc. etc. The difficulties under which they are working are unimaginable.

114 Regina Kissman (née Drimmer, 1898–1971) was the Director for Propaganda of the Federation of Zionist Women in London; she established numerous branches of WIZO in postwar Germany, the first in Hamburg in 1947.

115 The report also includes an introduction summarizing what Kissman encountered during her visits to DP camps across Austria and a section detailing the situation of WIZO in Austria.

116 The Women's International Zionist Organization began as a "Ladies Committee" created within the British Zionist Federation in 1918 by a group of women led by Rebecca Sieff (1890–1966), Vera Weizmann (1881–1966), and Romana Goodman (1885–1955), who were the wives of prominent Zionists Israel Sieff (1889–1972), Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952), and Paul Goodman (1875–1949). The group believed that women should have an equal role in the struggle to return to the Jewish homeland. The organization developed over time, eventually becoming known as the Federation of Zionist Women, and later British WIZO. It is known today as WIZOUK. Ruth Kark/Martgalit Shilo/Galit Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel: Life History, Politics, and Culture*, Waltham, Mass., 2008.

117 Women were among the earliest organizers of Zionist groups in the DP camps, establishing a chapter of WIZO in the camp at Bergen-Belsen in May 1946. In the summer of 1946, WIZO chapters were also organized in the American Zone. By the time of the 22nd Zionist Congress in Basel in December 1946, WIZO chapters had emerged in at least 18 DP camps.

As to the WIZO Office: this is one room with four women doing the work, two as typists, the other two doing the practical work. The WIZO organisation is appreciated by everybody, especially the KKL.¹¹⁸

When I arrived, the establishment of a new currency had proved to be catastrophic for the camps. Owing to it, the D.P. had no more any possibility of earning. WIZO had no money to pay the typists in the office, so that we have got to help them over the next few months.

The three Shlichoth¹¹⁹ sent from Palestine, Miss Jungermann, Miss Heyman and Miss Lichtenstein have failed to establish any contact with our women. They have done a very good job in their own sphere, especially Miss Heyman, but they have shown no interest in the organisation of our WIZO groups, and this is deeply resented, the more so as the Shlichoth sent out by the Moazath Hapoaloth [sic],¹²⁰ i. e., Mesdames Slutzky and Bassewitz,¹²¹ came exclusively for organisational purposes, viz. creating left wing women's groups. In this, they have not succeeded. I personally think that the existence

118 Established at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1901, Keren Kayemeth Le-Yisra'el (Jewish National Fund) was created with the primary purpose of acquiring and developing land in Mandatory Palestine, and later Israel. Over time, it evolved into the operational branch of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), playing a pivotal role in supporting and advancing the objectives of the broader Zionist movement.

119 *Shlihim* (Heb., emissaries; sg. *shaliḥ*). Since the founding of the organization in 1929, the Jewish Agency has deployed an extensively trained group of *shlihim* throughout the communities of the Jewish diaspora to serve as role models for Jewish youths in schools, synagogues, youth movements, and other institutions with the goal of teaching about the Land of Israel, Jewish heritage, and issues of national and religious identity. The Jewish Agency continues to deploy *shlihim* across the globe to this day. Keynan, Lo nirga ha-ra'av [And the Hunger was Not Staunched].

120 *Mo'ezet ha-Po'alot* (Council of Women Workers) was the first feminist movement in Palestine. It was founded in 1921 with the goal of making women equal partners in the life of the labor movement, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and the future of the Jewish people. *Mo'ezet ha-Po'alot* operated farms in Palestine, which provided agricultural training opportunities for Jewish women; in 1928, the organization asked WIZO to assist with the upkeep of several of these farms due to ongoing financial problems. The farms were fully integrated into WIZO's program in 1932 with administrative responsibilities shared by WIZO and *Mo'ezet ha-Po'alot*, along with the Jewish Agency, which assisted in the maintenance of the farms. Today the organization is called *Na'amat* (acronym for Working and Volunteering Women) and is the largest women's movement in Israel.

121 Most likely Lilia Bassewitz (1900–1990) participated in the women's labor movement. She came from kibbutz *Ein Harod* and was a member of the editorial board of *Davar ha-Po'alot* (The Word of the Women Workers), the journal of *Mo'ezet ha-Po'alot*.

of another women's group might have had some wholesome effect, since competition arouses the energies. The fact, however, remains that there exists no other organisation except WIZO. The Moazath Hapaloath Shlichoth approached Mrs. Kelrich [sic]¹²² (Munich) and proposed to establish a united Women's Council. Mrs. Kelrich replied that there was not any partner with whom to form such a council. How could she give up the name of WIZO without even so much as seeing another partner? And as there did not exist any other organisation, WIZO remained the only one in the field. We can indeed be proud of this fact. At the moment, however, our women feel rather bitter about the situation: no Shlichoth have ever been sent out to them, nor did they receive any financial assistance; and those Shlichoth who were sent out from Palestine did not assist them in any way. I must add that any delegates sent out from parties always come equipped with dollars. It is only WIZO who did not receive any help from any quarters; and they are struggling to keep the organisation going.

[3] Mesdames Levkovitch and Kelrich have worked for two years in a voluntary capacity. When ORT wanted to engage them as teachers to be paid in dollars for their work they declined this proposal. But now they find it impossible to carry on without any financial assistance. Of course, if you regard them as just another European organization – then we have no budget for them. But if you consider them as future citizens of Israel – which is what they are – we should regard this work as part of our work in Israel and should provide them with a budget for one year to tide them over the worst.

It is true that the JOINT does a fine job and has saved hundreds of thousands of lives with their parcels, but there are tasks that only our women can carry out.¹²³ And now that most of the Shlichim are returning to Palestine the moment has come for WIZO to take over additional tasks and additional burdens. I had a special meeting with the Head Nurse of the JOINT and our women in order to work out a plan for mutual co-operation.

122 Most likely Malke Kelerikh (1897–?; see Document 69).

123 Avinoam J. Patt/Kierra Mikaila Crago-Schneider, *Years of Survival: JDC in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957*, in: Patt et. al. (eds.), *The JDC at 100*, 361–420.

Document 30

Luba Kagan-Landsman,¹²⁴ *International Refugee Organization (IRO)*¹²⁵ *Eligibility Application*¹²⁶

Augsburg, September 23 and 24, 1948, and March 24, 1949

*Printed forms with handwritten responses; 11 pages; extract (reproduced here: 4 pages)*¹²⁷

Language: English

International Tracing Service Archives (ITS), Arolsen, 3.2.1.1/K00461-00530/K00523/0003-0006

124 Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Luba Kagan-Landsman (née Katz, 1907–?) was married before the war, had children, and reported her occupation as “businesswoman.” She was incarcerated in the Kovno ghetto from 1941 to 1944 before being deported to Stutthof concentration camp where she survived until liberation in 1945. After recuperation at a hospital in Kiel, she entered the American Zone of occupation in March 1946 and spent time at St. Ottilien before moving to Augsburg. She married Hirsh Landsman in March 1948.

125 The IRO was founded in December 1946 and intended to supersede the UNRRA. It formally began its work in September 1948 and continued UNRRA’s mandate of the direct care and maintenance of the DPs.


126 Included here are extracts from the file of Luba Kagan-Landsman in her application for support from the IRO. To apply for support from IRO, DPs had to complete the “Application for Assistance” (CM/1) form and sit for an interview with the IRO’s Department of Protection, Mandate and Reparation. After the dissolution of the IRO in 1952, the still-existing CM/1 files from Germany were turned over to the International Tracing Service in Arolsen. As with any bureaucratic questionnaire, the document only hints at what the applicant endured during and after the war and yet it provides an insight into Kagan-Landsman’s story. In response to the question of “Do you want to return to your country of former residence?” the interviewer notes that she does not want to return to Lithuania and “mentions that she lost her children and property and fears further persecution. Being Jewish she wants to go to Palestine.”

127 The file includes two additional pages of Kagan-Landsman’s Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization’s Application for Assistance indicating her educational background, language fluency, and other biographical information. It also comprises a five-page IRO Application with Addendum, containing various details of her life before, during, and after the war, as well as her plans for the future.

GMI NO 827971

St. No. 649 APPENDIX I TO ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER No. 83

PREPARATORY COMMISSION
for the
INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION



CONTROL
CENTER
CERTIFICATE OF IRO ELIGIBILITY
(NOT CAMP CARE)

AREA 3

Area Headquarters No. . . . 5 . . .

Address . Hornstetten str. 14.
 Augsburg

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

The individual hereby identified has been determined as falling with the category of persons with whom the Preparatory Commission of International Refugee Organization is concerned:

Kagan-Landsman Liba Date of birth 2.7.07
Name (Familie) Vorname Geburtsdatum

Height Weight Hair Eyes
Cm Kgs Hear Jugend
Größe Gewicht

154 60 blond grey grey green

Nationality Lithuanian-Jew Sex female Identifying Marks
 Besondere Merkmale
 None

No. of German Kennkarte B-V- 11128
No. der Deutschen Kennkarte

Liba Kagan
Holder's Signature / Inhabers Unterschrift

Signature F. Presoni
Demite Control Center Officer

ELIGIBILITY DETERMINED AT (Place) . . . Augsburg, Control Center
ON (Date) . . . 23.5.48

ACCOMPANYING MEMBERS OF FAMILY
BEGLEITENDE FAMILIENANGEHÖRIGE

. . . husband: Landsman. Hirsch. is listed in DP camp Bad Wörishofen

Documents received 24.9.48 Kagan

Doc. no. 79247823#1 (Courtesy of ITS Archives)

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION
AREA 5 **AUGSBURG**
 APO 178 Care & Maintenance Division Hausletter Straße 12 Telephone 7812
 Augsburg

TO: 7771 Document Center, APO 742-A
 U.S. Army, Berlin, Germany. Date 24.3.49

Request NSDAP Records be checked for

1) NAME: KAGAN-Landsman, Luba
 Place of Birth: Keunee/Lithuania 040464
 Date of Birth: 2.7.1907
 Occupation: businesswoman

Present address (13b) Augsburg, Reisingerstr.31
 Country of residence before coming to Germany: Lithuania

Other information: Keunee/Lithuania
1936-1941 lived at Keunee/Lithuania
1941-1944 at ghetto of Keunee
1944-1945 at KZ.Stutthof/Germany.

CM/1 Number 827971

Central Center Officer J.
 Area Welfare Officer

ITEM:	Neg	Pos.	Checked by:
a) NSDAP Master File			
b) Partei Kanzlei Correspondence	X		
c) RuSHA and other SS Records	✓		
d) SS Officers			
e) SA			
f) OFG			
g) NS-Lehrerbund			
h) Rückwandererzentrale			
i) EWZ			
j) _____			

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 NEGATIVE

3) Remarks:
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Date Request Received 2 APR 1949 Date Answer Transmitted _____

I. 49 30000 13651 N 1107

Doc. no. 79247825#1 (Courtesy of ITS Archives)

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ELIG. CERTIF.
ISSUED ON 29-9-48

CHECKED:	
DAILY REP. STAT. C.	PENDING
	FINAL DEC. 5/9
DAILY REP. STAT. C.	PENDING
	FINAL DEC.
REG. STAT. BOOK	

INTERVIEW RECORD FACE SHEET

Control Center: Augsburg Date: 23/9/48 Case Nr. 5117

Name: KAGAN - LANDSMANN Maiden Name: KATZ

Christian Name: LUBA Other Names: _____

Nationality: Jewish (Lithuanian) Occupation: Housewife

Date of Birth: 2/7/1907 Germ. Kennk.Nr.: BY 11188 / Augsburg

Address: Augsburg, Riesenper. Str. 31

Sex: F Height: 154 cm Weight: 60 kg Hair: blond-grey

Eyes: grey-green Identifying Marks: _____

Entry into US Zone: March 1946

Subject of Interview: Emigration

Disposition: SP-I-B Eligible for FR

TO 7771 D.C.
ON 24.3.49.

FR 7771 D.C.
ON 7.4.49.

Accompanying Members of Family: husband: LANDSMANN, Hirsch born 10-10-1904 (20 Camp Bad Wörzshofen)

The applicants story: Lived in Lithuania, came into ghetto 1941-1944. Deported by the Nazis to Concentration camp STUTTGART 1944-1945
1945-46 at Kiel hospital
Married 11/3/48
Hirsch Landsmann, Bad Wörzshofen, Lager 7RO, Lindenallee 9. (Jewish)

Doc. no. 79247825#2 (Courtesy of ITS Archives)

Mentioned Landsmann has registered
for Palestine for his person at Wörthofen
respective. Jones his paper for
Registration.

Remarks: According to documents
presented I consider mentioned
Kagan-Landsmann to be
a D.P. and concerned
with IRO Constitution

Steiner
(STEINER)

Documents:

- 1) 1. Kennkarte: B.V. 11188 / Augsburg 17/2/1947
- 2) Kennkarte Registration 17/2/1947
- 3) Heiratsurkunde Bad Wörthofen 5/8/48
- 4) 2 Fotos.

Chief Interviewer check:
eligible for IRO-assistance according to IRO Consti-
tution Part. I-13.

24-9-1948.

Hand:

5. DP Life – Different Voices

Document 31

Miriam Warburg, Report

Föhrenwald, September 19 – October 6, 1945

Typewritten report, 10 pages, 5 sheets; handwritten archival signature on pages 1–9 (not reproduced here), typewritten underlinings, single letters are shifted and faded

Language: English

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S75 (Youth Aliyah Department of the WZO), 4780

[Warburg highlights the physical and mental health challenges faced by survivors, along with the myriad political and social welfare organizations (UNRRA, the JDC, the Jewish Agency and Zionist movements, ORT, Hasidic groups, and others) which appeared in the DP camps by fall 1945, all working with sometimes conflicting visions of the Jewish DPs' future. Despite relatively better living conditions compared to other camps, Föhrenwald remains heavily guarded, restricting the movement of its inhabitants, which fosters resentment. Warburg emphasizes the strong desire among the DPs to emigrate to Palestine, a sentiment echoed by nearly all she encounters. She highlights the severe physical and mental health challenges, including high rates of tuberculosis, malnutrition-related deficiencies, and psychological trauma from wartime experiences. The report outlines her efforts to organize vocational training and educational activities, hindered by limited resources and the need for proper materials and facilities. She describes the maze of political and bureaucratic hurdles. Warburg also expresses frustration over the lack of cooperation and lingering mistrust among the DPs toward authorities and aid workers. The report concludes with her plans to implement further agricultural and vocational training projects to improve the self-sufficiency and morale of the residents.]

Foehrenwald, September 19, 1945.

{XVIII/1}¹

Report by Mrs. M. Warburg²

To-day we arrived in Foehrenwald. Previously we have been in various camps in order to obtain a survey of the resources which might be at our disposal in future. The reason why we were asked to come to this particular camp was that it should be turned into the camp for Bavaria where all Jewish children

1 Presumably an archival abbreviation.

2 See also Document 14.

from all the camps are to be concentrated. Living conditions in this camp are much better than in all other camps. This little village was built during the war to accommodate war workers from an enormous underground factory which is situated quite near to the camp and hidden in a most ingenious way.

Upon arrival at the gate, we were immediately stopped by the guards who checked our travelling papers. Each camp for “displaced persons” (Jewish and non-Jewish alike) is strictly guarded by American soldiers, and the inmates can only pass through the gates if they are in possession of special permission. The Jews naturally resent this procedure very much. They are still prisoners, are not allowed to move about freely, and are punished for trespassing.

To-day an accident occurred which made my blood boil. Two children wanted to leave the camp, but only one of them had a pass. So, the one got out and pushed his papers back to his friend through a hole in the fence, so that he could come out too. This was discovered by a German who happened to be there, and he gave the children away to the guards and they were goaled [gaoled] for two days for this “crime.” The children complained bitterly about this accident, not so much because of the imprisonment but because they had [sic] betrayed by a German.

When our car was stopped at the gate six children’s heads peered into it. Jewish children between the ages of 13 and 15. And, according to Jewish tradition, they started to question me:

“You are a Jid?”

“Yes.”

“From ‘Joint’?”

“Yes.”

“You are the first to come to us.”

And then – the car already continued on its way – the next question:

“And when are we going to Palestine?”

How often I have heard this question in these few days in which I am here. There was the very old-looking woman in camp Landsberg who had a tiny little child in here arms – something which you rarely see here. The children who survived are between 14 and 17 years of age – the young children have been taken from us by Hitler.³

3 “A statistical survey of the 4,976 Jewish residents of Landsberg taken on October 1, 1945, estimated that 65 percent of the population were males over the age of fourteen, 30 percent were females over the age of fourteen, and only 5 percent were children between six and fourteen. Of the nearly 5,000 residents, only 20 were children under the age of six. Young adults composed the vast majority of the population of Jewish DPs, with surveys pointing to individuals between the ages of eighteen to forty-four constituting 85.8 percent of DPs in November 1945 and 80.1 percent in

[2] I asked the woman: “Where has the child been born?” She replied: “In a wood where we were with the partisans” and then she asked the child with a singing voice: “Wohin wollen wir fahren, Rachele?” and the child answered with its childish voice which I found [sic] it difficult to understand: “Gen Palaestina.”

In one of the camps, I asked some people: “How many of you want to go to Palestine?” and the prompt answer was: “95 %.” But the others corrected the speaker: “No, 99 %.”

In the course of the first day, we were asked to prepare a census of the whole population. The whole population comprises Hungarians, Slovakians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Yugoslavs, Poles, “Volksdeutsche,”⁴ Germans and Jews. I worked mainly in the Jewish quarter⁵ and what I learned on this one day of human problems, human suffering and human mentality suffices to fill pages and pages of books. And each page, each sentence of the page is an accusation against Hitler – and against the whole of mankind. All people, or at least 80 % of them, have an urge to tell their story; what they have gone through, whom they have lost, what has happened to each single member of the family. They show the camp number which has been burnt into their flesh. Many of them – and this is a very interesting fact – wear the name of the concentration camp to which they have been, as well as their number on a badge fixed to their coats or frocks.

“When were you born?” I asked one man during the census. “In 1904” was the reply. (He looked like 65). “Which date?” I asked. “I have forgotten!” Many have changed their names and dates so often that they do not remember the real date anymore. As far as their outward appearance goes, they all look astonishingly healthy. The only thing that struck me from the very beginning was that the young girls are so extremely fat. The doctors explained that most

February 1946.” A survey of Jewish DPs in Bavaria taken in February 1946, when the first groups arrived from Poland but before the sizable influx later that year, reported there were a total of 2,502 children under the age of sixteen (born after 1930) counted in Bavaria, approximately 8.2 percent of the total surveyed population of 30,269, as compared to 83.1 percent aged 15–40 (61.3 percent were aged 19–35; 40 percent 15–24). “It was thus clear that youth represented a special category in the population of Jewish survivors.” Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 21 f.; YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 9, folder 57, frame 581.

4 Germ., ethnic Germans.

5 Initially, Föhrenwald was an international DP camp; its conversion into a center solely for Jews was not completed until October 1945, several months after Warburg wrote this report. From the outset, however, Jewish DPs were vocal about their refusal to live alongside collaborators who passed as persecuted victims of the Nazi regime in order to secure DP status and avoid prosecution for their crimes. This could explain the reference to a de facto Jewish quarter in the camp prior to its conversion.

of the women suffered from deficiencies of the glands and that they are being treated accordingly.

In the hospitals there are terrible cases of burns afflicted through X-rays when the Germans tried to castrate the men.⁶ These burns will not heal, and the proper medicaments are missing too. I already ordered some in London.

The doctors think with great anxiety of the oncoming winter when they expect flu and other diseases to take a heavy toll of the people, chiefly because the people lack those things which are important if they are to resist the diseases. They have discovered that the blood of many of them shows a surprising lack of lencocythin⁷ (white globules) which defend the body against diseases. So far, they have found nothing to increase them, because they do not know the reason for this lack in these special cases. They have further discovered that many of the inmates lack muriatic acid in their stomachs, and here, too, they seem rather helpless.⁸ The doctors told me that they did not meet these symptoms during the last war when undernourishment was so widespread in Europe. About 20 % of all the inmates are suspected to have tuberculosis.⁹

[3] This is the physical side, but the mental one is a thousand times worse. I would say that at least 90 % of them are neurotics. How they speak, how they roll their eyes, how they wallow in their sufferings, how they again and again repeat their stories.¹⁰

6 Nazi doctors carried out medical experiments designed to use X-ray radiation for mass sterilization. Dr. Horst Schumann (1906–1983) conducted such experiments in the barracks at Birkenau, for example. The sterilization experiments consisted of exposing the women’s ovaries and the men’s testes to X-rays, which produced severe burns on the belly, groin, and buttocks areas of the subjects, and induced sores that were resistant to healing. Geoffrey J. Giles, “The Most Unkindest Cut of All”: Castration, Homosexuality and Nazi Justice, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (1992), no. 1, 41–61.

7 A low white blood cell count results in the body’s inability to fight off disease.

8 A type of hydrochloric acid which is a component of the gastric acid in the digestive systems of most animal species, including humans.

9 Tuberculosis was rampant throughout the DP camps, and often prevented DPs who contracted it from meeting the strict requirements of most immigration opportunities, ultimately contributing to a “hard-core” DP population which continued to live in the camps, and later specifically in Föhrenwald, through the late 1950s. DPs in Föhrenwald who were diagnosed with TB were often sent to the nearby Gauting Sanatorium, however, there were numerous sanatoria throughout the Western zones of occupation serving this purpose.

10 For more on the mental health of DPs, see Documents 7 and 8.

Only one quarter of all inmates of the camps work.¹¹ Three quarter about idle. Most of them do not want to work. Some, say: "Let the Germans work now. We have worked sufficiently." Some say: "Why should I work. It will not bring back what I have lost." I have heard a sentence repeated by Jews in France, and by Jews here, expressed differently in accordance with their education and their ability to express themselves, but I heard it over and over again: "I have died long ago. What does it matter what I do!"

September 20, 1945.

To-day I started the educational work of the group of about 60 children who are already here. They complained about the food. They do not get enough bread. Food, but especially bread, is a complex with most of them. Bread and bread and bread is what worries them, what tortures their mind. To give them sufficient bread is the first thing one has to do. (When we succeeded on the second day to double their bread and butter ration, we had won them over entirely).¹²

The children have not worked since they came here, and they are very eager to learn something. The whole time they run away to other camps, visiting friends, remaining in the other camps, others coming to ours, and it is impossible to find out who is really living here.

How these people manage to move about at all in this heavily guarded country is simply beyond my imagination. A young man (he appeared to be about 30) with his arm slung round a woman (who looked about 40 or 45) told me with a beaming face: "I fetched her from Poland. I heard here in the camp that she was there, and I went to bring her down." They go backward and forward to Poland, to Czechoslovakia from camp to camp wherever they believe they may find somebody of their family, and we here are not even able

11 Jewish DP political leaders were concerned about the high rate of unemployment among DPs. They feared it would lead to demoralization and black-market activity. Vocational and agricultural training were promoted as productive outlets, particularly for DP youth.

12 In the initial period following liberation, the U.S. Army fitfully developed a plan to provide rations to DPs, but early reports of Jewish DPs being denied access to rations made it clear a more organized program needed to be developed. Following the Harrison Report (Document 15) and the arrival of the JDC in the camps, along with the creation of separate Jewish DP camps, a more organized system of distribution began to take effect. UNRRA and the JDC took over responsibility for distribution of rations, which was coordinated through the Jewish DP camp committees. Grossmann, Grams, Calories, and Food.

to go from one camp to the other without travelling papers, “Ausweise,” and without being checked time and again.¹³

Immediately when I spoke to the boys and girls (most of them are boys) I found that the thing to do is to increase the bread ration and to start with lessons. The same afternoon, I started with the lessons. How I started without teachers, without books, without schoolrooms and without sufficient chairs to sit on? Three of us gave lessons: Hebrew, English and arithmetic. When we distributed the copybooks the children took it for granted that one book had to be shared by two of them, and they were overjoyed to learn that each of them could have one.¹⁴ When I then [4] distributed the pencils one boy turned round and said: “You know, it is the first time in six years that I hold a pencil in my hand.”

I have given many lessons in my life, none so strenuous and none so satisfying as those I gave to-day. The children were starving for knowledge. They were in despair when the lesson was over and they wanted to know more and more. And yet, learning was a great strain for them. “Our brains are no longer used to thinking” one of them said. Many cannot read or write, many do not know how to add 5 and 6, and it will be a tremendous task to do justice to each single child. We decided to apply the Youth Aliyah curriculum: half-a-day physical work, and half-a-day school lessons. How we shall stick to this next week when the 800 children whom we expect to arrive is beyond me.

13 It was common for DPs to travel without paperwork, illegally leaving the camp and crossing borders in order to find surviving family members, upon hearing any rumors or information that a loved one possibly remained alive. Some traveled on foot under the cover of darkness, others found ways to illegally board trains repatriating non-Jewish DPs to their homelands in East-Central and Eastern Europe, and many more traveled with the help of the *Brihah* movement.

14 Most children in the DP camps under the age of 17 had missed out on over five years of formal and informal education, carrying with them the trauma of persecution, murder, and unspeakable loss. Attempts to establish educational frameworks struggled with a lack of classrooms, textbooks, pencils and workbooks as well as an extreme shortage of qualified teachers. Even so, over the course of 1946, educational frameworks among the surviving remnant developed at an impressive pace, supported by the cultural office of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews, but largely funded by the JDC. Emissaries working for the Jewish Agency often served as teachers. ORT provided vocational training and the kibbutz groups of the Zionist youth movements offered education in Jewish history, Zionist history, Hebrew language and more to make up for the lost years of the war. Patt, “The Future of the Jewish People.”

September 21st, 1945.

To-day some chaverim¹⁵ from the Merkas¹⁶ in Munich came down to form the Zionist organisation.¹⁷ Almost all Jews from the camp assembled in the big hall. I spoke too. I spoke especially to the children. I told them about Youth Aliyah work. I told them what they, the children, meant to all the Jews in all free countries. That each of them stood for hundreds and thousands whom we had lost, and that therefore each of them was something very precious to us. I also said that they must go to Palestine – and that they will go.¹⁸

September 23rd, 1945.

I just learn the [sic] 175 children will arrive daily this week. This means that I will be unable to write anything in the next days, much as I want to. If only I had books to teach Hebrew, Jewish history, geography, arithmetic!

15 *Haverim* (Heb., friends, comrades; sg. *haver*).

16 Most likely *Merkaz la-Gola* (Diaspora Center), an organization which clandestinely smuggled Jews from liberated concentration camps in Germany and Austria to Italy in hope of bringing them to Palestine. It started operating in June of 1945 and consisted mainly of Palestinian-Jewish soldiers from the Jewish Brigade within the British Army and from other army units, which were stationed in Europe. By August of 1945 it had succeeded in getting some 15,000 Jews to Italy when DP camps were established, and the British closed the border.

17 Presumably the development of the United Zionist Organization (UZO) and its youth movement *Noḥam* (acronym for *No'ar Ḥaluzi Meuḥad*, United Pioneering Youth) in the DP camps in the early postwar period. At the end of July 1945, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews gave its official approval to the newly formed UZO to be the representative of the Zionists in the camps. The Central Committee and the UZO reached a decision that the UZO would be responsible for all activity related to culture, Zionist education, *hakhsharah* (agricultural training), Aliyah, and Zionist activity in general. Responding to the move of Jewish youth into the Zionist groups, the Zionist leadership decided that in addition to the official formation of UZO, it would authorize the creation of *Noḥam*. Such an official youth movement could bring together the loose clusters of youths who had congregated in the various DP centers and guarantee greater membership for UZO and *Noḥam*, also facilitating the process of Aliyah to Palestine from the camps. After Ben-Gurion's visit to the DP camps in October 1945, the first delegation of 20 Jewish Agency emissaries, technically working under the auspices of UNRRA, but supervised by Chaim Hoffman, arrived in Germany in the middle of December 1945. Mankowitz, *Zionism and She'erit Hapletah*.

18 For the JDC policy after 1945 in Europe see, e.g., Laura Hobson Faure, *Protecting the European Branch of the Jewish Diaspora: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Europe after the Holocaust*, in: Bohus et al. (eds.), *Our Courage*, 118–134.

September 24, 1945.

We started to recruit teachers from the inmates of the camp. I interviewed dozens of people and found 5 or 6 suitable ones. The power of resistance of the intellectuals was lower than that of the manual workers and therefore they were exterminated first¹⁹ – or – when put to work, were unable to stand the strain and died. Left are only the strong and tenacious ones.

All those who could teach made one claim: to get books, because in those six terrible years they had forgotten most of their knowledge. One of them said “I had no books in my hands for five years and when I started to read few months ago, the letters simply danced before my eyes, and I could not read more than two lines. Now I can read again.”

There was one man, tall, slim, pale and very timid. He would love to teach, he said, but he did not know whether his nerves were stable enough for it and whether he could keep discipline. I asked him to try it for 2 or 3 lessons and then to come back to see me again. I had the feeling, that for this man work – and work alone – could mean mental salvation. He came after two days to see me again – an |5| entirely changed person. “Yes” he said. “I can do it; please put me down for as many hours as you want. It was wonderful.”

September 27, 1945.

We were proceeding well with the school – almost too well. I was waiting for the “setback” – but did not expect that it would come so quickly. – It came to-day! – It was raining cats and dogs and most of the children have torn shoes. A revolt broke out! They had seen that shoes were distributed amongst the Poles (who are slowly moved out of the camp) – and they were furious. They had the first claim, they argued, and they would not go attend school and especially not go to their gym-lessons unless they got proper shoes. I was in despair. The UNRRA director told me that shoes would be coming –probably

19 A speculation on who was more likely to survive, a topic that has until recently attracted less scholarly investigation. Christopher Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave Labor Camp*, New York, 2010. He argues “we need a different vocabulary to describe their struggle for survival, and I would suggest words such as *ingenuity*, *resourcefulness*, *adaptability*, *perseverance*, and *endurance* as the most appropriate and accurate.” *Ibid.*, 296 f. Evgeny Finkel, *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival during the Holocaust*, Princeton, NJ, 2017, also focuses on Jewish responses during the war and presents a new framework for understanding the survival strategies in which Jews engaged: cooperation and collaboration, coping and compliance, evasion, and resistance.

next week.²⁰ But the children have ceased long ago to believe in promises. Their mistrust – and that of the grown-ups as well – cannot be overcome. – We distributed to-day – for the first time – “Joint parcels” in the camp.²¹ “Joint” had bought up former Red Cross parcels from Switzerland, which contained sugar, coffee, fish-preserves, cigarettes and meat-tins. As the meat was trife,²² we decided to open the parcels and to replace the meat by milk-tins. When they were distributed, everybody grumbled. They accused us all of having taken out things and did not believe us, when we told them what we had done and why we had done it.

How strong their mistrust is, I learned yesterday. A group of children and grown-ups was to leave Feldafing camp for our camp. As the order was given from one day to the other (and as the order came from the authorities) they were deeply suspicious and refused to go. As they were used to being dragged out of their beds at night and carried away by force, many spent the whole night in the forests which surround the camp in a rain which defies description.

30th [sic] September 1945.

To-day I had a wonderful surprise. A little car drove suddenly into the yard, with the Swiss flag on one side and the Jewish flag on the other. Out walked Akiba Lewinsky,²³ Nathan Sch{w}albe [sic],²⁴ Dr. Zucker and somebody from

20 The UNRRA director of the camp at this time was Jean Henshaw (1901–1997), a non-Jewish woman from Canada who had difficulty communicating with and understanding the needs of Jewish DPs due to her lack of knowledge about the Jewish religion and her inability to speak Yiddish. Her tenure was brief, and she was replaced in January 1946 by Henry Cohen (1922–1999), an American Jew who had served in the U.S. Army and was able to communicate in Yiddish. He was a 23-year-old veteran at the time he took over as director of the camp and was dismissed later in 1946 after conflicts with the U.S. Army regarding the treatment of Jewish DPs. Koenigseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 97–99.

21 The JDC’s arrival in the American Zone was delayed until August 1945, several months after the camp began housing DPs. Patt/Crago-Schneider, *Years of Survival*.

22 *Treyf* means nonkosher. A large number of Orthodox Jews lived in the camp and were unable to eat the nonkosher food that was initially provided by organizations including UNRRA, the Red Cross, and the JDC. On the food supplies distributed to the DPs see Document 8, n. 34.

23 Akiba Lewinsky (1918–2000) was a representative of the Jewish Agency; he arrived in Switzerland in June 1945 to take over as director of the Continental Office of Youth Aliyah.

24 Nathan Schwalb (1908–2000) was a Polish Jew who made Aliyah to Palestine prior to the Second World War, where he was a member of kibbutz Hulda. He was the representative of the *He-Ḥaluz* movement in Geneva, Switzerland during the

the Merkas from Munich. They had come up to bring me the good news that Switzerland had agreed to take in 500 children, Youth Aliyah candidates, for a temporary stay until they could proceed to Palestine, and they had raised the age-limit to 17. (In answer to a request made by us.) They were very hopeful that more children would be accepted (over and above the 500) when our transports would prove to be satisfactory.

We sat up half the night to discuss the distribution of these 500 places and discussed very important problems of our whole future policy. They took with them questionnaires for about 750 children – all filled in with all details. The first transports will probably leave in a fortnight.

[6] September 28, 1945

Our educational programme is taking shape. The greatest difficulty – apart from school-material – is lack of places for vocational training. I had taken up the question with the UNRRA director immediately, suggesting that we should take over some farmland opposite the camp. The objection was that the children should not leave the camp and that this therefore could not be done.

To-day the UNRRA director informed me to my greatest satisfaction that from next week onwards this obstacle would be eliminated, as everybody in the camp would be allowed to move about freely with[in] 3 (or 5) miles of the camp. The farm project can therefore be taken up immediately.²⁵ As there are some first-class experts amongst the UNRRA staff as well as amongst the Jews, we may be able to take up farming immediately (in theory and in practice).

In addition, I have submitted a project to the UNRRA administration which has been received with great enthusiasm: to take over a big factory

war and worked diligently to gather and communicate information regarding the plight of Jews in German-occupied countries, corresponding with fellow *He-Ḥaluz* activists, including Saly Mayer (1882–1950) of the JDC, Dr. Abraham Silberschein (1881–1951) of the Relief Committee for the War Stricken Jewish Population, and Gisi Fleischmann (1892–1944) regarding the situation of Jews in Slovakia.

25 Kibbutz Buchenwald in Geringshof was the first *kibbutz hakhsarah* (Zionist training farm) to be formed in the DP camps of the American Zone on June 3, 1945. By the end of October, the number of farms had increased to five; there would be nine by the end of the year and 35 by May 1946. The development of a larger agricultural plan would require more formal approval and active collaboration from the administrative bodies in the American Zone (OMGUS – Office of Military Government of the United States, UNRRA, and the JDC), in addition to the efforts of the Central Committee and the first Jewish Agency *shliḥim* (emissaries sent from Palestine to assist in Zionist activities) to arrive in the zone. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, esp. chap 4.

2 miles from the camp, of which I heard by chance. The Germans have gone out of it with its machines and technical installations it would be suitable for the training of about 100 to 150 youngsters as electricians and mechanics and could give work to a big number of Jews who hang now about idle. – I only hope that we succeed in convincing the military authorities of the usefulness of this plan. I would then probably arrange a rota, according to which 100 of the boys and girls would be trained in the morning (having lessons in the afternoon) and 100 in the afternoon (having lessons in the morning).

September 30, 1945

The houses where the children are placed, offer fortunately just the possibilities which Youth Aliyah wants for its educational scheme. Four houses with about 50 children form a block. Each block has a big room which is used as school – and as dining room, so that we can form proper small communities. Each block has a block-ward [sic] and a representative of the children.

The groups are of different “Weltanschauung.” We have – apart from the Kibbutz-blocks, who adhere strictly to Kibbutz-life, already one Betar-block²⁶ and one Non-Zionist block. All sides naturally make great propaganda for their special creeds.²⁷

Tonight, I am invited to a theatre play, written by one of the Jewish teachers. It is about the life and sufferings of Jews in the Ukraine and their activities with the partisans. They have a beautiful Jewish partisan-song which they promised to write down for me.²⁸ Tomorrow, we will start with preparations for the emigration to Switzerland.

26 The Betar youth movement was founded by Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who led the Zionist Revisionist movement, which emerged after the First World War and supported an uncompromising Zionist campaign along with maximum territorial demands for the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan. Eran Kaplan, Art. Altalena, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 1, 66–73.

27 Given the diverse backgrounds of Jewish DPs, camp life, with its complex social, political, and religious dynamics, was rife with tensions. Conflicts could arise between Orthodox, Conservative, and secular Jews over differences in religious practices, such as dietary laws, Sabbath observance, or prayer customs. In addition, differing views on socialism, communism, and attitudes toward the Soviet Union were hotbeds for fierce disputes. The most intense conflicts revolved around the question of Palestine, Zionism, and the Diaspora, for they were intimately tied to the future of most, if not all Jews. See Documents 45 and 46; Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 88–101.

28 On Yiddish music and theater in the DP camps, see Gilbert, “We Long for a Home”; Tina Frühauf, *Transcending Dystopia: Music, Mobility, and the Jewish Community in Germany, 1945–1989*, New York 2021, parts 1 and 2.

[7] October 2, 1945.

I was at UNRRA Headquarters today. Offers from England and Switzerland to accept children were discussed. England is prepared to accept further children transports, under the condition that they are not over 16 years old and only former inmates of concentration camps. This excludes all those youngsters who were with the partisans during those years, an exclusion which to my mind is very unjustified. Apart from the fact that amongst the partisans are the best elements of all, it introduces again some discrimination which should be avoided at any rate. The first transport for England is due to leave on the 15th of October.²⁹

The offer from Switzerland, to accept 500 children under 12 (this is an older offer and has nothing to do with the transport of 500 children up to 17, for which the regulations etc. have not been received by UNRRA Headquarters yet) had to be turned down, as we are unable to find 25 children, (Switzerland will not accept smaller groups) who are under 12 and are orphans. Hitler has exterminated all our children. I cannot understand how offers like that can be made without consulting the people working inside Germany, who know the prevailing conditions.

Youth Aliyah's negotiations with Switzerland about admission of children up to 17 years old were based on this knowledge and we are now all waiting for the start.

The guards have been withdrawn from the Camp. And although people were clamouring for this decision, you cannot find anybody in the camp who expresses his satisfaction about this change. Their mental attitude simply does not allow them anymore to admit satisfaction or delight. When you give them 5 cigarettes for some small service, they have done for you, they grumble because it is so little. They doubt the value of everything you offer

29 In later reports, not included here, Warburg also commented on the decision taken at the First Zionist Conference of the UZO in Frankfurt to boycott the children's transports to England as a protest against British Palestine policy. On October 26, 1945, she noted that the first transport of children left Föhrenwald for England over the vehement protests of the Zionists, and an even stronger outcry from the camp's Orthodox DPs (because the transport occurred on the Sabbath). She concluded: "Further transports to England – at least from this camp – will not be possible as the Jews here have threatened to destroy the documents and to interfere with registration as long as they are not satisfied with England's Palestine Policy." Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, hativah 037, folder 32, Miriam Warburg, Children and Youth Aliyah, November 30, 1945.

to them. I decided for myself not to give anything for such services, but to thank them and to praise their skill, and there are already many who follow my example. This attitude is astonishingly much more to the satisfaction of the camp inmates.

October 3, 1945.

It has been decided that the camp should become an “all-Jewish” camp and that all the other nationalities should be removed. Huge transports of Estonians, Lithuanians, “Volksdeutsche,” Yugoslavs etc. are going out daily.³⁰

Some accidents happened, when the Poles were to leave. They started to beat up the Jews. A drunken American soldier took sides with the Poles and started to shoot. Fortunately, nobody was hurt, and the soldier was arrested. He will be court-martialled. But the whole accident was very depressing. Nothing – I am afraid – has changed in the minds of all people concerned. On the way to their new camps, riots broke out between the Poles. The Lublin Poles and the others were beating each other.

|8| October 4, 1945.

A meeting of all the inmates has been called in order discuss the problem of labour. Now, when all the other nationalities are leaving the camp, all the work, such as cooking, woodcutting, laundry etc. etc. has to be taken over by the Jews. I was asked to address them and to inform them that according to our suggestions, the camp director had agreed to increase the food rations and clothing allowance for all those who offer to work. But the response was very poor. They do not believe in promises any more! I think that next week, when we shall have distributed shoes to all those who work this week, many hundreds of workers will come forward.

So far, the situation for all those who are willing to work, is very difficult. Take for inst. the kitchen. The camp administration decided to keep the German chief cook and about 6 more cooks as indispensable. These cooks want to prove that they cannot be replaced by Jewish labour, therefore, they treat the Jewish workers badly. They give them inferior jobs, allocate insufficient

30 After the Harrison Report (Document 15) had revealed not only the dire conditions in the DP camps, but also that Holocaust survivors had to live alongside Nazi collaborators from the Ukraine, Hungary, and the Baltic states, the American authorities sought to alleviate the situation by establishing all-Jewish DP camps. The first of these camps opened in late April at Feldafing, which provided for an autonomous Jewish administration, extra food rations, and addressed the pressing issues of sanitation, food, and medical care. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 11 f.

food to them etc. One of the Jewish cooks complained today that the German cook had said to him: “When Hitler forced you to work, you could do work, but now you do not want it.” The consequence of this treatment is that the Jews stop to work after one day or two and that the camp director keeps on telling us that they cannot dispense with the German labour, as the Jews walk out after a couple of days.

A specialist for setting up workshops in the various camps, Mr. Oleisky [sic]³¹ (a former director of ORT), came here, following my urgent invitation. He is enthusiastic about my plan to take over the factory near the camp for training mechanics, electricians etc. We work now on this plan, which is unfortunately dependent on the consent of the military authorities.

New transports with children arrived. We have now already concentrated 400 children in this place. More than 100 are Aguda³² children, who arrived with their rabbis.³³

The school plans get more and more difficult. Apart from the fact that the Aguda boys and girls have to be separated in different houses, their leaders did not want women teachers for the boys nor male teachers for the girls. With my great shortage of teachers this proved to be an unsurmountable obstacle. There will be a meeting of the Board of the Aguda in Feldafing which will decide on this question (I think they will have to make concessions.) There was a tendency only to teach Talmud and nothing else to the boys. But as most

31 Jacob Oleiski.

32 *Agudat Yisra'el* (Union of Israel, short: *Agudat*) was founded in 1912, under neo-Orthodox leadership, as an independent Orthodox global federation, encompassing German-Jewish Orthodoxy, Lithuanian-Jewish Hasidic groups, Misnagdim (opponents of Hasidim in Lithuania), and parts of established Hungarian-Jewish Orthodoxy. Though the initial Orthodox leadership of the organization rejected collaboration with Zionist parties, it quickly lost influence within the organization, and the *Agudat* began to reconsider its position on Zionism and collaboration with Zionist parties. Immediately after the war, *Agudat Yisra'el* opened branches throughout occupied Germany and Europe in order to assist Holocaust survivors. Agnieszka Oleszak, Art. Bais Ya'akov, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 1, 284–287.

33 Jewish DPs affiliated with *Agudat Yisra'el* received supplies, including kosher food and religious supplies, from *Agudat Yisra'el of America*, *Vaad Hatzalah*, and the JDC. Children between the ages of five and 14 who were associated with the movement received an education from one of the 56 *talmud torah* maintained by *Vaad Hatzalah*, while young men associated with the movement received an education at one of the 15 *yeshivas* maintained by *Vaad Hatzalah*. Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation*. For more on Orthodox Jewish DPs in Föhrenwald, see Crago-Schneider, *A Community of Will*.

of them want to go to Palestine – I convinced their leaders that they have to accept Youth Aliyah principles for the education of their children. The only subject on my school timetable which they refused blankly to accept for them was “gym,” so that I had to make a concession there from my side.

[9] Yesterday I was invited to the first proper “Friday night” in one of the Children’s homes built on Kibbutz principles. It was lovely. Huge piles of sandwiches on long tables covered with white sheets, candles fixed on some improvised candlesticks, walls decorated with bits of coloured paper and a huge Jewish flag displayed. A proper Kiddush³⁴ was made and later the Madrich read a play of Bialik.³⁵ And in between we sang and sang.

When I walked back through the camp I saw a huge procession. The Chassidim brought their Rabbi home.³⁶ He was dressed in Stramel [sic]³⁷ and long frock and his followers danced and sang Chassidic melodies. They at least, felt finally “at home” in our camp.³⁸

For tonight I had called in a meeting of all the children in the camps. There has been great unrest in the last 2 days. The lessons had been badly attended, there had been heavy arguments and lots of difficulties.

The reasons were twofold. UNRRA had sent somebody to the camp to prepare those children who were on the first list for the England emigration. Not sufficient discretion had been kept – and suddenly the children thought and discussed only emigration. “Why were they not in the first list?” “Why could their whole group not go together? What was the good of starting school when one would anyhow emigrate in the next days and weeks?” etc. etc. Apart from this discussion, the whole teaching system was disrupted because groups of youngsters were called continuously away, to see the doctor, to get injections, to be photographed or to be registered.

34 The benediction over wine beginning the Sabbath and Jewish holidays.

35 Chaim Nachman Bialik (1873–1934), poet laureate of the Zionist movement and one of the most significant Hebrew poets of the early 20th century. His poem *In the City of Slaughter*, written in the aftermath of the Kishinev pogrom of April 1903, shaped Zionist attitudes toward passivity and resistance for an entire generation of Zionist youth. Dan Miron, Art. El ha-tsipor, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 2, 408–419.

36 Yekutiel Yehuda Halberstam, the Klausenberger Rebbe, after much negotiation with U.S. Army Chaplain Rabbi Abraham Klausner and Warburg’s fellow JDC social worker Yehoshua “Shea” Abramowicz, relocated with his followers to Föhrenwald during its conversion into an exclusively Jewish DP camp (Document 24).

37 *Shtreymel* (Yidd.), the traditional fur hat worn by Hasidic men.

38 For a detailed analysis of spiritual rehabilitation in the DP camps, see Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*.

In addition, the directors of the camp had asked the boys and girls in the camp to volunteer for work, as they could not find the workers they needed for the most urgent works. A delegation of the Zionist Youths – our very best people – came to see me and to ask me whether they should go. Seldom has a decision been made by me with so heavy a heart as this one. I advised them to go for work – and to drop the lessons.

Another source of unrest has arisen from the decision of the camp representatives to make a check up of the children at 11.30 on Thursday night. Incredible scenes occurred. The children, frightened by so many razzias in their life which took place just at night when they had already gone to bed, reacted hysterically. The reason for the check up was that the children were suspected of double registration, a thing which is done frequently in order to get double rations. The camp representatives see in this a great danger (with good reason) as the authorities have decided to close the camp down when we have 3200 persons on our register. That means the entrance to our camp will be barred to Jew-newcomers when 3200 names are there on paper, although the real figure may be lower.

All the children appeared, and I must say that the discipline was admirable. I told them that I thought that they had lost so many valuable years of their life for learning that every day and every month now counted double, and that they should not miss one |10| lesson, not one week of learning anymore. I warned them that they should not count on the emigration schemes too much, that many things might happen that could delay their departure etc. etc. I only hope it will help.

I distributed all the Youth Aliyah calendars which had been sent to me; I can hardly describe how enthusiastic they were about it. Our last bulletin, too, was in great demand, although they could not read it properly. But they are so starved of all reading material that they grasp greedily at everything readable. For days they sit over newspapers from Palestine of June and July and keep them in their best place.

If only the world would send us books, books, books!!

Document 32

Anonymous, "Jews in German Camps"

New York, December 1945

Journal article, 2 pages; photo on page 1 (not reproduced here)

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Faktn un meynungen 5 (1945), no. 12, 3f.³⁹

יידן אין דייטשע לאַגערן

די רעזיגנאציע פונם אנררא-דירעקטאָר אין לאַגער לאַנדסבערג דר. ל. סראָל האָט אַרויסגערוּפֿן אַ פּינלעכען אײַנדרוק אין דער עפנטלעכער מײנונג פון אַמעריקע, זי האָט ווי מיט אַ בליץ־ליכט באַלויכטן די אמתע לאַגע פון די היימלאָזע יידן אין די לאַגערן פון דײַטשלאַנד [!].

דר. סראָל האָט רעזיגנירט פון זײַן שטעלע כדי אויף דעם אופן צו פראָטעסטירן קעגן די שוידערלעכע סאניטאָרע באַדינגונגען, וואָס זײַנען אַ געפאַר פאַרן לעבן פון די 6.200 באַוואוינער פון לאַגער, אַ געפאַר באַזונדערס פאַר עפידעמיעס. ער האָט דערקלערט, אַז קעגן גענעראַל אײזענהאַוערס באַפעלן האָבן די מינדערוויכטיקע מיליטערבאַאַמטע אָנגעהאַלטן די טאַקטיק פון צערטלען די דײַטשן, אָבער זײ האָבן אײַנגאַרירט די מענשלעכע גויטן פון די יידן, די ערשטע און גרעסטע קרבנות פון נאַציזם.

דער הויפט פון שטאב פון דער אַמעריקאַנער אַקופאַציע־אַרמײ, גענעראַל־לייטענאַנט סמיט, איז באַלד דעם צווייטן טאָג געקומען אין לאַגער לאַנדסבערג, מיט אַ גרופע הויכע מיליטערלייט, אויסצופאַרשן די לאַגע אין די קעמפס.

די אויספאַרשונג האָט באַשטעטיקט, אַז דר. סראָלס באַשולדיקונגען זײַנען אמת. דר. סראָל האָט צוריקגעצויגן זײַן רעזיגנאַציע, נאָכדעם ווי מען האָט דורכגעפירט די אויספאַרשונג און צוגעזאַגט אַ פאַרבעסערונג פון דער לאַגע.

אויך פון אַנדערע לאַגערן קומען אַלאַרם־רוּפֿן. ספּעציעל פונם לאַגער בעלזען, וואָס געפינט זיך אין דער ענגלישער אַקופאַציע־זאָנע. דער פאַרשטייער פון יידישן קאַמיטעט אין דער בריטישער זאָנע האָט דערקלערט, אַז די באַדינגונגען אין בעלזען אונטער בריטישער אַקופאַציע זײַנען אַזוי שלעכט ווי זײ זײַנען געווען אונטער די נאַציס. אַחוץ וואָס די מאַרד־פאַבריק איז באַזײטיקט. 11.000 יידן זײַנען נאָך אַלץ אַן באַהײצונג און מען דערלויבט זײ נישט צו ברענגען האַלץ פון די וועלדער.

באַריכט אין "טיימס" באַשטעטיקט טרויעריקע לאַגע

טאניא לאַנג, קאַרעספּאַנדענטין פון נ. י. "טיימס" האָט געקײבלט דעם 19טן נאָוועמבער (פאַרעפנטלעכט אין "טיימס" 20טן נאָוועמבער), צו איר צײטונג: "די באַדינגונגען פאַר היימלאָזע יידן אין דײַטשלאַנד און עסטרייך זײַנען ווידער שוידערלעכע. לעצטן סעפטעמבער, נאָכדעם ווי עס איז דערשינען דער באַריכט פון אוירל העריסאָן, וועמען

39 *Faktn un meynungen* (Facts and Opinions) was a monthly journal published by the research committee of the Jewish Labor Committee, headquartered in New York between 1941 and 1962.

פרעזידענט טרומאן האָט געשיקט אויספאָרשן די לאַגע, זיינען געמאַכט געוואָרן געוויסע פאַרבעסערונגען, אָבער איצט האָט זיך עס צוריקגעקערט צום אַלטן. אזוי גיבן איבער די מענטשן וואָס געפינען זיך אין די קעמפס און פאַרשטייער פון דער 'אונרא', וועלכע האָבן די אויפגאַבע זיי צו פאַרוואַרן.

אַם ערגסטן איז די לאַגע פון די היימלאַזע יידן אין דער געגנט וואָס די ענגלענדער אָקופירן. אָבער אין דער אַמעריקאַנער געגנט איז די לאַגע ניט פיל בעסער.
אין דעם לאַנדסבערג קעמפ, וועלכער ווערט פאַררעכנט פאַר דעם בעסטן אין דער אַמעריקאַנער געגנט, הונגערן די יידן, פריירן און וואוינען אין שרעקלעכער ענגשאַפט.
דאקען (!), אַ פאַרשטייער פון אַמעריקע, ביראן פרייס, האָט דעם 9טן נאָוועמבער צו-4 געשטעלט אַ באַריכט צו פרעז. טרומאן, אַז "די לאַגע פון די אויסגעוואַרצלעטע יידן אין די 'קאָלאָניעס' פון דייטשלאַנד איז אַ צופרידנשטעלנדע" (לויט ייט"א 28טן נאָו.).

אַ יידישע צייטונג מיט לאַטיינישע אותיות

די יידן פונם לאַגער לאַנדסבערג גיבן אַרויס אַ יידישע וואַכנצייטונג, געדרוקט מיט לאַטיינישע אותיות. די צייטונג מאַכט טעכניש און רעדאַקציאָנעל זייער אַ גוטן איינדרוק. זי ברענגט פיל אינפאָרמאַציע וועגן לעבן אין לאַגער און וועגן פאַרשיידנאַרטיקער טעטיקייט וואָס ווערט אָנגעפירט.

(זע: ש. ל. שניידערמאַן, "מאָרגן־שורנאַל", 20טן נאָוועמבער).

פונם אַרגאַניזירטן געזעלשאַפטלעכן לעבן אין קעמפ בעלזען

זי ווילנער גיט איבער אין "פאַרווערטס" (25טן נאָוועמבער) אַן אינטערעסאַנט בילד וועגן דעם אַרגאַניזירטן געזעלשאַפטלעכן לעבן אין לאַגער בעלזען, אויפן סמך פון אַ באַריכט וואָס איז צוגעשיקט געוואָרן פון די לאַגער־באַוואוינער צום יידישן אַרבעטער קאָמיטעט.

אין לאַגער געפינען זיך 10.783 יידן, וואָס זיינען פונאַנדערגעטיילט אויף דריי קעמפס – צוויי צו 23 בלאַק און איינער פון 18 בלאַק. אין יעדן בלאַק וואוינען פון 200 ביז 300 יידן. קינדער פון 1 ביז 10 יאָר זיינען פאַראַן אין גאַנצן אַרום 135. אויך אַלטע לייט זיינען פאַראַן ווינציק – אַ רעזולטאַט פון די נאַצישע "אַרבעטס"־מעטאָדעס.

די אַרגאַניזירטע געמיינדע פון די לאַגער־באַוואוינער האָט געשאַפן קערפערשאַפטן פאַר פאַרשיידענע פונקציעס: פאַר פאַרבינדן זיך מיט יידן אין אַנדערע לאַגערן (פאַראַן איצט 98 יידישע קיבוצים אין דער אַמעריקאַנער און אין דער ענגלישער אַקאָפּאַציע־זאָנע פון דייטשלאַנד) און פאַר זוכן קרובים איבער גאָר דער וועלט; פאַר איינאַרדנען וואוינונגען, פאַר קולטור־אַראַבעט (!) און אַנדערע. ס'איז אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן אַ פרעסע־אַפטיילונג, אַ געזונט־הייט־אַפטיילונג, אַ רעליעף־אַפטיילונג, אַן אַפטיילונג פאַר אַ קינדערהיים, אַ דראַמאַטישע סטודיע, אַ ספאָרט־קלוב און אַנדערע. מען קלויבט היסטאָרישע מאַטעריאַלן, מען זאַמלט לידער פון די קאַנצענטראַציע־לאַגערן, דערציילונגען, זכרונות.

דער צענטראַל קאָמיטעט האָט דורכגעפירט אַן אַנקעטע צווישן די לאַגער־באַוואוינער וועגן דעם, אין וועלכע לענדער זיי ווילן עמיגרירן און עס האָט זיך באַקומען דער פּאָלגענדער רעזולטאַט:

קיין פּוילן – 390 יידן.

קיין אונגאַרן – 813 יידן.

קיין רומעניע – 845 יידן.

קיין אַמעריקע – 1000 יידן.

קיין ענגלאַנד – 276 יידן.
 קיין גריכנלאַנד – 72 יידן.
 צו אַנדערע לענדער – 67 יידן.
 קיין פּאַלעסטינע – 7,370 יידן.

דאָס מיינט, אַז העכער 68 פּראָצענט פּון אַלע יידן אין בערגען־בעלזען ווילן גיין קיין ארץ־ישראל און די איבעריקע, אַרום 31 פּראָצענט, ווילן גיין אין אַנדערע לענדער. די מערהייט פּון צען טויזנט יידן זיינען פּוילישע יידן, אָבער צוריק קיין פּוילן ווילן גיין בלויז 390.

אַ יידישער אַרבעטער־קאָמיטעט אין לאַגער פעלדאָפינג

"אונזער צייט" (נאָוועמבער) פּאַרעפּנטלעכט אַן אינטערעסאַנטן בריוו פּונם לאַגער פעלדאָפינג, אין וועלכן עס ווערט איבערגעגעבן, אַז דאָרט איז געשאַפּן געוואָרן אַ יידישער אַרבעטער קאָמיטעט, אָן וועלכן עס זיינען אַנגעשלאָסן 52 אַרבעטס־גרופּן פּון פּאַרשידענע פּאַכן, מאַנועלע און אינטעלעקטועלע אַרבעטער. ס'איז אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן אַ כּאָר און אַ דראַמאַטישע סטודיע. אין בריוו ווערט דערציילט וועגן אַ דעמאָנסטראַציע וואָס איז אראַנושירט געוואָרן פּונם יידישן אַרבעטער קאָמיטעט צום יאָר־טאָג פּון מלחמה־אויסברוך. ביי די צוגרייטונגען צו דער דעמאָנסטראַציע זיינען פּאַרגעקומען אמפּערייען מיט די אַנדערע גרופּן. סוף כל סוף האָט מען זיך געאייניקט. מיר ציטירן פּון בריוו:

"נאָך לאַנגע באַראַטונגען איז באַשלאָסן געוואָרן, אַז מ'ווילט אויס אַ קאָמיטע, וועלכע שטעלט צו אַ געמיינזאַמען פּלאַן פּון אַזאַ דעמאָנסטראַציע און מייטינג. און דער רעזולטאַט – שבת האָבן איבערן לאַגער אין פעלדאָפינג מאַרשירט אין איין צוג בונדיסטן, ציוניסטן און אַרטאָדאָקסן און סתם יידן מיט רויטע פענער און טראַנספּאַרענטן.

אויפּן מייטינג זיינען ארויסגעטראָטן פּאַרשטייער פּון די אַלע אויבנדערמאַנטע ריכטונגען (אויך אַ רב). דעם בונדישן צוג האָבן געפירט אונזערע אַרדנער (אין אַ צאָל פּון 60 חברים). פּאַרויס פּון צוג איז געטראָגן געוואָרן די אמעריקאַנער פּאַן, דאָן די בונדישע און די ציוניסטישע. די מאָלער־גרופּע האָט געטראָגן אַ ריזיקן קראַנג און אויפּשריפט: 'כבוד די קרבנות פון די היטלערישע לאַגערן און קרעמאַטאָריום', דאָן איז געקומען אַ ריזיקער רויטער טראַנספּאַרענט, אויף וועלכן ס'איז געווען אויפּגעמאַלט אַ יוגנטלעכער אַרבעטער, ווי ער צעברעכט אַ בוקס [!] אונטער אַן אויפּשריפט 'נידער מיטן מיליטאַריזם'. שפעטער איז גענאַנגען די גאַנצע מאַסע, בערך 1600 מענשן..."

Translation

JEWES IN GERMAN CAMPS

The resignation of the UNRRA director of the Landsberg camp, Dr. L. Srol [sic]⁴⁰ painfully affected public opinion in America. It illuminated as if with a stroke of lightning the real position of homeless Jews in German camps.

40 Dr. Leo Srole (1908–1993) was an American sociologist who taught at Columbia University and the New York State Psychiatric Institute. From 1943 until 1945 he worked for the U.S. Army as a military psychologist, and after liberation served as

Dr. Srol resigned from his position in protest against the appalling sanitary conditions that are a hazard to the lives of the 6,200 camp residents and are in particular an epidemic risk. He stated that contrary to General Eisenhower's orders, some minor military personnel maintained the tactics of courting the Germans, but they ignored the human needs of the Jews, the first and the biggest victims of the Nazis.

Chief of Staff of the American occupying U.S. Army, Lieutenant General Smith,⁴¹ already on the second day arrived at the Landsberg camp, accompanied by a group of high-ranking military personnel, in order to investigate the living conditions in the camp.

The investigation confirmed that Dr. Srol's allegations were true. Dr. Srol withdrew his resignation after the investigation had been carried out and promises had been made to improve the situation.

Alarm bells sound from other camps as well, especially from the Belsen camp situated in the British occupation zone. The representative of the Jewish Committee in the British Zone made a statement that conditions in Belsen under the British occupation were as bad as they had been under the Nazis, save the removal of the extermination factory. 11,000 Jews still have no heating and are not allowed to bring wood from the forests.

“New York Times” Report Confirms Deplorable Situation

Tania Long,⁴² a “New York Times” correspondent, cabled the following to her paper on November 19 (printed in the “NY Times” on November 20):

“The conditions for homeless Jews in Germany and Austria are dreadful. Last September, after the publication of Earl G. Harrison's report, whom President Truman had sent out to investigate the situation, the conditions slightly improved, but now they have changed back to their origin. This is what inmates as well as some personnel of the UNRRA, who are responsible for their care, state.”

DP Camp Landsberg's first UNRRA director. He resigned his position in protest of the camp's deplorable conditions, which continued despite General Eisenhower's orders to improve them and establish camps serving only Jewish DPs in order to more adequately address their needs in response to the Harrison Report (Document 15). Leo Srole, *Why the DP's Can't Wait*, Commentary 3 (1947), no. 1, 13–24.

41 General Walter Bedell Smith (1895–1961) was General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff of USFET.

42 Tania Long (1913–1998) was an American journalist and war correspondent who gained recognition for her work during the Second World War. Following the end of the war, she chose to stay in Germany, where she and her husband reported on the Nuremberg trials for *The New York Times*. In addition, Long provided insightful coverage on the generally challenging living conditions postwar Germany.

“[While] the situation is apparently worst in the British Zone, the situation in the American zone is not much better. In the Landsberg camp – considered the best of its kind in the American zone – Jews are going hungry and living in overcrowded quarters that are not properly heated.”

On the contrary, the American representative Byron Price⁴³ had [4] submitted a report to President Truman on November 9 that “the position of Jewish displaced persons in ‘settlements’ in Germany is adequate” (according to the JTA⁴⁴ on November 28).⁴⁵

A Yiddish Newspaper in Latin Characters

The Jews of the Landsberg camp publish a Yiddish weekly printed in Latin characters.⁴⁶ Technically and editorially, the paper makes a very good impression. It provides plentiful information about life in the camp and about various activities that take place there. (See: Sh. L. Shneiderman,⁴⁷ “Morgn Zhurnal,”⁴⁸ November 20).⁴⁹

43 Byron Price (1891–1981) born in Topeka, Ind., served as the director of the U.S. Office of Censorship during the Second World War.

44 The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, an international press service, was founded in 1917 in The Hague and later moved its headquarters to New York.

45 Anonymous, Truman’s Special Envoy Reports Position of Displaced Jews in Germany is “Adequate,” in: JTA Daily News Bulletin, November 29, 1945, 6.

46 *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung* (Landsberg Camp Newspaper), which would be renamed *Yidische tsaytung* (Jewish Newspaper) in 1946, after individual DP camp newspapers were shuttered and consolidated into regional DP newspapers due to technical difficulties, including a widespread paper shortage in the American Zone. *Yidische tsaytung* served the DP camps in the Munich area, including Landsberg, Föhrenwald, Feldafing, and Neu Freimann following consolidation. It was a Yiddish weekly published in the Landsberg camp from 1945 until at least the end of 1948 with a print run of 10,000–15,000 copies.

47 Samuel Leib Shneiderman (1906–1996) was a Polish-American-Jewish journalist and writer. Born in Kazimierz Dolny, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), he studied in Warsaw, contributing to major Yiddish periodicals. In 1933, he moved to Paris, covering the rise of fascism and the Spanish Civil War, earning a reputation as the first Yiddish war reporter. Fleeing Europe in 1940, Shneiderman settled in New York, where he continued his journalism and championed Holocaust survivors’ stories after 1945. He also co-founded the United Nations Correspondents Association in 1948. Jack Kugelmass, *Sifting the Ruins: Émigré Jewish Journalists’ Return Visits to the Old Country, 1946–1948* (David W. Belin Lecture in American Jewish Affairs, 2013), <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.13469761.0023.001>> (May 27, 2024).

48 *Der morgn zhurnal* (The Morning Journal), established 1901, was an Orthodox Yiddish daily, later Zionist oriented, based in New York; it ceased publication in 1971.

49 See Figure 7.

On Organized Social Life in the Belsen Camp

Y. Vilner⁵⁰ conveys in the “Forverts”⁵¹ (November 25) an interesting picture of organized social life in the Belsen camp, based on a report sent to the Jewish Workers’ Committee from the camp residents.⁵²

There are 10,783 Jews in Belsen, divided between three subcamps: two consisting of 23 blocks each, and one of 18 blocks. In each block there live between 200 and 300 people. There are about 135 children in total between the ages of 1 and 10. The elderly are also few: the result of the Nazi “work” methods.

The organized community of the camp residents set up administrative bodies for various purposes: establishing contact with Jews in other camps (there are currently 98 Jewish kibbutzim in the American and the British occupation zones in Germany) and searching for relatives around the world, arranging accommodation, cultural work, and others. There have been set up: a press office, a Health Department, a department for relief, a department for a children’s home, a drama club, a sports club, and others. The residents collect historical materials, songs from the concentration camps, accounts, and memories.

The Central Committee conducted a survey among the camp residents asking them what countries they wanted to emigrate to, with the following results:

50 Pen name of Yankev (or Jacob) Pat (1890–1966), a Bund activist, teacher, and writer born in Białystok (then part of the Russian Empire). He promoted the Yiddish secular school system in interwar Poland. In 1938, he visited the United States and remained there due to the beginning of the Second World War. Pat became a leading member of the Jewish Labor Committee, the Congress for Jewish Culture, and the Workmen’s Circle Schools.

51 *Forverts* (Forward) was founded in 1897 by the Jewish Socialist Press Federation to foster community and build cohesion among Jewish immigrants from Europe. It quickly became the leading Yiddish newspaper in the United States. Under the guidance of Abraham Cahan (1860–1951), who was its editor from 1903 to 1951, the paper combined conventional news coverage with a commitment to democratic socialism and Jewish trade unionism. At its peak in the 1920s and early 1930s, it had a circulation of 275,000. Julian Levinson, Art. Forverts, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC* vol. 2, 630–632.

52 Y. Vilner [Yankev Pat], Di 10,783 Iden fun dem Belzen-lager in Daytshland hoben shoyng geentfert oyf der frage vu zeyer heymland zol zayn [10,783 Jews from the Belsen Concentration Camp in Germany Have Already Answered Where Their Homeland Should Be], in: *Forverts*, November 25, 1945, 2.

Poland – 390 people.
Hungary – 813 people.
Romania – 845 people.
America – 1,000 people.
England – 276 people.
Greece – 72 people.
Other countries – 67 people.
Palestine – 7,370 people.

This means that over 68 % of all the Jews in Bergen-Belsen want to go to the Land of Israel, while the rest, about 31 %, want to go to other countries. The majority of the 10,000 Jews are Polish Jews, but only 390 of them want to return to Poland.

A Jewish Workers' Committee in the Feldafing Camp

“Undzer Tsayt”⁵³ (November) published an interesting letter from the Feldafingcamp, which reports the creation of a Jewish Labor Committee⁵⁴ incorporating 52 workers' groups of various professions, both manual and intellectual. A choir and a drama club have been set up. The letter talks about a demonstration organized by the Jewish Labor Committee to mark the anniversary of the beginning of the war. During the preparations for the demonstration, disagreements with the other groups took place, but eventually unity prevailed. We quote from the letter:

53 *Undzer tsayt* (Our Time) was a Yiddish monthly of the Bundists in Poland, published in Warsaw in the 1920s, defining Bundism's theoretical and practical goals. After the Nazi invasion in 1939, many members of the Bund fled Poland, some of them relocating to New York City. There the journal was revived in 1941, promoting socialism, Yiddish culture, but most importantly to rally support for the Jews trapped in Europe. Saul Hankin, *Brothers and Sisters of Work and Need: The Bundist Newspaper *Unzer Tsayt* and its Role in New York City, 1941–1944*, unpublished BA thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2013; David Slucki, *The International Jewish Labor Bund after 1945: Toward a Global History*, New Brunswick, NJ, 2012, 46–74.

54 Presumably modeled after the Jewish Labor Committee, founded in 1934 in New York by predominantly Yiddish-speaking immigrant labor unionists and Bundists. Its aim was to support Jewish labor institutions in Europe, promote the anti-Hitler underground movement, and combat antisemitism in the United States. In 1936, together with the American Jewish Congress, it launched a boycott campaign against goods from Nazi Germany.

“Following prolonged consultations, it was resolved to elect a committee that would provide a joint plan for such demonstration and rally. As a result, on Sabbath across the Feldafing camp there marched in one procession Bundists,⁵⁵ Zionists, the Orthodox and simply Jews carrying red banners and slogans.

Representatives of all the above-mentioned parties, including a rabbi, addressed the rally. The Bund column was led by our stewards, totaling 60 comrades. An American flag was carried in front of the procession, followed first by a Bund flag, then by a Zionist flag. The art group carried an enormous wreath and a slogan: ‘Glory to the victims of Hitler’s camps and crematoriums,’ followed by a huge red slogan with a picture of a young worker breaking a rifle, under an inscription: ‘Down with militarism!’ The masses, approximately 1,600 people, followed ...”

Document 33

Anonymous, “Absentee Journalism”

Bergen-Belsen, July 1946⁵⁶

Newspaper editorial, 1 page

Language: English

Unzer sztyyme. Organ fun der she’erit ha-pleita in der englisher zone, Supplement, July 1946, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004276, call no. 1964-Y-463.464, reels 12.3 and 13.1

55 The *Algemeyner yidisher arbiter-bund in Lite, Poyln un Rusland* (General Jewish Labor Bund in Lithuania, Poland and Russia), commonly known as Bund, was a Jewish socialist political movement founded in Tsarist Russia in 1897. It advocated for the rights of Jewish workers, promoting socialism and secular Jewish culture. It played an important role in organizing Jewish workers, establishing trade unions, and agitating for social and political reforms. The Bund also emphasized the preservation of Yiddish language and culture. Its strong opposition to Zionism often led to clashes with other Jewish groups. Gertrud Pickhan, *Art. Bund*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC* vol. 1, 568–575.

56 The editorial is unnumbered, however, based on the content of the editorial it was written in July 1946, 15 months after the liberation of Bergen-Belsen.

Unzer Sztyme (Our Voice)
Organ of the liberated Jews in the British Zone

PUBLISHER: Central Committee for the liberated Jews in the British Zone –
 BERGEN-BELSEN

EDITORIAL STAFF:⁵⁷ Rafael Olevisky ◇ David Rosental [sic] ◇ Paul Trepman

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO:

“UNZER SZTYME.” C/O CENTRAL JEWISH COMMITTEE,

618 MIL. GOV. DET., B.A.O.R.⁵⁸

Editorial.

Absentee Journalism

Some of the less responsible newspapers in England, in their articles and reports on Jewish Displaced Persons and their camps, draw a picture of life which is misleading and which, if not corrected, may tend to the alienation of sympathy and understanding to which our people in the camps are entitled. Only three months after the liberation of Belsen, one newspaper correspondent described this wretched place as “The gayest city in Europe,” and rightly many sharp retorts were given to this complete misrepresentation of a situation in which, outwardly, people were seen to be walking about in the open on a fine day, perhaps to escape for a while from the unfurnished, overcrowded barrack rooms in which they lived. It is our function, as the mouthpiece of the people whom we represent, to give the background picture of life in the camps, so as to place any reports in their proper perspective.

It is now fifteen months after liberation and yet thousands of Jews are still kept in the camps without the chance of doing productive work or of living a normal family life – and this within so short a distance from the site known as “The Horror Camp.” It is beyond any doubt that there cannot be any future for Jews in this country which is detested by them, and which has only memories of horror and the mass graves to associate them with it. They wish to emigrate and the country to which their minds are turned is Palestine, as the visiting members of the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry discovered for themselves. Their one desire is to be given the elementary human right to

57 Olevisky, Rosenthal, and Trepman also co-edited an early photo album of the Holocaust, *Undzer khurbn in bild* (Our Destruction in Pictures, Bergen-Belsen 1946). After Olevisky’s immigration to Israel in 1949, he was one of the initiators of the Organization of Bergen-Belsen Survivors in Israel, which he would ultimately lead from 1960 until his death. After Trepman immigrated to Montreal, he organized the local chapter of Bergen-Belsen survivors.

58 British Army of the Rhine.

start a fresh and normal life in an atmosphere of dignity and security which only Palestine offers them.

What do the passing correspondents expect to happen to any group of people whose high hopes are continually thwarted? Do they really think that people can go on living as paupers who receive their daily rations without a lowering of the confidence, they had in those who are designing the postwar world? Are not our people entitled to a clear indication as to their future in which they will take their place as productive and normal citizens in the land which the world proclaimed to be the Jewish National Home? The wonder is that here in Belsen in spite of all, are to be found forces of civilisation at work.

Into the sensational pictures drawn by some passing reporters comes the dark spectre of the black-market.⁵⁹ Responsible leaders here, as elsewhere, condemn those few who have yielded to this vice, but surely the basic cause for this malpractice to which a small proportion has fallen victim is that they are denied the basic conditions of a normal life. Far be it from us to condone any evil practice, but it is a distortion of the true picture if the small negative element is thrown into relief, and nothing is said about the numerous progressive movements and institutions which the people of Belsen have created through their own initiative. Why do they not describe our primary and high schools, our technical school, our Chalutz groups,⁶⁰ our sport clubs, our workers' canteen and club, our drama studio and, may we add, this journal too? Let correspondents listen to our young children speaking Hebrew fluently, to the din and noise in the technical school workshops, to the folk comedy and drama in the tent theatre. Let them investigate the constructive and social processes at work in Belsen and elsewhere D.P.s are concentrated and present that side of the picture too.

If the outside world is really interested in us, we want our case to be presented in terms of people who have suffered much but who are nevertheless looking to the future. We maintain our right to press forward our claim to the completion of our liberation, when we shall no longer feel the social stigma attached to the term D.P.⁶¹ These long months of waiting have not been

59 Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence*, 145–196.

60 *Ḥalutz* (Heb., pioneer; pl. *ḥaluzim*); groups preparing Jewish DPs for immigration to Palestine.

61 The alleged stigma felt by DPs could be the result of several, often interrelated, factors, referring to a perceived external shame as well as internalized trauma. Reliance on international aid and living in camps portrayed DPs as dependent and burdensome. The loss of home, community, and national belonging, signifying statelessness and limbo could lead to feelings of shame or inferiority. Moreover, surviving the Holocaust or other forms of persecution, evoked pity and discomfort in many outsiders,

frittered away by all of us. There are many young people here who have used this protracted period to prepare themselves to become normal citizens and strike roots deeply in the soil of our ancient and reborn homeland. But let it be known also that the period of waiting and preparing is now full. We are trying hard to cling to the faith we once held so firmly in the ultimate triumph of just causes. We fervently hope that, in the critical days ahead, the carrying out of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Commission will be decided upon, so that the final stamp will be placed on our liberation and our long-suffering faith justified.

Document 34

Comité israélite central pour la zone d'occupation Français en Allemagne, "Nachrichten Nr. 1"

Constance, October 1946

Typewritten circular, 8 pages; typewritten archival signature on every page, on page 1 also handwritten; lacunae due to faded letters

Language: German

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 116, folder 1635

Herausgegeben vom COMITE ISRAELITE CENTRAL ⁶² pour la Zone d'Occupation Français en ⁶³ Allemagne	Oktober 1946 <u>"NACHRICHTEN"</u> Nr. 1 ◇◇◇	CONSTANCE Sigismundstr. 21 Tel. 916
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while at the same time being an unbearable traumatic burden to cope with. Ruth Leys, *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After*, Princeton, NJ, 2009.

62 The Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the French Zone of Germany was founded in December of 1945, headquartered in Constance. Scholarship diverges on the number of Jewish survivors served by the Central Committee in the French Zone of Germany, ranging anywhere from 600 to 1,800 to 3,000 — a small number in comparison to the populations served by its counterparts in the American and British zones. Koenigseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 79 f.

63 Lacuna due to a stain.

An

alle Juden der franz. besetzten Zone!
Chawerim!⁶⁴

Wir haben uns entschlossen, dem Beispiel unserer Brüder und Schwestern der amerikanischen und englischen Zone zu folgen. Alle jüdischen D.P. in den anderen Zonen, die von der Hitler-Tyranei [sic] befreit wurden, haben gleich nach ihrer Befreiung ihre kulturelle Arbeit aufgenommen. So erschienen schon längst in jenen Zonen mehrere Zeitschriften und sogar Tageszeitungen in jüdischer und hebräischer Sprache.⁶⁵ Nur die französische Zone hat bis jetzt in dieser Hinsicht nichts unternommen.⁶⁶

Chawerim! Mit diesem Blatt wollen wir beginnen.⁶⁷ Wir wollen unseren jüdischen Geist und unsere Kultur stärken, wir wollen sie fortsetzen. Die Hitler-Tyranei hat den grössten Teil unserer Intelligenz vernichtet. Unsere Gelehrten, Ingenieure, Ärzte, Wissenschaftler fanden den schrecklichsten Tod in den Folterungskammern und Gasöfen Hitlers. Die Absicht des Hitler-Regimes war, unsere Kultur und Wissenschaft restlos zu vernichten. Es ist ihm aber nicht gelungen. Der überlebende jüdische Geist lebt und wird weiterleben. Mit dem Erscheinen dieses Blattes wollen wir dem gemeinsamen [sic] Ziel, welches wir verfolgen, vor der Öffentlichkeit zum Ausdruck bringen. Wir wollen die Verbindung zwischen den einzelnen Ortschaften, wo Juden in der französischen Zone leben, stärken und unsere Meinungen tauschen.

Wir erwarten von Euch den grössten Anteil.

Das COMITE ISRAELITE CENTRAL
pour la Zone Francaise en Allemagne.

◇◇◇

64 Heb., friends, comrades; sg. *haver*.

65 Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*; Anne-Katrin Henkel/Thomas Rahe (eds.), *Publizistik in Jüdischen Displaced-Persons-Camps im Nachkriegsdeutschland: Charakteristika, Medientypen und bibliothekarische Überlieferung*, Frankfurt a.M. 2014; Ayelet Kuper Margalioth, *Yiddish Periodicals Published by Displaced Persons, 1946–1949*, PhD dissertation, Magdalen College, Oxford 1997.

66 In 1946, only about 1,300 DPs lived in the French occupation zone.

67 A second issue of the *Nachrichten* appeared in November 1946. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*, 15. It is unknown whether further issues were published.

Erscheint einmal in Monat: Verantwortlich: A. Hochhäuser,⁶⁸ M. Gerstenfeld.⁶⁹

[2] MIT ROSCH-HASCHANAH⁷⁰ 5707.

Wie immer, auch dieses Jahr haben wir Abschied vom alten Jahr 5706 genommen und mit voller Hoffnung auf die Zukunft, das neue Jahr begrüßt. Bei diesem Abschied wollen wir nicht nur auf das vergangene Jahr zurückblicken. Uns erinnern bei dieser Gelegenheit die letzten 7 Jahre. Diese Jahre haben ganz Europa die Freiheit geraubt. Ein schreckliches Gewitter voller Unglück durchzog in diesen Jahren die Erde. Der schlechte Geist hat den guten angegriffen und führte jahrelang mit ihm einen Kampf auf Tod und Leben. Nichts war ihm zu schade und alle Mittel waren ihm recht, um seine Schandtaten durchzuführen. Wen aber hat dieses Unglück am meisten getroffen? Uns Juden! Wie gerne will jeder von uns diese furchtbare Vergangenheit vergessen, die das Hitler-Regime hinter sich zurückgelassen hat. Keiner von uns aber kann das vergessen.

Unsere Eltern, Kinder, Brüder und Schwestern, die [sic] alle unschuldigen Opfer, denen die Nazimörder das Leben genommen haben, schreien noch laut nach Rache. Wir aber sind kein Volk, welches Rache in die Tat umsetzt. Wir fordern nur Verantwortung.

Der gute Geist hat den schlechten besiegt. Die Hauptverbrecher die der Menschheit so viel Leiden und Unglück gebracht haben, sind auf die Anklagebank gebracht worden. Vor uns steht jetzt eine Frage: Was wäre, wenn die unschuldigen Opfer, deren Verantwortung eben die vor einigen Tagen verurteilten Hauptkriegsverbrecher tragen, aufstehen könnten?⁷¹ Sie hätten bestimmt gezweifelt, sie hätten sich selbst gefragt, waren wir wirklich schuld? Wenn sie das Resultat des Nürnberger Prozesses hörten. Ein und ein halbes Jahr schweigen die Kanonen, ein und ein halbes Jahr sind wir befreit. Noch haben wir nicht die ersehnte Freiheit. Zum zweiten Mal als befreite Menschen feiern wir Rosch-Haschana. Rosch-Haschana 5706 hat unseren Wunsch nicht

68 Abraham Hochhäuser (1925/1926-?) hailed from Kraków and was – at only 19 years old – elected as the first head of the Central Committee in the French Zone of Germany. He published a factual report of what he witnessed and experienced during the Holocaust in 1948. Abraham Hochhäuser, *Unter dem Gelben Stern. Ein Tatsachenbericht aus der Zeit von 1933 bis 1945*, Koblenz 1948. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*.

69 Moses (Misha) Gerstenfeld was born in Brody (today Ukraine) and served as the Secretary General of the Central Committee in the French Zone of Germany.

70 The Jewish new year festival.

71 On September 30, and October 1, 1946, the verdict of the International Military Tribunal against the main war criminals in Nuremberg was pronounced.

erfüllt. Unsere Augen hier blicken auf Erez,⁷² wo die Sonne für uns für immer aufgehen muss. Dahin wollen wir! Dort wartet man auf uns, um bei dem Aufbau unserer Heimat Anteil zu nehmen. Unseren Brüdern und Schwestern in Erez versichern wir, Ihr könnt auf uns rechnen. Das ist aller unser Wunsch.

Möge das neue Jahr 5707 diesen unseren einzigen Wunsch erfüllen.
G.M.⁷³

[3]

UNSERE JUGEND.

Jerusalem wurde zerstört, aber die Thora wurde gerettet. Diesen Psalm beteten wir zum Nila-Gebet am Ende des heiligen Versöhnungstages.⁷⁴ Als die Römer unter [sic] Nebukadnetzar Jerusalem zerstörten, retteten einige vom Volk das Heiligste, die Thora und mit der Thora begann ein neues Aufleben des Volkes Israel.⁷⁵

Wir Überlebenden aus der grössten Vernichtung und Schlacht der Geschichte, wir müssen auch das kostbare Gut, die Rettung der Jugend vollbringen. Wir haben eine grosse Aufgabe, die wir erfüllen müssen. Die Substanz eines jeden Volkes ist die Jugend und sie soll dem Volke dienen. Wir müssen unsere Jugend in normale Bahnen leiten und ihnen [sic] den Weg zeigen, den sie zu gehen haben. Daher ist es unsere Aufgabe, alle verfügbaren Kräfte zu sammeln, um dieser grossen Aufgabe gewachsen zu sein. Wir müssen der Jugend, die noch heute ziellos dahinlebt, die Lehren unserer Thora näher bringen. Wir müssen sie zurückführen zu all dem, was sie einst bei ihren Eltern und Lehrern gesehen und gelernt haben [sic]. Wir müssen ihnen ersetzen, was ihnen von mörderischer Hand geraubt worden ist. Alles dieses zu tun, ist unsere heiligste Pflicht, der wir uns nicht entziehen dürfen. Wollen wir, dass unser Volk erhalten bleiben soll, dann müssen wir sie hineinführen in unseren Schatz der Wissenschaft und Weisheit der Heiligen

72 Eretz Israel (Land of Israel).

73 Probably Moses Gerstenfeld.

74 Ps 79.

75 Obviously, the author intended to write “und” instead of “unter” since Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 640–562 BCE), king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, conquered the Kingdom of Judah, including Jerusalem, in 597 BCE (the destruction of the First Temple followed in 586). In 70 CE, at the hands of the Romans under Emperor Titus (39–81), the Second Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed. For the destruction of the Second Temple, it can be assumed that the Torah was preserved despite the plundering by Roman soldiers, but Jewish tradition also assumes that it was saved when the First Temple was destroyed.

Schrift und der Geschichte. Wir müssen ihnen sagen, wer unsere Lehrer und Meister waren. Erst dann wird sie wissen, dass ihr Leben einen Sinn hat. Wenn wir diese Aufgabe erfüllt haben, werden wir unsere Thora und unsere Jugend gerettet haben, und der Jugend das gegeben haben, was sie für die Zukunft braucht, um bestehen zu können und allen Stürmen zu trotzen.

A.H.⁷⁶

[4] „HILFE UND AUFBAU“ (SCHWEIZ):

Das Schweizer Judentum hat seit Kriegsende sich um das Los der befreiten jüdischen D.P. in der französisch besetzten Zone gleich interessiert. Sie unterstützen die D.P. in materieller wie in geistiger Hinsicht. Die Organisation „Hilfe und Aufbau“ leitet alle diese wichtigen Lebensfragen vorbildlich. Die aufopferungsvollen und unermüdlichen Leistungen des Präsidenten der Israelitischen Gemeinde in Kreuzlingen (Schweiz), Herrn Robert Wieler,⁷⁷ hat ganz besonders die Achtung und die Sympathie bei den jüdischen D.P. in der ganzen französischen Zone gewonnen. Besonders zu erwähnen ist die Krankenhilfe des Schweizer Judentums. So wurden viele Befreite von den K.Z.-Lagern Hitler-Deutschlands zur Pflege und Erholung ihrer Gesundheit nach der Schweiz gebracht. Der [sic] gut entwickelten und organisierten jüdischen Zentrum in Gailingen verdankt [sich] der aufopferungsvollen und unermüdlichen Arbeit des Herrn Issak⁷⁸ in Diesenhofen [sic] (Schweiz).

DER JOINT IN DER FRANZ. BESETZTEN ZONE.

Wie in den anderen Zonen ist auch in der französischen Zone der Joint tätig. Der American Joint hat seinen Sitz in Konstanz, gut geleitet von Herrn Direktor Laufer⁷⁹ und Herrn Lang,⁸⁰ die aus Frankreich zu uns gesandt worden sind.

76 Probably Abraham Hochhäuser.

77 Robert Wieler (1912–2012) and his family supported many people who had fled across the border to Switzerland during and after the Nazi era. After the forced dissolution of the Jewish Community in Constance, he co-founded the Jewish community in Kreuzlingen and served as its president for over ten years. The family moved to Israel in the late 1970s.

78 Possibly Erwin Isaak. See Document 36.

79 Henri Laufer. See Document 27.

80 Max Lang was Henri Laufer's secretary at the JDC office in Constance.

Der Joint steht in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem Zentral-Komitee [sic]. Alle Hilfsaktionen des Joint werden gemeinsam mit dem Z.K.⁸¹ besprochen und durchgeführt.

[5]

DIE COMITES BERICHTEN:

KONSTANZ.

Konstanz mit seinen 150 Menschen entfaltet eine gute Gemeinschaftsarbeit. Im ehemaligen jüdischen Gemeindehaus werden 150 Menschen täglich mit warmen [sic] Essen versorgt. Im ersten Stock des Gemeindehauses befinden sich die Büroräume des Comité, so wie die Aumonerie Israélite,⁸² welche von dem Feldrabbiner Lt. Bader⁸³ geleitet wird. Der vor kurzem hier eingetroffene Vertreter der Jewish Agency, Herr Dr. Katz,⁸⁴ hat seine Tätigkeit in unserem Hause aufgenommen. Auch für von auswärts eintreffende Gäste ist mit Unterkunft gesorgt [sic].

Das Comité veranstaltet oft im Gemeinschaftsraum Referate, welche von Chawerim⁸⁵ gut besucht werden. Hebräische, englische, und französische Kurse weisen eine grosse Zahl von Teilnehmern auf. Auch befindet sich im eigenen Hause der Betreuer der Gemeinde.

Die Überführung der vier jüdischen Opfer des Nazismus vom Friedhof Singen nach dem jüdischen Friedhof in Gailingen, fand am Erew Rosch-Haschanah statt und gestaltete sich zu einer imposanten Trauerfeier, an welcher die Vertreter der Militärregierung, der UNRRA, sowie verschiedene jüd. Organisationen teilnehmen. Am offenen Grabe sprach der Präsident des Z.K. tief empfundene Worte.

81 Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the French Zone of Germany.

82 The French military chaplaincy, known as the Aumonerie militaire, was established in 1880 through legislation passed by the French Parliament. The legislation outlines the roles and responsibilities of chaplains serving in the military, catering to the spiritual needs of soldiers of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. After the Second World War, (Jewish) military chaplains were sent to the occupation zones in Germany and Austria.

83 Military chaplain Lt. Bader was a member of the French Army and had relocated to Constance at the beginning of 1946 succeeding Rabbi Robert Monheit (1920-?). Bader left Constance already in November of the same year to continue his studies in Paris. Adler, Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben, 16.

84 Nochum Katz.

85 Heb. friends, comrades; sg. *haver*, pl. fem. *haverot*.

Elf Chawerim der Gemeinde Konstanz und Egg folgten einer Einladung zum ersten Tag Rosch-Haschanah nach Kreuzlingen (Schweiz), wo sie an dem Gottesdienst teilnahmen. Die jüdische Bevölkerung, an ihrer Spitze der Präsident der Gemeinde Kreuzlingen, Herr Robert Wieler, bereitet ihnen einen überaus herzlichen Empfang.

SPORT.

Die kürzlich in Konstanz ins Leben gerufene Sportgemeinschaft „Maccabi“⁸⁶ unter Leitung von < >. Lewinski hat viele Gewinne im Fußball wie im Tischtennis zu verzeichnen.

|6| FISCHEREI KIBBUZ-EGG.

Der vor kurzem unter Leitung von Chaim Prussak⁸⁷ ins Leben gerufene Fischereikibbutz Egg hat grosse Erfolge zu verzeichnen. Der Kibbutz zählt 50 Mitglieder. Eine intensive Fachausbildung im Fischereiberuf bereitet ihre Menschen zur Auswanderung nach Erez vor, um dort ihre produktive Arbeit fortzusetzen.

Eine gute erfolgreiche Arbeit wird von ihnen geleistet. Eine dramatische Gruppe⁸⁸ bereitet sich in kurzem der Öffentlichkeit vorzustellen [sic].

GAILINGEN.⁸⁹

Gailingen stellt heute ein gut organisiertes jüdisches Zentrum dar. Drei Kibbutzim sind zur Zeit in ihrer vollen Tätigkeit, Drorr, Haganah, Moledeth.

86 In addition to political, cultural, and religious activities in the DP camps, sports clubs formed a key component of the “return to life.” Sporting events were of great significance to the survivors, emphasizing independence, strength, and physical recovery, along with a return to normality. Maccabi sports clubs had existed in Germany before the war, dating back to Max Nordau’s (1849–1923) call to create a “muscular Judaism” as part of the Zionist movement beginning in 1898. Other sports clubs besides Maccabi (named after the heroes of the Hanukkah story) took on powerful Hebrew names like “Bar Kokhba,” after the legendary Jewish hero who led a revolt against Roman rule, and *Hakoah* (The Force or The Strength) and *Hagibor* (The Hero).

87 Chaim Prussak (1912–?), most likely born in Strzemieszyce Wielkie, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), was head of the fishery-kibbutz in Constance-Egg that existed from October 1946 to March 1947. He also established an agricultural training camp (*hakhsharah*) and headed the kibbutz *Dror* in Gailingen. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*, 65 f.

88 Most likely: theater group.

89 Gailingen, a small village 50 km west of Constance, accommodated the first Jewish DPs in December of 1945. By mid 1946, three kibbutzim – *Dror* (headed by

Im „Snif“⁹⁰ Friedrichsheim befinden sich ca. 100 Personen, mit mehreren kleinen Kindern. Die kulturelle Arbeit in Gailingen steht auf einem guten Niveau.

JORDANBAD.⁹¹

Das gut organisierte jüdische Zentrum in Jordanbad zählt z.Zt. über 300 Menschen. Der Kibbutz „Haschomer-Hazair“ mit seinen 220 Menschen führt eine gute jugendliche Erziehungsarbeit. Die Vorbereitung der Jugend für die „Alliah“ hat gute Erfolge zu verzeichnen. Der Kibbutz hat bereits einen Teil seiner Menschen nach Erez Israel gebracht. Ein grosser Teil der aus Polen und Russland nach hier neu eingetroffener Jugendlicher [sic], sind in diesem Kibbutz untergebracht worden.⁹² Besonders zu erwähnen ist hier die unermüdliche Tätigkeit der Madame Peredes [sic]⁹³ von UNRRA, bei dem Herüberbringen und einordnen dieser neu eingetroffenen Menschen in den Kibbutz. Ausserdem befinden sich in Jordanbad über 100 Menschen, deren Ziel es ist, sobald wie nur möglich eine neue Heimstätte aufzubauen.

|7| SAULGAU.

In Saulgau und Umgebung befinden sich 120 jüdische D.P. Ein dort gut organisiertes Comité unter Leitung von Herrn Berkowitz [sic]⁹⁴ vertritt gut die Interessen ihrer Menschen.

RAVENSBURG.

Auch das kleine jüdische Zentrum Ravensburg hat gut verstanden, seine Gemeinschaft aufzubauen und hat ein gut organisiertes Comité geschaffen. Das Comité in Ravensburg steht unter der Leitung von Herrn Schweizer.⁹⁵

Chaim Prussak), Haganah (headed by Joel Reichenberg) and Moledeth (headed by Jakob Grunsberg) – and a *hakhsharah* “Am Friedrichsheim” were operating in the village hosting altogether around 300 people (see Document 27). At the end of 1947, most Jewish DPs had left Gailingen. Ibid, 65; Koenigseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 255.

90 Heb., local branch, group; pl. *snifim*.

91 Among the children’s kibbutzim in Jordanbad, one named Le-Shih̄rur, organized in Łódź, numbered 26 members (equally divided between boys and girls) with an average age of 15. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 112.

92 These kibbutzim were organized by the *Briḥah* movement, which transported young children’s kibbutzim from Poland to the French Zone.

93 Elsa Paredes-Delboy was an American UNRRA official who was appointed head of the kibbutz in July 1946.

94 Salomon Berkowicz was head of the Jewish committee in Saulgau.

95 Jerzy Schweizer led the Jewish DP community in Ravensburg.

FREIBURG.

Der Oberrat der Israeliten für Baden, mit dem Sitz in Freiburg, unter der Leitung von Herrn Nathan Rosenberg [sic],⁹⁶ entfaltet in der Wiedergutmachungssache für die Juden Badens eine rege Tätigkeit.⁹⁷

LINDAU.

Wie wir erfahren haben, soll in Lindau ein neues Comité gegründet worden sein. Zum Bedauern ist es, dass das Comité in Lindau bis heute die Verbindung mit dem Z.K. in der franz. besetzten Zone nicht aufgenommen hat.⁹⁸

VERANSTALTUNGEN.

Am Mittwoch den 9. Oktober fanden anlässlich der kommenden Wahlen zum 22. zion. Kongress⁹⁹ einige Referate, gehalten von den Chawerim vom Kibbuz

96 Rosenberg was reinstated as head of the city's Jewish community in June 1945 and appointed deputy director of the Rabbinate of Jews in the French-occupied zone. He successfully restituted numerous Jewish properties and worked to rebuild Freiburg's Jewish community.

97 *Wiedergutmachung* is the general term for "restitution" or "reparation." Literally meaning to "make good again," the term was used in the negotiations between the West German government and the State of Israel regarding compensation for predominantly German-Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, and would later refer to the reparations agreements made between the government of West Germany and survivors of forced labor camps and other sites of exploitation and persecution. It is noteworthy to see the term already used here in the fall 1946 on a local scale in Freiburg. Dan Diner, Art. Restitution, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 5, 407–417.

98 Historiography paints a mixed picture of French-occupied Lindau. While a care center for concentration camp prisoners was established in November 1945, the creation of a committee proved difficult due to disputes among Jewish protagonists. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*, 38.

99 The 22nd Zionist Congress took place in Basel, Switzerland, December 10–12, 1946. As the first congress convened since August 1939 and the beginning of the war, it was a stark evocation of the disastrous losses suffered by European Jewry during the Holocaust. Moreover, the Zionist movement still faced dramatic struggles in the effort to create the Jewish state, as the British policy of the 1939 White Paper restricting immigration to Palestine remained in place and Jewish DPs languished in refugee camps for a second year after liberation. In his memoirs *Trial and Error*, Chaim Weizmann, then president of the WZO, describes the eerie scene, when the delegates of the Zionist movement met for the first time since 1939: "It was a dreadful experience to stand before that assembly and to run one's eye along row after row of delegates, finding among them hardly one of the friendly faces which had adorned

„Drorr“ statt. |8| Der Chawer Mosche gibt uns einen historischen Überblick der vergangenen und gegenwärtigen Situation des jüdischen Volkes. In seinen interessanten Ausführungen weist er besonders darauf hin, dass die einzige Lösung für das jüdische Volk Palästina ist, in welcher die produktive jüdische Arbeit die Hauptrolle spielt. Als zweiten Redner hörten wir den Chawer Feiwke. Er schildert die Stellung Englands zum Palästina-Problem. Er unterstrich, dass der englische Teilungsplan Palästinas, nicht zur Lösung dieses Problems führen kann und zeigte daraufhin, dass eine Zusammenarbeit mit den Arabern möglich sei. Der letzte Redner wies besonders auf die Bedeutung der kommenden Wahlen zum 22. zion. Kongress hin. Mit der Hatikwah und der *Tehežknáh*¹⁰⁰ wurde dieser Abend beendet.

BEKANNTMACHUNG.

Das Zentralkomitee der franz. besetzten Zone in Konstanz veranstaltet am 18. Oktober, in den Räumen des „Odeon“, Bodanplatz, ein Simchasthorefest.¹⁰¹ Das Z.K. ladet alle Chawerim und Chaweroth herzlichst ein.

ALLE erfüllen ihre Pflicht zu den kommenden Wahlen zum 22. zion. Kongress mit Abgabe ihrer Stimmen.

Die Redaktion bittet alle Nachrichten und Artikel bis spätestens 25. eines jeden Monats uns zuzusenden auf Adresse Comité Israélite Central, Konstanz, Sigismundstr. 21, Tel. 916.

past Congresses. Polish Jewry was missing; Central and Southeast European Jewry was missing; German Jewry was missing. The two main groups represented were the Palestinians and the Americans; between them sat the representatives of the fragments of European Jewry, together with some small delegations from England, the Dominions, and South America.” Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann*, New York 1949, 543.

100 Most likely *Tehežakna* (Strengthen the Hands), the Labor Zionist anthem based on Chaim Nachman Bialik’s poem *Birkat am* (The Blessing of a People), written in honor of the Jewish pioneers in Ottoman Palestine in 1894 and published in the periodical *Mi-mizrah u-ma’arav* (From East and West) in Vienna. *Tehežakna*’s melody was composed by the well-known music researcher Avraham Zewi Idelsohn (1882–1938).

101 A celebration in honor of the Jewish holiday of Simchat Torah (lit. celebration of the Torah), marking the conclusion and beginning of the annual cycle of Torah readings. The festival follows the biblical Jewish holiday of Shemini Azeret (the eighth day of assembly) marked at the conclusion of the Sukkot holiday in the Jewish month of Tishrei (usually corresponding to September/October on the Gregorian calendar). Sylvie-Anne Goldberg, Art. Course of the Year, in: Diner (ed.) *EJHC*, vol. 2, 129–139.

Document 35

Genêt (Janet Flanner),¹⁰² “Letter from Aschaffenburg”

New York, October 20, 1948

Journal article, 4 pages

Language: English

The New Yorker,¹⁰³ October 30, 1948, 98–101

[Flanner sheds light on the c. 750,000 DPs in the American Zone. Three years after the end of the war, they still live in IRO camps, often former Wehrmacht garrisons that have become small, self-sufficient towns. Each camp has a local administration and trade system, replicating the social and economic structures of the larger society, albeit under severe constraints. She depicts the camps’ segregation by nationality and religion to prevent conflicts, but notes that tensions among residents nonetheless persist. Flanner describes the residents’ past tragedies and their present waiting for emigration or family reunification. Jewish DPs who were largely optimistic about emigrating to Israel, stand in stark contrast to the more disillusioned Polish Catholics and Jewish DPs seeking to immigrate to the United States who were impacted by restrictive U.S. immigration policies which served a severe blow to DP morale. Flanner observes that many countries’ DP immigration policies resemble a slave market, with a preference for young, strong, single men over families, reflecting a mean-spirited global response to the DP crisis. Despite humanitarian efforts, most DPs seem to have lost their sense of choice and connection to reality, dreaming of an idealized America while fearing insecurity and Russian influence.]

102 Janet Flanner (1892–1978, pen name Genêt) was an American writer and narrative journalist who served as the Paris correspondent of *The New Yorker* magazine from 1925 until her retirement in 1975. Flanner once wrote that she was dubbed Genêt, the name under which she composed her “Letter from Paris” series in *The New Yorker*, because its editor Harold Ross (1892–1951) thought it sounded like a “Frenchification” of Janet. Michael Dirda, Foreign Correspondence: Janet Flanner in Europe, in: *Washington Post*, November 17, 1979.

103 *The New Yorker* is an American magazine founded by Harold Ross and Jane Grant (1892–1972) in 1925. Known for its rigorous journalism, literary fiction, and sophisticated humor, it publishes weekly, reaching a circulation of around 1.2 million copies. The magazine covers a wide range of topics, including politics, culture, arts, and current events, along with notable cartoons and illustrations. *The New Yorker* is esteemed for its in-depth reportage, critical reviews, and contributions from prominent writers and artists, maintaining a significant influence on American culture.

LETTER FROM ASCHAFFENBURG¹⁰⁴

October 20

After more than three years of peace, three-quarters of a million uprooted European human beings are still living in the American Zone of Germany, all of them willing to go anywhere on earth except home. In the course of this suspended period of time, these people have turned into statistics and initials. Five hundred and ninety-eight thousand of them have been formally metamorphosed into D.P.s [sic], or Displaced Persons, and are living in some three hundred International Refugee Organization¹⁰⁵ camps. (The remaining hundred and fifty thousand, because of their hazy D.P. status, are not entitled to full camp care, or, because of their realism or energy, have merged with the Germans – who guiltily hate them – and are struggling for jobs in the midst of German unemployment and weathering the dog-eat-dog existence of Germany's present-day economy.) What the camp D.P.s are really living in is three hundred limbos – chiefly former Wehrmacht garrisons, now ironically housing what is left of the expatriate nationals whom the Nazis maneuvered around Europe as doomed inferiors. One of the camps is outside the town of Aschaffenburg, in Bavaria, in a quadrangle of barracks on a hill. Another

104 This dispatch from Aschaffenburg describes the context of the situation of DPs in postwar Germany at a critical moment (October 1948). Following the dissolution of UNRRA in June 1947, the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization, and, as of August 20, 1948, the IRO, took over responsibility for more than 719,000 DPs and for protecting the interests of approximately 900,000 others. United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations* 1950, New York 1951, 982–992; Jan C. Hansen/Simone Lässig (eds.), *Refugee Crises, 1945–2000: Political and Societal Responses in International Comparison*, Cambridge 2020. The Jewish DPs overwhelmingly desired immigration to the newly established State of Israel (90 percent by Flanner's estimate), but clashed with IRO, which refused to send DPs to a war zone. The U.S. Displaced Persons Act of 1948 still limited who was eligible to come to the United States. It created a very narrow official definition of "DP" that included only those who had reached certain countries in Allied zones of occupation and required people to receive medical clearance and secure sponsorship from an American citizen in order to come to the United States.

105 The IRO was the successor organization of UNRRA, taking over the care and maintenance of DPs living in the American Zone after the dissolution of UNRRA in 1947/1948. The Preparatory Commission of the IRO gradually took over the responsibilities of UNRRA until it closed the last of its offices 1948. The IRO continued to operate until 1952, when it was replaced by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

camp is in Würzburg, where there are two garrisons, one on each side of the Main River, near the bombed remains of the famous fifteenth-century statue-inhabited bridge. Wherever these camps are, they tend to be monotonously alike – modern, German, military establishments. Typically, a camp is a quarter-mile square of harsh, four-story green stucco buildings that show signs of Allied bombings and D.P. repairs. According to I.R.O. rules, each building must house a minimum of three hundred D.P.s, in rows of communal bedrooms, all furnished out of salvaged materials and all smelling of smeared cleanliness, hall-room cooking, and cramped decencies. Every D.P. is theoretically entitled to forty-five square feet of living space. Sometimes a honeymoon pair is allowed to enjoy it. Otherwise, there may be in one room a couple, two children, and a mother-in-law, or three unrelated adults, with maybe a curtain for privacy. The beds are cots, and a packing case is likely to serve as a table. In such circumstances, the D.P.s dwell, eat, breed, wait and ponder their futures, living a simulacrum of life that has no connection with the world outside except through the world's callousness and charity.

Like a well-functioning imitation of a town, each camp has its D.P. mayor, police chief, rival political leaders, teachers, and garbage collectors, and one socially superior barracks, where the bourgeois remnants maintain the familiar notion of a select neighborhood, and where they cling together among fewer odors and try to keep up their French. Each camp is a microcosm of capitalistic society outside; D.P. shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters ply their trades, participating in financial transactions for which the medium of exchange is now the Deutsche Mark¹⁰⁶ but for which American baby foods, cigarettes, and canned goods, black-marketed by our occupying Army, provided the currency at the beginning.

Each of the three hundred limbos also enjoys the Old World ingredient of arrogant nationalisms and religions. At camp Wildflecken,¹⁰⁷ a former training school for Hitler's S.S., there are ten thousand Roman Catholic Poles; at

106 The Deutsche Mark replaced the Reichsmark in the three Western zones of occupation on June 20, 1948, set against the backdrop of increased Cold War tensions and the March 1948 departure of the Soviet Union from the Allied Control Council. The implementation of currency reform by the Americans, British and French in their zones of occupation wiped out savings for those who still had Reichsmarks. Currency reform and the elimination of price controls marked a major turning point in the postwar recovery.

107 For a detailed analysis of DP Camp Wildflecken, see Adam Seipp, *Refugee Town: Germans, Americans, and the Uprooted in Rural West Germany, 1945–52*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 44 (2009), no. 4, 675–695.

Giebelstadt,¹⁰⁸ a former Luftwaffe airfield, there are seventeen hundred Jews, mainly Polish; at Aschaffenburg, six thousand Orthodox Catholic Ukrainians; at Würzburg, a colony of Protestant Estonians; at Schweinfurt, two thousand Catholic Lithuanians. In the Orthodox Catholic camps, a church is usually set up in a barracks attic, on the ecclesiastical principle that no human activity in a building may take place on a higher level than the service to God does. On Sundays, the Aschaffenburg garret church is currently decked with gaudy dahlias from the camp gardens, a magnificent choir of twenty-four young males sings, and the altar, constructed of embroidery-covered American canned-food boxes, is piously served.

To maintain peace and cut down the number of fist fights, the I.R.O. tries to arrange matters so that each camp – or, at a minimum, each barracks – houses only one religion or nationality.¹⁰⁹ There is a ferocious patriotic dreg that still bubbles up in jealousy and pride as to which nationals have suffered most in the war. The numerically dominating Polish D.P.s, some Jewish and some Catholic, [99] point out that they are the only nationals who engaged in forced labor for the Nazis and who resisted Germans and Russians alike. The Balts, who mostly resisted only the Russians, brag least. The bouncy Ukrainians, who are the second-largest national group, claim that serving in Hitler's Army, which they did on a big scale, was merely a smart way of being anti-Russian. The Ukrainians are the most obstreperously nationalistic of the lot. Recently grown contemptuous of the Saturday-night folk dancing with which other groups keep their national memories warm, the Ukrainian D.P. Scientific Society of Aschaffenburg gave six soirée lectures of Tripilla Culture, and its prehistoric fishing habits and pottery.¹¹⁰ The Society handed out a pamphlet, explaining, in English, that "Tripilla is a peculiar rich culture five thousand years before our times in the Don River town of Tripilla by Kiev. Tripilla culture, we admit, constituted for the coming into existence of Ukrainians." The D.P. Ukrainians snoozed through the lectures and loved them.

108 On DP Camp Giebelstadt, see Jim G. Tobias, *Jüdische Displaced Persons in Franken 1945 bis 1949*, in: Michael Brenner/Daniela F. Eisenstein (eds.), *Die Juden in Franken*, Munich 2012, 251–264.

109 For discussion of Jewish DP life alongside non-Jewish DPs, see Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism*.

110 The Ukrainian Scientific Society (*Ukrainske Naukove Tovarystvo*) was established in Munich in 1945, and in Aschaffenburg in 1947. These short-lived societies were dedicated to promoting the teaching of classes on Ukrainian history and culture. They ceased to exist in 1949, but in the years before succeeded in propelling the development of a Ukrainian spirit within the DP camps.

Reality is further drained from D.P. camp life by the fact that many of the dulled, amiable-looking inhabitants have been through hegiras and immeasurable tragedies that in ordinary existence could prove heroism or lift morale but that in D.P. circles have merely levelled everyone to the cruel, flat surface of commonplace destiny. Some of them have smelled their families burning in crematories, have borne children in beet fields, or have been castrated like calves. Some have walked halfway across Europe on feet that became splayed, have suffered tortures like martyrs, have been beaten like slaves, have been tattooed with serial numbers. Almost all of them have not only survived their frightful experience but have physically recovered. Now the one remaining drama is the hope of emigration tomorrow or, as part of yesterday, of finding that some of their family is still alive, in another D.P. camp, and painstakingly getting their relatives, after months of red tape, into their camp, their barracks, the bed beside their own. Among the Slavs, especially, the family is precious flesh, to be reunited even unto the most remote, broken-down cousinship. This spring, a mysterious, fierce, silent little Polish girl, aged about thirteen, was picked up in Berlin by the German police and sent to an I.R.O. children's camp near Heidelberg. She disappeared, to hunt for somebody who turned out to be a D.P. great-aunt. By last month, the girl had fished out seven more apparently legitimate re- |100| mote relatives, from camps all over the American Zone; she now has them with her at Aschaffenburg. She refuses to tell how she travelled or got her clues. The D.P. grapevine is the best and most alert underground communication system in Western Europe today.

Of all those now homeless in this foreign land, the Jews are the cheeriest – a situation without precedent in the Jewish people's sad, roving history. Ninety per cent of the Jewish D.P.s in the American Zone have signed up to go to Israel.¹¹¹ Their leaders squabble, as a matter of principle, with the I.R.O., because it has a policy of not sending anyone to a war zone. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is sending the D.P.s out anyway, and with particular speed if they are healthy and under forty-five, the military age limit. Many of the Jewish camps are clustered near Bayreuth, with its operatic echoes of Hitler's favorite,

111 118,000 immigrants arrived in Israel over the course of 1948 and 68,000 of these came after 1948 when the major combat danger was lower (of the 50,000 who arrived between December 1947 and July 1948, 23,000 arrived after May 1948). For more on DP Zionism and migration to Israel during and after the 1948 war, along with the conscription campaign in the camps, which drafted Jewish DPs for fighting in the 1948 war, see Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, chap. 5.

Aryan composer.¹¹² The swellest Jewish camp is made up of Luftwaffe officers' homes at the Giebelstadt Airdrome. Like the inmates of several other Jewish camps, the Giebelstadt D.P.s are being supplied with various raw materials, for manufacture, by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In a bombed-out airfield machine shop, they are turning out jaunty caps and warm overcoats, and what are probably Europe's finest work shoes, of superb brown leather, with decorative steel brads and a slice of thin steel in the heels. The workers are careful to say that they do not know where these goods go, but the coats could be useful against Jerusalem's winter chill and the sturdy shoes are suited to Palestine's rocky fields. Some Giebelstadt D.P.s are earning enough money to pay German villagers to cut their wood and do their chores – a bitterly pleasant change.¹¹³

The hardest blows to D.P. morale have been the long delay by the United States in passing a refugee-immigration bill and then the nature of the act recently passed.¹¹⁴ The D.P.s know that America has generously fed their stomachs. They feel that its immigration bill starves their hopes. The act disfavors the predominating D.P. Polish Catholics and Jews; favors the minority Protestant Balts, as a weak insult to Russia; demands almost a Thomas Committee¹¹⁵ screening of D.P. convictions, characters, bodies, and literacies;

112 Richard Wagner (1813–1883) was well-known as Hitler's favorite composer. Wagner's focus on German national rebirth, his 1850 treatise on the harmful influence of "Judaism in Music," and his public commitment to antisemitism, made him a natural ally for the Nazi movement. After Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, the fascination with Wagner grew into a national cult. The Bayreuth Festival (where Wagner constructed a special opera house for the premiere of his epic four-opera cycle *Der Ring des Nibelungen*) was used as an opportunity to publicize Nazi propaganda and Nazi Party events prominently featured Wagner's music. James Loeffler, *Art. Music*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 4, 433–442.

113 Economic interactions reflected the complex and often fraught relationship between Jews and Germans in postwar Germany. While some Germans may have been willing to assist Jews in exchange for payment, others may have harbored resentment or hostility toward them, making such transactions difficult or even dangerous. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 221 f.

114 The Displaced Persons Act of 1948, signed into law by President Truman in June 1948. The provisions of the DP Act as originally passed by Congress severely limited who was eligible to come to the United States as DPs. In 1950, the DP Act was revised to expand the Act's definition of "DP" and introduce greater flexibility into the nationality quota, which had originally excluded many Jewish survivors who fled eastward and survived the war in the Soviet Union.

115 The House Committee on Un-American Activities was created in 1938 to examine suspected disloyalty and undermining activities among ordinary citizens, public

and requires, for those accepted, assurance, from sponsors, of jobs, and “safe and sanitary housing without displacing some other person from such housing” |101| – maybe brand-new mansions in the skies. The I.R.O., which views itself as self-liquidating, figures that, with today’s limited shipping, it can get seventy-five thousand D.P.s to our welcoming shores by midsummer next year. Those of the two hundred and five thousand allowed under the bill who fail to enter by July, 1950, can mildew to death in the camps, unless our congressmen think again.

As the London *Times*¹¹⁶ has noted, there is a whiff of the slave market in the invitations to D.P.s to enter most countries – including England, which cheerfully calls her D.P. immigration scheme Westward Ho!¹¹⁷ The D.P.s say cynically, “What is wanted is the pounds of flesh – young, strong, male, and single.” Few countries want wives, children, or old begetters. In fact, only Belgium has put into practice a humane scheme – she is admitting twenty thousand D.P. miners and, after three months’ work, their entire families.¹¹⁸ Iraq’s recent request for ten doctors without wives is merely the smallest and most candid national project. During the I.R.O.’s last fiscal year, which ended in July, it was able to settle all over the world only the equal of what the United States can legally admit in the next two years, idealist America having up to now admitted fewer D.P.s, proportionately, than any other larger power. After all the humanitarian talk, the world’s offers to save the D.P.s have been mean.

Most of the D.P.s now in camps have, through delay, lost their sense of choice in regard to what remains of life. From U.N.R.R.A., they attained their peak of “relief and rehabilitation” three years ago. Except for the Jews, whose faces are finally turned again toward Israel, the D.P.s are indeed unconnected

officials, and institutions believed to have Communist ties. In 1946, under Republican Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (1895–1970), it became a permanent body, hence the name “Thomas Committee.” Thomas expanded the investigation to include employees of the Hollywood film industry and the Screen Writers Guild. In 1960, Dalton Trumbo (1905–1976), screenwriter of the film *Exodus*, which told the story of the founding of the State of Israel, was also investigated by the committee. It was disbanded in 1975, although its function continues to be performed by the House Judiciary Committee.

116 Founded in 1785 by John Walter (1738–1812) *The London Times* (also known as the *The Times*) quickly established itself as a leading voice in British journalism. During the Second World War, *The Times* played a crucial role in informing the British public about the progress of the conflict, providing updates on military developments, government decisions, and the impact of the war on daily life.

117 Move west.

118 Around 5,000 Jewish DPs immigrated to Belgium. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 322, n. 33.

with reality. Their favorite reading matter is the pictures in the advertisements in old Army copies of the *Saturday Evening Post*,¹¹⁹ which they naively believe are photographs of miracles of human comfort, justice, and liberty, probably obtained by pressing an electric button. They want to go to the America of their dreams;¹²⁰ they fear that the [sic] Argentine is too far, Morocco too hot, Canada too cold, England too harsh, Australia too full of horned toads – which it is, according to a startled convoy of D.P. Lithuanians who lately arrived there. And Sweden is too close to Moscow. A psychoanalyst's recent report on certain D.P.s in this district should qualify them for immediate American citizenship. What these D.P.s most fear is insecurity and Russia.

– GENËT

Document 36

Anonymous, "On Jewish Life in the French Zone"

Bergen-Belsen, March 1, 1947

Newspaper editorial, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Unzer sztyme. Organ fun der she'erit ha-pleita in der englischer zone, March 1, 1947 (no. 18), 48, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004276, call no. 1964-Y-463.464, reels 12.3 and 13.1

וועגן יידישן לעבן אין דער פראנצויזישער זאָנע

איבער 2000 יידן געפינען זיך אין דער פראנצויזישער זאָנע. ס'זיינען טעטיק דאָ אַ סך קבוצים ווי "דרור", "השומר הצעיר" און פון "נחם" דער קבוץ "מולדת".

119 *The Saturday Evening Post* was a prominent American magazine known for its wide circulation and influence in the early to mid-20th century. Founded in 1821, it covered a range of topics including news, fiction, humor, and human-interest stories. *The Saturday Evening Post* was one of several American publications that were introduced to postwar Germany as part of cultural exchange efforts. While it was not as widely read or influential in Germany as it was in the United States, it still garnered some attention among the German population.

120 Esp. non-Jewish DPs.

קאנסטאנץ ציילט 200 יידן. נישט ווייט פון דער שטאָט געפינט זיך דער קבוץ "דרור", וועלכער פארנעמט זיך מיט פישפאנג. אין קאנסטאנץ איז טעטיק אַ צענטראַל-קאָמיטעט, וועלכער רעפּרעזענטירט די יידן פון דער פראַנצויזישער זאָנע. דער צענטראַל-קאָמיטעט שטייט אין ענג קאָנטאַקט מיט די שווייצאַרישע הילפס-אַרגאַניזאַציעס "הילף און אויפבוי" און "היפס". די א. ד. אַרגאַניזאַציעס זיינען פאַרטראָטן פון ח' ראָבערט ווילער. אַן אַקטיוון אַנטייל אין דער הילפס-אַרבעט נעמט דער פאַרזיצנדער פון דיזענהאַפּען (שווייץ), איזאַק ערווין. די שווייצאַרישע יידן שטייען פון טאָג נאָך דער באַפרייונג אין אַ נאָענטן קאָנטאַקט און אונטערשטיצן דאָס הייפל יידן אין יעדער הינזיכט.

מיר האָבן אויך אַ קראַנק-הויז אין נאָרדראַך (שוואַרצוואַלד) מיט וועלכן ס'פירט אַן דער "דר קורלאַנד - דירעקטאָר פון "דזשאַינט" פאַר געזונטהייטס-וועזן.

קאָנסטאַנץ, וועלכע ליגט האַרט ביי דער שווייצער גרענעץ, ווערט שטאַרק באַזוכט פון יידן פון אַלע זאָנעס, וועלכע זוכן קרובים אין דער שווייץ. דער יידישער קאָמיטעט העלפט אַלע זוכנדיקע מיט וואָס ער קאָן נאָר.

דער צ. ק. ווערט פאַרטראָטן דורכן פאַרזיצנדן אברהם האַכהאווער, סעקרעטאַר מיט אַ גערסטענפעלד און רעפּרעזענט פאַר רעליגיעזע אַנגעלעגנהייטן ח' ווילהעלם האַפּמאַן.

אַנדערהאַלבן יאָר אַרבעט דער "דזשאַינט" אין דער פראַנצויזישער זאָנע. 6 מאָנאַטן ווערט די אַרבעט פון "דזשאַינט" אַנגעפירט פון דירעקטאָר ח' לאופער. דער צ. ק. קאָאָרדינירט זיין אַרבעט מיטן "דזשאַינט". די גרעסטע אויפמערקזאַמקייט ווידמעט דער דירעקטאָר לאופער די עמיגראַציע-פראַגן. מען מוז פעסטשטעלן, אַז צום ערשטן מאל האָט די פראַנצויזישע זאָנע אַזא "דזשאַינט" פאַרטרעטער, וועלכער ווייזט אַרויס אַזויפיל פאַרשטענדעניש אין יעדן אינדיוידועלן פאַל. ביים בעסטן ווילן קאָן מען דאָס נישט זאָגן וועגן זיין פאַרגענגער ח' רינגער. דער "דזשאַינט" אַרבעט אויך מיט דער יידישער אַגענץ. אַדאַנק די באַמיונגען פון ח' לאופער האָט די מיליטער רעגירונג געשטעלט צו דער דיספּאָזיציע פון "דזשאַינט" אַ געביידע, וווּ סיגעפינט זיך אויך די אַגענץ.

Translation

On Jewish Life in the French Zone

There are over 2,000 Jews in the French Zone. Many kibbutzim are active there, such as Dror, Hashomer Hazair, and of the Noḥam,¹²¹ the kibbutz Moledeth.

There are 200 Jews in Constance. Not far from the town there is the kibbutz Dror, whose trade is fishing. A Central Committee representing the Jews of the French Zone is active in Constance. The Central Committee is in close

121 Acronym for *No'ar Ḥaluẓi Meḥad* (United Pioneering Youth), a Zionist youth movement that provided pioneer training to Jewish DP youths preparing them for life on kibbutzim in the Land of Israel. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 65.

contact with the Swiss aid organizations *Hilfe und Aufbau*¹²² and HIFS.¹²³ The above-mentioned organizations are represented by Mr. Robert Willer [sic].¹²⁴ The Chairman of Diessenhofen, Switzerland, Isaak Erwin [sic],¹²⁵ takes an active part in the aid work. The Swiss Jews have been in close contact since the day after the liberation and are supporting this handful of Jews in every way.

We also have a hospital in Nordrach (Schwarzwald) overseen by Dr. Kurland,¹²⁶ Director of Health at “the Joint.”

Constance, which lies right by the Swiss border, is much visited by Jews from all the zones who are looking for relatives in Switzerland. The Jewish Committee helps all those in search for their family members with all it can.

The Central Committee is represented by Chairman Mr. Abraham Hochhauser [sic],¹²⁷ Secretary Misha Gerstenfeld and Adviser on Religious Affairs Mr. Wilhelm Hoffman [sic].¹²⁸

“The Joint” has been working in the French Zone for a year and a half. For the past six months the work of “the Joint” has been overseen by Director Mr. Laufer.¹²⁹ The Central Committee coordinates its work with “the Joint.” Director Laufer devotes the most attention to emigration matters. It has to be said that it’s been the first time that the French Zone has had a “Joint” representative who shows so much understanding in each individual case. With the best will in the world this can’t be said about his predecessor Mr. Ringer.¹³⁰ “The Joint” also works with the Jewish Agency. Thanks to Mr. Laufer’s efforts

122 Aid commission to help Jewish DPs, especially in Constance, founded in June 1945 by Robert Wieler, Erwin Isaak and others in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland. Adler, *Jüdische DPs und Holocaust-Überlebende im französisch besetzten Oberschwaben*, 16–20.

123 This might be the *Hilfsverein für jüdische Flüchtlinge im Ausland* that originated in Switzerland. *Ibid.*, 17.

124 Robert Wieler.

125 Erwin Isaak hailed from France. He was a member of the partisans and moved to Switzerland after the war. He and his wife were founding members of *Hilfe and Aufbau*. Isaak oversaw the distribution of relief supplies in Gailingen. *Ibid.*, 72.

126 Leon Kurland who headed the JDC’s Tuberculosis Sanatorium Project in the French Zone.

127 Abraham Hochhäuser.

128 Wilhelm Hofman was appointed to represent the Orthodox Jews in Constance.

129 Henri Laufer. See Document 27.

130 Probably Lothar Ringer, who was the Joint representative in the French Zone. He was based in Biberach and dealt with all UNRRA matters concerning Jewish DPs. Ringer was extremely annoyed by the French reluctance to recognize Jews as Jews and not as Polish or German citizens. “Für die Franzosen ist ein Jude kein Jude, sondern ein Pole oder ein Deutscher oder wie auch immer das Land, aus dem einer kommt, heißt.” Quoted from: *ibid.*, 20.

the military government has placed at the disposal of “the Joint” a building where the Agency is also based.

Document 37

Shmerke Kaczergiński,¹³¹ “Faith, My People!”

Munich, January 16, 1948

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Undzer veg, January 16, 1948 (no. 152), 5, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004284, reel 20.01

בטחון, עמך!

(וואס איך האב איצט געזען אין דייטשלאנד)

די טעג זענען געוואָרן קירצער. ס'איז פארשוונדן געוואָרן די עלעקטרישע ליכט פון די גאסן. אויך אין שטוב פעלט אָפּט אויס ליכט אין די אַוונטן. דער האַרבסטיקער רעגן שמייסט אָן אויפהער. דער ווינטער רוקט זיך אָן. קיין באהייצונג איז נישט, אויך די באשפייזונג ווערט שוואכער, דער אנטיסעמטיזם ווערט שטארקער. די דייטשן הויבן אָן צו ווייזן וואָס זיי קענען און אויב עס וועט נישט קומען קיין ישועה, וועט קומען צו דער גרעסטער קאטאסטראָפּע. – אזוי האָט אויסגעזען די לאגע פון די יידן אין די לאַגערן ווען איך בין אין נאָוועמבער אריבער די דייטשע גרענעץ. ס'איז דעריבער מער ווי פארשטענדלעך געווען פאר מיר, ווען איך האָב אין יעדער שטוב, שטענדיק געטראָפּן א ייד, וואָס האָט געוואכט ביים ראדיאָ-אפּאראט. אין ציטער האָבן יידן אין די לאַגערן געווארט אויף די נייסטע ראדיאָ-ידיעות, וועלכע האָבן געזאָלט בריינגען זייער אויסלייזונג. און די ידיעות וואָס דער ראדיאָ ברענגט, זיינען יעדן טאָג אנדערע ... אָט זעט זיך פאַר, וועט די אונא דאָך באַשליסן צו געבן יידן א קליין ווינקל זיך אויסצולעבן, – ווי אנדערע מענטשן לעבן. און אָט קומען אָן ווידער ביזע ידיעות. פעלקער וואקלען זיך ... אינטריגעס פון די אראבער. פון די ענגלענדער, שלעכט! שלעכט!

131 Shmerke Kaczergiński (1908–1954) was a Yiddish writer and cultural activist born in Vilna, then part of the Russian Empire, where he played a key role in the development of *Yung Vilne*, a Yiddish literary group of artists and writers. He wrote numerous songs while in the Vilna ghetto, and was a member of the so-called Paper Brigade, a group which hid and smuggled a trove of Jewish cultural treasures back into the ghetto or elsewhere, diverting the goods away from the Germans, who sought to expropriate them. David Fishman, *The Book Smugglers: Partisans, Poets, and the Race to Save Jewish Treasures from the Nazis*, Lebanon, NH, 2017.

- בטחון. עמך! - הער איך מיט אמאָל אונטער זיך האָפּערדיקן רוף. כ״בין נשתומם געוואָרן.
 - ווער זייט איר דאָס בעל בטחון? - גיב איך א פרעג דעם פרעמדן.
 - א ייד! קומט א שטאַלצער ענטפער צוריק - און אן אייגענער! - בלינצלען צוויי שוואַרצאָפּלען
 אויף מיר. כ״האָב זיך פאַרשעמט פאַר די אַרומיקע. פאַרן יונג וואָס האָט נאָך אלץ געפּייערט אויף
 מיר מיט זיינע הענט־פאַקעלן, וועלכע האָבן זיך צום ראַדיאָ מיט אמאָל א וואָרף געטאָן און אים
 אויסגעלאָשן. - דער ראַדיאָ וועט אייך בלויז באַשטעטיקן וואָס איך זאָג ...
 - אז ...
 - אז מיר וועלן האָבן א יידישע מדינה! - ער האָט זיך איינגעקאַרטשעט א ביסל און שטיל
 פאַרענדיקט - אזוי האָבן מיר אויך געטראַכט זיצנדיק אין דאַכאָ, אַנדערש קען דאָך נישט זיין! - און
 אויסגלייכנדיק זיך האָט ער ווידער אויסגעפּלאַמט - בטחון, עמך!



וואַלדשטאַט ביי פּאָקינג איז געווען דער 16טער לאַגער, וואָס איך האָב באַזוכט. די מאַשין וואָס
 האָט מיר געבראַכט אהער, האָט זיך צוליב שבת געמוזט אָפּשטעלן פאַרן לאַגער. ווען כ״בין אַריין
 פאַרנאַכט אין לאַגער, האָט זיך פאַר מיר אַנטפּלעקט א יידיש שטעטעלע, ווי פון א 20-30 יאָר
 צוריק. דאָ אָבער איז עס נאָך יידישלעכער, ממש א שטיק יידיש לעבן ווי פון א בוך אַרויסגענומען,
 ווי אין א פאַנטאַזיע ...

כ״הויב די אויגן אויף ביי א ראָג גאס און דערזע אַן אויפּשריפּט "רחוב בורוכוב" (באַראָכאָוּר
 גאס), איך קערעווע זיר אַריין טיפּער אין גאס און דערזע שילדן אויף א ריי שטיבער: "השומר
 הצעיר", "פועלי ציון - התאחדות", אַרבעטער ספּאָרט־קלוב "הפועל", "פועלי־ציון - שמאל",
 "פּחח". אויף די ווענט פּול מודעות און פּלאַקאַטן אין יידיש און העברעאַיש. איינע רופּט אין קינאַ,
 א צווייטע צו א טעאַטער פּאָרשטעלונג, א דריטע רופּט צו א פאַרזאַמלונג ערגעץ ...
 ווּנְדערט זיך נישט - זאָגט מיר דער שול־פאַרוואַלטער לעווין - אין לאַגער זיינען פאַראַן ביי
 6000 יידן. און אויב איר זייט נישט מיד, וועל איך אייך אַרויפּפירן אויף דער "חפּץ־חיים־גאס" ...
 - אויף דער "חפּץ־חיים־גאס"? - האַק איך אַיבער - קומט, קומט אַדרבאַ.
 מיר האָבן דורכגעשניטן א פּאָר געסלעך און כ״האָב מיט אמאָל דערפּילט, אז איך געפּין זיך ערגעץ
 אין אן אַנדער וועלט: יידן מיט שטריימלעך. אין לאַנגע קאַפּאַטעס אַרומגעאַרטלטע, באַפּאַהטע,
 מיט הדרת־דיקע בערד, ווייסע, לאַנגע זאָקן און אָט פון דער צווייטער זייט גאס - יונגע און עלטערע
 פּרויען מיט טיכלעך אויף די קעפּ ...

- און מיט שייטלעך אַנשטאַט די אָפּגעשאַרענע האָר ... גיט צו פּריינד לעווין זעענדיק ווי
 אַיבערראַשט איך בין. און אָט זע איך א שילד אויף א הויז "ישיבה על שם חפּץ־חיים", א צווייטע
 שילד אַביסל ווייטער "ישיבה ע״ש שארית הפּליטה".

- ווילט איר אפּשר אַריינגיין צו די לובאַוויטשער אויף שלוש סעודות?
 - אוודאי וויל איך! - און אין א מינוט אַרום געפּין איך זיך שוין אין א גרויסער לאַנגער שטוב.
 ווו אַרום א לאַנגן טיש זיצן אַרומגעזעצט און אַרומגעשטעלט א פּאָר צענדליק יידן, וועלכע וויגן
 זיך זינגענדיקע אין דביקות פאַרטיפּטע. ... ווו בין איך דאָ? טראַכט איך מיר. כ״גי צו נאָענטער
 צו זיי. דער ניגון צעטראַגט זיך שטאַרקער, מתיקות־דיקער. איך זע אז די פּנימער ביי זיי זיינען גאָר
 מיט אן אומעט פאַרצויגן: פאַרכמורעטע אַזעלכע, אָבער פּלוצלונג רייסט זיר ווער אַריין אין אַן
 ווערטערדיקן ניגון מיט אן אויסגעשריי:

- בטחון יידן!!! - דער עולם טוט א וויג די אויגן צו דער סטעליע צו און בקול רום צעטראַגט
 זיך א געזאַנג:

- אייִאיי בטחון, אויִאוי בטחון, יידן האָט בטחון אייִאייִאיי!
 באַפּאָהטע יינגעלעך האָבן זיך אַרומגעדרייט אין פּירַהויז און געשפּילט אין טרעפּעניש.
 - יאָ - ניין. יאָ - ניין?! - האָט דער עלטסטער געפרעגט די איבעריקע.
 - און וואָס וועט זיין, אז "ניין" - טו איך א פרעג.
 - בטחון דאַרף מען האָבן, וועלן מיר טרעפּן אויף "יאָ"! - ענטפּערט אַ דין שטימעלע און איידער
 נאָך איך וויל פרעגן "און וואָס וועט זיין אז יאָ" - טוען די יינגלעך א שפּרונג מיט אן אויסגעשריי:
 - יאָ! יאָ! יאָ! ... איר זעט - צעפּייערן זיך אויף מיר בלייכע פּנימלעך - איר זעט, בטחון דאַרף
 מען האָבן! וועלן מיר האָבן א יידישע מדינה ...
 שפּעט ביינאַכט, נאָך מיין פּאַרלעזונג, האָבן מיר זיך צונויפּגעטראָפּן אויף א גלעזל שוואַרצע
 קאווע אין קאַפּע הויז "תל־אביב". די טעמע פון שמועס איז געווען "וואָס וועט ווערן פון אונדז, אויב
 חלילה די פעלקער וועלן זיך אַרויסזאָגן קעגן דער שאַפּונג פון א יידישער מדינה?" שוידערלעכע
 בילדער האָט איינער נאָכן אנדערן פּאַרגעשטעלט, און דער עיקר, מיר וועלן פאַרלירן דעם גלויבן
 אין מענטש, אין זיך אליין, אין דער גאַנצער וועלט ...
 - בטחון, עמך! - האָט מיטאַמאָל איבערגעריסן די שווערע שטימונג די פאַרטיזאַנקע ריקלע
 גלעזער - בטחון! איר דערמאָנט זיך חבּר קאַטשערגינסקי די געטאָ און דערנאָך דעם וואַלד? האָבן
 מיר זיך דאָן פּאַרגעשטעלט, אז מיר וועלן קענען ווען עס איז כּאָטש האָפּן, אז מיר וועלן זיך ווען
 עס איז צוואַמענטרעפּן? ...
 די פּידל און דער קלאַוויר, וועלכע האָבן די גאַנצע צייט אונטערגעברומט, האָט זיך מיטאַמאָל [!]
 אַריס [!] אַרויס געטאַן פון דער עצבות און זיך אין א פּריילעכע פאַרגאַנגען:
 - בטחון עמך! - האָט זיך דער פּידלער צעשריגן, גיך איז געוואָרן א רעדל, הענט אויף די פּלייצעס
 און ... די פּאַרהענגלעך אויף די פענצטער האָבן זיך צעוויגט אַזש פון דעם פּונאַנדערגעפּלאַטערטן
 הוירא און לעבעדיק געפּאַכעט מיט די פּאַפּירענע פּרענדזעלעך:
 - לעבעדיק עמך! בטחון עמך! ...



- ווען די וועלט וואָלט געוויסט, וויפּל געזונט עס קאָסט אונדז דאָס וואַרטן אויף דעם רעזולטאַט
 פון דעם אַנאָג באַשלוס, וואָלטן מיר זיכער געהאַט א יידישע מדינה. - אזוי האָבן מיר איבערגעגעבן
 וועגן די שטימונגען אין לאַנדסבערגער לאַגער די רעדאַקטאָרן פון דער "יידישער צייטונג" אין
 לאַנדסבערג, די זשורנאַליסטן י. עלענצווייג און מ. לעסטני.
 איך בין געקומען דאָ אין לאַגער אין טאָג, ווען ס'האַט שוין ענדגילטיק געדאַרפּט פאַלן דער
 באַשלוס וועגן דער יידישער מדינה - דעם 29טן נאָוועמבער. ווען איך האָב פון דער טריבונע פון
 וואַנען איך האָב פּאַרגעלייענט מיינע שאַפּונגען, רעציטירט די שורות:
 עס וועט געשען, עס וועט געשען
 און מיר וועלן אלע ווידער זיין צוואַמען!
 איר וועט זען, איר וועט זען -
 אויך אונדזער שיף וועט שווימען פּריי אויף אלע ימען -
 האָט דער עולם אויפּגעציטערט, היינט דאַרף דאָך דאָס געשען, וועט עס געשען? ס'האַט זיך
 פּונאַנדערגעטליעט דאָס בטחון פּייערל: עס וועט געשען. עס מוז געשען!
 און שפּעט ביינאַכט, האָט זיך אין דער פּינצטערניש צעלויכטן די הייזער־בלאָקן אין די יידישע
 לאַגערן אין דייטשלאַנד. דער ראַדיאָ האָט געבראַכט די גרויסע אויסגעבענקטע שעה. דעם טרוים
 פון דורות אין וואָר א פאַרוואַנדלטן.

אזא שמחה האָב איך אין מיין גאנצן לעבן נישט געזען און מסתמא וועל איך עס שוין ניט זען.
יידן וויינען פון פרייד און טרויער מישט זיך צו: – אַך. ווען אלע וואָלטן דאָס דערלעבט צו דער
גרויסער היסטאָרישער שעה!
יידן טאנצן און זינגען. אויף די הייזער זענען אין בלאַווייסן די פענער צעהאָנגען. דער לאגער-
ראדיאָ שפילט כסדר יידישע און העברעאישע מעלאָדיעס און אָט האָט זיך מיטאמאָל די יידן-מאסע
צעכוואליעט:

סיאיז געקומען אונדזער אויסגעבענקטע שעה –
סי'האָט א פויק געטאָן דער טראָט – מיר זענען דאָ!



אויף מאָרגן אין מינכען. איך האָב אין די גאסן ארום די יידישע אינסטיטוציעס געטראָפן
שיינענדיקע יידן. יום-טובדיקע יידן. יעדערער ביי זיך אין שטוב האָט פאר זיינע נאָענטסטע
געמאכט א "לחיים". אלע פארטייען, אינסטיטוציעס האָבן פאר זייערע מיטגלידער אקאדעמיעס
אַרגאניזירט באַנקעטן. אין דעם גרויסן אָפערע-הויז האָבן זיך צונויפגעקליבן, לויטן רוף פון צ.
ק. פון די באפרייטע יידן, טויזנטער יידן פון די געטאָס, קאצעטן, וועלדער און פראָנטן. קורצע
רעדעס, הארציקע באַגריסונגען, פייערלעכער געזאנג, – דער בטחון-עמך-געפיל האָט היינט דאָ
געפייערט זיין גרויסן נצחון.

Translation

Faith, My People!

(What I saw in Germany)

The days have grown shorter. The electric lights have disappeared from the streets. Also, at home the light is often missing in the evening. The autumn rain lashes down nonstop. Winter is on its way. There's no heating; food, too, is getting meagre, and antisemitism is growing. The Germans are beginning to demonstrate what they are capable of, and if no deliverance is coming, a great catastrophe will follow. This is what the position of Jews in camps looked like when I crossed the German border in November.¹³²

Therefore, it was more than understandable to me when in every home I always met a Jew, alert by the radio.

In trepidation Jews in the camps awaited the latest news on the radio that was supposed to bring their deliverance. And the news the radio brings is different every day ... Now it looks as if the UN will decide after all to give the Jewish people a little corner to live their lives – as other people do. And

¹³² Most likely November 1947, since Kaczergiński notes the November 29, 1947, UN partition plan vote. For a broader analysis of antisemitism in postwar Germany, see chap. 9.

now bad news breaks again. Nations totter ... Intrigues from the Arabs. From the British. Bad! Bad!

“Faith, my people!” I hear suddenly a passionate exclamation below. I’m baffled.

“Who are you, man of faith?” I ask the stranger.

“A Jew!” comes a proud reply. “And one of your own!” Two eyes blink at me. I felt embarrassed in front of the others, in front of the young man, still fulminating at me with his hands that resembled two flaming torches, which suddenly shot to the radio and turned it off. “The radio will only confirm to you what I say ...”

“That ...”

“That we shall have a Jewish state!” he bent forward a little and quietly concluded, “We thought the same in Dachau, there can be no other way!” and straightening himself up he thundered, “Faith, my people!”



Pocking-Waldstadt¹³³ was the sixteenth camp I visited. The car that brought me there had to stop outside the camp because of Sabbath. When I walked into the camp in the evening, a Jewish shtetl was revealed to me, like one 20–30 years ago. It was, however, even more Jewish, virtually a slice of Jewish life as if taken out of a book, as if in a dream ...

I lift my gaze at a street corner and see an inscription in Hebrew, “Borochov Street.”¹³⁴ I turn the corner, walking further along the street, and see signs on

133 Pocking-Waldstadt DP Camp, also known as Pine City, approximately 30 km southwest of Passau, was the largest DP camp in the American Zone, and the second largest in Germany after Bergen-Belsen. The camp reached its maximum population, estimated 7,500 to 8,100 Jewish inhabitants, around October 19, 1946, largely the result of an influx of Polish Jews repatriated from the Soviet Union. Pocking was notorious for its poor sanitation, lack of food, squalid living conditions, and was often extremely overcrowded. The camp opened in January of 1946, and closed on February 16, 1949. Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 239.

134 Ber Borochov (1881–1917) was a key ideological figure in the development of Labor Zionism. The ideological foundation of Poale Zion, the most influential Labor Zionist movement, can be found in the Zionist Marxist ideas of Ber Borochov. Borochov justified the juxtaposition of a Zionist, nationalist ideology to Marxism, which at its very core was fundamentally international. He did this by asserting that as long as the Jews represented a subjugated nationality in society, there was no possibility of a real class struggle, because the national question of the Jews would always serve to distort the cause of class warfare and divert the attention of the people. Barry Trachtenberg, Ber Borochov’s “The Tasks of Yiddish Philology,” in: *Science in Context* 20 (2007), no. 2, 341–352.

a row of houses: “Hashomer Hazair,” “Poale Zion”-Association; workers’ sports club “Hapoel,” “Poale Zion – Left,” “Paḥaḥ.”¹³⁵ The walls are covered with notices and posters in Yiddish and Hebrew. One invites to the cinema, another, to a theater performance, yet another, to a meeting somewhere ...¹³⁶

“Don’t be surprised,” says to me the synagogue manager, Levin, “in the camp there are six thousand people. And if you aren’t tired. I’ll take you up to Ḥafez Ḥayyim Street ...”¹³⁷

“To Ḥafez Ḥayyim Street?” I interrupt.

“Come, by all means, come.”

We cut through a couple of side streets, and I suddenly became aware of being somewhere in another world: men with shtreymles, in long kaftans and girdled, with side locks, magnificent beards, and in long white socks; while on the other side of the street, young and older women with head covers ...

“And with wigs instead of the shaven hair ...” adds Comrade Levin seeing my astonishment. Next, I see a sign on a building, “Ḥafez Ḥayyim Yeshiva,” and another one a little further along, “She’erit Hapletah Memorial Yeshiva.”¹³⁸

“Would you like to go to the Lubavitch’s for Shaleshudes?”¹³⁹

135 *Paḥaḥ* (Heb.); acronym for *partizaner, ḥayalim, ḥaluzim* (partisans, soldiers, and pioneers), an organization of former Jewish partisans, mostly Zionist oriented, founded in Łódź in May 1945.

136 DP Camp Pocking had a vibrant political, cultural, and religious life, with several *talmud torah* schools catering to over 200 students, and two yeshivas for the Lubavitcher and Klausenberger Hasidic communities living there, serving a combined 500 students. Jim G. Tobias, “Vertraut Gott auf ewig – schütet ihm eure Herzen aus!” Die Wiedergeburt der jüdischen Orthodoxie in den DP-Camps, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung 2 (2021), 133–149; Gershon Greenberg, German Displaced Persons Camps (1945–1948): Orthodox Jewish Responses to the Holocaust, in: Historical Reflections 39 (2013), no. 2, 71–95. See also the documents in chap. 8.

137 Israel Meir Kagan (1838–1933) was a widely revered Talmudic and rabbinic scholar known by the title of his first book, *Ḥafez Ḥayyim* (Desirer of Life), which directed against the evils of slander and malicious gossip. Its headline was taken from the verses: “What man is he that desireth life [*he-ḥafez ḥayyim*], and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.” (Ps 34:13) Born in Zhetel (present day Dzyatlava, Belarus) he died in Radun.

138 On the yeshivas in the Pocking-Waldstadt DP Camp and elsewhere, see Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*; Tobias, “Vertraut Gott auf ewig – schütet ihm eure Herzen aus!”

139 *Shaleshudes* (Yidd., lit. third meal; Heb.: *se’udah shlishit*) is customarily eaten by observant Jews on Sabbath afternoon. Among Hasidim (as in the case of the

“Of course, I would!” and in a minute I’m already inside a large, long hall where at a long table twenty or so men sit and stand, moving and singing, deep in religious ecstasy ... “Where am I here?” I think to myself. I come closer to them. The tune carries more loudly, more soulfully. I see that their faces are overcast with sadness, looking dour. But suddenly someone breaks into the wordless tune with a cry:

“Faith, Jews!” The congregation briefly casts their eyes up to the ceiling and loud chanting fills the room.

“Ai-ai, faith, oi-oi, faith, Jews, have faith, ai-ai-ai!”

Boys with side locks were hanging about in the anteroom, playing a guessing game.

“Yes, no, yes, no?!” the oldest boy asked the others.

“What happens if it’s a ‘no’?” I ask.

“You need to have faith, then we’ll guess a ‘yes’!” replies a small little voice and before I get a chance to ask “And what will be if it’s a ‘yes,’” the boys jump up with a cry:

“Yes! Yes! Yes! ... You see,” flare up at me little pale faces, “you see, you need to have faith! We shall have a Jewish state ...”

Late at night, after my lecture, we got together for a glass of black coffee in the “Tel Aviv” coffee shop. The subject of the conversation was “What will become of us if, God forbid, the nation’s vote against the creation of a Jewish state?” Terrible pictures conjured themselves up one after another, and above all, that we would lose faith in people, in ourselves, in the entire world ...

“Faith, my people!” the partisan Rikla Glezer¹⁴⁰ suddenly interrupted the heavy mood. “Faith! Do you remember, Comrade Kaczergiński, the ghetto and then the woods? Could we even imagine then that one day we’d be able at least to hope, that one day we’d meet again?”

Lubavitch group referenced here) the third meal is particularly festive with singing to accompany the conclusion of the Sabbath.

140 Rikla Glezer (1924–2006), survived the Vilna ghetto. During her family’s deportation from the ghetto as it was being liquidated, Glezer jumped off the train and joined a partisan group in the forests surrounding Vilna. In addition to participating in the group’s military actions, she continued to write songs and poetry, which she had begun to do at the age of twelve. She wrote numerous songs and poems describing life and death in the ghetto (some published in: Judith Berkowitz/Eve Edelman (eds.), *Young Voices from the Ghetto: A Collection of Children’s and Young People’s Poetry Written in the Ghettos of World War II*, Waltham, Mass., 1979). After liberation, she and her husband, a fellow former partisan, immigrated to Palestine/Israel.

The fiddle and the piano that had the entire time been crooning along, suddenly snapped out of the melancholy and burst into a freylekhs:¹⁴¹

“Faith, my people!” the fiddler cried out. A circle formed in no time. Hands on the shoulders and ... The curtains on the windows swayed from the resounding Hore¹⁴² and lively waved with the paper fringes:

“Merrily, my people! Faith, my people! ...”¹⁴³



“If the world knew how much health the wait for the results of the UN’s decision is costing us, we’d definitely have a Jewish state,” this was how the editors of the “Yidishe tsaytung” in Landsberg, journalists Y. Elenzweig¹⁴⁴ and M. Lestny,¹⁴⁵ conveyed to me the mood in the Landsberg camp.

I came to the camp on the day when the decision regarding the Jewish state was finally to be passed, November 29.¹⁴⁶ When at the lectern, from where I was delivering my works, I recited the lines:

It will come to pass, it will come to pass.

And we’ll all be together again!

You will see, you will see –

141 *Freylekhs* (Yidd., Joyful), a lively circle or line dance traditionally performed during Eastern European Jewish weddings and other festivities.

142 *Hore* (Yidd.; Heb.: *hora*), a traditional lively circle dance of Romanian origin performed at Jewish religious celebrations, particularly weddings and bar/bat mitzvahs.

143 Music in the DP camps served a variety of purposes. It provided a means of emotional expression, allowing survivors to process their trauma and grief through song. At the same time, it created moments of joy and celebration, provided opportunities for community gatherings and cultural exchange. Many survivors formed choirs, orchestras, and bands within the camps to showcase their talents and preserve their cultural heritage. The musical ensembles performed traditional songs from their homelands as well as newly composed pieces that reflected their experiences during the war and their hopes for the future. Gilbert, “We Long for a Home.”

144 Yisroel Elenzweig or Elencwajg (1909–?) was an editor of the Zionist oriented *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung* (later *Yidishe tsaytung*).

145 Moshe Lestny was an editor of the *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung*.

146 On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 181, known as the Partition Plan for Palestine. It aimed to resolve the conflicting claims of Jewish and Arab populations in the region by proposing the creation of two independent states, with Jerusalem as an international city administered by the UN. The resolution was accepted by the Jewish community but rejected by the neighboring Arab states and Palestinian Arabs, leading to the Arab–Israeli War, after David Ben-Gurion declared the State of Israel in May 1948.

Our ship in every sea will also freely sail! –

The audience gave a thrill: it's happening today. Will it happen? The little flame of faith flared up: it will happen! It must happen!

Late at night the apartment blocks in the Jewish camps in Germany lit up in the darkness. The radio brought the great longed-for hour. The dream of generations became reality.

Never in my entire life did I witness such jubilation and I probably never will. Jews weep for joy, and sorrow gets mixed in:

“Oh, if only everyone had lived to see this great historic hour!”

Jews dance and sing. Blue-white flags are hung on the houses. The camp radio constantly plays Jewish and Hebrew tunes, and suddenly the entire Jewish mass wells up:

And the hour for which we yearned so has arrived,

And our marching steps have thundered – we survived!¹⁴⁷



The following morning in Munich, I met in the streets outside Jewish institutions beaming Jews, festive Jews. At home everyone raised a glass to their near and dear. Every party and institution organized for their members events, banquets. In the great Opera House thousands of Jews from the ghettos, concentration camps, woods and fronts assembled at the call of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews. Short speeches, heartfelt greetings, fiery singing – the faith-my-people-feeling was celebrating that day its great victory.¹⁴⁸

147 A reference to the hymn of the partisans, also referred to as the *Partisan Song* by Hirsh Glik (1922–1944): *Zog nit keyn mol* (Never say, 1943). It was written for the Vilna Jewish United Partisan Organization during his imprisonment in the Vilna ghetto and would later become one of the primary anthems of Holocaust survivors. For the full text, the history and bibliography of the song, see Gila Flam, *Singing for Survival: Songs of the Lodz Ghetto, 1940–45* Urbana, Ill., 1992.

148 See Figure 8.

Document 38

Israel Efros,¹⁴⁹ “Chapter 5. Garmisch. April 21st”

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, April 1946

Published book, 249 pages; extract (reproduced here: 30–37)

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Israel Efros, *Heymloze yidn. A bazukh in di yidishe lagern in daytshland* [*Homeless Jews. A Visit in the Jewish Camps in Germany*], Buenos Aires 1947, 30–37¹⁵⁰

[Efros chronicles his first encounter with Jewish DPs in postwar Garmisch, Bavaria, where some 350 Jews live alongside Germans. Unlike refugee camps, the DPs in Garmisch survive on food stamps, paying a small fee for their sustenance. Efros and his companions are invited by Dr. Zalman Grinberg to celebrate the last day of Passover. The rabbi’s home, previously owned by a Nazi, is now a place where Jews gather for communal meals. Efros shows the remarkable resilience of the Jews, despite their tragic past, including the rabbi who lost his family in the Holocaust. The evening concludes with Efros addressing the congregation, emphasizing the sanctity of their grief. The following day, over tea, the Jews share harrowing stories of survival, including children hiding from Nazis and women enduring brutal conditions. Efros grapples with the meaning of Jewish suffering and the role of faith, as the rabbi suggests that their ordeal is a divine test. Returning to Munich, Efros stumbled upon rumors of Jews involved in the “black market,” prompting further reflection on the sanctity of their survival. Visiting the Mittenwald Camp, he finds Jews focused on rebuilding their future in Israel, rejecting menial labor as a form of revenge against the Germans. Juxtaposing the mourning of the past with the anticipation of the future, Efros reflects on the fate of the present and the promise of Eretz Israel.]

149 The Hebrew poet, educator, and scholar Israel Efros (1891–1981) was born in Ostróg, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), and emigrated to the United States with his parents in 1904. He was a professor of Jewish philosophy and Hebrew literature at Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), University of Buffalo, Hunter College (New York), and Dropsie College (Philadelphia). Efros served as president of the Histadrut Ivrit of America (1938–1939). He emigrated to Israel in 1955, where he taught at Tel Aviv University. Eisig Silberschlag/Arthur Hyman, Israel Efros (1891–1981), in: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 49 (1982), xv–xxi.

150 Efros’ book was published by the *Tsentral farband fun poylishe yidn in Argentine* (Central Federation of Polish Jews in Argentina) and the *Sociedade Beneficente dos Israelitas Poloneses em São Paulo* (Benevolent Society of Polish Israelites in São Paulo). His observations from Germany first appeared in *Hadoar* (The Post), the newspaper of Histadrut Ivrit of America which was published 1915–2005.

קאפיטל פינף

גאָרמיש

21סטער אפריל.

גאָרמיש איז אונדזער ערשטער עפנטלעכער קאָנטאַקט מיטן שארית הפליטה, ווי זיי רופן זיך דאָ אָן, און נישט אָן שטאַלץ, אָדער - ווי ד"ר זלמן גרינבערג, דער פאָרזיצער פונעם "צענטראַל-קאָמיטעט, פון די באַפרייטע יידן אין בייַערן" שלאָגט פאָר - "שארית החורבן".

אַ שטיל שטעטלעך - גאָרמיש, ביי די פיס פון די שנייבאָדעקטע טיראַלישע בערג. ס'איז נישט קיין לאַגער, נישט קיין אָפגעזונדערטער פּלאַץ פאָר יידישע פליטים, פאָר אויסגעוואַרצלעטע, פאָרהיימלאַזטע יידן, נאָר אַ געמיינדע, ווו עס וווינען אַרום דריי הונדערט און פופציק יידן צוואַמען מיט די דייטשן.

אין לאַגערן שטעלט די אונראַ צו די לעבנסמיטלען, בעת אין געמיינדעס ווערן די יידן געשפייזט, ווי די דייטשן, דורך לעבנסמיטל-קארטן, נאָר מיט אַ קליינעם צוגאַב.

ד"ר גרינבערג, וועמען מיר האָבן ביז אַהער נאָך אַלץ נישט באַגעגנט, [31] האָט אונדז איינגעלאָדן אַהער, פאַרברענגען אין דעם דאָזיקן דייטשישן דאָטשע-שטעטל דעם אחרון של פסח.

ס'איז אַ וואַרימער, כאָטש אַביסל וואַלקנדיקער פאַרנאַכט. בייַערישע גויים שפאַצירן אַרום. אַ פויער אין אַ גרינעם הוט מיט אַ לאַנג געפאַרבטער פעדער טרייבט אַן אַקס מיט לאַנגע הערנער. די בערג וויקלען זיך אין גרוי.

רואיק-שטיל אַרום און אַרום, פונקט ווי עס איז גאָרנישט געשען. גויים קענען לייכט פאַרגעסן. געווען אַ שטורעם. איז וואָס? ערד בלייבט ערד.

מיר קומען אַריין אין בית-הרב. ס'איז אַ צווייטער שטאַק מיט עטלעכע צימערן. פריער האָט דאָ געווינט אַ נאַצי. האָט אים די רעגירונג אַריינגעזעצט אין אַ קאָנצענטראַציע-לאַגער. און די ווינונג האָט דער צע. קאַ., ס'הייסט דער יידישער צענטראַל-קאָמיטעט, וואָס איז אין מינכען, פאַר דעם רב באַקומען.

נאַצי-בילדער, נאַצי-מעבל, און אויף אַ נאַצי-קאָמאָד ליגט זיך יום-טובדיק אַ רויטלעך האַלב-אַפן סלית-זעקל און אַ גמרא פסחים.

סיקומען אַריין יידן פון די נאַענטע לאַגערן, עסן פסח ביים רב. מען צינדט אַן די עלעקטריק. די בערג אין די פענצטער ווערן אַ שוואַרצע וואַנט אונטער אַ בלויען [!] הימל.

דער רב, ל. בורנשטיין, אַ ליבלעך-ראַזיק פנים מיט אַ רונד געשוירענער גרויער באַרד, קומט אַריין. איז דאָ אַ פרי, און אפשר פּלוצלינג גרוי געוואַרענע יונגקייט, אָדער גאָר אַ יוגנטלעכע אַלטקייט?

מיר זעצן זיך אַלע ביי אַ לאַנגן טיש און דער רב מאַכט שטיל קידוש. ווען ער קומט צום כי בנו בחרת, גיט זיין שטים אַ ציטער.

סודעט מיר איינער אין אויער אַריין, אַז דער רב האָט זיין פרוי און פינף קינדער אין די נאַצישע אויוונס פאַרלוירן. כ'האָב אויפגעציטערט, אַריינגעקוקט אין דעם רבס געזיכט. ער האָט צו מיר ליבלעך געשמייכלט.

ווי נעמט ער, האָב איך זיך געפרעגט, אַזאַ כוח? ווי נעמען עס אַלע יידן דאָ - יעדער איינער אַן איינציק געבליבענער - דעם כוח צו שמייך [32] לען, צו רעדן, אַריינצופאַקן נאָך אַ טאָג, נאָך אַ טאָג אין זייער לעבנס-רענצל?

איז דאָס דער גרויזאַמער, נישט-פרעגנדיקער, ביאַלאַגישער אימפעט?

איז דאָס די עקשנותדיקע יידישע פסיכיק?
איז עס גוט אַזוי, צי נישט?

יאָ, אַוודאי, גוט. מען דאַרף באַגריסן מיט פרייד יעדן שמיכל אויף די פנימער פון די ווייניקע, אויפגעשטאַנענע פון דעם גרויסן מתים־באַרג. און דאָך טייעט אין האַרץ אַ נישט צופרידענע פאַרווונדערטקייט: ווער ווייסט? אפשר הייבן זיי אויך אָן צו פאַרגעסן. און דאָס איז דאָך אַ חילול הקדושים?

מיר עסן שטיל, שטייף. אַביסל דריקט אויפן האַרצן דער יתומדיקער יום־טוב. און אַביסל זענען מיר נאָך פּרעמדע געסט, פאַר וועמען עס שרעקט זיך נאָך דער פרייער משפּחהדיקער אויסדרוק. געענדיקט דעם לחם עוני, גייען מיר צו אַדרעסירן אַ פאַרזאַמלונג, וווּ מען זאָגט אונדז, אַז אַלע יידן פון גאַרמיש, אַ עטלעכע הונדערט, וואָס זענען איינגעטלעך אַט ערשט געווייר געוואָרן פון אונדזער קומען, וואַרטן שוין.

און אַט זיך איך שוין אויף דער בימה, פנים אל פנים מיט די ערשטע פון די, צו וועמען מיר זענען געפּלויגן טויזנטער מייל (!!], כדי צו ברענגען זיי אַ האַרציק וואַרט פון ברודערשאַפט און שטאַרקונג. כּפאַרקוק זיך אין דער מיט מענטשן אַנגעפאַקטער שול, אויף דער אַרימקייט פון די מענטשן, אויף די משונהדיקע בגדים, די היטלען און די העמדער – וואָס דען האָסטו דערוואַרט: פּרעכטיקע אנצוגן? – נו, יאָ, אַבער איך גיב אַ טראַכט, אַז אַפילו דאָס ביסל אַרימקייט איז נישט אייגנס, נאָר ערגעץ וווּ צוואַמענגעקליבן און געשענקט, דעגראַדירנדיק די מענטשן צו דער מדרגה פון בעטלער, ליידיקגייער, און קצבה־נעמער. און איך דערזע פנימער ווי אויסגעוואַשן און אויסגעטאַן פון וועלכן עס איז אויסדרוק, אַזוי ווי ס'איז שוין נאָך אַלעמען, און אויך פנימער קאַנצענטרירטע, פאַרהאַרטעוועטע, פאַרעקשנטע. און פּלוצים – אַן אויפלייזונג! און איך דערזע זיי אַ יאָר, צוויי יאָר צוריק, אַ קנעכטן־מאַרש, אַ טויטן־מאַרש איבער אַלע גאַסן פון אייראָפּע.

[33] אין מיין פאַרקוקטקייט האָב איך נישט געקענט טראַכטן, וועגן וואָס איך זאָל רעדן, נאָר ווען איך האָב מיין נאָמען דערהערט פונעם מויל פון דעם פאַרויזער, האָט אַ קול אין מיר געזאָגט: של נעליך מעל רגליך ... כי אדמת קודש הוא, און איך האָב גערעדט וועגן דער הייליקייט פון צער.

ווי צערטליק און לאַשטשענדיק זיי האָבן אונדז נאָכדעם אַרומגערינגלט! זיי האָבן אונדז פאַרבעטן צום קיבוץ אין מיטן וואַלד, וואָס איז דאָ נישט ווייט. זיי האָבן זיך נאָכגעפּרעגט אויף קרובים און פריינד, וואָס אַלץ וואָס זיי האָבן געוואָסט וועגן זיי איז, אַז זיי וויינען ערגעץ וווּ אין אַמעריקע. זיי האָבן געוואָלט וויסן, ווען די סערטיפיקאַטן פון אַרץ – אַט אַזוי אינטיים־ליבלעך רופן זיי דאָ אָן אַרץ ישראל – וועלן אָנהייבן אַנצוקומען. יעדעס האַרץ איז אַ זוכעניש און אַ בענקעניש צו אַ קרוב אַדער אַ פריינד, אַ ציטערדיק באַגער צו באַהעפטונג, צו אַ מינדעסטן אויסדרוק פון גוטסקייט און ליבשאַפט – אַ יתומדיקער הונגער צו אַביסל וואַרעמקייט פון ברודער־מענטש.

אַט אַזוי האָט זיך אַנטפלעקט צו מיר די ערשטע גרופּע פון דער שארית הפליטה – פשוט, פאַלקסטמילעך, און רירנד צערטליק.

כיגיי צוריק צו דעם הויז, וווּ אונטער דעם רבס דירה, אויפן ערשטן שטאַק, האָט מען ביי אַ דייטשער פאַמיליע באַשטעלט פאַר מיר אַ שלאַפּצימער. דייטשע סענטימענטאַלע גרעטכען בילדער, דייטשע אויסגעצוואַנגענע ריינלעכקייט, וואָס עקלט. אַ דייטשע רונדע פּערינע אויף מיין געלעגער.

און פון וואַנען די דייטשע פּערינע? פון וואָס פאַר אַ יידישע קישנס, וואָס די קעפּ וועלכע זענען געלעגן אויף זיי זענען מער נישטאַ, איז אַנגעשטאַפט אַט די דייטשע פּעטע פּערינע, וואָס דעקט מיך צו?

מיין געלעגער און מיין צודעק, אין דער ערשטער נאכט ביי דער שארית הפליטה, זענען געווען דערנער, שטעכעדיקע דערנער ...

אויף מאָרגן זענען מיר ווייטער געזעסן אין בית הרב ביי אַ גלאָז טיי. עס זענען זיך ביסלעך צוזאַמענגעקומען די יידן, וואָס זענען נעכטן געווען ביים עסן. דער רב איז נאָך געווען אין שול צו הזכרת נשמות.

נאָך ווען איך בין געווען אין אַסוועגא, ווו אַמעריקע האָט געהאַלטן טויזנט יידישע פליכטלינגע אין אַ לאַגער, האָב איך באַמערקט ווי די [34] מענטשן זענען גרייט דיר אַנטקעגן צו קומען מיט די געשיכטעס פון זייערע ליידן, און ווי דו טוסט זיי אַ חסד – און זיך אַליין אַוודאי – ווען דו הערסט זיך צו צו זיי. עס טראַגט נישט קיין כאַראַקטער פונעם שטאַלצן פּיין פון אני הגבר. ס'איז אויך נישט קיין מאַזאַכטישער, אָדער איובדיקער ווילן צו קראַצן דאָס אייגענע לייב מיט זכרון־שערבלעך. וואָרום וועגן נישט קיין פאַרהיילטע ווונדן ווי דער אומקום פון טאַטע־מאַמע, פרוי און קינד, רעדן זיי זעלטן, און נאָר אַ פאַר ווערטער און מיט אַ טרער. עס איז גיכער די איבערגעקומענע יסורים, וועגן וועלכע זיי רעדן באַריכות, כדי צו וועקן אַביסעלע אינטענסיווקייט אין זייער לעבנס־באַוווסטזיין. דער געדאַנק פון איבערקום קנייפט די באַקן פון זייער ליידיקן, גרויען, מאַנאַטאַניקן היינט, ביז עס שטעלט זיך די פאַרב. עס נעמט אויך אַן אַ כאַראַקטער פון אַ מין רעליגיעזער עבודה, אַזוי ווי די ספורי מעשיות צווישן חסידים. שטיל, שטיל הייבט איינער אָן, און ווען ער ענדיקט, הייבט אָן אַן אַנדערער.

די טיי־גלעזער זענען געשטאַנען ליידיקע. ווען איינער האָט גערעדט, האָבן אַנדערע זייערע קעפּ פאַרוואָרפן אָדער גלייך פאַר זיך געקוקט.

– מיין זונעלע איז געווען אויסבאַהאַלטן ביי אַ ליטווישער פאַמיליע. נאָך דער מלחמה בין איך צו דער פאַמיליע געקומען, דערזען מיין קינד, און ווי פינצטער איז מיר געווען די ערשטע מינטן, ווען מיין קינד איז געשטאַנען פאַר מיר קאַלט און פרעמד. כּיהאַב אים גערופן, די האַנט אויסגעשטרעקט, און ער – נישט אַ ריר. כּיהאַב אים אין פאַרצווייפּלונג געדריקט צו מיר, ביז איך האָב ביסלעכווייז דערוואַרעמט און דערוועקט אין אים דאָס קינד־געפיל. ער האָט געקוקט אין מייענע אויגן און געזאָגט: ס'איז גוט וואָס אויך איך האָב אַ טאַטן. און איצט איז ער אַוועק מיט דער לעצטער קינדער־עליה קיין ארץ ישראל.

– איך האָב מיין זון אין אַ זאַק ווי קאַרטאַפּל געטראָגן, צו אַ גויאישער פאַמיליע. און ער איז דעם גאַנצן וועג אָן שום באַוועגונג, ווי אַ טויטער געלעגן אין זאַק.

– און איך, דערציילט אַ פרוי, האָב מיין מיידעלע אין אַ באַרג וועש באַהאַלטן. דער נאַצי האָט אין די וועש געשטאַכן צו זען, אויב עמיצער באַהאַלט זיך נישט דאָרטן, און אז ער האָט קיין קול נישט געהערט, איז [35] ער אַוועק. דאָן האָב איך דערזען די וועש פּלעקנדיק זיך מיט בלוט. כּיהאַב אַרויסגענומען דאָס קינד. איר פוס איז געווען דורכגעשטאַכן, אָבער קיין פּיפּס האָט זי נישט געטאַן. אַט אַזוי, ווי דערשראָקענע, טרענירטע חיהלעך זענען די קינדער געווען אין דער שעה פון נסיון. קינדער־ליידן און קינדער־גבורה. און דאָן האָט אַן אַנדערע פרוי אַנגעהויבן.

– מיר זענען געווען פינף הונדערט פרויען אויף אַ שיף, וועמען די נאַציס האָבן געפירט אויפן באַלטישן ים. וווהין האָבן מיר נישט געווסט. קראַנקע, אינגאַנצן נאַקעטע פרויען, אַן עסן, אַן וואַסער. די גאָר קראַנקע האָט מען געלייגט אויפן דעק, און יעדן טאַג איז דער קאַפּיטאַן דורכגעגאַנגען מיט אַ שטעקן און זיי אין ים געשליידערט, ביז עס זענען געבליבן צוויי הונדערט. אויפן צענטן טאַג האָבן די רוסן אונדז באַמבאַרדירט און די שיף האָט ווי עס איז זיך צוגעשלעפּט צום האַפּן פון קיל, ווו אַ געוויסער גראַף איז אַרויפגעקומען און געפאַדערט אויף זיין אייגענער אחריות – ער האָט געזען, אַז דער קריג האַלט שוין ביי דער ענדע – אַז מען זאָל אונדז אַראַפּלאָזן.

מען האָט אונדז אַרײַנגעפירט אין אַ לאַגער, מען האָט אונדז אָנגעטאָן און געגעבן עסן. פון דער אַנדערער זײט לאַגער האָבן מיר פּלוצים געפּאָנגענע האַלענדישע מענער דערזען. אײנע פון אונדז האָט זיך היסטעריש צעשריען: מאַנסבילן!

די דערצײלערין האָט ביטער אַ שמײכל געטאָן: שוין פּינף יאָר געווען, וואָס מיר האָבן קײן מאַן נישט געזען, אויסער די ווילדע חיות! און איך האָב מיט שוידער געטראַכט וועגן די לײדן פון די פּינף הונדערט פּרויען, זײער טיפּסטער הונגער, זײערע פּאַרשוועכטע און פּאַרטעמפטע צניעותדיקע גלידער, און איך האָב דערזען נאָך אַ טיפּערע הייל אין די יסורים פון מענטשלעכע נשמות. די פּרוי האָט ווײטער דערצײלט.

– אין עטלעכע טעג אַרום זענען מיר באַפּרייט געוואָרן. אײן פּרוי איז אַוועק צופּוס זוכן איר מאַן אין דאַכאַו. אײן יעדן פּונקט, וווּ זי איז געקומען, האָט זי געהערט נאָר וועגן מענער, וואָס זוכן זײערע פּרויען, און פּרויען וואָס זוכן זײערע מענער, און אַזוי האָט זי פּיל מענטשן צוזאַמענגעבראַכט, פּילע צעריסענע פּאַמיליעס גאַנץ געמאַכט.

זי אַלײן האָט איר מאַן געפּונען אין מינכען.

[36] דער רב איז אַרײַנגעקומען, מען האָט זיך געזעצט עסן. מײַהאַט געמאַכט לחיים און אײנער דעם אַנדערן האָט געוונטשן, מען זאָל זיך אין גיכע זען אין ארץ.

מיר האָט מען געגעבן אַ שטול ביים רבס רעכטער זײט. ער האָט זיך געווענדט צו מיר:

– זאָגט מיר, וואָס איז דער מײן פון די ײדישע יסורים.

– כײַפּרעג אײך, רבי!

– כײַלער שוין אַ לאַנגע צײט. זעקס מײליאַן הרוגים קענען דאָך נישט זײן קײן מקרה־זאָך.

– אַוודאי נישט, רבי.

– און אויב עס איז נישט קײן מקרה, מוז דאָך עס זײן אַ גאָט־זאָך. און אויב אַזוי, מוז מען דאָך האָבן אמונה און בטחון.

ער האָט אויף מיר אַזוי ליבלעך געקוקט, און מיר האָט זיך געדוכט, אַז ער, דער "אַפּגעפּליקטער" און אַלײן־געבליבענער, וויל גאָר מיך טרײסטן.

כײַהאַב זיך פּאַרשעמט און מיט ווײטיק געענטפּערט:

– יאָ, רבי, אמונה!



אַבער אויפן וועג צוריק אין אַן אויטאָ קײן מינכען האָבן שוואַרצע פּלעקן זיך גענומען ווײזן; עפּעס זאָגט מען, אַז סײַזענען דאָ ײדן, וואָס פּאַרנעמען זיך מיטן "שוואַרץ־האַנדל" און ווערן רײך און עסן מכל טוב. וווּזשע איז די קדושה?

און עס איז אויך דאָ אַ טעמפּער הפּקרדיקער יאוש. אַט זאָגט מיר אַ יונגערמאַן:

– איך האָב מײן פּרוי און מײנע דרײ טעכטער בײ היטלערן פּאַרלוירן. אײן טאָכטער מײנע האָט געשמט אַלס די שענסטע אין פּוילן און האָט באַקומען פּרעמיעס פּאַר איר שײנקײט. איז זאָרג איך נישט פּאַרן הײנט און אויך נישט פּאַרן מאָרגן. איך טרױער בלוזי אויפן נעכטן.

די בחורים און מײדלעך פון קיבוץ מיטנוואַלד, וווּ מיר האָבן זיך [37] אויפן וועג אַפּגעשטעלט – ווי מיר האָבן זײ צוגעזאָגט נעכטן אויף דער פּאַרזאַמלונג אין גאַרמיש – זאָרגן זיך דווקא פּאַרן מאָרגן. מיטנוואַלד ליגט אין די טיראַלער אַלפּן, אַרומגערינגלט מיט וועלדער, בײ דער עסטרייכיש־שווייצאַרישער גרעניץ.

אַ הונדערט ײדן ווײנען דאָ אויף פּרײוואַטע יסודות, סײַסט אַן דער הילף פון אונראַ אַדער "דזשאַינט", נאָר מיט די לעבנסמײטל־קאַרטן ווי אין גאַרמיש.

זיי ווערן פארוואלטעט אין זייערע יידישע אָנגעלעגנהייטן דורך אַ קאָמיטעט פון פינף פּערזאָן. ס'איז נאָך אַן אַרימער קיבוץ, מיט נאָקעטע ברעטערנע ווענט, פון וואַנען לאָזונגען און פּערזן שרייען אַרויס דעם דראַנג נאָך אַרץ ישראל. טענהט אַ בחור פונעם קיבוץ, פאַרוואָס מען גיט זיי נישט קיין פאַך־לערער, וואָס זאָל זיי צוגרייטן פאַרן "אַרץ". איז דאָך שייין! איז אָבער אויך דאָ נישט אינגאַנצן ליכטיק. הויז־אַרבעט ווילן זיי בשום אופן נישט טאָן.

– זאָלן די דייטשן וואַשן ביי אונדז די דילן און קאָכן פאַר אונדז די מאַלצייטן. דאָס וועט זיין אונדזער נקמה.

יענע זענען פאַרטרויערט אינעם נעכטן, די זענען פאַרטאָן מיטן מאַרגן. וואָס זשע וועט זיין מיט דעם היינט?

און וווּ איז די אדמת־קודש? צי קען דען די נשמה וואַרטן אָדער אָפּלייגן?

Translation

Chapter 5 Garmisch

April 21st

Garmisch¹⁵¹ is our first public contact with the She'erit Hapletah as they refer to themselves here, and not without pride, or, as Dr. Zalman Grinberg,¹⁵² the chairman of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria, suggests, the “remnant of the khurbn.”¹⁵³

151 Israel Efros took part in the first cultural mission to the Jewish DP camps of Europe in 1946, organized by WJC and UNRRA, together with H. Lejwik and Emma Schaver. Lejwik wrote the play *Di khasene in fernvald* (The Wedding in Föhrenwald) after the trip, along with an account of his impressions from the tour first published in *Der tog* (The Day), and later in a book entitled *Mit der sheyres-hapleyte* (With the Surviving Remnant). Emma Schaver (1905–2003) was a well-known opera and folk singer and Labor Zionist born in the Russian Empire. Describing their monthslong cultural tour of the DP camps, which included lectures, concerts, and readings, Schaver recalled: “My feeling was, the first thing to do was to save them, to meet their bodily needs. The next thing was to give them something for the soul. That was something I could do.” Upon returning to the United States, Schaver produced an album of concentration camp songs entitled *I Believe*, and a book of her experiences, *We Are Here*.

152 See Document 3.

153 *Khurbn* (Yidd.; Heb.: *hurban*, lit. destruction); historically the term was used in Hebrew to describe the destruction of the First and Second Temple, however, in modern Hebrew and Yiddish it refers to the Holocaust. The usage presaged that of the terms “Holocaust” and “Shoah,” and reflects survivors’ struggle to make sense of the unprecedented nature of the crimes against the Jews committed by Nazi Germany

Garmisch is a quiet little town, at the foot of the snow-covered Tyrolean mountains.

It isn't a camp, not a set-apart place for Jewish refugees, for uprooted, displaced Jews, but rather a community where there live around 350 Jews together with Germans.

In camps the UNRRA provides the food, while in communities the Jews, like Germans, are fed by means of food tokens, albeit at a small extra charge.¹⁵⁴

Dr. Grinberg, whom we haven't as yet met, |31| invited us to this suburban German town to spend the last day of Passover.

It's a warm, if a little cloudy, evening. Bavarians are out for a stroll. A peasant in a green hat with a long, dyed feather drives a long-horned ox. The mountains are enveloped in grey.

It's peaceful and quiet all around as if nothing has happened. Gentiles can easily forget. Yes, there was a storm, so what? Earth remains earth.

We enter the rabbi's home. It's an upper floor with several rooms. Previously a Nazi lived here. The government put him in a concentration camp, and the CC, the Jewish Central Committee based in Munich, procured the accommodation for the rabbi.

Nazi pictures, Nazi furniture, and on a Nazi chest of drawers there lies festively a reddish half-open tallit pouch and a Pesahim tractate.¹⁵⁵

Jews from the nearby camps come in, eat the Passover meal at the rabbi's. The electric light is turned on. The mountains in the windows become a black wall under a blue sky.

The rabbi, L. Burnstein, a kindly rosy face with a ring of trimmed grey beard, comes in. Is this an early and perhaps suddenly greyed youth, or, on the contrary, a youthful old age?

and its collaborators, while linking them to a much longer history of catastrophic loss resulting from the destruction and expulsion of Jewish communities across the world going back to the ancient era, and the study of such losses.

154 While the majority of Jewish DPs lived in DP camps, where UNRRA and the JDC supplied rations, some groups chose to reside among the local population in various towns and cities in Germany when they were able to secure housing. This would cause some confusion and debate over responsibility for maintenance of the DPs in terms of rations and stipends. Those DPs who were able to secure a job in the local economy, for example, would have their rations provided by the local German government. Those living in the local community were also subject to the control of German authorities, which could lead to tense conflicts, in part a result of continuing antisemitism.

155 Lit., Passover festivals; the third tractate in the *Seder Moed* (Order of Festivals) in the Mishnah. The tractate discusses topics related to the Jewish holiday of Passover, and the Passover sacrifice, both called *pesah* in Hebrew.

We all sit down at a long table and the rabbi quietly recites kiddush. When he comes to “for it is us that Thou has chosen,”¹⁵⁶ his voice gives a quaver.

Someone whispers into my ear that the rabbi lost his wife and five children in the Nazi ovens. I give a shudder and look into the rabbi’s face. He smiles at me sweetly.

Where, I asked myself, does he get such strength? Where do all the Jews here, each one of them being the only survivor, get the strength to smile [32], to speak, to pack another day and another day into their life’s backpacks?

Is it the ruthless, unquestioning, biological impetus?

Is it the stubborn Jewish psyche?

Is it good this way, or not?

Yes, of course it’s good. Every smile on the faces of the few who rose from the mountain of dead bodies should be greeted with joy. And yet a wondering dissatisfaction lies hidden in the heart: who knows? Perhaps they’re also beginning to forget. And this is surely a desecration of martyrs?

We eat quietly, stiffly. The orphaned holiday makes us feel a little heavy-hearted. And we also feel a bit like foreign guests, strangers who are still frightening to the free family manifestation.

Having finished the bread of poverty, matzah, we go to address a gathering, where we’re told that all the Jews of Garmisch, several hundred of them, who have just been informed of our arrival, are waiting for us.

Soon I sit on the bimah,¹⁵⁷ face to face with the first ones of those to whom we have flown thousands of miles in order to bring them a heartfelt message of brotherhood and encouragement. I gaze at the synagogue filled to the rafters with people, at their poverty, their bizarre clothes, the hats and shirts – what did you expect then, splendid suits? – well, no, but it crosses my mind that even these meagre possessions aren’t their own, but collected somewhere and donated, degrading these people to the level of beggars, idlers and dole-takers. I see faces as if washed clean of and stripped of any expression, as if it’s all over, and also concentrated, hardened, obstinate faces. And suddenly, a resolution! I see them a year, two years ago, a march of slaves, a march of the dead along all the streets of Europe.

[33] In my pensiveness I couldn’t think of what I should talk about, but when I heard my name from the lips of the chairman, a voice said within me, “Remove your shoes from your feet, for the earth ... is consecrated ground,”¹⁵⁸ and I spoke about the holiness of grief.

156 This phrase (*ki vanu vaḥarta*) is part of the blessing over the wine (*kiddush*) recited on the Sabbath and other holidays, among others Passover.

157 The platform in a synagogue from which the Torah is read.

158 Exod 3:5.

How tenderly and caressingly they encircled us later! They invited us to their community settlement in the woods which was here close by. They asked about relatives and friends, the only thing they knew about them being that they lived somewhere in America. They wanted to know when the certificates from Eretz – so intimately and fondly they refer here to the Land of Israel – started to arrive. Each person's heart is a search and a longing for a relative or a friend, a quivering craving for a reunion, for the smallest expression of kindness and love – an orphan's hunger for a little warmth of a fellow human.

This is how the first group of the She'erit Hapletah revealed themselves to me: simple, folksy and movingly affectionate.

I go back to the house where underneath the rabbi's quarters, on the ground floor, a bedroom has been booked for me with a German family. German sentimental Gretchen pictures, German crispy cleanliness that repulses. A round German eiderdown on my bunk.

And where did this German eiderdown come from? Just with what Jewish pillows, the heads that slept on them being no more, is stuffed this fat German eiderdown that's covering me?

On my first night with the She'erit Hapletah my bed and my covers were thorns, prickly thorns ...

The following morning, we sat again in the rabbi's home over a glass of tea. The Jews who had been at the meal the day before were gradually coming together. The rabbi was still in the synagogue at the Haskores neshomes.¹⁵⁹

Even when I was in Oswego,¹⁶⁰ where America kept a thousand Jewish refugees in a camp, I noticed that [34] people readily came to you with the stories of their sufferings and that you did them a kindness – and yourself, of course – when you listened to them. It doesn't have the nature of the proud pain of Lamentations.¹⁶¹ Neither is it a masochistic nor Hiob-like will to scratch

159 Heb., recollection of souls; a memorial prayer, calling for the souls of deceased relatives. In the Ashkenazi ritual, said after the reading of the Torah, during the morning service of the last day of Passover, Shavuot, Sukkot, and on Yom Kippur.

160 Oswego was a refugee camp at Fort Ontario in New York housing 982 Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe. President Franklin D. Roosevelt allowed them to enter the country as "guests," housing them at Oswego from August 1944 until February 1946. Meant as a symbolic gesture, Roosevelt promised Congress that the refugees would return to Europe after the end of the war; however, many who wished to remain in the United States eventually secured permission and papers. Ruth Gruber, *Haven: The Dramatic Story of 1,000 World War II Refugees and How They Came to America*, New York 1983; Sharon R. Lowenstein, *Token Refuge: The Story of the Jewish Refugee Shelter at Oswego, 1944–1946*, Bloomington, Ind., 1986.

161 Book of Lamentations, a collection of poetic laments for the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem; "I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath." (Lam 3:1)

your own body with the shards of your memory. For they seldom speak of their unhealed wounds like the death of their parents, wives and children, and that just in a couple of words, with a tear. It's rather the sufferings they overcame that they speak about at length, in order to stir up a little intensity in their consciousness. The thought of having pulled through pinches the cheeks of their hollow, grey, monotonous today until the colour returns. It also assumes the character of a kind of religious worship, like the Tales of Rabbi Nachman¹⁶² among the Hasidim. Quietly, quietly someone starts talking, and when he finishes another one follows.

The tea glasses were standing empty. When someone was talking, the others threw their heads back or stared straight ahead.

“My little boy was hiding with a Lithuanian family. After the war I went back to the family, saw my child and oh, how dismal I felt for the first few minutes when my child stood before me cold and estranged. I called him, stretched out my hand, but he didn't even stir. I pressed him to me in desperation until I gradually managed to warm and awake in him the sonly feeling. He looked into my eyes and said, ‘It's good that I also have a dad.’ And now he's off to the Land of Israel with the last children's wave.”

“I carried my son to a Gentile family in a sack like potatoes. And he lay in the sack all the way like a dead body, without a move.”

“And I,” recounts a woman, “hid my little girl in a pile of washing. The Nazi stabbed the washing to see if anyone was hiding in it but since he didn't hear a sound, he left [35]. Then I saw blood stains appearing on the washing. I got the child out. Her foot was pierced through, but she didn't make one peep. This was how, like frightened, trained little animals, the children were in the hour of trial.”

Children's suffering and children's heroism. And then another woman began.

“We were 500 women on a ship that the Nazis sailed on the Baltic Sea, we didn't know where. Sick, entirely naked women, with no food or water. The very ill ones were laid out on the deck and every day the captain walked by with a stick and shoved them into the sea until there were 200 left. On the tenth day the Russians bombarded us and the ship managed somehow to pull in to the Kiel harbour, where a certain count got on board and demanded on his own responsibility – he saw that the war was drawing to a close – that we be let off the ship. We were taken to a camp, dressed and fed. On the other side of the camp we suddenly saw captive Dutchmen. One of us went into a fit of hysterical screaming: men!”

162 Title under which the stories of Rabbi Nachman of Breslov (1772–1810) were published.

The narrator smiled bitterly, “We hadn’t seen a man for 5 years, other than the brutes!” And I thought with a shudder about the sufferings of the 500 women, their profoundest hunger, their enfeebled and benumbed chaste bodies, and I saw even a deeper cavern in the sufferings of human souls. The woman went on:

“A few days later we were liberated. One woman left on foot to look for her husband in Dachau. Wherever she arrived she heard only of men looking for their wives and of women looking for their husbands, and this was how she brought many people together, reunited many families torn apart.”

She found her own husband in Munich.

[36] The rabbi came in and we sat down to the meal. We drank to health and wished each other to meet shortly in Eretz.

I was seated at the rabbi’s right side. He turned to me:

“Tell me, what is the meaning of Jewish suffering?”

“I’m asking you, rabbi!”

“I’ve been thinking about it for a long time. Six million murder victims simply can’t be a thing of chance.”

“Of course not, rabbi.”

“And if it’s no coincidence it must be from God. And if so, one must have faith and confidence.”

He looked at me so kindly, and I felt that it was he, the “plucked out one” and the only survivor, who wanted to comfort me.

I felt ashamed and replied painfully:

“Yes, rabbi, faith!”



But on the way back to Munich in a car black flecks started to appear; there are rumours that there are Jews who sell in the black market, getting richer and eating of the best. So where is the sanctity?

There’s also a blunt, unbridled despair. Here’s what a family man tells me:

“I lost my wife and three daughters to Hitler. One of my daughters was famed as the greatest beauty in Poland and received prizes for her looks. So I don’t care about today or tomorrow. I only grieve for yesterday.”

The young men and women from the settlement Mittenwald¹⁶³ where we [37] stopped on our way – as we promised them yesterday at the gathering in Garmisch – on the contrary, do care about tomorrow.

163 In Mittenwald there was a Jewish DP camp in the “Hotel Karwendel,” which served as a recreation center for DPs from Föhrenwald from 1945 to 1951 (usually with an occupancy of around 100). Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 16 and 236. There

Mittenwald lies in the Tyrolean Alps, surrounded by woods, on the Austrian-Swiss border.

A hundred Jews are living here on a private basis, i. e., without aid from the UNRRA or the Joint, just with the food tokens as in Garmisch.

They are represented in their Jewish matters by a committee of five people.

It's still a poor settlement, with bare board walls, from where slogans and verses scream of the yearning for the Land of Israel. A young man from the community questions why they aren't given a vocational instructor to prepare them for "Eretz" – great! But here, too, it isn't all lightness. They categorically don't want to do any housework:

"Let the Germans wash our floors and cook meals for us. It will be our revenge."¹⁶⁴

Those are mourning yesterday, and these are preoccupied with tomorrow. What then will happen to today?

And where is the Holy Land? Can the soul wait or put it off?

Document 39

Anonymous, Report given by David Ben-Gurion

London, November 6, 1945

Typewritten report, 4 pages; handwritten archival signature on page 1 and "Dr. Joseph," "7," "8511"

Language: English

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S25 (Political Department of the WZO), 5231

also had been a UNRRA transit camp for DPs. For a literary account on the UNRRA transit camp in Mittenwald, see Emma Andiiievskia, *A Novel about a Good Person*, transl. by Olha Rudakevych, ed. by Marko Robert Stech, Edmonton 2018.

164 Though revenge in the traditional sense of physical violence was rare, a wide array of ideas and acts of symbolic revenge pervaded the DP communities of postwar Europe. Numerous DP women defined the birth of their children in terms of "biological revenge." Moreover, DPs' ideas of symbolic revenge blur the lines between traditional concepts of justice and revenge, with some DPs defining the criminal legal process itself and their involvement in that process as revenge. Alexandra M. Kramen, *Justice versus Revenge, or Justice as Revenge? A Case Study of Holocaust Testimony*, in: *AJS Perspectives* 24 (2022), no. 2, 80 f.; Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 5.

[Ben-Gurion reported from DP camps in both the American and British zones during his tour, noting a significant improvement in conditions in the American Zone compared to earlier reports. He met with American military officials, discussing the overwhelming desire of Jewish DPs to relocate to Palestine. Ben-Gurion observed that while physical conditions had improved, morale remained low due to enforced idleness and the trauma of past atrocities. He made several recommendations to General Eisenhower, including concentrating Jews in a separate region, either urban or rural, to foster community and avoid conflict with the local German population; allowing Jewish DPs to govern themselves, subject to the ultimate authority of the U.S. Army; providing agricultural training by instructors who would come from Palestine; confiscating Nazi farms; organizing vocational and paramilitary training for the DPs; and establishing weekly flights between the camps and Palestine to bring in instructors and books. In the British Zone, particularly in Bergen-Belsen, conditions were dire, with severe overcrowding and neglect. Ben-Gurion was particularly critical of the British administration's treatment of Jewish DPs, and highlighted the stark differences in conditions between the two zones. Throughout his report, he stressed the resilience and determination of the DPs, their readiness for the challenges ahead, and their steadfast commitment to Zionism.]

Report by Mr. Ben Gurion [sic] on his visit to the Camps¹⁶⁵ given at a meeting at 77 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1.¹⁶⁶ on Tuesday, 6th November 1945.



Mr. Ben Gurion said that he arrived at Frankfurt on the 19th October and visited Stuttgart and the camps near Munich which were the largest in the American Zone. In the British Zone, the only camp he visited was Belsen.

165 David Ben-Gurion's visit to the DP camps has been described in many sources, e. g., Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*, 94; Nadich, *Eisenhower and the Jews*, 238. – Ben-Gurion's mission seems to have influenced the development of a unified Zionist policy regarding Jewish DPs, as the Jewish Agency for Palestine began to see the value of using them as an instrument in the struggle to create the Jewish state. Jewish DPs saw in Ben-Gurion, as Major Irving Heymont, responsible for the administration of the Landsberg Camp, puts it, as "the personal embodiment of all their hopes for the future." Quoted from: Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 57.

166 Western Central (postal code). At that time, MI5, the British military counterintelligence and security agency, had an office at this address.

The purpose of his visit was that, believing they were facing a prolonged and difficult struggle, he wished to know¹⁶⁷ whether the internees would be a help or a hindrance in that struggle. Permission to visit the American Zone was easily obtained, but it was rather more difficult in regard to the British Zone. Facilities for travelling in both zones were provided by the American army.

At the time when Mr. Harrison's report¹⁶⁸ was compiled, there were about 100,000 Jewish D.P's [sic] among the one million D.P's in Germany. Mr. Harrison found that they were kept as prisoners behind barbed wire, under very bad food, clothing and sanitary conditions. The rate of mortality was high: all the D.P's were idle, and families were scattered. Mr. Ben Gurion found conditions in the American Zone greatly improved. In Frankfurt, he met the Chief of Staff, Lieut. Gen. Smith.¹⁶⁹ When he told him the purpose of his visit, Gen. Smith at once told him that almost all the Jews in Germany wanted to go to Palestine and refused to go back to their respective countries. Some would like to go to America but knew that this was impossible. He asked Mr. Ben Gurion to report to him on his return and also to see Gen. Eisenhower.¹⁷⁰ He told him that they were expecting a special envoy from America to consult with Gen. Eisenhower on Jewish matters. Judge Rifkind¹⁷¹ arrived the following morning and the idea was that Mr. Ben Gurion should travel with him, but as he was unable to leave immediately, Mr. Ben Gurion proceeded alone.

He first paid a brief visit to the camp at Salzheim [sic],¹⁷² where the D.P's were mainly Poles. There was a small Hachshara there and all the people told

167 American Jewish Archives (eds.), *The Landsberg DP Camp Letters of Irving Heymont*, 65–67.

168 Earl G. Harrison (Document 15).

169 Walter Bedell Smith.

170 Dwight D. Eisenhower.

171 Simon Rifkind (1901–1996), a renowned American-Jewish lawyer and judge who had immigrated to New York from Russia with his parents in 1910. In 1945 and 1946, he served as the adviser on Jewish affairs for the U.S. Army in Europe, working on behalf of Jewish DPs and making appeals for increased aid. For this work, President Harry S. Truman awarded him the Medal of Freedom.

172 DP Camp Zeilsheim, a neighborhood of Frankfurt am Main. Established in August of 1945 on the grounds of Hoechst chemical company, the camp accommodated more than 3,000 Jewish DPs on average. The living conditions were considered comparatively good, not least because the Americans confiscated an adjacent factory estate with over 200 houses for DPs to live in. The camp was also known for its vibrant Jewish cultural life. In its three-year existence, Jews established a synagogue, a yeshiva, various general and vocational schools, a kindergarten, a library, two sports clubs, a cinema, a theater, and a jazz orchestra. The camp was closed in November 1948. Jim G. Tobias, *Zeilsheim – eine jüdische Stadt in Frankfurt, Nürnberg* 2011.

him they wanted to go to Palestine. He then went on to Stuttgart. Here the D.P.'s were living in the town, where a block of houses had been requisitioned from the Germans. They were all from Poland and were nearly all young people between the ages of 18 and 35; there were no children or old people.¹⁷³ This applied to all the other camps as well. There were about 500 men, 300 women, and fourteen children, three below 6 and the rest between 6 and 14. 60 % of the people wanted to go to Palestine. Of the rest, a number had relatives in America and Argentine and would like to go there, while a number believed they still had relatives in the camps for whom they were searching and had therefore not yet decided what to do in the future. Here, as everywhere else, there was a Jewish committee.¹⁷⁴ In Stuttgart, all the members of this Committee were Zionist. Mr. Ben Gurion put two questions to the Committee. The first was: if it were necessary, for political reasons, not to accept certificates, from the point of view of the people in the camps could the Jewish Agency adopt this policy, or would it result in despair? The Committee replied that they would not accept the certificates if it was against the interests of Zionism; they were prepared to wait if necessary. Mr. Ben Gurion asked whether this was the view of the Committee only or of the people as a whole. They assured him that this was the general view of the people who wanted to go to Palestine. He himself was not convinced that this really was the case. The second question was whether the people who wanted to go to Palestine were ready to go under conditions, which might involve a risk of life. The reply was in the affirmative. On this occasion, Mr. Ben Gurion felt more convinced that the reply was a true one. They asked for Hachshara, although they said that many of them were not fit for hard physical work.¹⁷⁵ They asked for books, in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish. Some of them who had been students would like to continue their studies in Jerusalem.

Mr. Ben Gurion proceeded to the central D.P. Camp near Munich.¹⁷⁶ Here he met Chaplains Klausner¹⁷⁷ and Naiditch [sic].¹⁷⁸ In this connection, Mr. Ben Gurion mentioned that he had been informed that the Jewish

173 On the demographics of the Jewish DPs, see Document 24.

174 For an example of the organizational structure of a camp committee, see Document 41.

175 Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 155–200.

176 It is uncertain to which camp the report refers.

177 Abraham Klausner. See Document 4.

178 Judah Nadich (1912–2007) was the first adviser on Jewish affairs to General Eisenhower. A graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he enlisted as a Jewish chaplain after Pearl Harbor and after the Harrison Report was appointed adviser on Jewish affairs. His experiences are reflected in: Nadich, *Eisenhower and the Jews*.

chaplains and Jewish soldiers generally had done a magnificent job and were doing all they could to provide the D.P's with food and clothing. He had been very much impressed by Chaplain Klausner's devotion and courage. He went with him to visit the camps in this area. They went first to St. Ottielien [sic], which was really a hospital. It contained 650 beds but only 250 sick people and 550 other Jews. Officially, they were considered convalescents, but they had turned it into an ordinary camp. There were 50 children there, some of whom had been born there and in the camps while many had been brought from Poland recently. The ages of the children ranged from 2 to 8. A school was now being opened. The food was [2] excellent and the housing satisfactory. Dr. Gruenberg [sic],¹⁷⁹ a Lithuanian Jew from the camps, was in charge. There were Zionists there who were extremely devoted and well-informed: in Mr. Ben Gurion's view they were fit to be on the Zionist Executive.¹⁸⁰ A Kibbutz Hachshara had been established. This was the best camp as far as material conditions were concerned, and people who had recovered from their illness refused to leave it.

Mr. Ben Gurion then proceeded to Landsberg. The official number of Jews there was 5,500, but actually there were only about 4,500. This discrepancy in numbers (which was to be found in all the camps) was due to two reasons: a) Many people had left to look for their relatives; b) The food, except at St. Ottielien, was not yet adequate, although there had been a great improvement in the American Zone, and it enabled them to receive larger rations. There were a hundred children at Landsberg who had recently come from Poland. The number of these was increasing in all the camps. All the D.P's here had all been living in barracks, twenty to forty in a room and two in a bed. Since the publication of the Harrison Report and visit of Gen. Eisenhower, orders had been given to evacuate all the Germans in order to provide more room for the D.P's, but the orders had not been carried out. So far, only 20 % of the D.P's at Landsberg were living in houses, many of them were still sleeping two in a bed and were crowded into barracks. There

179 Zalman Grinberg. See Document 3.

180 Most likely the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, founded 1908 as Palestine Office, renamed in 1921 to Palestine Zionist Executive, and again 1929 to Jewish Agency for Palestine when a number of activists of non-Zionist groups joined the organization. In 1930, the British recognized the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the appropriate Jewish body under the terms of the Mandate. It played a crucial role in coordinating activities, promoting Jewish immigration to Palestine, and fostering the development of the Yishuv. However, the so-called Action Committee (founded on the Second Zionist Congress, 1898), in fact the managing body of the WZO, was also referred to as the Zionist Executive.

had been some improvement in the food, but it was still unsatisfactory. There were five Kibbutzei Hachshara, as well as a Kibbutz of the Agudat consisting entirely of girls. There was also a yeshiva but they had no books.

Mr. Ben Gurion went to Feldafing, where he only had time to address the D.P's. He was told that there was a strong group of Bundists there, numbering about a hundred, with a large following. Conditions in this camp were worse than anywhere else.

Mr. Ben Gurion thought the people in the camps could be divided into three categories: a) Some who did not care at all about Palestine but would not return to their countries; b) Some who might stay in Germany; c) Zionists. The black market was flourishing. This was due to some extent to the enforced idleness, which caused demoralisation. Physically they all seemed fit, and it was difficult to believe that they had undergone such hardship for so many years. Some had tuberculosis and were being taken care of at a special hospital, but the large majority were fit. Morally the position was more disquieting. People had lost faith in themselves, in the world, in the Jewish people, and after seeing Dachau and hearing individual stories, it was not difficult to understand this. They were intellectually and psychologically abnormal. But by almost a miracle, a great number were still not only normal but real heroes. They were ready for anything: they could endure physical, moral and psychological torture for the sake of Zionism, and Mr. Ben Gurion doubted whether, even in Palestine, they had more devoted and reliable Zionists than these people. Most of this category had been Zionists before.

Mr. Ben Gurion was asked to speak at all the camps. He told them that the political situation was desperate and that he could not promise them certificates:¹⁸¹ he could only promise that the best of their people in Palestine would do what was humanly possible to get them over to Palestine. He had talks with the Central Zionist Committee¹⁸² and put to them the same question about refusing certificates. They told him that they would refuse 1,500 certificates even if the Executive decided to accept the offer. There was nothing left for them but to go to Palestine, however, if necessary, they could wait. The Committee told him that they would not leave until all the others

181 On the DPs' struggle to obtain certificates allowing immigration to Palestine, see Documents 15 and 18.

182 Embracing a firm Zionist position, the survivors called for unrestricted immigration to Eretz Israel and the creation of a Jewish national homeland. As a result, by the summer of 1945, Zionist-oriented groups among the DPs had formed a Central Zionist Committee of the *She'erit Hapletah*, whose lifespan and impact remains unclear. Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *DPs, Mothers and Pioneers: Women in the She'erit Hapletah*, in: *Jewish History* 11 (1997), no. 2, 99–110, here 101.

had gone to Palestine. Mr. Ben Gurion had the feeling that they meant what they said. He did not think they represented the views of all the thousands who wanted to go to Palestine, but they did speak for a great many people. What all of them asked for in all the camps was Hachshara: books, Madrichim and material for vocational training. The best people he met were the youngsters. At Foerenwalde [sic],¹⁸³ which was a camp for young people only (up to the age of 25) there were many Kibbutzim, and some of the youngsters spoke excellent Hebrew. Many of them said they were determined to remain together in Palestine regardless of movement or political attachments.

After visiting Foerenwalde, Mr. Ben Gurion returned to Frankfurt, where he was received by Gen. Smith (Gen. Eisenhower was in London at the time), to whom he told his impressions and recommendations.¹⁸⁴ His recommendations were as follows:

[3] “In order to raise the self-respect, improve the morale, and to prepare the D.P’s for useful life in the country of their future permanent residence, the following recommendations are made:

1. The people in each camp and in the entire area should be given a measure of self-government through elected representatives, subject of course to the authority of the Military Administration, to conduct all their internal affairs, to represent the D.P’s before the authorities and to advise the authorities on the measures to be taken for the improvement of the conditions of the inmates and raising their spiritual level.
2. To concentrate all the Jewish D.P’s, as far as possible, in one area, urban and rural, to enable them to live a more full Jewish life and to avoid unnecessary contact with the unfriendly German population.
3. To complete the settling of people in separate rooms and to avoid as far as possible living in barracks where people are deprived of privacy.
4. Agricultural training for the younger inmates who are eager to prepare themselves to return to Palestine and to live there on the soil. Near the camps, there are farms available, of former Nazis, which the young people in the camps are eager to cultivate.

183 DP Camp Föhrenwald. See Document 41.

184 Eisenhower was quite receptive to Ben-Gurion’s suggestions except for his proposal to concentrate Jews in a separate region. Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*, 134; Meir Avizohar, *Bikkur Ben-Gurion be-maḥanot ha-akurim u-tfisato ha-le’umit be-tom milḥemet ha-olam ha-shni’ah* [Ben-Gurion’s Visit to the DP Camps and His National Outlook in the Aftermath of the Second World War], in: Benjamin Pinkus (ed.), *Yahadut mizraḥ eiropah bein shoah le-tekuma 1944–1948* [The Jews of Eastern Europe Between Holocaust and Rebirth 1944–1948], Sde Boker 1987, 253–270, here 260.

5. Vocational training for the older people in different trades – mechanical, electrical, tailoring, shoemaking, nursing, etc. It must be understood that this training will be on a purely voluntary basis and in no way to be imposed on the people. It is expected that at the beginning, only a part of the people will avail themselves of these opportunities, but they will serve as an example to the others.
6. Physical training for an hour every day if possible, and training the people in discipline, orderliness and cleanliness. Again, it must be understood that this must be on a purely voluntary basis.
7. What the people need most in camps are books, manuals, papers in Hebrew, which cannot be provided after the destruction of all the Jewish centres [sic] of learning and culture in Europe and can only be obtained from Palestine. It is necessary that a military plane should visit Palestine once a week to bring the necessary books and also bring instructors from Palestine for agriculture, vocational and cultural training of the people. The plane will also carry mail of the D.P's in Germany to relatives in Palestine.¹⁸⁵

With regard to training, Gen. Smith said that this was also their view, but it seemed that the people refused to work. Gen. Eisenhower had offered the people at one camp land to work, but they had refused. Mr. Ben Gurion said that there might be people who refused to work but the young people were eager, especially for agricultural work, and many of the older ones would undertake other jobs. It must be on a purely voluntary basis. At first, only some would work, but he was sure that later the majority would join in. Gen. Smith promised to fulfil the request for planes to bring books and instructors and said that the other matters would have to be discussed with Gen. Eisenhower.

Mr. Ben Gurion then told him that in all the camps he had met D.P's who had gone back to Poland and other countries but had later returned, bringing others with them. Gen. Smith said that they were aware of this. There was antisemitism in Poland, and they had to save these people. He asked for all Mr. Ben Gurion's recommendations to be put in writing for submission to Gen. Eisenhower. Mr. Ben Gurion said that he was impressed by Gen. Smith: he was intelligent and understood the special problem of the Jewish D.P's.

Mr. Ben Gurion met Judge Rifkind and outlined to him the recommendations he had made. He found Mr. Rifkind (who was a Zionist) generally inclined to agree with him except on the point of concentrating all the Jews

185 On the first 20 emissaries from Palestine who arrived in Germany, see Document 27, n. 99.

together. He thought that this was impossible, because there were many public works, which had to be carried on by the Germans. He believed, however, that if all the other recommendations were carried out, in fact a Jewish area would be created where the Germans would be increasingly fewer in number. He said that he had spoken to Gen. Eisenhower about Mr. Ben Gurion, and Mr. Ben Gurion should meet him on his return from the British Zone.

[4] Mr. Ben Gurion then visited the British Zone. On arrival at Belsen, he met with the Jewish Committee.¹⁸⁶ On the day of liberation there were 48,000 Jews in Belsen. Since then, until the end of July, 31,000 Jews had died. He was sure that many had died because of sheer neglect. The treatment at Belsen was the nearest thing he could imagine to the Nazi system. All the Jews were under Polish authority officially, although actually there were very few Poles left. Jewish children had to go to the Polish school and be taught in Polish. Jews had to live in the same rooms as Poles, where they were insulted and maltreated. The authorities knew this but said they could do nothing, as the people were all Poles. Mr. Ben Gurion was told that there were camps that were worse than Belsen, although some of them were better. He visited the living quarters. One room 4 ½ metres square contained four beds and thirteen occupants. Another, 2 m × 4 m, contained three beds and seven occupants.¹⁸⁷ There were more than thirty large buildings which were empty. The Major in charge said he had to reserve this accommodation for people who might come back. The food was inadequate. The Joint had offered to send additional food, but were told that if such food arrived, it must be divided amongst the whole camp, as they could not discriminate between different religions. The food was now being sent illegally. Most of the people were between 18 and 35, but a few children remained. A stencilled paper was being published illegally.

Two weeks before Mr. Ben Gurion's arrival, representatives from the Jewish Brigade¹⁸⁸ had come to Belsen. People in all the camps were very cynical, but they had unlimited confidence in and unbounded respect for the people from the Brigade. At Belsen, they had been discussing the question of sending children to England. All the people were against it. Mr. Ben Gurion had been

186 The camp committee or the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone.

187 This sentence is repeated in the original, apparently by mistake.

188 The Jewish Brigade was recruited mostly among Jews from Mandatory Palestine and formed within the British armed forces in 1944. It deployed in Italy and Northwest Europe. David Ben-Gurion had campaigned for its creation along with Chaim Weizmann. Following the war, members of the Brigade provided aid to Holocaust survivors in their effort to move to Mandatory Palestine as part of the Second Aliyah, a code name for illegal immigration. Derek Penslar, *Art. Military*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 4, 313–321, here 320.

very much impressed by Dr. Rosensaft,¹⁸⁹ who was the head of the Jewish committee at Belsen. Everyone accepted his authority without question.

On his return to Frankfurt, Mr. Ben Gurion met Gen. Eisenhower, who began by saying that he knew that the main problem of the D.P's was a psychological one, and they must make an attempt to restore their confidence in themselves and in humanity. He was aware of the black market activities, but no one could blame these people. They needed some occupation. He mentioned his offer of land, which had been refused. Mr. Ben Gurion repeated what he had told Gen. Smith and urged that a start should be made in his respect. Gen. Eisenhower asked when the people would be able to go to Palestine. Mr. Ben Gurion explained the position. Gen. Eisenhower assured him that they would do all they could for the D.P's as long as they remained in Germany, would treat them with understanding of their problems and would give them all possible facilities for agricultural and other training. He had given instructions to Judge Rifkind to give immediate orders in regard to small improvements. Bigger matters would have to be brought to court¹⁹⁰ but would have a very sympathetic hearing. Mr. Ben Gurion was impressed by his humane approach and felt that he understood the problem.

Document 40

Samuel Gringauz, "Jewish Destiny as the DP's See It: The Ideology of the Surviving Remnant"

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Journal article, 9 pages

Language: English

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[Gringauz, himself a survivor and a DP, explores the profound transformation within the Jewish people after the Second World War, marking a shift from a European-centered self-understanding to an American-Palestinian one. With European Jewry decimated by the Holocaust, American Jews now constitute the majority of active Jewry. Gringauz emphasizes the critical role of the She'erit Hapletah in bringing together the Jews and leading the effort toward a new epoch in Jewish history by developing a distinctive ideological stance, marked by Judeocentrism and a strong sense of Jewish solidarity, despite internal differences. Forged in the crucible of concentration camps and partisan battles,

189 Josef Rosensaft.

190 Lacuna due to hole punching.

this group considers it its mission to symbolize the Jewish national tragedy, seeking retribution not through vengeance but through the defiant affirmation of life and national rebirth. Gringauz underscores the duty of survivors to foster a national and moral revival, to redefine Jewish culture, and to achieve psychological stability despite their traumatic experiences. The essay also warns of the persistent dangers of antisemitism and the importance of an intensified effort to build Palestine as a safe haven for Jews worldwide. Gringauz points out that the survivors see their task as ensuring Jewish resilience through fostering global Jewish unity.]

JEWISH DESTINY AS THE DP'S SEE IT
 The Ideology of the Surviving Remnant
 SAMUEL GRINGAUZ¹⁹¹

TO DATE we have had little reliable information on the ideology of those who survived Hitler – what they think of themselves and their future. Obviously, their outlook has great meaning both for present Jewish policy and future Jewish history. SAMUEL GRINGAUZ, who here analyzes the beliefs of the DP's rather than their plight, was a DP himself, three times president of the camp in Landsberg, Germany, and president of the Congress and Council of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, after his liberation from a German concentration camp. Born in 1900 in what was then East Prussia, Dr. Gringauz studied economics, law, and philosophy at Königsberg, Bern, and Karlsruhe, as well as in Russia, Italy, and France. Until Hitler came to

191 Gringauz's text has been the subject of a number of significant republications, underscoring its importance in the field. It appears in: The Judaic Tradition, edited and introduced by Nahum N. Glatzer, Boston, Mass., 1969, 631–641; Ian S. Lustick's Triumph and Catastrophe: The War of 1948, Israel Independence, and the Refugee Problem, New York, 1994, 85–94; and Samuel D. Kassow and David G. Roskies (eds.), The Posen Library of Jewish Culture and Civilization, vol. 9: Catastrophe and Rebirth, 1939–1973, New Haven, Conn., 2020, 420 f. (extracts). Gringauz's influential work, *Jewish Destiny as the DP's See It*, and his further contributions to the discourse on the self-understanding of the surviving remnant have become essential references in studies on Displaced Persons. His work is cited frequently, including in: Abraham Peck's essay "Unsere Augen haben die Ewigkeit gesehen." Erinnerung und Identität der She'erit Hapletah, found in Fritz Bauer Institut (ed.), *Überlebt und Unterwegs*, 27–49, as well as in Mankowitz's *Life Between Memory and Hope*, pages 177–191, and Holian's *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism*, 164–176.

power in 1933, Dr. Gringauz was scientific assistant at the Heidelberg Institute of Social Sciences. Later he became judge in the District Court of Appeals in Memel and was a member of the executive board of the Jewish community in that city. Since the end of the war, Dr. Gringauz has been editor of the *Jidische Cajtung*¹⁹² in Landsberg and columnist for the *Juedische Rundschau*¹⁹³ in Marburg. He has just arrived in the United States and is currently engaged in a study of the consequences of the war on European personality and on the future of the Jews. This article was translated from the German by Martin Greenberg.¹⁹⁴

AS WE withdraw our attention from the events of the day, and a certain distance in time permits us a more general and stable view of things, it becomes increasingly clear that the years 1939–1945, together with the after-effects directly following the liberation, constitute the “great catastrophe” of Jewish history. This is not true merely in the consciousness of the surviving European Jews but also in the light of historical judgment. Today there is not the slightest doubt that the inner structure of Jewry everywhere, its religious character, its national cohesion, its capacity for being incorporated in national states, the issues of its culture, its real relation to Western civilization – thus the entire world of specifically Jewish experience – will be epochally influenced by this “great catastrophe.”

The surviving remnant of Israel in Europe – the so-called *Sherit Hapleita* – has, to a greater extent than any other group, formulated the ideological consequences of the “great catastrophe.” Other Jews merely heard or read about the catastrophe. This group directly experienced the catastrophe. Hence, its reaction was more direct, more intense, more responsible. Today, the *Sherit Hapleita has an ideology of its own* – this despite the fact that in its outlook on life, in its politics, and its culture, the group is no more unified and no less divided than other Jewish communities. In spite of all internal differences, certain convictions are held in common by the preponderant majority of the *Sherit Hapleita*, and these convictions justify our [502] speaking of “the

192 *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung*.

193 *Juedische Rundschau. Illustrierte Zeitschrift* was a Jewish periodical edited in Marburg, Germany, by and for DPs from May 1946 until July 1948. It is a rare example of a Jewish DP periodical published in German language.

194 End of editorial remark, written by the editors of *Commentary* magazine. – Martin Greenberg (1918–2021), who served in the U.S. Army during the Second World War, later became a noted writer, editor, and translator in New York.

ideology of the remnant.”* The present essay is an attempt, based on observation and personal participation, to define comprehensively the intellectual, psychological, historical, and philosophical orientation of the Sherit Hapleita. It must be emphasized beforehand that the experiences of concentration camp prisoners and partisans were decisive in creating the ideology of the Jewish DP’s; even those Polish Jews who during the war took refuge in Siberia and later came across Poland to Germany have in the course of time adopted it.¹⁹⁵

WHAT above all distinguishes the outlook of the Jewish DP’s is its *Judeocentrism and its intra-Jewish universalism and unity*.

For the Jewish DP, Jewishness is a given fact of existence that plays the deciding role in life and death, in attitude and feeling, and influences and

* Three elements compose an ideology: the experience that calls it forth (*Erlebnis*); the ideas by which the experience is held in the mind (*Konzeption*); and the general interpretation made of these ideas (*Deutung*). While the first element constitutes the *psychological basis* of consciousness, the *social ideas* of the group are formulated by means of the second; and the third element, interpretation, projects the historical, cultural, national, and world-political outlines of the ideology. Two outstanding articles on the Jewish DP’s have been published in American periodicals. The first was by Dr. Leo Srole – with whom I had the honor and pleasure of working during his entire stay at Landsberg – and was published in *Commentary* in January 1947 [titled *Why the DP’s Can’t Wait*, pp. 13–24]. Dr. Srole was concerned with the psychological, moral, and social-administrative status of the Jewish DP’s, and he outlined a political proposal for their resettlement. The second article, by Professor Koppel Pinson, appeared in *Jewish Social Studies* in April 1947 [Document 24], and in the section entitled “Conceptions of the Jewish Future” devoted some attention to the ideology of the Sherit Hapleita.¹⁹⁶

195 This is a mischaracterization of the Polish Jews who had survived in the Soviet Union as having taken “refuge” in Siberia, rather than recognizing their deportation as Poles, and subsequent flight to Central Asia before postwar repatriation to Poland and further flight to occupied Germany and Austria. Adler, *Survival on the Margins*; Edele/Fitzpatrick/Grossmann (des.), *Shelter from the Holocaust*.

196 Gringauz’s definition of ideology is based on the ideas of the Austrian-Hungarian-Jewish sociologist Karl Mannheim (1893–1947), which were widely received in interwar Germany and Europe. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia. An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, transl. by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, London 1936 (first Bonn 1929). Mannheim was privatdozent in Heidelberg when Gringauz wrote his PhD thesis at Heidelberg University.

governs every aspect of his life. During the most crucial years of his recent experience, it was the mere fact of his Jewishness that determined the physical circumstances of his existence, and it was this fact essentially that lay behind the danger of death in which he stood daily, and behind every important step he took.

The Jewish problem, for the Jewish DP, became a psychic and existential one. His Jewishness became the substance of consciousness, became fate. Just as his enemy showed day in and day out an all-embracing, extremely intense, and omnipresent anti-Jewish attitude, making the Jewishness of the Jew the center of all his attention, so too the Jew, in self-defense, made of his Jewishness the foundation of his consciousness.¹⁹⁷ The results of this experience are what distinguish the Sherit Hapleita from the Jews of countries untouched by the catastrophe, and also from the Jews of Palestine, whose Jewish feeling is indeed strong and central, having been hardened and strengthened in battle, but remains nevertheless normal and healthy. The Judeocentrism of the Sherit Hapleita, as the fundamental factor in its ideology, exceeds in its nationalist intensity and all-embracingness all other tendencies.

The Sherit Hapleita sees it as its task to symbolize the Jewish national tragedy and be the protagonist of Jewish retribution. And although it is generally admitted that the individual Jewish DP is prey to spiritual weaknesses having their origin in the catastrophic conditions of the last years, this task is viewed by the Sherit Hapleita as one laid upon it by destiny and history regardless of the strength of its bearers, and for this very reason alone the task seems all the more urgent. Through the Sherit Hapleita the entire Jewish people is to measure the extent of its historical tragedy: the Sherit Hapleita must demonstrate to all Jews everywhere their involvement in the common fate. The Sherit Hapleita is to be a herald of the indivisibility of Jewish destiny; it shall, by its existence and its struggles, arouse and strengthen Jewish awareness of the national tragedy.

More than any other group in the Jewish nation, *the Sherit Hapleita feels itself charged with a great obligation to the dead* such as no unveiling of monuments can discharge: they have seen centuries-old monuments destroyed in an instant. Women on the way to the crematoria, children in their final agonies, comrades on the point of martyrdom – all those who screamed for retribution and revenge – have left behind a legacy whose [503] executor the Sherit Hapleita feels itself to be, and whose accomplishment is the substance of its ideology. But the mission of retribution is not directly conceived in the sense of “an eye for an eye;” the enormity of the crime makes this unthinkable.

197 See introd., chap. 1.

The retributive mission of the Sherit Hapleita takes instead the form of a defiant affirmation of life and national rebirth. Nothing must permit Hitler a final triumph by the destruction of the Jews through the circumstances of the postwar world or through inner disintegration. Judaism, as a nation and a collectivity, must be preserved despite all its enemies, and shall emerge from the great catastrophe healthier and morally purified, shall experience a new renaissance and shall lead a normal life on its own soil. This is to be the retribution and the revenge.¹⁹⁸

Empowered by its own martyrdom and the legacy left it by the dead, the Sherit Hapleita – in the name of the everlasting awful majesty of one and a half million martyred children, two and a half million crucified mothers and wives, two million fallen fathers and brothers, a quarter of a million DP's still wasting away in the camps – demands of the Jewish people a single and united national-political attitude. This is the basic foundation of the Zionism of the survivors. It is no party Zionism; it is a historical-philosophical Zionism felt as an historical mission, as a debt to the dead, as retribution toward the enemy, as a duty to the living. It is, moreover, a Zionism of warning, because the Sherit Hapleita feels that the continuation of Jewish national abnormality means the danger of a repetition of the catastrophe.

A FURTHER essential element in the ideology of the Jewish DP's is *Jewish universalism*. The DP's are the surviving remnant of those Jews who, regardless of origin, culture, social position, ideology, class, yes, even religion, were condemned to death *only* because they were Jewish. American and Swiss citizens, heroes of the First World War, the most respected representatives

198 Gringauz gave a Yom Kippur sermon in 1945, later published in the *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung*, in which he alluded to such symbolic forms of revenge, proclaiming, "But you, the youth, cannot and should not live in a situation of memory and sorrow. You must live and build, work and liberate yourselves. Remember the words of our great poet: 'Nikmat dam jeled hakatan od loh barah hasatan' [Satan has not yet created a fitting revenge for the blood of a small child] ... For you, our young people, are the agents of our revenge which ought to be a proud assertion to continue life. You must readily show the world and all our enemies that despite everything we are here to stay. Your revenge must be in working and toiling for your own land. You must create and build, dance and sing, open yourselves to life, to living and [working]." Quoted from: Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 47. Gringauz recited verses from Chaim Nachman Bialik's famous poem *In the City of Slaughter*, which he wrote in 1904 in response to the devastating Kishinev pogrom (1903). On the question of revenge, see also Kramen, *Justice versus Revenge, or Justice as Revenge?*; Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, chap. 5.

of European culture, manual laborers and bankers, Zionists and Socialists, Orthodox Jews and Catholics, all were collectively stripped of every attribute and, nameless and nondescript, were tortured and killed – as “Jew X.” A Jewish tailor from Rhodes who could find no one in the camp to understand him, and a Hungarian druggist baptized thirty years before, lay in the same wooden bunk with me, shared their experience as Jews with me, and died only because they were Jewish. This is why the Sherit Hapleita feels itself to be the embodiment of the unity of Jewish experience: Jewish unity for them is no political program but an actual and living fact of experience. This is why they feel themselves prophets of a national rebirth, charged with the task of symbolizing this unity and this rebirth, and of being the backbone of its realization.

The belief in these extraordinary tasks intensifies the group consciousness of the Sherit Hapleita and makes it see itself as a “chosen group” within the “chosen people.” They feel that the historical experience of those “who were in Treblinka” is greater and deeper than the experience of those who only read about Treblinka. And when they hear it said that what happened in Germany could not be repeated in another country, they remember what a flourishing family were the German Jews, and how they said that what had happened in Russia could not be repeated in another country. In the hour of the imminence of death, when the tranced gaze stares into eternity, the eyes grow larger and the vision deeper. This is the Sherit Hapleita’s inner justification for taking the prophet’s rod in hand and coming forth as monitors and warning visionaries to the Jews of the countries untouched by the catastrophe.

Life in the Diaspora, for the Jewish DP’s, is synonymous with the danger of recurrence. No sociological argument can obliterate from their minds what experience has stamped on it. For they have seen not only Germany. Eastern Europe and Central Europe are part of their experience. And they have seen the countries of Western Europe. The majority of the nations of Europe were represented [504] among the oppressors in the concentration camps, and the only difference was that in this confusion of nationalities one was more strongly represented than the others. And they have watched these different nations *after* the end of the war, especially those who found their number of surviving Jews too high, and also those who met the influx of Jews with a cold antipathy. And they have seen the growth of a new anti-Semitism in Germany, in Europe, and among the occupation troops. The eyes of the Sherit Hapleita are large and deep, for they have looked on eternity.

The Sherit Hapleita is extraordinarily sensitized to and apprehensive of anti-Semitism. They have experienced how insignificant manifestations of hatred and exclusiveness, so easily disregarded at first, could bear the seeds of catastrophe, and they are only too ready today to generalize and exaggerate

every anti-Semitic manifestation, to see in every incident the sign of a future explosion.

The Sherit Hapleita therefore undertakes the prophetic mission of warning the Jews of unaffected countries. Neither equality of rights, nor a constitution, nor patriotism is security against persecution, to their minds.¹⁹⁹ One cannot escape one's Jewishness – either by assimilation, baptism, or mixed marriage. With satisfaction they heard Richard H.S. Crossman, a radical representative of the British Labor party, say that the Jews who denied their Jewishness contributed most to anti-Semitism. And they say to the Jews of countries untouched by the catastrophe: "It can happen again. And therefore we demand of you to build up Palestine not only for us, but as an ultimate place of refuge in general (*ir hamiklat*)."²⁰⁰

THERE are other considerations. The Sherit Hapleita has the conviction that today it is the sole force working for unity within the body of Jewry, and that it constitutes the only important political argument for the solution of the Jewish question that still carries some weight in the forum of international debate. The DP's are the only group within Jewish life toward whom everybody feels an obligation. They are the only ones for whose sake the Jews of different countries, of different points of view, of different organizations, will unite in common action.

The fate of the Sherit Hapleita, they consider, unites all Jewry in the battle for Palestine. For international Zionism the Sherit Hapleita is an argument, a strength, a reserve. On the one hand, the group would face complete ruin if it were left to its own resources; on the other hand, the Yishuv would be condemned to stagnation and despair were it not for the immigration of the DP's. Without the situation of the DP's as a basis of appeal, American Jewry could not be mobilized so effectively for the up-building of Palestine, nor could the Jews of other lands be nationally awakened and united. Thus, the Sherit Hapleita feels today that it is the dynamic force of the Jewish future.²⁰¹

199 Gringauz notes the skepticism that members of the *She'erit Hapleita* have of the promises of emancipation and enlightenment, warning Jews (most notably in the United States) that promises of equality and protection enshrined in the constitution, along with displays of loyalty and citizenship are no promise against persecution.

200 *Ir miklat* (Heb., cities of refuge; pl. *arei miklat*) is a term for refuge in general, dating back to the six refugee cities in Num 35:6.

201 It is noteworthy that Gringauz assigns a central unifying role for the *She'erit Hapleita* for world Jewry and specifically in the face of the Zionist cause. The surviving remnant is not powerless and without agency: the Yishuv needs the DPs to overcome

It has always been clear to us that the task laid upon us by destiny greatly exceeds our strength. We are deeply aware that a profound contradiction exists between what destiny has made of us and the task it has laid upon us. Ourselves the products of an un-heroic and culpable relapse into barbarism, we are called upon to be the champions of a heroic renaissance. Victims of an outer and inner process of demoralization, we are called upon to accomplish a national and moral revival. End-products of a process of corruption unique in history, we are called upon to provide Jewish culture with a deeper and clearer content and theme. Victims of a psychic upheaval, we are called upon to re-establish the psychological stability of our people. Ourselves the product of the barbaric relationship of the environment to the Jews, it is our task to create a more humane relationship to the environment. This enormous discrepancy between what has been given us to do and what has been granted us to do it with, extraordinarily increases the difficulty of our task, yet does not release us from our obligation. This task history has assigned to us, and it cannot be put off on someone else. But simply to make our feelings known may serve to awaken understanding and make our task easier.

[505] With the end of the great catastrophe, a fundamental change has become apparent in the inner structure of the Jewish people, one that marks the end of an old epoch – European, German-Polish – and the beginning of a new – American-Palestinian. Until the catastrophe, the European Jew – in his two branches, Eastern and Western – represented the Jewish dynamic and the Jewish consciousness. Jews outside Europe functioned either as cultural offshoots or as a cultural periphery. But now European Jewry is destroyed. If one excludes the Jews of Soviet Russia, who are isolated from the body of Jewry, and the Sherit Hapleita, a splinter group without a country and *in statu emigrandi*,²⁰² then American Jewry represents seventy-five per cent of active Jewry. Therefore, the new epoch in Jewish history will be an American-Palestinian one.

The enlistment of American Jewry in the struggle for Palestine, in the economic effort to build it up, and in the effort to preserve the surviving

the demographic challenges faced by the movement in Palestine; the world Zionist movement needs the DPs to rally support for the cause of creating the Jewish national home; American Jews are mobilized by the plight of the surviving remnant to provide financial support for the cause.

202 As a group whose status is still “in transit” or currently “in migration,” Gringauz does not define the present geographic location of the *She’erit Hapleita* as having a key role in the Jewish future, which will be defined instead by the two new centers of Jewish life: America and Palestine/Israel.

remnant in Europe, fosters a new Jewish unity that will leave its stamp on every future development. The Sherit Hapleita feels itself to be the connecting link in this new unity, the force that gives it meaning and substance. By uniting the efforts of the Jewish people, the Sherit Hapleita lays the basis for a new epoch in Jewish history.

Only in this context can we understand the general tendency to say “Adieu Europe.” In the first months following the liberation, this tendency was simply a response to what had been the attitude of the European peoples during the years of the great catastrophe. When the first cultural lecture was given in the Landsberg camp in June 1945, I gave it the title “Adieu Europe.” It was the prevailing mood that supplied this title – I was ignorant of the general situation. Later, when the great disillusionment came, when we saw that the tiny remnant of surviving Jews was an annoyance to the nations, when we observed that, though they condemned the annihilation of the Jews, in secret they were not dissatisfied with its results, this tendency to break with Europe acquired a firmer hold on us. Only later, after the entire situation became clear to us, after we realized the historic change that had taken place in the structure of world Jewry, after the end of the European period became obvious historically and philosophically too, only then did the movement “Adieu Europe” acquire a constructive from [sic]. And now, because of its objective historical reality, it has become a constituent part of our ideology. If, historically considered, the European epoch of our history is ended, it follows that our place is no longer in Europe, that we must carry with us the legacy of our millennial [sic] history to where a new Jewish history is being acted out, to Palestine and America, and give it over with reverence and hope to the makers of the new history, so that the secular continuity of our ethical and cultural values may be assured.

BUT the renunciation of Europe in no way signifies for us the renunciation of European culture. Quite the contrary. Our resolve to quit Europe is based precisely on the conviction that Europe itself has betrayed the legacy of European culture, and that European culture must be carried forward outside of Europe. We have been too much a part of European culture to abandon it now. As we once expressed it: “We leave Europe because Europe has injured us in our very quality as Europeans.”

At the beginning of the modern period, when the Jew left the narrow alleys of the ghetto, he was, as a cultural type, no longer Oriental but European in the full cultural meaning of that term. The Europeanization of Jewish culture, which began with Alexandrian Hellenism, spread from Toledo, Naples, and French Provence through Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France and later to Central and Eastern Europe, was a process that stamped essential traits

on the whole of Jewish culture. The Europeanization of Jewish culture was closely joined to the parallel process of the penetration of European culture by Jews. And if we today, after twelve hundred years of European history, quit the ground of Europe, then we do so in full awareness that we are the standard-bearers of Western culture. And in this spirit, we intend to create our new homes.

There was a moment in our first reaction when we wanted to make all Western civilization responsible for Auschwitz. It should be borne in mind that for the Eastern European Jew – and he makes up ninety per cent of the Jewish DP's – Germany was the representative of Western civilization; everything the Eastern European acquired of Latin and Anglo-Saxon culture came to him through Germany. For this reason, Germany's relapse into barbarism meant, to him, the collapse of all Western civilization.

At the beginning of 1946, when I was called upon to present the Jewish point of view at a meeting of the Allied nations, I stated it as follows:

“The history of humanity is rich in horror. And if the annihilation of the Jewish people belongs among the most horrible events of history, still, we know – this too will be forgotten. Grass will grow where inexpressible suffering and martyrdom were earlier enacted. Where once the mass graves were, children will play their games and fathers will pursue their occupations. But in the hearts of Jews this question will never cease to be asked – how was it possible? How was it possible after two thousand years of Occidental and Christian culture, after Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, after Molière and Victor Hugo, after William Shakespeare and Lord Byron, after Alexander von Humboldt and Immanuel Kant? How was it possible that professors and writers, priests and philosophers, artists and judges – how was it possible that almost the entire intellectual élite of Germany rapturously cheered on the blood-drunk murderers? And if it was possible once, where is the assurance that it won't happen again tomorrow ...?”

But in the summer of 1946, in an article “On the Tasks of the Jewish Remnant of Europe” (*Juedische Rundschau*, no. 6), I expressed our position as follows:

“History has given us the task of symbolizing to the entire world the Jewish problem in modern civilization. We are the surviving remnant of those Jews who, amid rivers of blood and under the shadow of martyrdom, aroused the attention of the world to that problem. We, who are the victims of this civilization, have been called upon to discover the positive basis on which we can unite with it. We have a bill of indictment to prefer against this civilization. At the same time, we know that we are part of it and must therefore bear a responsibility for it. We cannot and will not turn away from it. But we must make new contributions. Our experience must serve to

redirect the Jewish people. Our tragedy must become the starting point of a new humanism.²⁰³

AND today this still remains the ideal of the Sherit Hapleita. We do not turn away from Occidental culture. We do seek, however, to contribute to its wider moral development. For it was not the civilization of Western Europe that betrayed us, but the monstrous discrepancy between its moral and its technical culture. While its moral culture has had a very slow development in time, with a very restricted extension in society, its technical culture has developed at a furious tempo and its extension in society has been enormous. In this way, that narrow section of society, which possessed moral cultivation lost control of the democratic process and was vanquished by a mass technical culture. The free personality lost its command of the social destiny. Thus, the moral underworld, and even unabashed mass criminals, were able to win control over the masses and the technical apparatus of society, and defile European civilization with blood and shame. It is precisely the man of the Sherit Hapleita, who in his fateful hours met both the beast of technical perfection and the true individual representatives of Western civilization, who is in the best position to distinguish between the free, civilized human being and the mass Moloch.²⁰⁴

The man of the Sherit Hapleita has felt the negative and positive aspects of Western civilization on his own body. And he does not impeach civilization as such, but only [507] its incapacity to subject the broad masses to its moral imperatives. The ideal of Jewish culture – the perfecting, on this earth, of every individual human being, both in his daily behavior and in his general moral and social attributes – coincides with the ideal of Western European culture at many points. And so the Sherit Hapleita accepts a neo-humanism as its cultural ideal – the ideal of the moral and social perfection of humanity, the perfection of the broadest possible mass of the population in its practical and daily activities, which would create a community that would resist the pressure of its instincts as well as the oppression of the state, and follow its conscience only, a community that would be able to cast aside evil and make the good prevail. The Sherit Hapleita believes that the tragedy of the great catastrophe, and the Jewish problem itself within the framework of modern civilization, can contribute to a reorientation of Occidental civilization in the

203 Samuel Gringauz, *Über die Aufgaben der europäischen Judenreste*, in: *Jüdische Rundschau. Illustrierte Zeitschrift* 1 (1946), no. 6, 5–7, here 5.

204 In the Tanakh (e. g., Lev 18), Moloch was the deity of the Canaanites and Phoenicians to whom children were sacrificed.

direction of the moral perfection of the individual. And the Sherit Hapleita believes that the Jewish people can best fulfill its great task in a country of its own, by the practical example of its social order, a social order whose core is the agricultural collectives of Palestine, which are probably alone in the world in reconciling the principle of personal freedom with that of social justice.

MANY have already observed with astonishment that the greatest number of Jewish DP's are not religious. Those who are religious were already so before the sufferings of the last years: suffering did not make them religious. This is correct. Although the miracle of their preservation and the solemnity of mass death, to which all of them were eyewitnesses, might be supposed to have disposed those formerly irreligious to real religious feeling, other experiences have acted in a contrary direction. There was, after all, very little of the miraculous in a situation where every survivor owed his life to blind chance, or to an efficient adaptability to circumstances, or to the favor of the murderers. The solemnity of mass death aroused a desire for retaliation, but in no case encouraged one to accept what had happened as the verdict of God.²⁰⁵

On the other hand, the events of the catastrophe did arouse in us a reverence for the moral strength of those human beings in whom the sense of social duty emerged more strongly than the instinct of self-preservation. With us, respect for the moral qualities of a man has almost the character of religious awe. The Sherit Hapleita does not sanctify the dogmas of ecclesiastical ritual. It sanctifies, with religious fervor, the divine spark of the human conscience.

The Sherit Hapleita is also the upholder of a specific social attitude. Naked of every material possession, having undergone the rigors of forced labor, having had the unforgettable experience of Jewish communal living where comradeship was worth more than any material possession, where possessions, though they often meant the saving of lives, were but short-lived and dangerous – it is not surprising that the men of the Sherit Hapleita are particularly sensitive to social questions, and that the ideal of social justice has become an integral part of their ideology. Hence, they have become sympathetic to a socialist morality. Because all of them have been victims of totalitarian oppression, they seek to synthesize the principles of social justice

205 There were indeed prominent religious thinkers both during and after the war who believed that the destruction of European Jewry was punishment for the sins of the Jewish people. Steven Katz/Shlomo Biderman/Gershon Greenberg (eds.), *Wrestling with God: Jewish Theological Responses during and after the Holocaust*, New York, 2007.

with the principles of personal freedom. This is why the Palestinian *kvutzah*²⁰⁶ has become the form of communal living they idealize.²⁰⁷

HAS the Sherit Hapleita a cultural ideology? It is true that the Sherit Hapleita is not creative in the field of culture. It is true that “the Jewish DP’s are a marvelous example of a society without an élite” (Pinson).²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the Sherit Hapleita does have a cultural ideology.

We are aware that the disappearance of the Jewish folk culture of Eastern Europe and the decay of the intellectual culture of Western Europe mark a decline of enormous significance. Notwithstanding this, the Sherit Hapleita looks with hope to two other culturally creative tendencies, the Palestinian and the American.

[508] Although the English-speaking Jews today constitute the largest group of Jews in the world, and thus might be expected to assume the place occupied earlier by the Jews of Eastern Europe, it is the feeling of the Sherit Hapleita that, in the sphere of Jewish culture, such a development is not possible. The culture of the Jews of Eastern Europe was a culture resting on experience – that is, a culture that grew out of specifically Jewish forms of life and a direct folk creativeness. The life of the American Jews, on the other hand, develops primarily – and increasingly – within the forms of American life. Only in Palestine can there exist a specifically Jewish pattern of life capable of calling forth a mass Jewish creativity. It is the culture of Palestine that must in the future take on the position and vitality that once belonged to the culture

206 Heb. for a Jewish communal or cooperative farm or settlement in Palestine and later Israel, usually smaller than a kibbutz and established on state-owned land.

207 These notions of social justice were blind to both gender and the realities of who was living on the ground in Palestine. Many who wanted to immigrate could not, as DP and Zionist leadership preferred that immigration certificates be given to young men capable of physical labor in the agricultural settlements and armed defense of their communities be given priority. Others who were passionate about a future life in Palestine and succeeded in immigrating subsequently realized that the harsh life that met them there was nothing like the life they had imagined. Some would ultimately choose to return to Germany to live clandestinely in the DP camps in the American Zone in order to immigrate elsewhere. In the camps, the “idealized” form of communal living to which Gringauz refers here still adhered to traditional gender roles, despite claims of egalitarianism: the young women were much more likely to get kitchen duty, for example. On life in the kibbutzim of the DP camps, see Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*. On DPs who returned to Germany after Aliyah, see Yehudai, *Leaving Zion*.

208 Koppel S. Pinson, *Jewish Life in Liberated Germany: A Study of the Jewish DP’s*, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 9 (1947), no. 2, 101–126, here 126.

of Eastern Europe. The Sherit Hapleita sees this, and feels it, more directly, through contact with Palestinians who have visited the camps,²⁰⁹ through the forms and ideas of communal living – the life of the *kvutzah* – which are derived from Palestine and which are a part of the daily existence of the DP's in the camps, and finally through the personal, cultural, and political ties with Palestine which every man of the Sherit Hapleita has in greater or lesser degree.

Palestine's Jewish culture today stands on a higher level than the culture of its surrounding environment and will remain so for as long as we can see into the future. Consequently, there is no danger of its being absorbed by its surroundings. The Jewish community in Palestine is a compact, firmly knit national and political unit, with a consistent and single national goal. Palestinian Jewry has created an autochthonous culture, a distinctive cultural theme, and a distinctive folk music.²¹⁰ This culture, though quantitatively dependent upon the European influx, has become independent of European Jewish culture in content and tendency. It is capable, provided that the rate of immigration is not too great, of culturally absorbing immigrants from every part of the world.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Sherit Hapleita have also had considerable contact with representatives of American Jewry, and if, as I have said, it is the general belief that the Jews of America are not in a position to become the heirs of Eastern European culture, we do feel that America nevertheless has a unique role to play. Precisely because the life of the American Jews does not develop in specifically Jewish forms, what *is* specifically Jewish in America is expressed more in intellectual content than in patterns of living, and this means that American Jewish culture is called upon to assume the position not of Eastern European culture but rather of the *intellectual* Jewish culture of Western Europe.

The Jewish culture of Western Europe was neither a pattern of life nor a culture based on experience; it was a *problem culture* – that is, a culture based on the examination and analysis of the problems of Jewish life. And this tendency has been taken over by the Jews of America. The great catastrophe has produced a deepening of Jewish consciousness, in which the individual fate is bound up inextricably with the fate of the Jews in general, and the problem of the Jewish future thrusts historical-philosophical and national-psychological problems to the fore. The ordinary notions of an assured and historically determined progress, of the conquering march of the idea of

209 On Palestinian emissaries to the DP camps, see Document 27, n. 99.

210 Jascha Nemtsov, Art. Society for Jewish Folklore, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 6, 12–17, here 16f.

tolerance – these ideas pale in the Jewish consciousness, and the deeper causes of our insecurity become a part of the Jewish theme. Yiddish literature, too, is turning away from the vanished towns, the “*shtetl*,” of Eastern Europe to the deeper questions of national existence.

The general development points to a broadening and deepening of consciousness of Jewish problems and a growing interest in Jewish cultural creativity.

WITH the argument of a common fate as its justification, the Sherit Hapleita confronts the Jews of the countries unaffected by the catastrophe, especially the American Jews, in the role of a claimant. The blow that fell on European Jewry was not limited in its intention to the European continent, but was aimed at all Jews, including American Jews. Geographical accident placed the European Jews in the forefront of the battle, while the Jews overseas stood in the rear. But whether in the front or in the rear, all of Jewry came under the fire of the enemy – all Jews are to be regarded as the veterans of a common war. If the Jewish DP's today return like wounded soldiers, they have a just claim to be treated as a nation's sacrifice, and to be looked after in a comradely spirit. This is the inner justification of the Sherit Hapleita's appeal for help to world Jewry. It looks on this assistance not as a duty owed to itself, but as one owed to the future of the Jewish people and to its destiny.

The postwar political situation has made illusory the hopes placed in the Western powers. Mounting international tension and unrest require the Jewish people to rely upon itself alone. Within the body of the people, the role of American Jewry is the decisive one. The future of the Jewish people is at stake today, as it was two thousand years ago, when the Jewish nation lost its independence. If the Palestinian and American Jews fail to measure up to their tasks, the three-thousand-year-old history of the Jews will come to an end, and Hitler's chief aim will have been attained even after his own defeat.

Two thousand years ago, when the heroes of Jerusalem were defending the city against the Roman legions, Johanan ben Zakkai left the city to go to Jabneh. There, on strange ground, he founded the academy of Jabneh as a center of religious and social law by which to unite the scattered nation.²¹¹

211 In the period following the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans (70 CE), when the tanna Yohanan ben Zakkai (c. 30–90 CE) led the reestablishment of Jewish communal life in the city of Yavneh. During the siege of Jerusalem in the First Jewish–Roman War (66–74 CE), ben Zakkai argued in favor of peace. According to the Talmud, when he realized the besieged population was overcome by anger, he arranged a secret escape from the city inside a coffin, so that he could negotiate with Vespasian (9–79 CE) – who, at this time, was still just a military commander.

Now as then, the task with which we are confronted is a double one: political struggle in and for Palestine, and the spiritual and social unification of the Jews of the rest of the world.²¹² We are confident that the Jewish people will stand the historical test, and that the historical genius of this ancient people will emerge strengthened and purified from this period of trial.

Such is the bold and hopeful ideology of the people of the *Sherit Hapleita*, who, during the years of horror and the fight for life, during the years of crematoria and partisan battles, even on the verge of almost certain death, expressed the hopes of the eternal people in the tragic but courageous words of this partisan song:²¹³

*Never say that this road is the last;
Though the gray of heaven cover the blue day,
Yet our appointed hour will arrive,
And the marching tread will echo: we are here!*

Ben Zakkai correctly predicted that Vespasian would become emperor, and that the Temple in Jerusalem would be destroyed. In return, Vespasian granted him his wish that Yavneh and its sages would be saved and become site of Jewish learning and the future vision of a Jewish religion grounded in study of Jewish law rather than Temple sacrifice.

212 This line could also be a callback to Gringauz's reference to the *She'erit Hapleita* as a symbol of a new epoch in Jewish history: Just as Judaism was transformed in the way of the second *khurbn* (destruction of the Second Temple), so too must it now be transformed in the wake of the third *khurbn* (destruction of European Jewry during the Holocaust).

213 See Document 37, n. 147.

6. Organization and Everyday Life

Document 41

Dovid Glizer,¹ “Föhrenwald (An Overview)”

Föhrenwald, September 1947

Journal article, 5 pages; inconsistent, rather rudimentary use of diacritics; contains 7 figures which are not reproduced here²

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Fernvalder almanakh bamidbar,³ September 1947, 6–10, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004283/2, call no. 1964-Y-458, reel 04.07

[Glizer provides a comprehensive overview of the Föhrenwald DP Camp near Munich, which was repurposed in May 1945 to accommodate Jewish DPs. Initially a transit camp for various nationalities liberated by U.S. forces, Föhrenwald became a dedicated Jewish DP camp in September 1945. By January 1946, it housed nearly 5,000 Jewish survivors, mainly from concentration camps and partisan groups. The camp's infrastructure included essential services such as kosher kitchens, a synagogue, a theater, a gym, and educational facilities such as a school and a yeshiva. The camp was managed by an elected Jewish committee in collaboration with the UNRRA, which underwent several administrative changes. Glizer highlights the vibrant cultural life, activities organized by socio-political parties, educational courses, a drama group, and the Maccabi sports club. The majority of the Föhrenwald residents aspired to immigrate to Palestine. Cultural and educational efforts aimed to prepare them for a future in a Jewish state.]

- 1 Dovid (or David) Glizer (1909–?) was born in Berezne, Ukraine (then part of the Russian Empire) and trained in agricultural engineering. After the Second World War, Glizer made his way to the American Zone, where he settled in DP Camp Föhrenwald and became elected chairman in the camp's Jewish committee in 1946, as well as the head of the Labor Department of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany. In DP periodicals, he passionately advocated for the establishment of a Jewish state and was finally censured for critical articles on the CCLJA that appeared in the *Yidische tsaytung*, published in DP Camp Landsberg. Glizer served as the editor of *Yidische tsaytung* from Föhrenwald until around mid-April 1948. Ultimately, Glizer and his wife Sara settled in Ramat Gan and lived there until 1958, when they immigrated with their two children to São Paulo, Brazil.
- 2 The illustrations are captioned (Yidd.) as follows: fig. 1, p. 6: waiting for redemption; fig. 2, p. 7: the welding, the soldering ...; fig. 3, p. 7: the daily bulletin; fig. 4, p. 7: any needy person; fig. 5, p. 8: a wedding in the camp; fig. 6, p. 8: may there be more like them ...; fig. 7, p. 8: at the theater box office.
- 3 *Fernvalder almanakh bamidbar* (Föhrenwald Almanac in the Desert) was published in Föhrenwald in 1947.

פערנוואלד

(אלגעמיינע שטריכן פון לאגער)

אינזש. ד. גליזער

דער לאגער פערנוואלד, אָדער ווי ער הייסט אויף יידיש "במדבר" ליגט 30 ק"מ. דרומדיק פון מינכען. אנדערטהאלבן ק"מ פון דעם בייערישן שטעטל וואלפראטסהאווען. און איז אנטשטאנען פון א געוועזענעם לאגער פאר דייטשע ארבעטער פון א דערבייאיקער וואפן־פאבריק. אָפֿיציעל עקזיסטירט פערנוואלד אלס יידישער לאגער פון סעפטעמבער 1945. אבער די ערשטע יידן האָבן זיך דא באוויזן גלייך נאָך דער באפרייאונג אין די ערשטע טעג פון מאי מאָנאַט. דאָס זיינען געווען ליטווישע יידן, אנטלאָפֿענע פון בארימטן דאכאווער טראנספֿאָרט, וועלכן מען האָט געפירט קיין טיראָל אומצוברענגען.

שוין דעם 1טן מאי 1945 איז געווען אין לאגער ה' באקשטאנסקי נחום. דער ערשטער ייד, וועלכער איז צוערשט געווען דער לאגער־קאָמענדאנט פון די רוסישע ד. פ.ס און שפעטער ערשטער פֿאָרזיצנדער פון דער ערשטער יידישער לאגער־פארוואלטונג.

ביז סעפטעמבער, אלזאָ איז פערנוואלד געווען א טראנזיט לאָגער פון באַפרייטע דורך די אַמעריקאנער פֿאַרשיידענע נאציס, ווי רוסן, איטאַליענער, בעלגיער, פּאָליאַקן, האָלענדער א. א. וו. וועלכע האָבן זיך דאָ פֿאַרמירט אין טראַנספֿאָרטן און אפגעפארן צוריק אין זייערע היימלענדער.

אין סעפטעמבער 1945 איז דער לאגער באַשטימט געוואָרן דורך דער אַמעריקאנישער מיליטער־רעגירונג אויסשליסליך פֿאַר די יידישע היימלאָזע.

פערנוואלד איז אזוי־אָרום צוואַמען מיט לאנדסבערג און פעלדאפינג איינער פון די עלטסטע יידישע לאָגערן פון נאָך דער באַפרייאונג.

שוין אין אָקטאָבער 1945 זיינען אין לאָגער געווען העכער 3000 איינוווינער און פון יאָנאַר 1946 געפינען זיך סטאביל קאָרגע 5000 יידן, וועלכע זיינען גרעסטנטייל געראטעוועטע פון די קאצטן (!) און פארטיזאנער.

דער לאגער איז אַרומגערינגלט פון צפון מיט א סאָסנע־וואלד, פון מערב מיטן איסאַר־טייך, פון דרום מיטן שאסיי מינכען־מיטענוואלד און פון מזרח זייט מיט א קאנאל. אויסער דעם איז דער גאַנצער לאגער שטח אַרומגערינגלט מיט א דראָטענעם צויס. דאס אריינגיין און ארויסגיין אין לאגער קומט פאר דורך א ספעציעלן טויער, אונטער דער קאנטראל פון דער יידישער פאליציי.

די גאַסן - שמאַלע, אספאלטירטע, זיינען צוערשט דורך די אַמעריקאנער גערופן געווארן מיט אַמעריקאנישע נעמען, ווי למשל, נעוויארק (!) סטריט, אינדיאַנא סטריט א. א. וו. דער יידישער לאגער קאמיטעט האט די נעמען פארביטן אויף יידישע. ווי: ביאליק־גאַס, מדינה עברית־גאַס א. א. וו.

די הייזער געמויערטע, נידעריקע, סטאַנדאַרט־אַרטיקע פון דריי צימערן א הויז, די צימערן טיילן זיך אויף א. ב. ג.

אין צימער "א" וווינען ביי פינף פערזאן. צימער "ב" וווינען ביז זיבן פערזאן, אין צימער "ג" צען פערזאן און אפילו נאך מער.

דער לאגער איז געבויט קאַנצענטריש, ד. ה. אין מיטן דער צענטער, פון וועלכן עס צעגיייען זיך ווי ראדיוסן די גאַסן. אין צענטער פון לאגער געפינט זיך טאַקע א גרויסער פלאץ, ווו עס געפינען זיך די וויכטיקסטע אינסטיטוציעס פון לאגער.

אויפן מיטן פלאץ געפינט זיך דער פערנוואלדער טעאטער־זאל, איינער פון די גרעסטע זאלן פון די יידישע לאגערן אין דייטשלאנד. דא קומען טאקע פאר אלע גרעסערע אימפרעזן און פאראנשטאלטונגען פון די לאגער־איינוווינער.

נעבן טעאטער־זאל געפינען זיך פון איין זייט די קיכן: די כשרע און אלגעמיינע און פון דער צווייטער זייט די "שטאטישע" באד. אויפן זעלבן פלאץ גרענעצט זיך מיט די קיכן דער גרויסער "מכבי" ספארט־זאל, ישיבה און בית־המדרש.

אין צענטער געפינען זיך די ביוראען פון לאגער־פארוואלטונג, אונררא, ביבליאטעק און לעזער־זאל און אנטקעגן־איבער די צענטראלע מאָ [7] גאזינען. אלע אויפשריפטן אויף די אפיציעלע אינסטיטוציעס זיינען אין עברית.

די אנפירערשאפט

מיטן גאנצן לעבן פון לאגער פירט אן די לאגער־פארוואלטונג. אונטער דער קאנטראל פון דער "אונררא"־דירעקציע.

(א) יידישער קאמיטעט

די איצטיקע לאגער־פארוואלטונג איז די פערטע לויט די ריי. די ערשטע איז געווען אונטער דער אנפירערשאפט פון ח' באקשטאנסקי; די צווייטע – פאגעלמאן, די דריטע – ג. לאכמאן און פערטע – א. זלאָטיקאמיען.

די ערשטע פארוואלטונג איז געווען ניט קיין געוויילטע נאר א באשטימטע דורך דעד אונררא־דירעקציע. די גאנצע ווירטשאפט איז געפירט געווארן אן א געזעלשאפטלעכער קאנטראל. פאקטיש האט מיט דער ארבעט אנגעפירט די "אונררא" און די קאמיטעט־מיטגלידער זיינען נאר געווען שטומע עדות דערצו.

דעם 7 יאנואר 1946 האט די לאגער־באפעלקערונג געוויילט א נייעם קאמיטעט. די נייע לאגער־פארוואלטונג האט באוויזן דורכצופירן א גרינדלעכע רעארגאניזאציע אין אלע געביטן פון לאגער־לעבן.

די דריטע לאגער־פארוואלטונג, אונטער דער אנפירערשאפט פון ח' ג. לאכמאן, האט נאך מער פארפולקאמט די ארבעט און היינט צו טאג איז קלאר, וואס עס קומט אריין אין לאגער און ווער וואס עס קריגט. עס איז איינגעפירט געווארן א גענויע בוך־פירונג אין אלע רעסארטן און אינסטיטוציעס. און זייער טעטיקייט ווערט רעווידירט דורך דער דעמאקראטיש־געוויילטער רעווידיר־קאמיסיע. ביים היינטיקן טאג איז די ארבעט פונאנדערגעטיילט אויף פאלגנדע רעסארטן:

- 1) לאגער־פארזינדער – אויפזיכט איבער דער זיכערהייט און רעגיסטראציע־ביורא.
- 2) גענעראל־סעקרעטאר – אויפזיכט איבער ווינונגס־אמט, פינאנס־אמט און געזונטהייטס־אמט.
- 3) ארבעט און פראדוקטיוויזאציע.
- 4) קולטור און פיזישע דערציאונג.
- 5) מאגאזינען־לייטער.
- 6) פארזארגונגס־אמט.
- 7) באקליידונגס־אמט.
- 8) סאציאלע פארזארגונג און רעליגיעז־אמט.
- 9) פארפלעגונג.

אט די אמטן זיינען פארטיילט צווישן די 9 געוויילטע פארוואלטונגס-מיטגלידער. אויסער דעם איז נאך פאראן א רעוידיר-קאמיסיע און א ערין-געריכט. אין דער פארוואלטונג, רעוידיר-קאמיסיע און געריכט זיינען פארטראטן אלע אין לאגער עקזיסטירנדיקע פארטייען.

(2) [!] "אונרא"

די אונרא-אנפירערשאפט באשטייט פון א אונרא-דירעקטאר מיט אונרא-אפיצערן, וועלכע פירן אויס די דירעקטיוון און אנווייזונגען פון דירעקטאר. פאר די אנדערהאלבן יאר עקזיסטענץ פון לאגער, אמטירט איצט אין לאגער דער זעקסטער דירעקטאר. (1 מרים הענשאוו, (2) מר. קאהן, (3) מר. עטקין, (4) מר. פרום, (5) מר. ראבינס און (6) מר. מאהלער.

[8] טראצדעם וואס די אויפגאבע פון דער אונרא איז צו העלפן די היימלאזע, האט אבער די ערשטע אונרא דירעקטארין מרים הענשאוו דאס ניט פארשטאנען. מרים הענשאוו האט געפירט א כאאטישע ווירטשאפט אן קיין שום געזעלשאפטלעכער קאנטראל. נאר אנדערש איז געווען איר פארטרעטער מר. קאהען הענרי.

אויב די פריערדיקע דירעקטארין האט ניט פארשטאנען, אדער ניט געוואלט פארשטיין אונדזער ספעציפיש יידישע נויט, האט מר קאהען פארקערט, זיך געפילט ווי איינער פון אונדז. א דאנק זיין אינציאטיוו [!] איז טאקע רעארגאניזירט געווארן די פארלאזטע, כאאטיש-געפירטע לאגער-ווירטשאפט און איז אוועקגעשטעלט געווארן אויף געזונטע יסודות. הענרי קאהען האט דער ערשטער פארשטאנען די אויפגאבן פון דער אונרא און האט פארטרויט די גאנצע אנפירערשאפט מיטן לאגער לעבן דעם דעמאקראטיש געוויילטן לאגער-קאמיטעט און האט פאר זיך איבערגעלאזט די רעכט פון קאנטראל און די באציאונגען מיט די מיליטער- און אונרא-הויפקווארטירן [!].

ער האט קיינמאל ניט געטון קיין זאך אן א פריערדיקער באראטונג מיטן לאגער קאמיטעט און מיט אלע מעגלעכע מיטלען האט ער אונטערשטיצט אלע באשלוסן פון דער פארוואלטונג.

אין דעם זין איז ער געווען דער ערשטער און אינציקער אויף זיין פלאץ. מר. עטקין און מר. ראבינס האבן געהאט גרויסע פארשטענדעניש פאר אונדזערע נויטן. ליידער, אבער, האבן זיי געארבעט גאנץ קורץ. דער ערשטער דריי טעג און דער צווייטער איין מאנאט. מר. פרום האט אפטמאל געטון זאכן אויף אייגענער האנט, ניט אנפרעגנדיק די לאגער-פארוואלטונג.

אויף זיין צייט פאלט אויס דאס טרויעריקסטע קאפיטל פון פערנוואלדער געשיכטע; ווען אויף די וועגן פערנוואלד-מינען האבן מ. פ. און דייטשישע פאליציי רעוידירט די יידישע לאגער-איינוווינער און דער פאל פעלדבערג ווו עס איז אן קיין שום סבה דערמארדעט געווארן א פערנוואלדער ייד דורך דער דייטשישער פאליציי.

דער איצטיקער דירעקטאר איז א. מאהלער, אליין א ד. פ. ווי עס איז צו זען האבן די באציאונגען פון יידישן קאמיטעט מיט דער אונרא דורכגעמאכט דריי עטאפן:

- (1) די אונרא פירט אן מיטן לאגער און דער לאגער-קאמיטעט איז א שטומער עדות דערצו.
- (2) געמיינזאמע אנפירונג פון לאגער דורך דער אונרא און דעם געוויילטן קאמיטעט. יעדער רעסארט האט צוויי לייטערס; א פארוואלטונגס מיטגליד און א אונרא אפיציר. אלע וויכטיקסטע דירעקטיוון און באשלוסן ווערן אונטערגעשריבן דורך ביידע לייטערס.
- (3) די פארוואלטונג פירט אן מיטן אינערלעכן לעבן אין לאגער און די אונרא האט די רעכט פון קאנטראל.

"דזשאינט"

אויב אונראָ - א ניטיידישע אָרגאניזאַציע, האָט געהאנדלט לגבי די יידן אזוי אָדער אנדערש, האָט אָבער דער דזשאינט, אלס יידישע הילפס-אָרגאניזאַציע, יאָ געדארפט פארשטיין זיין ארבעט און אויפגאַבן.

ליידער קען מען עס ניט זאָגן לגבי אַלע דזשאינט-פאַרשטייער ביי אונדז אין לאַגער. מר. אבראמאָוויטש, וועלכער איז שוין געווען אין לאַגער אין די ערשטע טעג פון זיין אנטשטייאונג, האט געפירט די דזשאינט-אַרבעט אָן דער אַנטשפרעכנדער בוך-פירונג און האָט ניט געקאָנט געפינען אַ געמיינזאַמע שפראַך מיטן לאַגער-קאָמיטעט.

9] צום בעסערן האָט די ארבעט פון דזשאינט געענדערט זיין נאָכפאָלגערין מיס. אַלטהאַף, וועלכע האט זיך באַמיט צו געפינען אַ געמיינזאַמע שפראַך אין איר אַרבעט מיט דער לאַגער-פאַרוואַלטונג. ראַדיקאַל, אָבער, האָט געענדערט די לאַגע - ח' ליבסטאג.

אַליין א ייד פון לאַגער, האָט ער פאַרשטאַנען אונדזערע נויטן אזוי ווי מיר פאַרשטייען זיי אַליין. ער האָט דער ערשטער פון אלע דזשאינט-פאַרשטייער אין פערנוואַלד אַוועקגעשטעלט די דזשאינט-אַרבעט אויף געזונטע יסודות און דער[ר] מיט איז ער דער ריכטיקער מאַן אויף דעם ריכטיקן פּלאַץ.

געזעלשאַפטלעך קולטור-לעבן

מען מוז מודה זיין, אַז טראָץ דעם וואָס עס זיינען ניטאָ די אַביעקטיווע און סוביעקטיווע באַדינגונגען אין פערנוואַלדער לאַגער פאַר די אַנטשפרעכנדיקע מאַטעריעלע און גייסטיקע שאַפונגען, פאַר דער קולטורעל-געזעלשאַפטלעכער אויפלעבונג, ניט אין די פון הילף פון דרויסן, ניט די גענוגנדע צאָל באַרופענע קולטור-טוער און דערציער, דאָך איז סטיכיש, ווי אַ נאָטירלעכע רעאַקציע אויף די בלוזן פון דעם זעקס-יאָריקן חורבן, אויסגעוואקסן פאַר די אנדערטהאַלבן יאָר לאַגער-לעבן אַ מער-ווייניק קולטורעל-געזעלשאַפטלעך לעבן, וואָס כאַטש עס קען ניט באַפרידיקן דעם נאָרמאַלן דורשט פון דער באַפעלקערונג אין קולטורעלן אויסלעבן זיך, דאָך איז דער פונדאמענט דערצו, הגם א שוואַכער, א צייטווייליקער געלייגט. דער לאַגער פערנוואַלד איז א ציוניסטישער.

בשעת די ענגליש-אַמעריקאַנישע אויספאַרשונגס-קאָמיסיע איז געווען אין פערנוואַלד, האָט די אַלגעמיינע אַפּשטימונג פון דער באַפעלקערונג באוויזן, אז פון 3230 שטימען האָבן 3223 זיך ארויסגעזאָגט פאַר ארץ-ישראל און 7 פאַר אנדערע לענדער, צווישן זיי 4 פאַר אמעריקע. עס איז פאַרשטענדלעך, אז האַלטנדיק דעם לאַגער-לעבן פאַר צייטווייליק, איז דאָס גאַנצע קולטורעל-געזעלשאַפטלעך לעבן, די פּסיכישע איינשטעלונג, דער געדאַנקענגאַנג, דער גאַנצער וועזן פון דער באַפעלקערונג ענג פאַרבונדן מיטן יישוב אין ארץ ישראל. דאס קולטורעל-געזעלשאַפטלעך לעבן אין לאַגער ווערט אַנגעפירט דורך צוויי פאַראַלעלע ריכטונגען:

- 1) אַלגעמיינע קולטור-אויסלעבונג אונטער דער אויפזיכט פון קולטור-אַמט ביי דער לאַגער-פאַרוואַלטונג;
- 2) קולטור-אויסלעבונג, אונטער דער אויפזיכט פון די פּאָליטיש-געזעלשאַפטלעכע פאַרטייען. מיט גרויס מי און מסירת-נפש זיינען געשאַפן געוואָרן אַ גאַנצע ריי אינסטיטוציעס און קולטור-אַנשטאַלטן אין לאַגער:

תרבות-שול, וואָס כאַטש זי איז אַן דעם אַנטשפרעכנדן שול-לאַקאַל, אַן די נויטיקע צאָל קוואַליפֿיצירטע לערער-קרעפטן, אַן די נויטיקע מכשירים און לערן-מאַטעריאַל שטייט זי דאָך, אַ

דאָנק דער מסירת־נפשדיקער אַרבעט פון די שול־פריינט, אויף דער געהעריקער פעדאָגאָגישער הויך.

ביבליאטעק, וועלכע ציילט העכער 700 ביכער קען נאך ניט באפרידיקן דעם דראנג און נאכפראגע פון יידישן לעזער־עולם.

לייען זאל – ווו עס קומען זיך צונויף יוגנט און דערוואקסענע לייענען די יידישע פרעסע, אמעריקאנער און ארטיקע. אנדערע, ווידער, לייענען די ביכער פון ביבליאטעק, ווייל אין דער היים זיינען ניטא די באדינגונגען צום רואיק לייענען.

דראמ. קרייז "נגב", וועלכער האט זיך געשטעלט אלס ציל צו ווירקן מיט קלאסישע ווערק און מיט דער אנטשפרעכנדער טעכנישער צוגרייטונג צו הויבן דעם קולטורעלן געשמאק און דערמיט צו באקעמפן די פארשיידענע שונד־טרופן. דער קרייז האָט שוין באוויזן צו געבן אויף דער בינע מיט גרויסן דערפאלג שלום־עליכם'ס "די גאלדגרעבער" און לייוויקס "גולם".

ישיבה וועלכע ציילט 120 ישיבה־בחורים, איז געגרינדעט געווארן דורך הרב האלבערשטאם און געפינט זיך אונטער דער השגחה פון "אגודה". זי איז די ערשטע און גרעסטע ישיבה אין דייטשלאנד.

קורסן העברעאישע און ענגלישע ווערן געפירט יעדן אוונט פאר יוגנטלעכע און דערוואקסענע. **בוכהאלטארן־קורסן** אין דער העברעאישער שפראך, ווערן געפירט פאר די, וואס גרייטן זיך צו פירן אין ארץ־ישראל אן אנטשפרעכנדע בוכפירונג.

קינא – יעדע וואך אדער צוויי מאל אין וואך ווערן באלויכטן פילם־בילדער יידישע און ניט יידישע.

צייטונג "במדבר" איז געווען צוואמען מיט "לאנדסבערגער לאגער־צייטונג" פון די עלטסטע אין דייטשלאנד, האט געהאט א טיראזש פון 10.000 עקזעמפלארן, איז געשאטען אויף א געהעריקן ניווא צוערשט דערשינען מיט לאטיינישע אותיות און פון צענטן נומער איז זי אריבער אויף יידישע. אויפגעהערט צו דערשיינען צוליב טעכנישע שוועריקייטן.

געזעלשאפטלעכע געריכטן און ליטערארישע אוונטן ווערן איינגעארדנט פון צייט צו צייט דורכן קולטור אמט אויף פארשיידענע טעמעס. עס פילט זיך אבער א מאנגל אין אנטשפרעכנדיקע דערצו קולטור־כחות.

ספארט קלוב "מכבי" מיט די פארשיידענע ספארט פארמעסטונגען, ספארט יום־טובים א. א. וו. האט זיך קונה־שם געווען ווייט אויסער די גרעניצן פון לאגער. דער קלוב האט זיך געשטעלט אלס ציל ווידער פיזיש צו אנטוויקלען די יידישע יוגנט און דערוואקסענע.

אויסער דעם ווערט געפירט א ברייטע קולטורעל דערציערישע ארבעט אין די קבוצים אונטער דער אויפזיכט פון די פאליטיש־געזעלשאפטלעכע פארטייען. פאקטיש איז דער אקטיווסטער און שעפער־שטער טייל פון קולטור־געזעלשאפטלעכן לעבן אין לאגער די פארטייען און ספעציעל די קבוצים ביי די פארטייען.

אין קיבוץ נוצן אויס די יוגנטלעכע און דערוואקסענע זייער צייטווייליקן דאָזיין מיט פראדוקטיוון בויען און שאפן. זיי מאכן דארט דורך זייער פאכמענישע און גייסטיקע הכשרה. |10| דעריבער איז טאקע נאטירלעך, וואס אויף 1600 ארבעטנדיקע אין לאגער, זיינען העכער 70 פראצ. יוגנטלעכע פון די קיבוצים, און אויף 1400 קיבוצניקעס לערנען זיך, אויף דער לאנדווירטשאפטלעכער הכשרה אין האכלאנד – 270 און אין די פאך־שולן העכער 200 קיבוצניקעס.

פאראלעל מיט דעם פירט זיך אין די קיבוצים די קולטורעל־דערציערישע טעטיקייט: יעדן אוונט שיחות אויף פארשיידענע טעמעס. אין די קיבוצים עקזיסטירן אויך פארשיידענע חוגים פון

אלגעמיינער־ און יידישער געשיכטע, געשיכטע פון ציוניזם, העברעאישע שפראך און ליטעראטור, ענגליש א. א. וו.

פון צייט צו צייט ווערן איינגעארדנט דורך די קיבוצים קולטורעלע אימפרעזן פאר דעם טייל פון דער באפעלקערונג, וואס איז ניט אין די קיבוצים, צי דאס זיינען עפענטלעכע רעפעראטן, פארשטעלונגען, צי עונג שבתים, אומעטום זיינען די שעפערישע און אקטיווע קרעפטן – די קיבוצים. די פאליטיש געזעלשאפטלעכע פארטייען אין לאגער ווי, פועלי־ציון (צ. ס.), פועלי־ציון (שמאל), פועלי־ציון (התאחדות), השומר־הצעיר, רעוויזיאניסטן, אלגעמיינע ציוניסטן, מזרחי, רעאגירן אויף אלע פאליטיש־געזעלשאפטלעכע אקציעס פון דער שארית־הפליטה, און פירן מיט זיי אונמיטלבאר אן.

א דאנק די ספעציפישע באדינגונגען פון לאגער ווערט פערנוואלד אפט אויסגעקליבן פאר גרעסערע קאנפערענצן און כינוסים פון די פאליטישע קולטורעל־געזעלשאפטלעכע פארטייען און גרופירונגען. אזוי צום ביישפיל זיינען אין פערנוואלד פארגעקומען:

דער ערשטער כינוס פון העברעאישע לערער און שרייבער אין דייטשלאנד.

דער איראפעאישער כינוס פון "ביתר".

צוויי לאנדעס קאנפערענצן פון פ. צ. (צ. ס.) אין דייטשלאנד.

א לאנדעס־קאנפערענץ פון "העובד" ביים פ. צ. (צ. ס.).

א לאנדעס קאנפערענץ פון השומר־הצעיר אין דייטשלאנד א. א.

מיט איין ווארט, די קולטורעל־געזעלשאפטלעכע ארבעט אין לאגער באצוועקט צו געבן דעם לאגער איינוווינער א גייסטיק־קולטורעלע – צוגרייטונג, כדי ער זאל זיך לייכטער אריינפאסן אין זיין נייעם קולטור־ און געזעלשאפטלעכן לעבן אין ארץ־ישראל.

Translation

Föhrenwald (An Overview) Engineer D. Glizer

The camp Föhrenwald, or as it's called in Yiddish, Bamidbar,⁴ lies 30 km south of Munich, 1.5 km from the Bavarian town of Wolfratshausen, and emerged from a former camp for German workers of a nearby armaments factory.

Officially, Föhrenwald has existed as a Jewish camp since September 1945, but the first Jews appeared here immediately after liberation, in the first days of May. These were Lithuanian Jews who had escaped the notorious Dachau transport headed for Tyrol for extermination.⁵

4 Heb., in the desert; the Hebrew name for the Book of Numbers.

5 In late April 1945, only a few days before the German surrender to the Allies, the Nazis forced thousands of inmates on a death march from Dachau and satellites camps south to the high Alps of the Tyrol. It is unclear whether Himmler intended to use the Jewish hostages as bargaining chips or whether the slave laborers were meant

Already on May 1, 1945, Mr. Nachum Bakstansky⁶ was in place in the camp, the first Jew who initially had been the commandant of the Russian DPs and later, the first chairman of the first Jewish camp administration.

Until September, Föhrenwald was a transit camp for different nations liberated by the Americans, like the Russians, Italians, Belgians, Poles, Dutch and so on, who got formed into transports and departed to their respective home countries.

In September 1945, the camp was designated by the American military power exclusively as a camp for displaced Jews.

Föhrenwald is therefore, along with Landsberg and Feldafing, one of the oldest Jewish camps since after liberation.

Already in October 1945, there were over 3,000 residents in the camp and from January 1946 there's a stable number of just short of 5,000 Jews, mainly rescued from the German concentration camps and partisans.⁷

The camp is surrounded from the north by a pine forest; from the west, by the river Isar; from the south, by the Munich-Mittenwald road, and from the east, by a canal. Furthermore, the entire territory of the camp is enclosed with a wire fence. Entry and exit in and out of the camp take place through a special gate controlled by the Jewish police.

The streets, narrow, asphalted, were originally given American names by the Americans, like, for example, New York Street, Indiana Street, etc. The

to construct fortifications for a final defense. Many of the prisoners died en route from illness, starvation, hypothermia – many who were too weak to continue were shot. Allied bombings prevented the death march from reaching the final destination and on May 4–5, the surviving Jews were liberated by American battalions (see Document 1). Eliezer Schwartz, *The Death Marches from the Dachau Camps to the Alps during the Final Days of World War II in Europe*, in: Dapim. Studies on the Holocaust 25 (2011), no. 1, 125–161.

6 Nachum Bakstansky (Naum Bakshtansky), a Ukrainian Jew and close confidant of Rabbi Yekutiel Yehuda Halberstam, was the first camp manager of Föhrenwald's Jewish committee, however, he was not elected to the position. As explained by Glizer later, after Henry Cohen took over as the UNRRA director of the camp in early 1946, he enabled the DPs to organize elections for the Jewish committee, which under Cohen would closely work with UNRRA administrators in the daily operations of the camp. Glizer goes on to describe the departments of that committee in great detail below. Based on Glizer's description and the timing of Bakstansky's role as camp manager, it is likely that Bakstansky led the Lithuanian Jewish survivors liberated in the Tyrol Mountains, where they had been led on a death march from Dachau, to the American Zone and Föhrenwald. On DP self-government in Föhrenwald, see Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 95–167.

7 Most likely these people came from Dachau and its satellite camps.

Jewish camp committee replaced them with Jewish street names, like Bialik Street,⁸ Medinah Ivrit Street,⁹ etc.

The houses are made of brick, squat, standard, with three rooms per house, the rooms are divided into A, B and C.

In room A live up to 5 people, in room B, up to 7 people, and in room C, ten people or even more.

The camp is built concentrically, that is, with the center in the middle, from which the streets radiate. In the center of the camp there's indeed a large square where its most important institutions are located.

In the middle of the square the Föhrenwald theater is situated, one of the largest theaters of the Jewish camps in Germany.¹⁰ Here all the larger social events and meetings of the camp residents take place.

Next to the theater, on one side the kitchens are located, the kosher and the regular, and on the other side, the "town" baths. On the same square the kitchens are adjoined by the large Maccabi gym, yeshiva and a synagogue.

In the center, there are the offices of the camp administration, UNRRA, library and reading rooms and opposite them, the central shops. All the signs on the official institutions are in Hebrew.

The Management

All aspects of life in the camp are run by the camp administration overseen by the UNRRA board of directors.¹¹

1) Jewish Committee

The current camp administration is the fourth in a row. The first one was headed by Mr. Bakstansky, the second, by Fogelman, the third, by G. Lachman¹² and the fourth, by A. Zlotykamien.¹³

8 Named after the poet Chaim Nachman Bialik.

9 Heb., Hebrew State Street.

10 See Document 55 regarding a theater in the Bergen-Belsen DP Camp.

11 See introd., chap. 2, and Document 15.

12 Gustav (Gedalyahu) Lachman (1913–1983) grew up in Skala Podlaska in Poland; he studied law in Kraków and was active in the Zionist youth movement. When the Germans invaded Poland, he was sent to a labor camp near Kraków. He escaped in 1943. Over the next few years, Lachman helped rescuing Jewish orphans. In November 1945, he arrived in Föhrenwald with 80 orphans. Since June 1946, he was elected chairman of the Jewish committee, a position he used to improve the situation in the camp; he organized school and kindergarten activities, cultural and sports events, and wrote for the *Bamidbar* newspaper. He also served as a (non-military) instructor for Haganah volunteers. In 1948, he went to France on behalf of the *Briḥah* organizing the (illegal) immigration of Jews to Palestine. After the establishment of

The first administration wasn't elected, but rather appointed by the UNRRA board of directors. The entire economy was run with no public control. In fact, the UNRRA did all the work, and the committee members were just silent witnesses to it.¹⁴

On January 7, 1946, the camp populace elected a new committee. The new camp administration managed to carry out a thorough reorganization of every aspect of life in the camp.

The third camp administration headed by Mr. G. Lachman further improved on the work, and today it's clear what comes into the camp and who gets what. Accurate book-keeping was introduced in all the departments and institutions, and their activities are inspected by the democratically elected audit committee.

Presently the work is divided into the following departments:

- 1) Chairman of the camp – oversees Security and Registration Office.
- 2) General Secretary – oversees the Accommodation-, Finance- and Health Office.
- 3) Work and productivity.
- 4) Culture and physical education.
- 5) Stores manager.
- 6) Provisions Office.
- 7) Clothing Office.
- 8) Social Welfare and Religion Office.
- 9) Catering.

the State of Israel, he moved there with his wife Mala (née Weiss) and their son Shai (born 1947), working as a teacher. Under prime minister Golda Meir (1898–1978), Lachman advised the government on educational issues. Shai Lachman, Father and Son: Practiced Zionism, in: Birgit Brantl-Schwaiger (ed.), *Lebensbilder: Portraits of Life in the Jewish DP Camp Föhrenwald, Wolfratshausen 2020*, 87–90; Berger, Föhrenwald, 79–106; Shai Lachman, Dan Giladi, Arieh Sivan (eds.), *Ke'esh Yohkedet: Gedalyahu Lachman, 1913–1983: Kovez le-zahkor [A Burning Fire: Gedalyahu Lachmann, 1913–1983: Memorial Book]*, Jerusalem 2008. Lachman's son Shai lives in a community of former Föhrenwald residents and their descendants in Netanya, Israel.

- 13 Arye Zlotykamien (1902–?) additionally served on Föhrenwald's camp court.
- 14 Over time a system of representation did develop in the DP camps, both through elections to the camp committees and elections to the annual congress of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews. Almost all of the political parties represented in the camps came from the Zionist political spectrum, including from the Socialist Zionist Poale Zion (*Hitaḥdut*), Poale Zion (Left), and Poale Zion (Socialist Zionists), General Zionists, Religious Zionists (Mizraḥi), Revisionist Zionists, and *Pahaḥ* (organization of ex-partisans and soldiers); the only non-Zionist political party was the Orthodox *Agudat Yisra'el*.

These departments are divided among the 9 elected members of the administration. In addition, there are also an audit committee and a court of honor. All the parties that exist in the camp are represented in the administration, audit committee, and court.

2) “UNRRA”

The UNRRA management is comprised of an UNRRA director and UNRRA officers who implement the directives and instructions by the director. In the year and a half since the establishment of the camp there have been six directors: 1) Mrs. Henshaw,¹⁵ 2) Mr. Cohen, 3) Mr. Atkin,¹⁶ 4) Mr. Frum,¹⁷ 5) Mr. Robbins, and 6) Mr. Mahler.

Although the purpose of the UNRRA is to help the homeless, the first UNRRA director, Mrs. Henshaw, failed to understand that. Mrs. Henshaw ran a chaotic economy with no public control whatsoever.

However, her deputy Mr. Henry Cohen was quite different.

While the previous director didn't understand, or didn't want to understand, our specific Jewish needs, Mr. Cohen, on the contrary, felt like one of us. Thanks to his initiative, the neglected, chaotically run camp economy was reorganized and placed on healthy foundations. Mr. Cohen was the first one to understand the tasks of UNRRA and to entrust the democratically elected camp committee with the running of the entire camp, leaving for himself the right of control and communications with the military and UNRRA headquarters.

He never did anything without first consulting the camp committee and supported with every possible means all the decisions of the administration.

In that respect, he was the first and the only one in his place.

Mr. Atkin and Mr. Robbins had a considerable understanding of our needs. Unfortunately, they both were in office very briefly: the former, for three days, and the latter, for a month.

15 Jean Henshaw.

16 Most likely Carl Atkin (1903–1976), an American Jew from Brooklyn who signed up for a post with UNRRA in the spring of 1945. He was assigned as the director of DP Camp Deggendorf in the American Zone, beginning his work there in late August 1945. In December 1945, he was appointed as UNRRA's coordinator of Jewish affairs, after receiving much praise for his leadership skills, the improvements in living conditions he initiated, and his boosting of morale among the DPs living there. In this new role, Atkin traveled to numerous camps consulting on the improvements he made in Deggendorf. It is likely that he served as interim director for the several days Glizer mentions, while consulting as a part of his duties as Coordinator of Jewish Affairs.

17 Edouard Frum encouraged the camp court to expand its activities and referred cases to the court in an effort to promote DP self-government. Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 141.

Mr. Frum often acted independently, without consulting the camp committee.

It was during his term that the saddest chapter in the history of Föhrenwald took place: On the Föhrenwald-Munich road MPs and German police inspected the Jewish residents of the camp and the Feldberg case happened, in which a Jew from Föhrenwald was murdered by the German police without any reason.¹⁸

The current director is A. Mahler, himself a DP.

As it can be seen, the relationship between the Jewish committee and the UNRRA went through three stages:

- 1) The UNRRA runs the camp with the camp committee being a silent witness to it.
- 2) Joint running of the camp by UNRRA and the elected committee. Each department has two managers: a member of the administration and an UNRRA officer. All the most important directives and decisions are signed by both managers.
- 3) The administration runs the camp internally and UNRRA has the right of control.

The “Joint”

While UNRRA, a non-Jewish organization, acted with respect to the Jews one way or another, the “Joint,” on the other hand, as a Jewish aid organization, had to understand its work and tasks.

Unfortunately, this can't be said about all the “Joint” representatives in our camp.

Mr. Abramowicz,¹⁹ who was in the camp already in the first days of its establishment, ran the work of the “Joint” without any appropriate book-keeping and couldn't find a common language with the camp committee.

18 Yitzhak Feldberg (?–1946) was a DP living with his wife in Feldafing. He was shot in 1946 by the German rural police in Wolfratshausen, the town situated beside Föhrenwald. The incident was widely reported on by the Yiddish press in the DP camps, and numerous protests were held. See files of the court concerning Itzhak Feldberg killed by the German rural police of Wolfratshausen, July 24, 1946, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 54, folder 757, frames 1124–1167.

19 Yehoshua or Shea Abramowicz (1920–2013) was born in Kalisz, Poland, and immigrated to London at the age of 14. His parents and siblings, including a twin brother, remained in Poland and perished during the Holocaust. Once in London, Abramowicz continued his education, becoming a Jewish educator and rabbi. He volunteered for the Jewish Relief Units of the JCRA and was sent to Germany to work on behalf of

His successor Miss Althoff,²⁰ who tried to find a common language in her dealings with the camp administration, improved the work of the “Joint.” However, the situation was radically transformed by Comrade Libstug.²¹

Himself a camp Jew, he understood our needs the way we ourselves understand them. He was the first of all the “Joint” representatives in Föhrenwald to place the work of the “Joint” on healthy foundations and thereby he is the right person in the right place.

Social and Cultural Life

It has to be admitted that despite there being no objective and subjective conditions in the Föhrenwald camp for the appropriate material and spiritual creativity and for the social and cultural revival, no outside help and an insufficient number of appointed cultural professionals and educators, yet spontaneously, as a natural reaction to the deprivations of the six-year-long destruction, there sprung up during the one and half years in the camp a social and cultural life of sorts, which, although unable to satisfy the population’s normal thirst for cultural fulfilment, laid nonetheless the foundations for it, albeit weak and temporary.

Föhrenwald is a Zionist camp.

During the [visit of the] Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Föhrenwald,²² the general poll of the populace showed that out of 3,230 voices 3,223 voted for the Land of Israel and 7 for other countries, among them 4 for America.

It is understandable that seeing the life in camp as temporary, the entire cultural and social life, the psychological set-up, the mindset, the entire being of the populace is closely connected to settlement in the Land of Israel.

The cultural and social life in the camp goes along two parallel lines:

- 1) Cultural experience under the supervision of the Culture Office at the camp administration.

its sister organization, the JDC, in Föhrenwald. His work would launch a career with the JDC spanning six decades, during which he served as JDC Director in various countries in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa.

20 Becky Althoff.

21 Isaak Libstug (1926–?) lived with his wife Fira (Esther) Sudvarg Libstug and five-year-old daughter Chaia in Belz, Romania (today Ukraine) on the eve of the Second World War. The family survived the war living in Transnistria and the Soviet Union. After liberation, they made their way to the American Zone and settled in Föhrenwald, where Isaak became the camp’s JDC representative.

22 See the committee’s report in Document 18.

- 2) General cultural experience under the supervision of the socio-political parties.

Through much hard work and dedication, a whole range of institutions and cultural establishments have been set up in the camp:

The **Tarbut school**,²³ which, despite not having an appropriate school venue, the required number of qualified teachers, or the necessary implements and teaching materials, is nonetheless, thanks to the dedicated work of the school friends, on the appropriate pedagogic level.²⁴

The **Library**, which holds over 700 books, still can't meet the needs and demand of the Jewish readers.

The **Reading Room**, where young and old assemble to read the Jewish press, both American and local. Some, on the other hand, read the library books because at home there are no conditions for quiet reading.

The **Drama Group Negev**, which set itself a goal of having an impact through classical works and adequate technical preparation in order to improve cultural taste and combat thereby the various shund²⁵ troupes. To date the group has performed on stage with great success Sholem Aleichem's²⁶ "The Gold Diggers" and Lejwik's "Golem."²⁷

The **Yeshiva**, which numbers 120 students, was established by Rabbi Halberstam²⁸ and is under the supervision of Agudat. It is the first and largest yeshiva in Germany.

Hebrew and English Language Courses are run every evening for youngsters and adults.

Bookkeeping Courses in Hebrew are run for those who are getting ready to take up bookkeeping in the Land of Israel.

23 The *Tarbut* (Culture) network established secular schools with classes taught in Hebrew in interwar Europe. Marcos Silber, Art. Tarbut, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 6, 188–192.

24 See Figure 9.

25 Yidd., trash; a term used to refer to popular literature.

26 Sholem Aleichem, the pen name of Shalom Rabinovitz (1859–1916), was a Yiddish writer born in Pereyaslav, Russia (today Ukraine). He is considered one of the founding fathers of modern Yiddish literature.

27 *The Gold Diggers* was a comedy by Sholem Aleichem about life in a shtetl thrown into chaos by rumors of Napoleonic gold buried in the cemetery. *The Golem* was a famous dramatic play by H. Lejwik, originally performed in 1921, which recounted the legend of the Golem, crafted by Rabbi Jehuda Löw ben Bezalel, the Maharal of Prague (1512–1609) to protect the Jewish population from attacks.

28 Yekutiel Yehuda Halberstam.

Cinema – cinematographic films, both Jewish and non-Jewish, are shown once or twice every week.

The Newspaper *Bamidbar*,²⁹ along with the *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung*, was among the oldest in Germany, had a circulation of 10,000 copies and was on an appropriate level. At first it appeared in Latin characters, and from the 10th issue switched to the Hebrew script. It was discontinued due to technical difficulties.

Social Meals and Literary Evenings on various subjects are organized from time to time by the Culture Office. However, a lack of appropriate cultural resources is felt.

The **Maccabi Sports Club**, with its various sports competitions, sports festivals, etc., became famed far outside the camp boundaries. The goal set by the club is the physical development of children and adults.

On top of that, extensive cultural and educational work is done in *kibbutzim* under the auspices of socio-political parties. In fact, the parties, and

29 *Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn* (In the Desert. Weekly Newspaper of the Liberated Jews), published from December 12, 1945, until September 4, 1946, was a Yiddish periodical produced by DPs living in Föhrenwald. The name of the newspaper was at once a reference to the biblical story of Moses and the forty years spent by the Jewish people in the desert before entering the Promised Land, and a reference to Bavaria as a desert in which the DPs had to wait indefinitely for the opportunity to immigrate. Menachem Sztajer (later, M. S. Arnoni, 1922–1985) served as editor-in-chief until March 7, 1946, alongside co-editors Josef Schawinski (1904–1979), Boruch Szepman, and Nachum Bakstansky. Though the editorial board intended the paper to publish weekly, in fact its circulation was much more irregular, with a wait of two to four weeks between issues. Following Sztajer's departure from Föhrenwald, beginning with the paper's fifth issue overall, the newspaper heading no longer listed the editor-in-chief and co-editors. Based on the content of the remainder of the issues, however, it appears that Schawinski took over as editor-in-chief, at least in function if not in name. At the same time, Dovid Glizer, who arrived in Föhrenwald in early 1946, began contributing to *Bamidbar* as well. He likely served as a co-editor for *Bamidbar* during this time, as he was later chosen to serve as one of the representatives from Föhrenwald on the editorial board of the *Yidishe tsaytung*, the consolidated DP periodical for the region including Föhrenwald. Formerly called the *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung*, the *Yidishe tsaytung* was published in nearby DP Camp Landsberg. The periodical was renamed after a paper shortage forced the shuttering of the majority of the individual DP camp periodicals and their consolidation into regional papers with editorial boards comprised of representatives from each camp in the region. On journalism and literary creation in the DP camps, see Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*. On *Bamidbar*, its editors, contributors, and its dissolution, see Kramen, *Justice Pursued*.

especially the parties' kibbutzim, are the most active and creative element of the cultural and social life in the camp.

In the kibbutzim, the young people and adults use their stay here for productive building and creativity. Here they undergo their professional and spiritual training for going to the Land of Israel.

Therefore, it's only natural that of 1,600 working people in the camp over 70 % are young people from the kibbutzim, and out of 1,400 kibbutz members, 270 are doing the agricultural training in Hochland³⁰ as a preparation for the Land of Israel, and over 200 are studying in technical colleges.

Parallel to this there are cultural and educational activities that take place in the kibbutzim: conversations on various subjects every evening. In the kibbutzim, there are also various clubs on general and Jewish history, history of Zionism, the Hebrew language and literature, English and so on.

From time to time, the kibbutzim organize cultural events for the part of the populace that isn't in the kibbutzim. Whether it's public lectures, performances, or Oyneg Shabes³¹ evenings, everywhere the kibbutzim are the active and creative powers.

The socio-political parties in the camp, namely, Poale Zion (S.Z.),³² Poale Zion (Left),³³ Poale Zion (Hitahdut),³⁴ Hashomer Hazair, Revisionists,

30 See also Document 14.

31 Yidd., joy of the Sabbath; a Friday evening gathering in honor of the Sabbath.

32 Poale Zion (Socialist Zionists) was a Labor Zionist movement developed among various groups in Eastern Europe that followed the Labor Zionist teachings of Nahman Syrkin (1868–1924) and Ber Borochov, and the secular nationalism of Chaim Zhitlowsky (1865–1943). For an introduction on Jewish politics in the interwar period see, also for the following four footnotes, Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics*, New York/Oxford 1993; Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917*, Cambridge, Mass./New York 1981, 329–365 and 453–552.

33 Poale Zion (Left), the left-wing branch of Poale Zion (Socialist Zionists), which split from the organization during the Fifth Congress of the World Union of Poale Zion in Vienna in July 1920, after a razor-thin majority voted against seeking membership in the Comintern (Communist International). Poale Zion (Left) subsequently organized its own World Union after the Comintern rejected the organization's insistence on a territorial base in Palestine. Samuel Kassow, *The Left Poalei Tsiyon in Interwar Poland*, in: Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics: Bundism and Zionism in Eastern Europe*, Pittsburgh, Penn., 2003, 71–85.

34 Poale Zion (*Hitahdut*) refers to the organization created when Poale Zion (Socialist Zionists) merged with the Palestinian labor party *Hitahdut* to create *Ihud Olami*, or the World Union of Zionist-Socialists, in 1932.

General Zionists,³⁵ Mizrahi,³⁶ respond to every socio-political action of the She'erit Hapletah and organize them directly.

Thanks to its specific conditions, Föhrenwald is often selected for bigger conferences and conventions of the political socio-cultural parties and groups. For example, the following has taken place in Föhrenwald:

The first convention of Hebrew teachers and writers in Germany.

The European convention of "Betar."

Two national conferences of Poale Zion (S.Z.) in Germany.

A national conference of "He-Oved"³⁷ in affiliation with Poale Zion (S.Z.).

A national conference of Hashomer Hazair in Germany, and others.

In one word, the purpose of the cultural and educational work in the camp is to prepare the camp resident spiritually and culturally so that he fits more easily into his new culture and social environment in the Land of Israel.

Document 42

*Leon Retter,³⁸ Speech on the 2nd Congress of the She'erit Hapletah in the American Zone of Germany
Bad Reichenhall, February 1947³⁹*

35 The General Zionist movement, a centrist Zionist movement and political party, which favored close cooperation with the left-wing Zionist parties and supported the moderate policies of Chaim Weizmann.

36 The Mizrahi, the Orthodox Zionist movement founded in Vilna around the belief that the Torah should be at the center of Zionism, which viewed Jewish nationalism as a means of achieving religious objectives.

37 *He-Oved*, or *Ha-no'ar he-Oved* (Working Youth), founded in 1924, is an Israeli youth movement affiliated with the Labor Zionist movement and with Israel's national trade union Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Workers).

38 Leon Retter (1922–2001), later known as Aryeh Neshet, was born in Romania, in the town of Sadigora near Czernowitz. During the Second World War, he survived in hiding and was active in the local underground resistance movement. After liberation, the 24-year-old Retter and his parents made their way to the American Zone, registering as DPs in Regensburg in September 1945. In addition to Yiddish, he also spoke English, French, German and Romanian and was elected as General Secretary of the CCLJA at the 1st Congress of the *She'erit Hapletah* in the American Zone in January 1946. Retter would become a prominent representative within the DP community before immigrating to Israel in 1948.

39 The CCLJA convened three congresses, in Munich, January 1946, Bad Reichenhall, February 1947, and again in March 1948. A 20-page booklet, produced by the printing

Published speech, 7 pages

Language: English

Anonymous (ed.), 2nd Congress of the "Sheirit-Hapleita" in the American Zone of Germany, Bad Reichenhall 1947, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 833, reel 1, folder 2

[Retter addresses the ongoing hardships of Jewish DPs in Germany, 21 months after liberation. Speaking in English to reach a wider audience, Retter recounts the profound suffering endured under Nazi tyranny and the struggle for survival immediately following liberation. Despite initial relief efforts by the Allies and organizations like UNRRA, the Jewish survivors remain in camps, plagued by the absence of true rehabilitation. Retter emphasizes the need for restoring dignity, confidence, and normalcy. He highlights the efforts to rebuild Jewish families, establish democratic structures, and revive cultural and educational activities within the camps. However, Retter underscores the continuing despair and longing for a permanent home, as promised by international agreements. He appeals for global support to facilitate the resettlement of Jewish survivors in Palestine, urging the world to help heal the deep wounds inflicted by the Holocaust and enable the Jewish people to rebuild their lives and future.]

Speech of Mr. Leon Retter General Secretary of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews

Mr. Chairman, Honourable guests, dear friends!

I will try to talk to you in the English language, so that all these [sic] who don't understand Jewish,⁴⁰ may have a direct message from our people.

It is quite difficult to discuss the complexity of problems which will have to [sic] be faced by our people in the second year of their stay on German soil. Never would I have imagined in the dark days of the bloodthirsty Nazi tyranny, that 21 months after liberation the little group of survivors of this great [sic] catastrophe would have to stay in Germany, concentrated in camps, in the deepest misery. We are probably too near to these events to be able to judge this great tragedy. History needs more distance to succeed in analyzing what happened to us.

shop of the *Mittelbayerische Zeitung* in Regensburg (founded October 1945), brought together three speeches of Col. George R. Scithers, David Treger, then chairman of the CCLJA, and Leon Retter.

40 Yiddish.

In order to be able to give you a picture of our situation, will you, please, leave this hall with me and follow me into the concentration camps a few days after the liberation in 1945 ...

What was the aspect of the Jewish survivors?

After 6 years of the most bestial acts of murder, after years of slave labour, a small remnant of our people remained alive: two from a town, one from a family. The [sic] witnessed the slaughter of their babies, they saw, day and night, smoke rising from the crematoriums, they went through the most inhuman sufferings, but they survived ...

What did these 6 years of inquisition signify [sic]?

These years taught that by respecting law and order, you have to die, by working – you have to die, by telling the truth – you have to die. Jewish property is no property and in the last moment, they have deprived the people of the minimum a man can have: his name. Instead of that, they got numbers. The human being was reduced to a number. He has lost even the right to claim that he has been a human being once. They cut even the hair of our women, they used dogs to tear our children in pieces, because bullets were too expensive!!

Our people had lost their honour, they had lost their confidence, they had lost everything ...

But on one sunny day of May the Allied Armies brought liberation. All that came with such overwhelming rapidity; the word [7] liberty for which we longed for years became at once a reality, but everything was so strange, so grand, so wonderful ... it was real liberty ...

These ghosts of human beings did not even know its meaning, didn't know how to use it ...

It is irony of fate, but 18,000 people died in the first two months after liberation, because they didn't know how to eat.⁴¹

I wish to stress again and again the golden pages written by the Allied Armies in those great days. There was nothing too dear in order to save human life. We saw American doctors and nurses, officers and soldiers working day and night to bring back to life these who were on the threshold [sic] of death and in a short period of time, these people began to walk, to eat normally, they came back to life and could be considered as normal people of the victorious group of nations and as such they began *to hope*.

This is the word, which will serve as a key to all what happened later. The *hope* to leave the soil where every inch was soaked with blood; the hope to

41 Retter's estimate was conservative; of the approximately 90,000 Jews liberated in the concentration camps, between 20,000 and 30,000 died in the first weeks following liberation. Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps*, 19.

come to our own country and begin a new life. So we prepared ourselves for a short transient period, after which we hoped to receive from the liberty-loving world a chance to live again. We knew that nobody could give us back mother and father, sister and brother, husband and wife, that nobody will give us back our Ruths and Davids, but we could get back one thing; our country, where we could find a resting-place for our stumbling feet and begin to rebuild life.

However, very soon we gave a new interpretation to our waiting. We understood that probably there are more important problems for the moment which had to be solved and we began to count weeks instead of days.

The world has given us UNRRA, a help institution which did a wonderful job in maintaining our physical status, but UNRRA had two Rs: R(relief) and R(rehabilitation). If this organization succeeded bringing us the first relief, it didn't bring the second rehabilitation, and this was a great danger for us.

We saw that our people could not be good citizens of a country, if they did not retrieve their good names, their self-confidence, their honour, their faith in people, if they did not learn that to respect law and order does not mean only death, – it may mean life. And that there is no rule that work means death. It may mean life – even a good and happy life.

This second R(rehabilitation) was a “sine qua non” for our existence and due to the fact that nobody brought it to us, we had to achieve it ourselves.⁴²

[8] Our people were in a terrible moral mood, they felt deep hatred against the Nazis and naturally there was a tendency of revenge.

In this dangerous moment a few leaders of the Jewish remnants succeeded in convincing us, that we must not repay hate with hate, that this is not the way on which the People of the Bible have to go and that there is a world which will bring justice for us and the deserved punishment for the murderers.

There is no case where a Jew took revenge and we are proud of that.⁴³ If somebody in this audience may think that we were cowards, then I'll tell

42 Jewish DPs moved swiftly following liberation to organize self-help and self-representation, both locally and regionally, independence and self-reliance, and demanded recognition, forming the CCLJA (initially limited to Bavaria but later expanded to include the entire American Zone), the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone, and Jewish committees in each of the DP camps with large (and later, solely) Jewish populations (Document 41).

43 Although DP leadership, international Jewish leadership, and national leadership alike worried about the possibility of violent revenge, vengeful violence committed by Jewish survivors in the DP camps was a rarity, but it did occur. Retter's decision to highlight the absence of such violence is perhaps explained in part by the desire of DP leadership to demonstrate their commitment to democratic principles, and the fear that any evidence to the contrary, no matter how rare, would lead the Allies to oppose the creation of a Jewish state. He chose to give his speech in English

him: these same people fight against a navy to come to their country and that requires probably much more courage and strength than to take revenge against a defeated enemy.

When this moral danger was over, we began to think constructively and as the basis of every society is the family, we had to rebuild the destroyed Jewish family. It was not easy. It required a lot of other social institutions, which had to be created under the conditions of camp life. We had to rebuild religious life, cultural institutions, sanitary and health organizations and all that had to be done without any possibilities of paying workers or of forcing people to come to work, but the great vitality of our people proved again and again that all the difficulties can be overcome by will – and so we began the formation of the new Jewish family and a new social existence.

We had to have a structure of social life, had to build up a society. This society had to be democratic; loyal[ty] and justice had to reign overall.

We had to transform this heterogeneous, weakened group of people into a healthy society and thereby vivify [revive?] the extraordinary [sic] phenomenon of the democratization of our people.

The first slogan, which penetrated into the dark barracks of our camps was: Consider yourself a normal human being; elect the people in whom you have confidence and let these people represent your interests. That will give back to the average man self-confidence, honour and self-respect.

Two or three months after liberation, we had in a number of camps democratic committees supported by UNRRA and Army, committees, which proved that the experiment had a chance to succeed.

It would be unfair not to mention the great help accorded by American Jewry through its Relief Organization AJDC and that [9] at the end of 1945, better said at the beginning of 1946, the democratization of our society was so successful that on the 27 of January 1946 it was possible to have the first Congress of Liberated Jews and to elect a Central Committee which had to serve as an organizing and representative body of all the Jewish people living in the American Zone. This institution had a tremendous task. I'll try to illustrate it by examples: There were camps where we had 5 doctors, and others where we had none.

The Central Committee had to organize a Central Health Department, which should make a proper distribution of the specialized personnel.⁴⁴

specifically to make it accessible for non-Jewish American military officials invited to attend the 2nd Congress. See Document 38.

44 At the 1st Congress of the *She'erit Hapletah* in the American Zone of Germany (1946), DPs from camps across the American Zone were elected to head departments to assist the various camp committees in representing DPs' interests in working with camp

There was no way of paying these people. There was no way of compulsory action, but there was one way; appeal to conscience.

The Central Committee succeeded to appeal to the conscience of our people and after a short time we had a disciplined personnel of the Health Department and every doctor went to the place where he was needed. The same with teachers, engineers, mechanics and other specialities.

Our cultural life began to flourish. We had about ten weekly newspapers. Our children began to go to school, although there were scunty [sic] school facilities. But we had to have schools and they came into being.

There are many things, which you will ask me: how did your people manage it?

The answer is simple: I don't know! We had to do it and it was done. Work became a matter of honour. We smashed the tendency of people who said: we worked enough for the murderers, let them work for us!!!

Work was transformed into a matter of to be or not to be.

It was not allowed that our people mortify [mortify] themselves in the nightmares of the past. This would lead to suicide; if they would regard their present, they would fall into apathy; if they would have to think about their future, they would have to be overcome by the thick fog in which it is wrapped.

The only momentary solution was to keep them busy, so that they should not think. However, work could not be paid and there was no incentive to encourage people to do it.

I must say there are no people in the world who work without being paid. Why should ours have done so? Because the world hasn't found a way to give them back their legal property? Or because this world considers that people who have been in camps may stay a little longer in them?!?!]

[10] In the meantime our hope got weaker and weaker.

We counted days, weeks – they grew into months, and we were still far from our home, far from an own room, far from a minimum of privacy.

It was in these days, when we asked people, what do you want?

And the answer was: The only thing I wish is: to get up in the morning and not see twenty pairs of feet!!!

Another one said: I want to sit at a table and not have twenty plates of soup around me!

I think that these two phrases give you enough, in order to understand the situation. The [sic] wanted to reclaim their ego.

In these moments of deep despair, we got from the world a new ray of hope.

administration in all aspects of life; the Health Department ensured that camps had access to medical professionals and hospitals, as well as physical education resources and activities.

There was formed an Anglo-American commission which had to bring the long-awaited solution. This committee visited many camps, visited our country and, at the end, they gave a result.⁴⁵ A result, which, although it was not completely satisfactory, it had a deep understanding of our problems and proved that the world has not forgotten the people, who have suffered mostly [sic] in this war, people which from 9 million lost 6 million.

Not 6 million soldiers, but 6 million grandfathers and grandmothers, boy [sic] and girls, 1,300,000 babies!!!

I don't know how many of you have seen the happy faces of our people in these days of first positive results. We were sure that the governments, which promised to respect the decisions of this committee, that they will keep them.

Again days, again weeks, again months, no sign of action. We are only people, even if our nerves are of iron; iron may break also.

Dispair [sic] began to penetrate deeper into our ranks, but the Central Committee understood that it has to uphold the morale of the people and that, probably in a near future, the world will give us the minimum requests of the Anglo-American commission, and we continued our work.⁴⁶

More newspapers, more schools, more books, more hospitals.

And now comes the most tragic page of our history: Instead of getting 100,000 people to Palestine, we got new hundred thousand victims of pogrom, fear, hopelessness.

This time they came from Poland. Nazi bloodthirsty elements found that too many Jews have remained in Poland, although from 3 million were left only 60,000, to which we may add an additional number of 100,000 people, repatriated from the East.

[11] These bloodthirsty elements began to use their old skill in slaughter. As a result of this action hundred thousand Jews, who had confidence in the democracy of the Polish country and tried to rebuild there their homes, had to leave at night everything and save body and soul.

Here comes a new golden page written by the American Government and Army, who understood to offer a heaven to these people and did everything they could to facilitate their rescue.

In these days, the people of our camps forgot for a short time their own tragedy, because they saw a greater tragedy before their eyes. Army, UNRRA, Jewish Agency, Joint, the local, regional, and central committees did the utmost possible in order to find speedily a shelter for these people.

45 Document 18.

46 On demoralization among DPs and responses to it, see Document 8; Patt/Crago-Schneider, *Years of Survival*.

Hundred thousand new people – hundred thousand new problems!! In the meantime, no ray of hope entered our camps and now we had 25,000 children, new ill people, new invalids.

Our society had to make a great effort in order to bring in the newcomers into our rehabilitation process. It has to be mentioned here the great help accorded Palestinian Jewry through the Jewish Agency, especially in education and productivisation.

We succeeded to bring 4,200 young boys and girls to farms. We brought 11,000 children to schools. We had 16,000 youngsters in 104 sport-clubs who played with their liberators, and the former living skeletons presented a serious partner to these [sic] who were happy to see them breathing a short time ago.

It is again my duty and privilege to express thankfulness for the great help accorded by the Army, and it was crowned in that on September the 7th, 1946, General Joseph T. McNarney, Commander of USFET, who with a noble appreciation of our work gave a legal status to the Central Committee of Liberated Jews.

Special tribute must be paid to Rabbi Philip Bernstein,⁴⁷ advisor to General McNarney, and his staff who contributed enormously to the solution of many difficult problems and succeeded in giving us the necessary orientation in our work.

Much interest and understanding has been shown by our Liaison Officer, Col. George R. Scithers,⁴⁸ who succeeded to establish [a] good relationship between Army and the Central Committee.

But with the coming of 100,000 people, our situation changed. It got worse from day to day. The 2,200 calories had a composition which was not sufficient for a man who starved 6 years. The winter was coming, our kids have [sic] no shoes, clothing was bad, and despair grew from day to day.

[12] It is very hard to express our disappointment [sic] when we had to learn that oil is clearer than Jewish life. The year 1946 came to an end, we didn't yet get the promise of the Anglo-American commission.

We have just returned from a trip to the United States where we had the great honour and privilege to meet members of the US-Government such

47 Rabbi Philip Bernstein (1901–1985), born in Rochester, New York, succeeded Judge Simon Rifkind as adviser on Jewish affairs to the U.S. Army Commander in Germany (and later Austria as well). He had the longest tenure of anyone to hold the position, serving from May 1946 until August 1947.

48 Colonel George Randall Scithers (1900–1986) was born in Kansas City, Missouri, and served in the U.S. Army as a first lieutenant in the field artillery, rising to the rank of colonel before the end of the war. Following liberation, he served as U.S. 3rd army liaison officer.

as Gen. Hilledering [sic],⁴⁹ Secretary of State for Occupied Territories, and Secretary Peterson [sic],⁵⁰ and to convince ourselves of the good will of the American Government.

We met Jews and Gentiles, good friends, people with great understanding and deep sympathy who do their best in order to maintain our morale in these most tragic days of our existence.

We now ask the world:

How long do you intend to keep us in the camps?

How long do you think will we be able to sit in barracks and assist at the restauration [sic] of the former enemies of the world in a time when nobody thinks about us, their victims?

We did our best. We transformed former concentration-camp-people into good workers, and these [sic] who know us will never call us lazy or black marketeers.

Every nation has a percentage of bad people. Allow us also to have such a percentage!

We do our best. We will try for the future to maintain the morale [of] our people but that can't last years. And so, as there are signs of deterosation [sic] of the actual conditions, that could be a catastrophe for us.

May it sound not as a threat, but I don't know how long we will be able to live under these circumstances!!!!

In the name of the remnants of the great catastrophe – our appeal goes to all the people of the world who believe in democracy, justice, freedom, and fraternity.

Help us to leave the country which recalls to us *death!!*

Help us restore our destroyed life!

Help us enjoy the liberation, which was brought by the blood of your sons!

Help us enter the rows of all the nations of the world!

Help repair the greatest injustice history has ever known!

Open the gates of Palestine and help us transform the desert into a flourishing garden!

We pray that this is the last Congress of Liberated Jews on this bloody soil and next year we will see a Congress of really Liberated Jews in our new-old country – *Palestine!!*

49 Major General John Henry Hilldring (1895–1974) served as Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas from 1946 to 1947. During the war, he was promoted several times, ultimately being named the Chief of the Army's Civil Affairs Division and serving as a U.S. delegate at the Potsdam Conference.

50 Most likely Howard Charles Petersen (1910–1995), an American government official and banker from Chicago who held the position of U.S. Assistant Secretary of War from 1945 to 1947.

Document 43

*Chana Levita*⁵¹ to Jewish Agency for Palestine

Indersdorf, January 16, 1948

Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages; handwritten archival signature at the top of page 1

Language: Hebrew; translated by Avinoam J. Patt

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S86 (Emissaries Section of the WZO), 343

העתק

אינדרסדורף, 16/1/1948

לכבוד

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ־ישראל,
המדור־לשליחים,
ירושלים.

ח. י.

כבר מזמן היה ברצוני לכתוב לכם ולספר על המקום שאני נמצאת ועל עבודתי בו, אבל כל פעם עומד משהו למכשול.

זה שמונה חדשים שאני נמצאת בגרמניה ועובדת כל הזמן בבית־הילדים באינדרסדורף. אינדרסדורף – זהו כפר גרמני טהור. לפני המלחמה בודאי לא דרכה כאן כף רגל יהודית. הכפר נמצא במחוז דכאו – במרחק 11 קילומטר ממנו – ובתוך הכפר הזה, במינור קטולי שוכן בית־הילדים. אם כי עד עכשיו לא היו שום התנקשויות, שוררת כאן אירה ספוגת התנכרות ושנאה. מפעם לפעם חוזרת הדרשה והלחץ על השלטונות להוציא אותנו מכאן ולהשתמש במקום הזה למטרה אחרת.

קשה להגיד שהמנור הזה מתאים לצרכים של בית־הילדים, אבל החיוב הוא בזה שזהו מקום מבודד ורחוק מהשפעה של אוירת מחנה עם כל השלילה הגדולה שישנה במחנות. הקלויסטר הוא בבנין גדול ועתיק, קר וקודר. הילד נבלע בו ממש. ואין אפשרות להכניס בו את החמימות של בית־הילדים. הילדים חיים כאן את חיי אחת התחנות הנוספות שלהם בדרכם הארוכה להשגת מטרותם הסופית. חבל מאוד שהחניה הזאת מתארכת יותר מדי.

עם יציאת "אקסודוס" צִיָּאֵם מתוכנו כ-200 איש (ילדים ומבוגרים גם יחד). חכינו להמשך והוא לא בא. בחפש קיץ קיימנו כאן שעורים לעברית וזִמְרָה. לקטנים פתחנו חדר משחקים. התקיימה גם מושבת קיץ. עם בוא תקופת הלימודים פתחנו שוב את בית הספר. קשה לקיים בית־ספר נורמלי בהרכב כה שונה של ילדים. זהו קיבוץ גלויות עם בליל שפות שאף שפה אינה שְׁגוּרה בפיהם כראוי. גם רמת ידיעותיהם שונה מאד. שנות המלחמה והנדודים הרבים השאירו את חותמם. עומדת עוד עד היום שאלת חוסר ספרי למוד מתאימים, מחברות וכו'.

51 Chana Levita was an emissary of the Jewish Agency dispatched to the DP camps; her background, however, remains unknown. On the work of JA emissaries in the DP camps, see Keynan, *Lo nirga ha-ra'av* [And the Hunger was Not Stanchd].

בתכנית הלימודים תופשים המקצועות: עברית, תנ"ך, היסטוריה עברית ומולדת את המקום בראש. לפני חדש ימים הגיע הנה קבוצת ילדים מרומניה. לילדים אלה – נוסף לשעות הלמוד בבית-הספר – סדרנו שיעורים נוספים לאחר שעות בית-הספר, היות וברצוננו להביאם לדרגת הידיעות הממוצעת הקיימת בבית-הספר. בעיה מיוחדת מהווים הילדים שהגיעו לא מזמן מהונגריה. רובם הגדול אינו מבין אידיש. עומדת שאלה של פתיחת בית-ספר מיוחד עבורם עם מורים אשר מבינים את שפתם ומורים כאלה – חסרים. מצב התזונה בזמן האחרון הורע. המנה הניתנת מצד "אייר"ו" וגם מצד הגוינט קטנה בהרבה. וידם עוד נטויה ... הפתרון היחידי הוא, כפי שהגנו רואים אותו כל הזמן ועכשיו במיוחד אחרי ישיבה כה ממושכת – עליה מהירה ארצה.

מבין הותיקים נשארו המקרים הפרובלמטיים יותר כגון: קשר עם משפחה, שאי-אפשר היה להעביר אותה קודם, מצב בריאות ירוד וכו'.

[2] בזה אסיים הפעם.

מי יתן ועמידת הישוב במבחן קשה זה תביא לזרימה גדולה של פיזורי עמנו למקום מבטחם. ויהיו הם שותפים ונאמנים ליצירה רחבת-מידות.

בברכה-חברים,

חנה לויטה.

Translation

Copy

Indersdorf, 16/1/1948

Attn:

The Jewish Agency for Israel [sic]

Emissaries Section

Jerusalem

Dear colleagues,

For some time, I wanted to write to you to tell you about the place I am located and my work here, but every time something comes up.

For eight months I have been based in Germany working in the children's home in Indersdorf. Indersdorf is a pure German village. Before the war, it is almost certain that no Jewish foot walked here. The village is located in the Dachau district – 11 kilometers distance from Dachau – and in this village, in a Catholic monastery, resides a children's home. Even if until now there have been no conflicts, the atmosphere is filled with ignorance and hatred. From time to time there are repeating demands and pressure from the authorities to remove us from here and use the place for another purpose.

It is difficult to say that this monastery fits the needs of a children's home, but the positive thing is that it is remote and distant from the influence of the camp atmosphere with all the negativity that exists in the camps.⁵²

The cloister is in a large ancient building, cold and gloomy. The child is really swallowed by it and there is no way to introduce the warmth of a children's home into it. The children live here in one of the additional stations on their long journey to reach their final destination. It is truly a pity that this station has become much too prolonged.

With the departure of "Exodus" approximately 200 people (children and adults together) left us.⁵³ We awaited further [departures] but they never came. During the summer break, we held Hebrew and singing lessons here. For the little ones we opened a game room. We also held a summer camp.⁵⁴ With the onset of a new school year we reopened the school. It is challenging to conduct normal schooling with such a diverse range of children. This is an "ingathering of exiles" with such a range of languages that no single language predominates. Additionally, their knowledge level is quite disparate. The many years of war and wandering have [certainly] left their imprint. To this

52 Before becoming a center for displaced Jewish children, Indersdorf began as a medieval monastery, and was later developed into a girls' boarding school, serving this purpose throughout the Second World War. It was converted into a Jewish children's camp and kibbutz in August 1946, housing over 300 DP youths at its peak. Prior to its conversion to a camp solely for Jewish children, it housed a mix of displaced unaccompanied Jewish and non-Jewish children, and though conflicts did arise during this period, children who found shelter there reported positive memories of the care they received. Even after it was turned into a Jewish children's camp in the summer of 1946, a considerable part of the staff was German, including ethnic Germans expelled from their former homelands and forcibly relocated to Germany. The camp was closed in September 1948. Anna Andlauer, *The Rage to Live: The International D.P. Children's Center Kloster Indersdorf 1945–1948*, Scotts Valley, Calif., 2012; Melissa Yaverbaum, *My Name Is: The Lost Children of Kloster Indersdorf*, New York 2017, <<https://mjhnyc.org/publications/name-lost-children-kloster-indersdorf/>> (May 27, 2024).

53 See Document 21.

54 The first summer camps were opened in the DP centers in 1946, but expanded operations in summer 1947. The Zionist youth movements converted agricultural training farms into summer camps where children and young adults would be instructed for two weeks on pioneering and scouting skills. The summer camps represented an opportunity to remove children from the DP camp environment, while immersing them further in the ideology of the youth movement. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 193–251.

day we continue to deal with the problem of a lack of appropriate textbooks, notebooks, etc.

Courses on Hebrew, Tanakh⁵⁵, Jewish history, and the history of Israel occupy a central place in the curriculum. One month ago, a group of children arrived from Romania. For these children – in addition to the curriculum in school – we set up additional lessons after school in order to bring them to the average level of knowledge in the school. The children who arrived not long ago from Hungary represent a unique problem. The vast majority does not understand Yiddish. There is the question of opening a special school for them with teachers who understand their language, but such teachers are not available.

The nutritional situation has deteriorated recently. Rations from the “IRO” and from the Joint are grossly insufficient. And their arms are still outstretched ... The only solution, as we have always seen it, and now especially so after such a long stay here, is immediate Aliyah to Israel.

Among those who have been here for some time remain [even] more problematic issues, e.g.: connection with family, which we could not solve earlier, poor health situation, etc.

[2] With this I will conclude now.

May it be that the Yishuv, standing in this difficult test, will bring a large flow of the scattered among our nation to their place of sanctuary. And may they become devoted partners in this large-scale undertaking.⁵⁶

With greetings of friendship,
Chana Levita

Document 44

ek., “Die erste jüdische Berufsfachschule”

Darmstadt, December 9, 1947

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: German

Darmstädter Echo,⁵⁷ December 9, 1947, 3

55 Heb.; acronym for Hebrew Bible, lit. *Torah, Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings).

56 See Figure 10.

57 The first issue of the regional newspaper *Darmstädter Echo* was published November 21, 1945, under license of the U.S. administration.

Erste Jüdische Berufsfachschule

Die erste jüdische Berufsfachschule, die in Deutschland besteht, wurde am Freitag im Rahmen einer Feier im alten Bahnhofsgebäude am Steubenplatz⁵⁸ in Darmstadt durch den Leiter der Militärregierung für den Stadt- und Landkreis Darmstadt, Oberst Rose eröffnet. Unter den Gästen befanden sich Vertreter der amerikanischen Militärregierung, der hessischen Staatsregierung, des Regierungspräsidenten, der Stadtverwaltung und der jüdischen Gemeinde Darmstadt. Zur Eröffnung hatten General Clay⁵⁹ und Direktor Newman⁶⁰ ihre Glückwünsche übermitteln lassen.

Die Schule, die unter Leitung von Samuel Batalion⁶¹ steht, soll den jüdischen Schülern im Alter von 15 bis 25 Jahren die Möglichkeit geben, sich auf ihr zukünftiges Leben in Palästina vorzubereiten und die Uebergangszeit bis dahin in Deutschland nutzbringend anzuwenden. Gegenwärtig laufen drei Kurse, Elektrotechnik – Dreher, Maschinen- und Bauschlosser – Schreiner.⁶² Die Schüler sind in einem Internat untergebracht; ihre Zahl beträgt 30, soll jedoch im Laufe der nächsten Monate verdoppelt werden.⁶³ Der Lehr-

58 The train station building had formerly served as the National Socialist People's Welfare Office (*Volkswohlfahrt*) in Hesse-Nassau, which had been damaged and deserted by the end of the war.

59 General Lucius D. Clay (1898–1978) was a senior officer of the United States Army who served as deputy to General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1945, deputy military governor of American-occupied Germany in 1946, and Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces in Europe and military governor of the American Zone in Germany from 1947 to 1949.

60 James R. Newman (1902–1964) was appointed director of the Office of the U.S. Military Government in Hesse after the demarcation of the occupation zones and the proclamation of the state of Hesse in September 1945.

61 Samuel Milek Batalion (1918–2000) was born in Stryj in the Austro-Hungarian Empire right before it was dissolved in October 1918. He joined the Betar Revisionist Zionist youth movement in 1938, and after the onset of the Second World War, he fled to the USSR, where he survived the Holocaust. After the war, Batalion made his way to occupied West Berlin, and then Hanover. In 1946, he was in the Eschwege and Hessisch Lichtenau DP Camps and became an UNRRA employee. In October 1946, he registered as a DP in Darmstadt. From 1947 through 1949, he served as the regional leader and member of the Betar in Hesse, organizing a local group in Darmstadt in 1947, which he led until 1948.

62 See Figure 11.

63 A total of 60 students ultimately attended the school. The students were mostly drawn from DP camps in the vicinity such as Zeilsheim, near Frankfurt am Main, and Babenhausen. After the school closed, many of the students immigrated to Israel, but some remained in Germany. Grossmann/Lewinsky, Way Station.

plan umfasst die Gebiete technisches Rechnen, Meßkunde, Installations-, Schwachstrom- und allgemeine Elektrotechnik, ferner Hebräisch und jüdische Geschichte. Täglich werden insgesamt zehn Unterrichtsstunden gegeben. Ein Teil der Lehrkräfte ist deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit.⁶⁴

Im Anschluss an die Feier fand im Hotel „Post“ ein Empfang statt, bei dem maßgebliche Vertreter der deutschen und amerikanischen Behörden sowie anderer Institutionen ihre Glückwünsche zur Eröffnung der Schule zum Ausdruck brachten. Unter anderen sprach auch der Leiter der jüdischen Jugendorganisation Beitar in Amerika, Dr. Propes.⁶⁵

ek.

Document 45

*Froym Shrayer,*⁶⁶ “*She’erit Hapletah Has Fulfilled Its Mission*”

Munich, September 3, 1948

Newspaper article, 1 page; author occasionally uses Germanized Yiddish

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

64 Germans were employed to teach skilled crafts to Jewish DPs, as part of the common practice of employing German workers for both skilled and unskilled labor prevalent among both occupation authorities and Jewish DPs in the American Zone. Both Jews and Germans comprised the staff of the school, with the wives of the teachers working in the kitchens and offices. *Ibid.*, 107.

65 Aron Propes (1904–1978) was the leader of the Jewish youth organization Betar of America. Before his immigration to the United States in 1945, he lived in Riga, Latvia, where he was a young activist in the Zionist Revisionist movement in the 1920s, working with the movement’s founder Ze’ev Jabotinsky. Propes officially organized the Betar there in 1923; Jabotinsky took over as leader of that organization in 1929. During the Holocaust, Propes was active in the underground movement. Kaplan, *Art. Altalena*.

66 Froym (short for Ephroym) Shrayer (1911–?) was born in Tlumatsch, Ukraine (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), to an upper-class rabbinical family. He joined the Poale Zion (Left) movement in 1928, remaining a member for his entire life. In the 1930s he lived in Warsaw, where he studied art and published articles in *Arbeter-tsaytung* (Workers’ Gazette) and *Fraye yugnt* (Free Youth). During the war, Shrayer fled to the USSR, where he survived the Holocaust. He continued to write as a DP in Munich following liberation; there, in addition to editing *Nayvelt* (New World, 1946–1949), he also edited *Der morgn* (The Morning, 1949), and co-edited *Hemshekh* (Continuation). He left Germany for Tel Aviv in 1950.

Nayvelt,⁶⁷ September 3, 1948 (no. 34), 3 in: *YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015005632, reel 14.03*

שארית הפליטה האט איר אויפגאבע דערפילט א. שרייער

שארית הפליטה, וויפל גילגולים דאס וואָרט, דער באַגריף איז אַדורכגעגאַנגען, אַזוי פיל גילגולים וויפל עס האָט אַדורכגעמאַכט ס'איבערגעבליבענע הייפל פון אייראָפּעאישן יידנטום. געווען צייטן, ווען שארית הפליטה איז געווען דער סימבאָל פון אָפּענע פּאָלקס־ווונדן פון יידישן חורבן – די אויסטערלישע פּאַרשטעלונג פון טויט־געשפּענסט און תּחית־המתים, די פּאַרקערפּערונג פון דורות־שמערצלעכע ליידן, שפּעטער איז שארית הפליטה געוואָרן דער כּוח, וועלכער האָט טרערן און צאַרן, געפיל, הייליקע נקמה אין פּאָלק דערוועקט. די אַלע, וואָס האָבן שוין דעם נאָמען ייד פּאַרגעסן, צוריק צו יידישקייט געבראַכט. שארית הפליטה האָט ווידער אָנגעגליט דעם נאַצי־אַנאַלן שטאַלץ ביי יענע, וועלכע האָבן דעם שטאַלץ פּאַרלוירן. געשטאַרקט דעם גלויבן אין די, וועלכע האָבן מיט פייער אויף זייער קערפּער אויסגעקריצט דאָס וואָרט – באַפּריינג.

דערנאָך זיינען טעג, גרויע, לאַנגע וואַכן און יאָרן פּאַרביי. ווען פון טויט פּאַרמאַטערטע שאַרבנס איז ווידער מענטש געוואָרן, – ווידער מענטש מיט אַלע שוואַכקייטן און ערדישע געווינהייטן, ווען דאָס אויסערגעוויינלעכע איז פּאַרביי, און געווענלעכקייט איז געוואָרן נאַקעטער אמת, האָבן זיך די שטימונגען און באַגריפּן וועגן שארית הפליטה געביטן און דערמיט אויך די באַציונג. ווער פון אונדזערע ברידער עס איז מיד געוואָרן פון העלפּן קרעכצן און ווער פון טראַגן הילף. פּאַר וועמען מיר זיינען געוואָרן אַביעקטן פון פּסיכאָלאָגישע פּאַרשונגען און פּאַר וועמען אַ באַגריף פון אַ סאַציאַלקייט. פּאַר אַ טייל אַפּילו אַ שרעק־וואָרט און געפּערלעכער עלעמענט.



ווי איז דער אמת? – זאָלן מיר אין אונדזער באַשיידנהייט נעמען אַ וואָרט וועגן זיך. און צו דעם האָבן מיר רעכט.

ווער איז אייגנטלעך שארית־הפליטה? אַ פּאַרשיידנאַרטיקע מאַסע, יחידים דורך צופּאַל אָפּגעראַטעוועטע, וועלכע האָבן אַלס אין לעבן פּאַרלוירן, – נאַנטע, היים, לאַנד, סביבה, לעבנס־שטייגער. אויסגעשפּיגענע פון וועלט רשעות האָבן זיך שפּליטער פּאַרשמאַלצן אין אַ געמיינשאַפט, וועלכע איין גורל האָט פּאַרפּאַלגט, איין גורל האָט אין שטיקער צעפּליקט זייער גאַנצקייט. איין גורל האָט ווידער געאייניקט דעם ווילן צו נייעם לעבן. ווידערגעבורט אין דער ריכטונג פון איין געמיינזאַמען ציל, וועלכן די האַרטע געבאַטן פון דער געשיכטע האָבן אַליין פּאַר זיי געצייכנט.

די אָפּגעפּרעמדקייט און פּאַרשיידנאַרטיקייט איז געווען פון דעם מין כאַראַקטער, אַז פון אָנהויב האָט מענטש מיט מענטש, גרופּע מיט גרופּע זיך פּאַרשטאַנען מער דורך געפיל, ווי דורך שפּראַך פון פּאַרשטיין איינע די צווייטע. צום ערשט מאָלן [!] האָבן פּאַר יידן גרענעצן און צוימען געפּלאַצט, ס'האָבן זיך געטראָפּן יידן פון פּוילן און ליטע, טשעכיע, רומעניען און אונגאַרן, גריכנלאַנד און

67 *Nayvelt* was published in Munich as mouthpiece of the *Poyle-tsiyen linke in daytshland* (Poale Zion Left in Germany) between 1946 and 1949.

דייטשלאַנד. צווישן די באַזונדערע לאַנדעס־גרופן האָט זעלטן־ווער געטראָפֿן נאָנטע פריינד פון אַמאָל. מענטשן זיינען געשטאנען פֿאַר אַ נייעם אָנהויב, – פֿאַר אַ בראשית. פֿיל פון עלטערן דור, זיינען געקומען מיט זייערע אַמאָליקע אידעאישן אַני־מאמין, וועלכער האָט אין דער שטיל אין זיי געדרימלט, אָדער נאָר געברויזט אין דערוואַרטונג פון ווידער־נייעם אָנהויב. מענטש מיט מענטש האָבן ווידער שפּראַך געפונען, געשטעלט זיך ווי מחנות אונטער די פענער פון זייערע אידייען און איבערצייגונגען.

נאָטירלעכערווייזע און אַן איבערראַשונג איז ציוניזם געוואָרן די געמיינזאַמע שפּראַך און איינציקער וועג פון דער דורך יאָרן פֿאַרפֿאַלטער געמיינשאַפֿט, וואָס האָט זיך געקרוינט מיטן נאָמען שארית הפליטה. אַ דאָפּלטער באַוווּסטזיין האָט אַלעמען אַדורכגעדרונגען: אַז מיר זיינען דער אומגליקלעכסטער דור פון דורות און איינצייטיק זיינען מיר גאָר די גליקלעכסטע, וועלכע טרעטן אַרײַן אין אַ נייער פּאָזע פון גאולה, בילדן די צווישן־פּריק פון נעכטן און מאָרגן – דעם כוח פון היינט. אין דעם באַשטייט דער נס פון אויסדויער און לעבנסווילן. די מעגלעכקייט פון גלויבן און איבערצייגונג פון זיג.



מען באַדאַרף דערמאָנען די, וועלכע האָבן פֿאַרגעסן און זאָגן יענע, וועלכע מאַכן זיך נישט וויסן, אַז דער הויפּט־פּאַקטאַר, וואָס האָט אָנגעצונדן די גאולה־אידעע ביי די מאַסן פון שארית־הפליטה, – דער כוח, וואָס האָט געהאַלפֿן רעקאָנסטרוירן דאָס גאַנצע געזעלשאַפֿטלעכע לעבן, זיינען געווען די פֿאַליטישע פֿאַרטייען – די ציוניסטישע פֿאַרטייען, וועלכע האָבן איינגעשטעלט די פֿאַרהעלטנישמעסיקע גלייכגעוויכט אין אויסגעלענקטן גליד פון דער צייט.

זיי האָבן דאָס געשאַפֿן די מעגלעכקייט און אומשטענדן פֿאַרן געמיינזאַמען ווירקן און קאָלעקטיוון האַנדלען, געווענדעט מיט די בליקן צו ישראל.

אַ גרויסער מאָראַלישער כוח האָט זיך פֿאַרלאַנגט אין דער טאַג־טעגלעכער מיזאַמער אַרבעט בכדי צו דערפירן צו דעם דאָזיקן מצב, וועלכן מיר האָבן היינט, נעמענדיק אין אַכט אַלע דעפעקטן און נישט־פּולקאַמענהייטן.

די עלטערע האָט מען באַדאַרפט אָרגאַניזירן, דיסציפּלינירן, אַרויספירן אויף די רעלסן פון נאָרמאַלע לעבנס־פּאַנאָריפּן. די יוגנט, וועלכע האָט קוים געדענקט און אייניקע אינגאַנצן נישט געקענט דעם נעכטן, האָט מען באַדאַרפט דערציען און לערנען.

פֿיל מאַמענטן פון צווייפּל און פעסימיזם האָבן נישט איינעם פון אונדז באַהערשט אין דער צייט פון שוידערלעכע איבערלעבונגען.

נישט ווינציק האַרבע שטראַף־רייד און ריקויכטלאָזע זעלבסטקריטיק האָבן מיר אין דער צייט אויף זיך אַליין אויסגעגאַסן. די זעלבסטקאָנטראָל איז געווען אומפֿאַרמיידלעך, נויטווענדיק און פֿאַזיטיוו.

איך ווייס נישט צי נאָך אַ קאָלעקטיוו אין ערגעץ וווּ האָט פֿאַרמאַגט דעם מוט זיך אַליין אַזוי צו טאָדלען, ווי דאָס האָט געטאָן די ש״ה. איך צווייפּל אויב נאָך וועלכע עס איז ציוניסטישע פֿאַרטייען אין דער וועלט איז אויסגעקומען אַזוי פֿיל ענערגיע, אַרבעט און ענטוואַזם צו פֿאַרווענדן, ווי דאָס האָבן געטאָן די פֿאַליטישע־ציוניסטישע באַוועגונגען אין דער ש״ה.

געווען מאַמענטן שווערע, וועלכע האָבן אין זיך געטראָגן סימפּטאָמען פון גרויסן געפֿאַר, – סימפּטאָמען פון געזעלשאַפֿטלעכן און מאָראַלישן צעפֿאַל, געווען צייטן פון טיפּער דעפּרעסיע, מידיקייט, פֿאַרצווייפּלונג, דערשיינונגען פון אַוועקגיין אָדער טיילווייזן אַוועקגיין פון דער יידישער געמיינשאַפֿט, זעלבסטדערנידערונג און אויך געמיינהייט.

דאָס שלעכטס האָט זיך געשלאָגן שיינבאַר אין די אויגן פון אייגענע און פרעמדע, פאַרשטעלט דאָס גרונטזעצלעך גוטע און דערהויבענע אין די מאַסן פון ש"ה. נישט לייכט איז געווען צו איבערצייגן, אַז דאָס שמוציקע און געמיינע איז אַ פאַרשווינדנדע מינדערהייט. אייגענע און נישט אייגענע, מענטשן קורצזיכטיקע אָדער בייזוויליקע האָבן געליאַרמט, – שמד-זנות, לומפן־לעבן, גאָלד און ברילאַנטן־מאַראַל א.א.וו. אמת, דאָס איז געווען און דויערט נאָך אין אַ קלענערער מאַס ביז היינט. דאָס איז נאַטירלעך און אומפאַרמיידלעך ביי די בעסטע אַפילו אומשטענדן, בפרט ביי אַן אויסגעוואַרצלטן קאָלעקטיוו ווי ס'איז ש"ה.



וואָס באַווייזט אונדז אָבער דער סך הכל ביז היינט. די ש"ה האָט באַוויון צו אַרגאַניזירן איר געזעלשאַפטלעך, זעלבסטפאַרוואַלטונגס און קולטור־לעבן אַן אַ יוסטיץ און צוואַנגס־אפּאַראַט. ס'איז איינגעשטעלט געוואָרן אַ קולטור־לעבן, פּאָלקס־שולן און אייניקע מיטל־שולן. מ'האָט געשאַפן לערער־סעמינאַרן אויף דער שנעל, אַנטוויקלט אַ ווונדערבאַרע נעץ פון פּאָך־שולן, געשאַפן ביבליאָטעקן, אַנטוויקלט אַ פּאַרלאַגס־וועזן. פיל שרייבער האָבן אַרויסגעגעבן זייערע שאַפונגען, ס'איז אַוועקגעשטעלט געוואָרן אַ פרעסע אויף אַן ערנסטן ניוואָ. דער יונגער זשורנאַליסט ווייזט אַרויס גוטן ווילן און פעאַיקייטן, האָט פאַרדינט באַצייכנט צו ווערן ווי אַ ווירדיקער פּען־קעמפּער אויף אונטערוועגס צו דער נאַצ. באַפרייונג. ביי די שווערסטע באַדינגונגען איז אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן יידיש טעאַטער, נישט געקוקט דערויף וואָס מען קען האָבן פיל באַוואַרענישן צום טעאַטער פון רייך־קניסטלערישן שטאַנדפונקט. ש"ה האָט געשאַפן רעהאַביליטאַציע פּאָלקס־געריכטן, וווּ ס'ווערן געמשפּט די אייגענע פאַרברעכער פון דער נאַנטער טרויעריקער פאַרגאַנגענהייט. אין די ביטערע טעג פון פאַרצווייפּלונג זיינען הייפלעך פּאַנאַטיקער, ח"ח פון ציוניסטישע פאַרטייען אַרומגעפאַרן אין די לאַגערן, געמונטערט, געמאַנט, אונטערגעהאַלטן דעם גלויבן, – געשטאַרקט דאָס פּאָלק.

אין די צייטן פון בעוויינטעראַר האָבן מיר גערופן צו העפּלה אויף אַלע וועגן קיין א"י און די מאַסן זיינען געגאַנגען. נישט פון הימל אַראָפּ איז געקומען די נייע אינדזל־רעפּובליק, – ציפּערן. די ש"ה איז געהאַלטן געוואָרן אין דור־האַפּטן (!) צושטאַנד פון פּראָטעסט און רעוואַלט, אין קאַמפּסווילן קעגן ענגלישער פאַרקעכטונג. ס'איז געקומען דאָס דערהויבנסטע פון מאַראַלישע ווערטן – "עקוואַדוס" 1847. (!)

ס'זיינען געקומען די שווערע טעג און (!) ישוב, – דער אויסברוך פון מלחמה. די ש"ה, אירע אַנפירער האָבן אויפגעפּאָדערט די יוגנט צו דערפילן זייער פליכט. צענדליקער, הונדערטער, טויזנטער האָבן פרייוויליק געמאַלדן זייער גרייטקייט, ווירדיק אויסגעפּאָלט דעם באַפעל – אינערלעכן געבאַט פון יידן־שטאַלץ.



דאָס איז דער אמת וועגן שארית־הפליטה, דערמיט זיינען מיר צופרידן, וועלן דעריבער ווייטער גיין דעם וועג, – דעם וועג וואָס פירט צום נייעם לעבן אין ישראל. מעגן אייניקע יידן אין ווייטן אויסלאַנד צווייפלען אין דער מאַראַל פון ש"ה. מעגן אייניקע רעאַקציאָנערע קרייזן און הויך־געשעצטע פּערוואַנען האַלטן, אַז דער ש"ה־עלעמענט איז נישט ראוי

צו קומען אין מדינת ישראל. מעגן פיינשמעקער צווייפלען אין אונדזערע עטישע ווערטן. אַלע די טעאָריעס וועלן פּלאַצן ווי זייפּנבלאַזן. דער מאָראַלישער פּרצוף פון ש״ה ליגט אין וועזן פון יידיש-פּאַלק, אין וועזן פון גלויבן, ווילן און שטרעבונג צו זיין פריי. מיר קענען זאָגן דער גאַנצער יידישער וועלט, קענען ראַפּאָרטירן דער מדינת ישראל, – מיר האָבן אונדזערע אויפגאַבן דערפילט, מיר שטייען גרייט צו ווייטערדיקע באַפעלן.

Translation

She'erit Hapletah Has Fulfilled Its Mission

E. Shrayer

She'erit Hapletah – how many transformations this word, this concept has undergone – as many as the remaining handful of European Jewry has done. There were times when the She'erit Hapletah was the symbol of the open wounds of the Jewish khurbn – the outlandish idea of the death specter and the resurrection of the dead, the embodiment of generations of painful sufferings; later, however, the She'erit Hapletah became the power which aroused in the nation tears and wrath, emotions, and holy vengeance, and brought all those who had forgotten the word “Jew” back to Jewishness. The She'erit Hapletah reignited the national pride in those who had lost it. It reinforced the belief in those who had inscribed with fire the word “liberation” on their bodies.⁶⁸

Then days and grey, long weeks and years went by, when out of tortured to death shards man reemerged, man with all his weaknesses and earthly habits; when the extraordinary had become the thing of the past and ordinariness became bare truth, the sentiments, and conceptions about the She'erit Hapletah changed and with it also the attitude. Some of our brothers grew weary of helping to groan, and some of delivering help.

For some, we have become objects of psychological research, for others, a concept of sociality.⁶⁹ For some we have even become a scare word and dangerous element.



68 This paragraph reflects on the changing meaning of the *She'erit Hapletah* both as a term and as a community. Written in 1948, it reveals the demographic, political, and symbolic shifts in the *She'erit Hapletah* that occurred during the three years since liberation and the establishment of the DP camps. For comparison, see Documents 11 (1945), 33 (1946), and 40 (1947).

69 DPs only rarely expressed their resentment about becoming the objects of social sciences. For examples of psychological research conducted on Jewish DPs, see Documents 6 and 7.

What is the truth like? Let us in our modesty put in a word for ourselves, and we have the right to do so.

Who are, in fact, the She'erit Hapletah? A manifold mass, individuals saved by mere chance, who lost everything: family members, home, country, environment, way of life. Spat out by the world of evil, the splinters fused into a community: one fate persecuted it, one fate burst its entirety into pieces. One fate made whole again the will for new life, the rebirth in the direction of one common goal outlined for them by the harsh commandments of history.

This estrangement and diversity were of such a nature that from the beginning individuals and groups understood one another more intuitively rather than through language. For the first time borders and barriers burst open for Jews; there were Jews from Poland and Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Hungary, Greece, and Germany. Seldom did anyone meet close friends from the past among the groups from individual countries. People were facing new beginnings, a genesis.

Many among the older generation came with their once ideological Ani-ma'amin,⁷⁰ which had been dormant in them in quiet, or just fermenting in anticipation of new beginnings. People found common language again and stood up like armies under the standards of their ideas and convictions.

Naturally and unsurprisingly, Zionism became the common language and the only way forward for the community persecuted for years, who crowned itself with the name of She'erit Hapletah.⁷¹ A double consciousness

70 Maimonides' (1135–1204) 13 principles of faith, *Ani ma'amin be-emunah sh'leimah be-viat ha-mashiah*, (Heb., I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and even though he may tarry, nonetheless, I wait every day for his coming). Shroyer seems to refer to the principle more generally as a belief in something (perhaps anything) beyond survival. As the members of *She'erit Hapletah* began to recover, they were able to believe in the future, or find a shared sense of hope. Shroyer maintains that this shared belief or sense of hope crystallized around a belief in Zionism.

71 The conflict between Zionists and Bundists in DP camps mainly revolved around the issue of emigration, but also touched on representation, influence, and support among the DPs. While Zionists focused on promoting immigration to Palestine as the primary solution to the Jewish problem, Bundists advocated for free emigration worldwide. The Zionists argued that the Bundists' failure to prioritize immigration to Palestine undermined the collective effort to secure a safe haven for Jewish survivors. The Bundists, on the other hand, maintained that their call for free emigration was a more comprehensive and practical solution, given the uncertainty surrounding the future of Palestine and the limited opportunities available for Jewish resettlement there. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 74f.; Documents 32, 39, and 46.

permeated everyone: that we are the most unfortunate generation of all and at the same time, we are by far the most fortunate one who is entering a new stage of deliverance, building the bridge that spans yesterday and tomorrow, the power of today. This is what the miracle of endurance and will for life is all about. The possibility of believing and being convinced of a victory.



It is necessary to remind those who forgot and tell those who do not want to know that the chief factor which ignited the idea of redemption among the masses of She'erit Hapletah, the power that helped reconstruct the entire social life, were the political parties: the Zionist parties, which achieved the relative balance in the dislocated limb of the time.

It was they who created the opportunity and conditions for the common influence and collective action with their sights set on Israel.

A great moral strength was required in the daily industrious work in order to get to where we are now, taking into account all the flaws and imperfections.

The older people had to be organized, disciplined, and put back on the tracks of normal life concepts. The young ones, who barely remembered and some never even knew the past, had to be raised and educated.

Not a few of us were overcome by many moments of despair and pessimism in the time of the horrendous experiences.

There was no shortage of harsh punishing words and reckless self-criticism that we poured upon ourselves at the time. Self-control was unavoidable, necessary, and positive.

I don't know of any other group anywhere that had the courage to castigate itself as much as the She'erit Hapletah has done. I doubt that any other Zionist parties in the world have managed to expend so much energy, labour, and enthusiasm as the political Zionist movements in the She'erit Hapletah have done.

There have been difficult moments that bore symptoms of great danger, symptoms of social and moral collapse; there have been times of profound depression, fatigue, despair, instances of leaving or partially leaving the Jewish community, self-humiliation and also ignobility.

The negative, glaring in the eyes of our own kind and others, obscured the fundamentally good and lofty in the She'erit Hapletah masses.

It wasn't easy to convince people that all that's filthy and base is a disappearing minority.

Both our own and outsiders, people short-sighted or malicious, ranted: prostituting apostasy, vagabondage, double-faced morality, and so on.

True, this has been and to a lesser degree is still a threat today. This is natural and unavoidable even in the best possible circumstances, but especially within a displaced group like She'erit Hapletah.



But what is the result to date demonstrating to us? The She'erit Hapletah has succeeded in organizing its social, self-governing, and cultural life without legislation and an enforcement apparatus.

There has been established a cultural life, secular primary schools, and some secondary schools. Teachers' seminars have been promptly created. A wonderful network of vocational colleges has been developed, libraries created, publishing developed. Many writers have published their works, the press has been instituted at a serious level.⁷²

The young journalist manifests good will and aptitude and has deserved to be commended as wielding a mighty pen on the way to the national liberation.

Jewish theater was organized in the hardest conditions, despite that there are many reservations about the theater from a purely artistic point of view.

She'erit Hapletah created rehabilitation tribunals where criminals among us of the not-so-distant tragic past stand trial.

In the bitter days of despair, a handful of activists, members of Zionist parties, travelled around in the camps, encouraging, demanding, keeping the faith alive; put briefly, giving people strength.

In the times of Bevin's terror,⁷³ we called for unauthorized immigration on all the ways leading to the Land of Israel and people went in masses. It wasn't from heaven that the new island republic, Cyprus, descend.

The She'erit Hapletah was kept in a permanent state of protest and revolt, in the spirit of resistance to the British enslavement; the loftiest of all moral values occurred, Exodus 1847 [sic].⁷⁴

The severe days of settlement followed, as well as the beginning of the war. The She'erit Hapletah and its leaders demanded from the young people to do their duty. Tens, hundreds, and thousands voluntarily declared their

72 Publishing became a key feature of DP life very soon after liberation. Survivors wrote hundreds of newspapers, brochures, textbooks, holy books and fiction, for the most part in Yiddish, but some in Hebrew, Polish, Hungarian and German. Florsheim, *Words Reaching for Life*.

73 Ernest Bevin. See Document 23, n. 8.

74 On the Exodus affair see Document 21; on the detention camp in Cyprus, see Document 7.

readiness, with dignity obeying the order, the inner commandment of Jewish pride.⁷⁵



This is the truth about She'erit Hapletah, which we're happy with, therefore we will keep walking the way that leads to new life in Israel.

Let some Jews far away abroad doubt the morality of She'erit Hapletah all they want. Let certain reactionary circles and highly esteemed personalities believe that the She'erit Hapletah element is not worthy of coming to the State of Israel. May aesthetes doubt our ethical values. All these theories will burst like a bubble. The moral make-up of She'erit Hapletah lies in the entity of the Jewish people, in the entity of faith, will and an aspiration to be free.

We can tell the entire Jewish world; we can report to the Land of Israel: we have fulfilled our missions; we stand ready for further orders.

Document 46

Anonymous, "Attention"

Location and date unknown

Printed leaflet, 1 page; underlinings and different font sizes

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York, WAG 232 (Edward S. Goldstein: Jewish Labor Committee Research Files), box 5, folder 95

◇אכטונג◇

1 יודן געדענקט דעם נעכטן, לאזט זיך נישט פארפירן צוריק אין די געטאס און קאלעך-אויונס

דורך דעם בונד!

2 געדענק אז דיין היימלאנד איז ארץ-ישראל נישט קיין אנדער לאנד!

3 זארג נישט נאר פאר זיך. נאר גרייט צו א מארגן פאר דייע קינדער אין ארץ!

4 געניג געבויעט היימען אין פרעמדע לענדער!

5 נידער מיטן „בונד“ וועלכע פירן דאס אידישע פאלק צו פרישע קרבנות!

6 אונזער צוקנפט (!) איז

◇ארץ-ישראל◇

75 In the spring of 1948, as fighting between the Haganah and Arab militias increased in Palestine, Haganah and JA, working together with Zionist youth movements and political parties in the DP camps, initiated a conscription campaign focused on those aged 18–35. Approximately 8,000 Jewish DP soldiers were conscripted to join the fighting in Israel in this way. Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 237–258.

Translation

◇Attention◇⁷⁶

1 Jews, remember yesterday. Don't let people lead you back to the ghettos and ovens through the Bund!

2 Remember your homeland is the Eretz Israel and no other land!⁷⁷

3 Do not be concerned about yourself but prepare a better tomorrow for your children in Eretz!

4 Enough burnt homes in strange lands!

5 Down with the "Bund" which leads the Jewish people toward renewed victimization!

6 Our future is

◇Eretz Israel◇

Document 47

Anonymous, "The Modern Lexicon"

Munich, September 23, 1949

Journal article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

*Afn tsimbl*⁷⁸ (1949), 5, in: YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 46, folder 536, frame 1239

76 This leaflet reflects Zionist coercion around the *giyus* (Heb., conscription) campaign in which Zionist leadership in the DP camps sought to recruit individuals for illegal immigration to Palestine. The movement was explicitly anti-Bundist, as the Bund advocated for a form of Jewish nationalism detached from territorialism, focusing upon Jewish culture as the basis for Jewish nationalism as opposed to a Jewish state. While some DPs managed to dodge recruitment, several Bund members reported evidence of physical and emotional coercion employed by Zionist leadership in the *giyus* campaign, as well as the *magbit ha-bitahon* (Heb., security fund) initiative. The few members of the Bund in the camps raised their complaints, as did the camp committees over the loss of skilled employees and teachers, and the JDC felt it necessary to reprimand the CCLJA for denying rations to DPs. *Ibid.*, 250–253.

77 See Figure 12.

78 *Afn tsimbl* (lit. On the Cymbalon; fig. Under Cross-Examination) was an 8-pages long satirical magazine that seems to have been published only once. It included various ironic observations on life in the DP camps, the Central Committee, party-politics etc. The article reproduced here pokes fun at the realities of Jewish DP life and politics. Patt, "Laughter through Tears." Tamar Lewinsky dates publication of the

דער היינטיקער לעקסיקאן

אין פילאזאפישן סעמינאר פון דעם יידישן סטודענטן פארבאנד, האט מען ארויסגעגעבן א לעקסיקאן פון "שארית הפלטה" באגריפן.

פרעזעס: א מענטש, וואס כאטש ער פארט מיט אן אויטא קען ער קיינמאל אין ערגיץ נישט אנקומען. סיידן צו באנקעטן.

וויצע פרעזעס: א שטילער מענטש מיט א הויכן הוט. סעקרעטאר: זאגט וואס ער געדענקט נישט און געדענקט, וואס ער זאגט נישט; קליין ביי יענעם, גרויס ביי זיך.

עסקנים: מענטשן, וואס מאכן מיט פאפיר מאשינען און פון מאשינען פאפיר. פאליטיקער: הייזעריקע מענטשן מיט גרויסע זיגלען. זיי מאכן א לעבן פון דערציילן און דערציילן נישט פון וואס זיי לעבן.

קאמיטעט: א ווילד געוויקס, וואס וואקסט אויף חורבות און לאזט זיך נישט ארויסרייסן. לאגער: אן ארט ווו מען האט מורא פאר ליקווידאציע.

אינסטיטוציע: דריי שותפים צו איין געשעפט, צוויי ריינדער צו איין מיטינג, איין קליענט אונטער דער טיר, וואס מען לאזט אים קיינמאל נישט אריין.

דעלעגאט: פארט און פירט, הערט נישט אויס און איז גערירט, זאגט צו גליקן ביים עסען, בכדי תכיף צו פארגעסן.

שלוחים: אנגעטן פון פסוקים אן גרא און דעטייל. פאליטיק: א הכשר צו טוען אליין דאס, וואס פאר אנדערע איז פארבאטן.

וועלטאנשוואונג: א קאנצעסיע אויף א גרויסן קאווע מסחר. מיטינג: א פארוואמלונג, ביי וועלכע דאס פובליקום זיצט אויף דער בינע און לאכט זיך נישט אויס.

באנען: א טיטל פון נאציאנאלער דערציאונג פון א פובליקום, וואס האלט נישט פון פארן. טראנספארט: אן אונטערנעמונג, וואס לאזט זיך צאלן פאר שמאטעס ווי פאר מאשינען און פאר מאשינען ווי פאר שמאטעס.

שארית הפליטה'ניק: א מענטש, וואס דריי יידן ארגאניזירן אים, פיר אינפארמירן אים, פינף העלפן אים, זעקס אגיתירן אים, אלע קלויבן פאר אים און אליין שטארבט ער פאר הונגער.

אדזשינט באאמטער: א מענטש, וואס הייסט ווארטן פאר דער טיר, ביז ער וועט זיך אויסלערנען ענגליש, בכדי ער זאל זיך קענען דורכשמועסן מיט יידן.

אסוחר: א ייד, וואס קען נישט ווערן קיין פרעזעס און האנדעלט דורך דעם מיט בייגל. אבודקע אויף דער מעל-גאס: א סימבאל פון קאסמאפאליטיזם און א מאניפעסט, אז נישט פאליטישע מענטשן קענען אויך האנדלן מיט שאקאלאד.

אירא: א אינסטיטוציע, וואס האט פראקלאמירט, אז היטלאמאכערס זיינען דער שפיגל פון דער וועלט.

journal to September 23, 1949, while JDC Director of the American Zone, Leo W. Schwarz (1906–1967), dates it to 1950. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*, 210 f.

*Translation***The Modern Lexicon**

The Philosophical Seminary of the Jewish Students Federation has compiled a lexicon of definitions used by the She'erit Hapletah.

President: a person who, although he travels by automobile, never arrives anywhere, except at a banquet.

Vice President: an unobtrusive fellow in a top hat.

Secretary: says what he doesn't remember and remembers what he hasn't said, small in the eyes of others, big in his own.

Businesspeople:⁷⁹ people who make machines from paper and paper from machines.

Politicians: people with hoarse throats and big seals. They make a living by telling tales – and never tell what they make a living from.

Committee: a weed that grows on ruins and won't be uprooted.

Camp: place where they are afraid of liquidation.

Institution: three partners in one business, two speakers at one meeting, one client behind the door who is never allowed to enter.

Delegate: travels and drives, doesn't listen and gets emotional; promises castles in the air at dinners only to forget on the spot.

Shaliah:⁸⁰ bureaucrats without subtleties or detail.

Politics: an authorization for yourself to do what is forbidden to others.

Worldview: a franchise in a large coffee trade.

Meeting: a gathering where the audience sits on the stage and doesn't get a chance to scoff.

Railroads: a title for national upbringing of the public, who don't like traveling.

Transport: an undertaking, which can afford to pay as much for old rags as for machines and as much for machines as for old rags.

Member of She'erit Hapletah: A person organized by three Jews; informed by four; helped by five; agitated by six; they all take up collections for him, while he starves to death.

79 The term used in the original is *askanim*, which traditionally refers to those who make it their business to work for the betterment of the community; other translations include dealmaker, communal worker, public worker, and social worker.

80 See Document 29.

A Joint official: a person who asks you to wait outside the door until he learns enough English to be able to converse with Jews.⁸¹

A merchant: a Jew who cannot become a president and has taken to selling bagels.

A kiosk on Flour Street:⁸² a symbol of cosmopolitanism and a demonstration that non-political people are also able to deal in chocolate.

IRO: an institution, which has proclaimed that hatters are the mirror of the world.

Document 48

Management of Transit Camp Negev, "Regulations of the Transit Camp Negev" Geretsried, 1948⁸³

Printed leaflet, 4 pages; cover page with image of the camp's map (not reproduced here)

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, S6 (Immigration Department of the WZO), 6763

רעגולאציע פון דורכגאנגס־לאגער "נגב"

[|2|]

וואס יעדער עולה דארף וויסן

1. דער דורכגאנגס־לאגער איז איינער פון די לעצטע טריט צום לאנד. דורך אים זיינען אין משך פון די לעצטע מאָנאטן דורכגעגאנגען - און וועלן דורכגיין - צענטליקער טויזנטער עולים. יעדער עולה איז דעריבער פארפליכטעט אָפצוהיטן: אָרדנונג, היגיענע און דיסציפליין.

81 Meaning uncertain; maybe it's a sarcastic reference to Jewish DPs hired by the JDC to work as a clerk, or middleman, between the DPs and the JDC officials from abroad, who had to learn English before they could communicate with the JDC officials for whom they worked.

82 The Yidd. term used in the original is *mel-gas* which literally is "flour street," but it also might be a reference to the Möhlstraße (as the two phrases sound similar), the street in Munich where Jewish DPs set up various small businesses, some of which were involved in so-called black market activity. See Documents 20 and 67.

83 While the exact date of publication is unknown, it must have been occurred after May 1948 (since the document refers to the State of Israel), and likely happened later that year, as the first official immigration of DPs to Israel departed from the freight depot *Funkkaserne* (radio barracks) in Munich on July 13, 1948. Grossmann/Lewinsky, Way Station, 132f.

ביים אנקומען

2. ווען דער עולה קומט אָן אין לאַגער, ווערט ער ביים טויער אָפגעווארט דורכן הויפט־מדריך און ווערט דורך זיין מדריך געפירט אין צימער, אין וועלכן ער געפינט זיך ביז זיין עליה.
 3. די איינריכטונגען פון די צימערן (בעטן, טישן, שטולן, אדיגל) זיינען איינגעשריבן אין א ספעציעלן אינווענטאר, וואָס ווערט איבערגעגעבן די עולים און זיי זיינען פאראנטוואָרטלעך פאר דער גאנצקייט פון דעם אינווענטאר. מען דארף שטענדיק געדענקען, אז אלע איינריכטונגען זיינען דאָס אייגנטום פון די עליה־אינסטאנצן.
 4. פארן אָפּפּאַרן פון איבערגאנגס־לאַגער, מוז דער אינווענטאר איבערגעגעבן ווערן דעם מדריך אין דעם זעלבן צושטאנד ווי מען האָט אים באַקומען. פאר באשעדיקונגען פון אינווענטאר זיינען פאראנטוואָרטלעך די עולים און וועלן אויפגעפאדערט ווערן צו באַצאָלן דעם שאָדן.
 5. פאר בייזוויליקע באשעדיקונגען, קענען עולים באשטראפט ווערן ביז אויפהאלטן די עליה. נאָכן איינפֿירדענען זיך אין צימער, דארף דער ראש־המשפּחה צונויפזאמלען אלע אינדעקס־קארטן פון זיין פאמיליע און ווענדן זיך צום ביראָ פון לאַגער, בכדי צו רעגיסטרירן און באַקומען:
- (א) עסקארטן,
- (ב) קוילן און האַלץ־קארטן (אויב דער צימער האָט ניט קיין צענטראַלע באהייצונג)
- אָן קארטן וועט קיין עסן און האַלץ ניט ארויסגעגעבן ווערן.
 6. נאכן רעגיסטרירן זיך, קען יעדער עולה באַקומען פון מאַגאזין (בלאָק "ב") א דעקע קעגן א געוויסער קאָזיע (באנאזש־צעטל אדיגל).
 7. יעדע גרופע פון 24 עולים קלייבט זיך אויס א גרופֿן־פירער, וואָס שטעלט גלייך צונויף א גענויע ליסטע פון זיין גרופע מיט פּאָלגנדע פרטים: נאָמען, פאמיליע, דאטע פון געבורט, פון וועלכן לאַגער געקומען. מיר אונטערשרייכן, אז די גרופֿן־פארטיילונג איז זייער וויכטיק און פארלייכטערט די ארבעט ביים אָפּפּאַרן.
 8. די ליסטע ווערט איבערגעגעבן דעם מדריך _____ וואָס האָט [3] זיין ביראָ אין בלאָק נומער _____ אייגנאנג נומער _____ די ליסטע מוז צונויפגעשטעלט ווערן שפעטסטנס צוויי שעה נאָכן אַנקומען פון דער גרופע.

דער אויפהאלט אין לאַגער

9. יעדער בלאָק ווערט גערייניקט איין מאָל אין טאָג דורך געדונגענע מענטשן, נאָר די היגיענע פון די צימערן דארפן קודם־כל היטן די איינוווינער פון די צימערן זעלבסט. א ספעציעל־אויסגעקליבענער תורן (דיזשורני) איז פאר דעם פאראנטוואָרטלעך.
- ביי דער געלעגנהייט ווערט יעדער געבעטן האלטן זיכער דעם קאָרידאָר, צימער, וואש־צימער און אויב־אָציעס. געדענקט, אז פון דעם איז אפהענגיק אייער און אייערע קינדערס געזונט.
10. יעדער בלאָק האָט זיין וואש־צימער פאר קליינע קינדער. די פרישגעוואשענע וועש ווערט געטריקנט אויס־שליסלעך אין קעלער. עס איז שטרענג פארבאטן צו קאָכן אין צימער, וואשן וועש און טריקענען.
11. דאָס עסן איז כשר און ווערט פארטיילט אין עס־זאל (בלאָק "ב"). פארטיילונג־שעהן פון עסן:

(א) פרישטיק פון 7,30–9,30

14,30-12,30 "

ב) מיטאָג

21,30-19,30 "

ג) אָוונט־ברויט

די קליינע קינדער באקומען טעגלעך א הוספה: מילך, זעמל, פויטער אָדער אייער (לויט א באשטימטער נאָרמע) די פארטיילונג פון די קינדער־הוספות קומט פאָר טעגלעך, צווישן 9-11 אויגער.

12. יעדער עולה, וואָס האָט בקשות אדער רעקלאַמאציעס ווענדעט זיך אין ביוראָ צום מדריך פון זיין בלאָק פון 9-12 פאר מיטאָג און פון 15-19 אָוונט

13. מיט בקשות און רעקלאַמאציעס נאָך דער אויבן־אָנגעוויזענער צייט, קען מען זיך ווענדן דירעקט אין לאַגער־ביוראָ (בלאָק "א").

14. דעם לאַגער טאָר מען ניט פארלאָזן אָן א ספּעציעלע דערלויבעניש, אפילו אין דרינגנדע פאלן. דער, וואָס פארלאָזט דעם לאַגער אָן אן דערלויבעניש, קען אָפּגעהאלטן ווערן פון עליה.

15. דער פאָרשטייער פון יעדער משפּחה מוז צו יעדער צייט פינקטלעך דערשיינען אויף יעדן רוף.

16. דער מעדיצינישער אמבולאַנס אַמטירט טאָג און נאַכט. יעדער פאל פון קראַנקהייט מוז גלייך געמעלדעט ווערן דעם דיזשורירנדן דאָקטאָר אָדער קראַנק־שוועסטער, דורכן גרופּן־פירער אָדער מדריך.

17. צוויי מאָל וועכנטלעך: דינסטיק און פרייטיק, איז פאראן אין בלאָק "ה" הייס וואסער און יעדער אולה קען זיך באַדן.

18. אין בלאָק 18 ווערט טעגלעך געדאוונט מיט א מנין.

דאס ארויספאָרן פון לאַגער [4]

19. פארן ארויספאָרן פארטיילט דער שליח, וואָס באַגלייט דעם טראַנספּאָרט, אין עליה־ביוראָ (בלאָק "א"), די געוונטהייטס־וויזעס.

20. די פאָרשטייער פון די פאמיליעס קומען, לויט די אָנווייזונגען פון מדריך, מיט זייערע אינדעקס־קארטן און רעזערוו־פּאָטאָגראַפיעס (פון דער גאַנצער משפּחה).

21. גלייך נאָך דעם קומט פאָר א זיצונג צווישן דעם שליח, וואָס באַגלייט דעם טראַנספּאָרט און די גרופּן־פירער.

22. אין טאָג פון טראַנספּאָרט:

- א) ווערן די צימערן און דער אינווענטאר איבערגעגעבן דעם מדריך אין פולער אָרדנונג;
- ב) די דעקעס ווערן צוריקגעקערט אין מאַגאזין;
- ג) דער באַגאזש פון יעדער גרופּע ווערט צונויפגעזאַמלט;
- ד) דער באַגאזש ווערט אנגעלאדן אויף לאַסט־אויטאָס און באַגלייט אַמווינציקסטן דורך צוויי פיזיש שטאַרקע מענער, אויסגעקליבענע דורך דער גרופּע;
- ה) די עולים פאָרן ארויס אין אויטאָבוסן צום באן.

זאָל יעדער עולה געדענקען, אז פון [] זיין אויפֿרונג [!] ביים זיין אין מחנה, איז אָפּהענגיק אויב דער איבערגאַנגס־לאַגער וועט זיין באַקוועם פאר אים און פאר די אלע, וואָס וועלן קומען נאָך אים, און זאָל יעדער פון די עולים באַקומען אונזער האַרציקן גרוס: ו ז א ל י ח ו !

הנהלת מחנה המעבר
"נגב"
בגרטסריד

Translation[[2]] **Regulations of the Transit Camp Negev⁸⁴****What Every Oleh⁸⁵ Needs to Know**

1. The transit camp is one of the last steppingstones toward the Land. In the course of the past few months tens of thousands of immigrants have passed, and will yet pass, through it. Every oleh is therefore obligated to maintain: order, hygiene and discipline.

Upon Arrival

2. When the oleh arrives at the camp, he is met at the gate by the madrikh and is taken by his madrikh to his room where he shall stay until his Aliyah.
3. The furnishings of the room (beds, tables, chairs, etc.) are recorded in a special inventory which is given to the olim, who are then held responsible for the integrity of the items. It must be always borne in mind that all the furnishings are the property of the Aliyah agencies.
4. Prior to departure from the transit camp, the inventory items must be handed over to the madrikh in the condition they were received in. The olim are responsible for any damage to the property and will be required to pay for the damage.
For malicious damage, olim may be penalized up to the suspension of the Aliyah.

84 In 1948, as part of the push to close the remaining DP camps in the American Zone, a number of special transit camps were set up to house DPs who were waiting to officially immigrate to Israel and the United States. Transit camp *Negev* was established by Zionist officials (likely affiliated with the Jewish Agency for Palestine) specifically for immigrants to Israel, in Geretsried, near Föhrenwald, where one of the few remaining DP camps by this time, housed a “hard-core” population of DPs who could not, or would not, immigrate. The name *Negev* was chosen to symbolize the pioneering mission of Zionist settlers in Palestine and later Israel, who often lived in kibbutzim established in the Negev Desert, with the goal of transforming the arid desert land into productive farm areas. Grossmann/Lewinsky, *Way Station*, 55–144. On Geretsried DP Camp, see Jim G. Tobias, *Die jüdische Sonderschule für Gehörlose und Sprachbehinderte im DP-Camp Geretsried 1947–1948*, in: *Jahrbuch des Nürnberger Instituts für NS-Forschung und jüdische Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* 10 (2020), 131–144.

85 Heb., immigrant to the Land of Israel; pl. *olim*.

5. Upon getting settled into the room, the head of the family must collect all the index cards of his family and report to the camp office to register and receive:⁸⁶
 - a) food tokens,
 - b) coal and wood cards (if the room has no central heating).

No food or wood will be given out without cards.
6. Upon registration, every oled may receive a blanket from the supply room (Block B) against some security (a luggage slip, or similar).
7. Each group of 24 olim appoints a group leader, who immediately compiles an accurate list of his group, to include the following details: name, surname, date of birth, country of departure. We stress that division into groups is very important and makes the work at departure easier.
8. The list is to be given to madrikh _____ whose office [3] is in Block no. _____, entrance no. _____. The list [[3]] must be compiled at the latest two hours after the arrival of the group.

Staying in Camp

9. Each block is cleaned once a day by hired staff, but the cleanliness of the rooms must be maintained first and foremost by the occupants themselves. This is the responsibility of a specially appointed individual on duty⁸⁷ (Dizhurni).⁸⁸
10. We take this opportunity to ask everyone to keep the hall, rooms, bathrooms and toilets clean. Remember that your health and that of your children depend on it.
11. Each block has its own bathroom for small children. Freshly laundered washing must be dried in cellars only. It is strictly forbidden to cook, launder and dry the washing in the room.
12. Meals are kosher and are distributed in the dining room (Block B).⁸⁹
Distribution times of meals are:

⁸⁶ The IRO, as the ultimate authority in the American Zone in 1948, was likely responsible for ensuring the provision of the listed items. However, IRO authorities may have left the specific details of distribution to the emissaries, and it is possible that the JDC was providing some or all of these items, as the JDC supplied many of the articles required by the DPs in their daily lives.

⁸⁷ In the original: *toran* (Heb., lit. person of duty, duty officer), referring to an individual who is on-duty or designated as on-call for a specific purpose.

⁸⁸ A person on a tour of duty.

⁸⁹ On kosher food, see Document 17, n. 42.

- c) Breakfast from 7:30 AM to 9:30 AM
- d) Lunch from 12:30 PM to 2:30 PM
- e) Dinner from 7:30 PM to 9:30 PM

Small children receive a daily supplement of milk, a bread roll, butter or eggs (according to the amount fixed). The distribution of children's supplements takes place daily, between 9 and 11 AM.

13. Any *oleh* who has requests or complaints should see the *madrikh* of his block in the office from 9 AM to 12 noon and from 3 to 7 PM.
14. After the time indicated above requests and complaints can be taken directly to the camp office (Block A).
15. No one is to leave the camp without special permission, even in urgent cases. Anyone who leaves the camp without permission can be barred from *Aliyah*.
16. The representative of each family must at any time come at first summons.
17. The ambulance is on duty day and night. Every instance of illness must be immediately reported to the doctor or nurse on duty by the group leader or *madrikh*.
18. Twice a week, on Tuesday and Friday, hot water is available in Block H, and every *oleh* may take a bath.
19. Praying with a *minyān*⁹⁰ takes place daily in Block 18.

[4] Leaving the Camp

20. Prior to departure the *shaliaḥ* accompanying the group hands out health visas⁹¹ in the *Aliyah* office.
21. The family representatives arrive, according to the instructions of the *madrikh*, with the index cards and spare photographs of the whole family.
22. A meeting between the *shaliaḥ* escorting the group and the group leaders takes place straight after that.
23. On the day of departure:
 - f) the rooms and the inventory items are handed over to the *madrikh* in full working order,
 - g) the blankets are returned to the supply room,

⁹⁰ A quorum of ten men over the age of 13 required for traditional Jewish public worship.

⁹¹ Health visas were likely part of the documents required by IRO in order to immigrate. It is possible that the emissaries (*shliḥim*) of the Jewish Agency acted as intermediaries, assisting the DPs in obtaining the proper visa- and health-related forms and collecting it in order to provide the completed paperwork to the IRO on behalf of DPs preparing to immigrate.

- h) the luggage of each group is assembled,
- i) the luggage is loaded onto trucks and escorted by at least two physically strong men picked out by the group,
- j) the olim depart by bus to the train.

Every one should remember that his own comfort in the transit camp and the comfort of all those who will come after him will depend on his behavior while in the camp. We warmly greet all olim and wish them *Good Luck!*

Management of Transit Camp
 “Negev”
 Geretsried

Document 49

Oszer Kirsch to Sanitation and Health Office Feldafing, Application for German baby nurse

Feldafing, May 8, 1947

Typewritten application, 1 page;⁹² handwritten additions in German, illegible stamp on lower part of the page

Language: Yiddish in Latin letters; translated by Atina Grossmann

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 33, folder 402, frame 451

Kirsch Oszer
 Feldafing

Feldafing dem, 8.V.1947.

Cum
 Sanitets u. Gezunthajts Amt
 in Feldafing

92 This Document, as well as Document 50, is a request for baby nurses among approximately 150 similar requests submitted to the Sanitation and Health Care Office of DP Camp Feldafing. They are found in the folder titled “Minutes and other materials of vocational cooperatives in Feldafing, 1947, within subseries 7 (Records of the Sanitation and Health Care Office, 1946–1948) of series III (Records of Camp Feldafing, 1944–1949) from RG 294.2 (Records of the Displaced Persons Camps and Centers in Germany). However, similar applications are found in folders 398 and 403 as well.

BITTE⁹³

Ich untñ untergeszribñ Kirsch Oszer bejt ajch mir cu erlojbn cu haltn a Kinder Szwester cum Kind, di gance cajt fun majñ frojs szwangerszaft hot di Frau gearbeit un niszt banuct zich mit kajñ dajczkis, ober hājnt culib majñ Frojs gezunt cusztand, mizñ mir hubñ a Kinder Szwester. Ich lajg ajch baj di Ercliche [sic] Basztetigung, un azoj wi ich arbajt un hob niszt di meglichkajt cu helfñ in hojz, bejt ich majñ bitte cu erfilñ.

Ich dang ajch forojs

Mit Achtung:

Kirsch Oszer

{קורזש} Villa Walberta [sic]/Gararz/

{Kirsch Oszer ist ein Arbeiter 7/V.47 Arb. Amt ### [stamp]}

Translation

Kirsch Oszer
Feldafing

Feldafing, May 8, 1947

To
Sanitary and Health Department
in Feldafing

Request

I, the undersigned Oszer Kirsch, request that I be allowed to have [employ] a nanny for [my] child. During her entire pregnancy, my wife worked and never made use of any German, but now, given the state of my wife's health we must have a baby nurse.⁹⁴ I am attaching the Eidesstattliche Ver-

93 The use of Latin-letter Yiddish, though commonplace within the Jewish DP camps and in the DPs' published materials such as newspapers and announcements (as the camps lacked the Hebrew typeset required to publish in standard Yiddish; see Documents 13, 26, 53 f., and 59), was atypical for these types of requests submitted in Feldafing. In Feldafing, interestingly, the vast majority of requests for baby nurses were written in German (or broken German with some Latin-letter Yiddish words). The medical affidavits included with the requests (not reproduced here) generally came from German doctors and were thus written in German.

94 In the original, *Kinder Szwester* (Germ., *Säuglingsschwester*) is literally translated as baby nurse, but the women hired in the DP camps were not trained nurses; in today's

sicherung,⁹⁵ and since I work [outside the house] and have no possibility for helping in the household, I ask that you fulfill my request.
I thank you in advance.

Respectfully

Kirsch Oszer

{Kirsch} Villa Walberta [sic]/⁹⁶Gararz/⁹⁷

{Kirsch Oszer is a worker 7/V.47 Labor Office ###⁹⁸ [stamp]}

usage and in the historiography, they are called nannies. Here, the father requesting a baby nurse for his child reveals his reluctance to hire a German (here using the term *dajczkis*, a somewhat belittling term referring to a German person). In requests made to Feldafing's Sanitation and Health Office for baby nurses, such reluctance was unusual; the editors found only this letter that appeared defensive in asking for a German baby nurse. On the contrary, two other priorities prevailed. Jewish survivors, whether they had been in the Soviet Union or under German occupation, were anxious to assure the best possible care for their precious *meshieks-kinder* (Yidd., lit. messiah's-children, i.e., the miracle of life reborn). They were painfully aware that being young, exhausted, often themselves in ill health, and bereft of the family support that they could have expected in a more "normal" situation, they were in need of assistance, in this case from German women, who had already been vetted by camp authorities (indicated by the reference to the *Arbeitserlaubnis* in the handwritten comment, as well as an attached medical certificate not reproduced here) and were generally more experienced at childcare and housework than they were. Moreover, Jewish survivors were often of the opinion that they had worked so much at the orders of the Germans during the war that it was time for the Germans to finally work for them. A request for the services of a German baby nurse was one way in which DPs could turn the tables and secure free German labor for themselves. DPs living outside of the camps in the local community also hired German women for similar labor, but unlike the DPs in the camps, "free livers" had to pay (or barter with) the German women for their work. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 212 and 343.

95 Affidavit, doctoral attest.

96 DP Camp Feldafing consisted of both the main camp, located on the grounds of a former *Reichsschule* (Reich school), part of the Nazi's selective schools (*Ausleseschulen*), in the affluent Munich suburb of Feldafing, and a number of formerly elegant villas that had been requisitioned by the U.S. Army for Jewish DPs but retained their elegant names. For a vivid description of one such transformation, see Simon Schochet, *Feldafing*, Vancouver 1983. During the interwar period, Villa Walberta belonged to the German-American couple Bertha (1883-?) and Franz Koempel (1869-1950). The Koemples left Germany in 1939, and in 1941 the Nazis expropriated the villa; from 1943 it housed a Wehrmacht hospital.

97 Most likely *Garage*.

98 Illegible signature.

Document 50

Betty Weber-Ziemiale to Sanitation and Health Office Feldafing, Application for German baby nurse

Feldafing, May 13, 1947

Handwritten application, 2 pages

Language: German

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 33, folder 402, frame 514

Ziemiale, W., Villa „Dat“ Z. 3

13.V.1947

An das

Gesundheitsamt⁹⁹

Lager-Verwaltung-Feldafing

Ich bitte die Lagerverwaltung (Gesundheitsamt) um die Genehmigung eine Hausangestellte halten zu dürfen.

Ich begründe meine Bitte mit Nachfolgendem:

Mein Kind leidet sehr schwer an Bronchitis (ärztliche Bescheinigung liegt bei) und muß daher sehr gute Pflege haben und viel am Freien gehalten werden.

Das Kind muß sogar operiert werden. Ich selbst stehe vor einer Mandeloperation, die a-die in nächster Zeit durchgeführt werden soll.

[2] Da ich so wie mein Kind sich z. Zeit in sehr schlechtem Gesundheitszustand befinden und da ich auch keinen Verwandten hier besitze, der mich und mein Kind wäre während meinem Krankenhausaufenthalt versorgt, bitte ich höflichst, meine Bitte berücksichtigen und mir die Genehmigung wenigstens für die nächste Zeit erteilen zu wollen.

Es handelt sich hier um eine Hausangestellte, die schon zwei Monate bei mir arbeitet und einen Lagerausweis bis jetzt besitzt. Der Gesundheitszustand des Mädchens ist in Ordnung, die ärztliche Bescheinigung befindet sich bei der Lager-Polizei.

Hochachtungsvoll – Betty Weber-Ziemiale

– Villa „Dat“ Z. 3.

⁹⁹ DP petitions requesting a German baby nurse used both, *Gesundheitsamt* (Health Office) and *Sanitäts- und Gesundheitsamt* (Sanitation and Health Office), to refer to the Sanitation and Health Office in Feldafing; in the finding aid of the archival collection, the office is referred to as the Sanitation and Health Care Office.

Document 51

Chaim Pinchas Lubinsky,¹⁰⁰ "An Appeal to the Jewish Population"

Hanover, date unknown

Printed leaflet, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 488, reel 113, folder 1556

בי"ה¹⁰¹

רוף צו דער יידישער באפעלקערונג

נאך איז פארבלוטיקט דאס יידישע הארץ, נאך זענען מיר אבליים נאכן גרעסטן אין אונדזער געשיכטע פאלקס־חורבן, נאך זידן די שטרומענדיקע (!) בלוטן פון מיליאנען זכרים – און שוין דער שרעקלעכער פארראט – פון באשמוצן זיך מיט די נעכטיקע מאסנמערדערנס פון אונדזערע נאענטסטע און טייערסטע.

געוואלט! ייד! איז דאס באמת מעגליך אזא גרויסער פארראט? אז אנשטאט חרם און נקמה וואס עס פאדערט טאג־טעגליך דאס אומשולדיק פארגאסענע בלוט פון ברודער און שוועסטער, פארשוועכטט דו נאר דעם כבוד זייערן, שפייסט דו ברוטאל אויף די מאסן קברים און הויפנס אש פון מיליאנען. אוי להם לאזנים שכך שומעות! וויי צו די אויערן וואס הערן דאס!

ייד! האסט דו שוין פארגעסן די חומש־געשיכטע וואס באגלייט דיך פון דיין פריעסטער יוגענט: אז בלעם דער גרויסער ייד־פיינט האט געוואלט אויסרייסן דעם ווארצל פון יידישן פאלק דורך מפקיר זיין די טעכטער פון מואב, געדענקסט דו דען נישט אז עס האט פאראורזאכט די גרויסע מגפה אין דער דאמאלסטדיקער (!) מדבר מחנה.

ייד! געדענקסט זיכער די צווייטע געשיכטע פון זמרי בן סלוא וואס איז פאר דער אומוירדיקער טאט פון פארקערן מיט א מואב־טאכטער עפענטליך געטויט געווארן דורכן גרעסטן אין דער יידישער געשיכטע מקנא קנאת ד' – פנחס בן אלעזר בן אהרן הכהן און ער, פנחס, איז באשאנקן געווארן דערפאר פון השי"ת מיטן כהנים טיטל פאר אלע זיינע קינדער ביזן ענדע פון די דורות.

100 Hasidic Rabbi Chaim Pinchas Lubinsky (1915–1985) was born in Błaszki, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). He survived the Holocaust and was liberated in Bergen-Belsen on April 11, 1945. Later that year, a yeshiva was established there, in what had become the Bergen-Belsen DP Camp, and Lubinsky was appointed as its *mashgiach* (Heb., counsellor and spiritual adviser in a yeshiva). In January 1946, the Religious Emergency Council of the British Chief Rabbi appointed Lubinsky to be the Chief Rabbi of Hanover, located in the British Zone in Germany, a position he held until 1949, when the position was dissolved along with all other aspects of the British military occupation of Germany, which formally ended that year. Lubinsky then immigrated to the United States.

101 בעזרת השם.

ייד! האסט דו שוין פארגעסן אז די דייטשע טאכטער די בעסטע פון דיין אזוי נאענטסטן נעכטן
 האט געמארדעט און פארפייניקט דיין מוטער און שוועסטער!
 ייד! געדענק! אז די אירמא גרעזער זענען נאר איינצלע קאלעקציעס פון מיליאנען דייטשע
 הענקערינס און מאסנמערדערינס!
 ייד! פארשוועך נישט דעם רעליגיעזן און נאציאנאלן שטאלץ וואס איז דורך די אמאליקע,
 ברוטאלע "אויפזעערינס" מיט א סאדיסטישע הנאה געטרעטן געווארן!
 ייד! געדענק! אז יעדער פארקער מיט די מנובלות רייסט דרך אפ פון דיין ריין יידישן שורש
 און איז א זעלבסטמארד פאר דיין נשמה! – שובה ישראל! קער צוריק ייד צו דיין פאלקס-ווירדע,
 פארשמוץ נישט דיין גלאריענרייכע מארטירער פארגאנגענהייט!
 רחצו הזכו הסירו רוע מעליכם! וואשט אייך און רייניקט אייך, ווארפט אוועק די שלעכטע
 זייטן פון אייערע מעשים!
 ייד! געדענק אז די זידיקע קוואלן פון אומשולדיקן בלוט שרייען און מאנען דעם צוריקקער
 דיינעם צום יידישן פאלקס-שורש – עס איז שוין די העכסטע צייט, יעדער אפטרניקער טאט
 פארפלעקט נישט נאר דרך נאר אויך דיינע אלע קינפטיקע דורות.

געדענק ברודער, אז דו ביסט א ייד!

געדענק! זכור! לא תשכח! זאלסט נישט פארגעסן!

מיליאנען רופן, רופן צו דיר:

זכור את אשר עשה לך עמלק!

ראבינאט האנאווער

חיים פנחס הלוי לובינסקי אב"ד

Translation

With God's help

An Appeal to the Jewish Population

The Jewish heart is still bleeding, we're still in mourning after the greatest khurbn in our history, the flowing rivers of blood of the millions of men are still seething, and committed already is the greatest betrayal of being tainted by association with yesterday's female mass murderers of our near and dear.

Woe! Jew! Is such a great betrayal indeed possible? Is it possible that instead of anathema and vengeance that the innocently shed blood of our brothers and sisters is demanding every day, you actually desecrate their memory and brutally spit on the mass graves, on the heaps of ashes of millions? Woe to the ears that are hearing this!¹⁰²

¹⁰² Appears twice in the original, in Heb., and again in Yidd.

Jew! Did you already forget the Torah story that has accompanied you since your early childhood: about Balaam, the great hater of Jews, who wanted to eradicate the Jewish people by offering them the daughters of Moab; don't you remember that it was the cause of the greatest plague in their encampment in the desert?¹⁰³

Jew! You surely remember the second story about Zimri ben Salu, who, for the undignified act of consorting with a daughter of Moab, was publicly killed by the greatest zealot of God in Jewish history, Pinchas ben Eleazar ben Aaron the Priest, and he, Pinchas, was rewarded for it by the Holy One, blessed be He, with the title of priest for all his children till the end of times.¹⁰⁴

Jew! Did you forget already that the beastly German daughter murdered and tortured your mother and sister in your very recent past?

Jew! Remember! The Irma Grese¹⁰⁵ are just a sample selection among the millions of German female executioners and mass murderers!

Jew! Do not desecrate the religious and national pride that was trampled upon by the former brutal "Aufseherinnen" with a sadistic glee!

103 The story of Balaam is recounted in the Torah (Num 22–24). The Prophet Balaam was hired by the Moabite king Balak to curse the Israelites. However, each time Balaam tried to curse the Israelites, God intervened and made him bless them instead. The story illustrates God's protection and favor toward the Israelites and emphasizes the power of divine intervention over human intentions. Jacob Milgrom, *JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers*, Melrose Park, Penn., 2003.

104 The story of Zimri ben Salu and Pinchas ben Eleazar ben Aaron the Priest is from Num 25. Pinchas was the grandson of Aaron and great-nephew of Moses. When the Israelites were smitten with a plague sent by God as punishment for consorting with non-Jewish women, Pinchas slew the tribal leader Zimri, who had also sinned, thus halting the deadly plague afflicting the Israelites. As a reward, he was granted priesthood. It is noteworthy that both the "sin" of intermarriage and the most recent catastrophe are understood within a religious framework, such that the frame of reference for both, the *khurbn* and consorting with the enemy, are most appropriately referenced through the context of biblical analogies.

105 Irmgard Grese (1923–1945) was a volunteer member of the SS who served as a Nazi concentration camp guard at Ravensbrück and Auschwitz, and the warden of the women's section at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Infamous for her brutal treatment of prisoners, Grese was nicknamed the "Hyena of Auschwitz" by inmates of that camp. She was captured by the British Army during their liberation of Bergen-Belsen and was among the 45 people tried for war crimes during the initial Belsen trial in the fall of 1945. Grese would have been widely covered in the news and well-known to both her victims and DPs stuck in postwar Europe. She was convicted and sentenced to death for crimes committed at Auschwitz as well as in Belsen and executed by hanging. She was one of only three female guards, out of a total 16 charged, to be sentenced to death during the initial Belsen trial.

Jew! Remember that every interaction with the contemptible females cuts you off from your pure Jewish root and is a suicide for your soul! Return, O Israel!¹⁰⁶ Return to your national dignity, do not taint your glorious past martyrdom!

Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings!¹⁰⁷

Jew! Remember that the seething streams of innocent blood are crying out and demanding your return to your Jewish roots: it's high time, every heretical deed stains not only you but all your generations to come.

Remember, brother, that you are a Jew!¹⁰⁸

Remember! Do not forget!¹⁰⁹

Millions are crying out to you:

Remember what Amalek did unto thee!¹¹⁰

Hanover Rabbinate

*Chaim Pinchas Halevi Lubinsky, ABD*¹¹¹

106 Hos 14:1.

107 Isa 1:16. Appears twice in the original, in Heb., and again in Yidd.

108 Note the gendered language used here. Lubinsky, and Jewish leaders more broadly, were deeply concerned with Jewish survivors consorting with the enemy. With respect to German Jews, the focus of leaders was on intermarriage in general, but in terms of the DPs, leaders were much more concerned with Jewish men. Given that young Jewish DPs married and bore children quickly, German women offered the opportunity for sexual experimentation to inexperienced young survivors without pressure to marry. At the same time, some genuine romances did lead to marriage, in which case male Jewish DPs would generally have their non-Jewish partners converted before a child was born. Many of these women integrated into the Jewish DP communities in postwar Germany. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 227–230 and 261.

109 Appears twice in the original, in Heb., and again in Yidd.

110 Deut 25:17. The Amalekites were the descendants of Amalek, grandson of Esau, the sworn enemy and brother of Jacob. The phrase refers to the commandment to remember and never forget the unprovoked attack by the nation of Amalek against the Israelites shortly after their Exodus from Egypt. It serves as a reminder of the ongoing struggle against evil and oppression, and the obligation to fight against injustice and cruelty. In addition, it is often seen as a way to inspire moral courage, resilience, and solidarity within the Jewish community (see also Document 61). It was also used by the historical commissions to persuade survivors to give testimony. Jockusch, *Khurbn-Forschung*, Documents 13 and 20.

111 *Av bet din*, Heb., chief of rabbinical court.

7. Culture

Document 52

Herman Yablokoff,¹ “Around the World with Yiddish Theater”

New York, 1969²

Published autobiography, extract (reproduced here: 528–531)³

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Herman Yablokoff, *Arum der velt mit idish teater. Oytobiografishe iberlebungen un teater-dertseylungen in loyf fun a halbn yorhundert idishe un veltleke gesheenisn* [Around the World with Yiddish Theater. Autobiographical Experiences of the Yiddish Theater, during a Half-Century of Jewish Life and World Events], vol. 2, New York 1969, 528–531⁴

[Upon arriving at the Pocking-Waldstadt DP Camp, Yablokoff finds it in turmoil after a Friday night theater performance incites a violent conflict between religious and secular Jews, leading to the intervention of American Military Police. Upon his arrival, Yablokoff seeks to mediate the situation by visiting the injured,

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- 1 Herman “Chaim” Yablokoff (1903–1981) was a Russian Jew born in Grodno in the Pale of Settlement (today Belarus). After touring Poland and Lithuania with the Yiddish theater troupe *Kovner fareynikte trup* (Kovnoer United Troupe) for four years, he immigrated to the United States in 1924, ultimately settling in New York. There, he became a renowned Yiddish songwriter, lyricist, actor, playwright, director, and producer. Yablokoff was at Pocking as part of a tour during the DP camps, supported by the JDC, in which he staged numerous one-man performances as entertainment for Jewish DPs from April through September of 1947. It was one of many cultural tours supported by the JDC, including that of Emma Schaver, Israel Efros, and H. Lejwik, which were part of an effort to raise DP morale by providing them with access to intellectual and cultural events headlined by various Jewish intellectuals, artists, musicians, and performers from around the world. Ori Kraushar/Anat Kutner, *Musical Mission: JDCs Musical Performances in European DP Camps and in the Cyprus Detention Camps, 1947–1948*, in: *Israel Studies in Musicology Online* 18 (2021), 34–43 [Heb.].
 - 2 The extract describes events taking place in the Pocking-Waldstadt DP Camp in 1947.
 - 3 Yablokoff’s autobiography provides an intimate look into the author’s life and the world of Yiddish theater. Spanning over fifty years, he recounts his personal journey and the evolution of Yiddish theater against the backdrop of significant global events and Jewish history. His narrative captures the struggles, triumphs, and cultural contributions of Yiddish theater, offering insights into its impact on Jewish communities and its role in preserving Jewish heritage. Through vivid anecdotes and reflections, Yablokoff not only highlights his own experiences but also the broader socio-political changes affecting Jews worldwide during the 20th century.
 - 4 Later published in English as: Herman Yablokoff, *Der Payatz: Around the World with Yiddish Theater*, Silver Spring, MD, 1995 (the Pocking part: pp. 446–448).

consulting with the camp's rabbi, and organizing concerts to restore peace. His efforts highlight the deep divisions and the fragile state of the Jewish DP communities, showing his role not only as an entertainer but also as a peacemaker amid adversity. The narrative underscores the cultural and emotional challenges faced by Holocaust survivors in the aftermath of the war.]

[...]

פּאָקינג. איך קריג אַ טעלעגראַמע פּונעם "דזשאַינט" אין מינכען, כּיזאַל גלייך איבעררייסן מיין מאַרשרוט און זיך לאָזן צום לאַגער אין פּאָקינג. באַפעל איז באַפעל! פּאַרדרייען מיר דעם דיזל און מיר פּאַרן מיטן אַמבולאַנס קיין פּאָקינג. ס'איז אַ גרויסער לאַגער, אַנגעפּיקעוועט מיט אידן פון פּאַרשיידענע פּאַרטיי־ריכטונגען און אידעאָלאָגיעס. אַ גרויסע צאָל אידן אין דעם לאַגער זיינען רעליגיעז געשטימט. דאָרטן האָבן זיך געפונען אַ סך פון די "ליובאַוויטשער". פאַר מיין אַנקומען אין לאַגער איז דאָרטן פּאַרגעקומען אַ הכנסת ספּר־תורה־פּייערונג. די ספּר־תורה האָט מען געטראָגן אונטער אַ חופּה און אַלע רעליגיעזע פּאַרטייען האָבן דעמאָנסטרירט מיט זייערע פּאַנען און ס'איז געווען יום־טוב אין לאַגער.

מיר פּאַרן צו צום לאַגער, שטייען ביים אַרײַנפּאַר־טויער אַמעריקאַנער "עם־פּײַס" און זיי עקזאַמענירן אונזערע דאָקומענטן. וואָס איז דאָס פאַר אַן אַנשיקעניש? – טראַכט איך – ווי קומט אַהער מיליטערישע פּאָליציי? זיי טאָרן זיך נישט געפּינען אין אַ "די־פּײַ"־לאַגער – ווי־זשע קומען זיי אַהער? דער אַפּיציר, דווקא אַ אידישער בחור פון אַרום באַלטימאָר, דערציילט מיר אַזאַ מעשה:

– די אידן האָבן זיך געשלאָגן, זיך געשניטן מיט מעסערס, האָט מען אונז אַרויסגערופּן אײַנצושטעלן אַרדענונג.

מיר פּאַרן אַרײַן אין לאַגער און מיר זוכן־אַפּ דעם "דזשאַינט"־דירעקטאָר בערנאַרד טאַב. דער האַרציקער אידישער בחור איז פּאַרצווייפּלט. ער איז זיך מחיה מיט מיין קומען, ווייל אַליין קען ער זיך קיין עצה נישט געבן וויאָזוי צו באַרואיקן די אידישע געמיטער פון לאַגער. פּאַסירט האָט אַט־וואָס:

פון מינכען איז געקומען אַ טרופּע שוישפּילערס צו שפּילן טעאַטער. איז דאָך גוט? האָבן זיי געטאַן אַ קלייניקייט: זיי האָבן זיך געלאָזט צורעדן פון די פּריידענקערס אין לאַגער און געמאָלדן אַז זייער פּאַרשטעלונג וועט פּאַרקומען פּרייטיק אָונט. איז געוואָרן אַ בהלה אין לאַגער. פרומע אידן האָבן פּראַטעסטירט – חילוּ־שבת! האָבן די פּריידענקערס געטענהײַט אַז זיי דאַרפן זיך נישט אונטערוואַרפּן די געזעצגעבונג פון די כּלײַ־קודש. די שוישפּילערס האָבן זיך געגרייט צום שפּילן און פּאַרקויפּט בילעטן.

דורך דער גאַנצער צײַט וואָס איך האָב גאַסטראָלירט אין דײַטשלאַנד, בין איך קײנמאָל נישט אויפגעטראָטן פּרייטיק אָונט און שבת ביז נאָך הבלה. [529] כדי נישט צו פּאַרלירן דעם פּרייטיק פּלעג איך אַרײַנכאַפּן אַ גאַנצערט בײַטאַג אין אַ קינדער־הײַם, אַדער אין אַ שפּיטאַל אין דעם ראַיאָן וואו איך האָב באַדאַרפּט אויפטרעטן שבת אָונט. אָבער פּרייטיק אָונט – נישט איך האָב עס געוואָלט און נישט דער "דזשאַינט" האָט דאָס דערלויבט.

פּרייטיק־צײַט־נאַכט, ערב דער פּאַרשטעלונג אין פּאָקינג, זיינען הונדערטער רעליגיעזע אידן געשטאַנען ביים גרויסן באַראַק וואו ס'האַט באַדאַרפּט פּאַרקומען די פּאַרשטעלונג. זיי האָבן פּראַטעסטירט און געשטערט דעם עולם וואָס האָט זיך יאָ געקליבן אין טעאַטער אַרײַן. אַ וואָרט

פאר א וואָרט – איז געוואָרן אַ שטופעניש, אַ געשלעג. דער רעזולטאַט: עטלעכע און צוואַנציק אידן האָט מען צוגענומען אין לאַגער־שפיטאַל שווער־פאַרוואַנדעטע. דער לאַגער איז אויפגערוּדערט געוואָרן. אידן האָבן אויסגעלאָזט זייערע פאַרביטערטע געמיטער איינער צום אַנדערן. ס'איז אויסגעבראַכן אויפסניי אַ מלחמה ... די אידישע לאַגער־פּאָליציי איז געווען אומבאַהאַלפן קעגן אַזאָ אויפברויז, האָבן זיי נישט געהאַט קיין אַנדער ברירה ווי אַרויסצורופן די אַמעריקאַנער "עם־פייס", זיי זאָלן העלפן איינשטעלן אַרדענונג אין לאַגער. ס'איז טאַקע געווען אַ חילול־השם. די מיליטערישע פּאָליציי מיט אירע דזשיפּס און כלי־זין האָט נאָך מער אויפגערייצט די האַפּענונגסלאָזע אידן און ס'האַט געהאַלטן ביי אַ פּרישער בלוט־באַד ... בערנאַרד טאַב, דער פאַרטערטער פּונעם "דזשאַינט" אין פּאָקינג, האָט זיך געשטעלט אין פאַרבינדונג מיט סעמועל הייבער, דעם הויפּט־דירעקטאָר אין מינכען. אויף דעם סמך האָט מען דאָס מיך געשיקט צו באַרואיקן דעם עולם. ווייל זיי ווייסן אַז מיך האַלטן די לאַגער־אידן פאַר אַן אייגענעם – עמך!

איך בעט דעם אידישן לייטענאַנט פון די "עם־פייס", זיי זאָלן פאַרלאָזן דעם לאַגער, ווייל זייער אַנוועזנהייט מיט די אויטאָמאַטישע מאַשין־ביקסן רייצן נאָך מער אויף די אידן וועלכע האָבן זיך קוים מיטן לעבן געראַטעוועט פון די דייטשע מאַשין־געווער ... ער האָט איינגעזען אַז איך בין גערעכט און ער האָט פאַראַרדנט אַז די "עם־פייס" זאָלן זיך צוריקציען פונעם לאַגער.

דער דירעקטאָר בערנאַרד טאַב נעמט אונז צו דער "אונראַ"־קוואַרטיר. די אַנגעשטעלטע טיילן אונז איין צימערן און מיר נעמען זיך צום אויספאַקן די זאַכן. צוערשט, טראַכט איך, דאַרף מען גיין אין שפיטאַל, באַזוכן די פאַרוואַנדעטע, אויסגעפינען מער איינצלעהייטן און ווירקן אויף זיי, אַז זיי זאָלן פועלן ביי זייערע נאַכפאַלגערס מיזאַל אויפגעבן די מלחמה.

ס'קומט אַן דער דירעקטאָר פון "אונראַ", אויך אַ אידישער בחור, פון קאַליפּאָרניע ("כיוויל נישט פּורש־בשמו זיין"). ער טראַגט אַן אַמעריקאַנער |530| אַוניפּאָרם, אַבער מיט רוסישע שטייגל. דאָס זע איך צום ערשטן מאָל. מיט אים איז אויך אַנגעקומען זיין אַסיסטענט, אַ דאַמע אין אַן ענגלישן אַוניפּאָרם. זי טראַגט אויך רוסישע שטייגלעך. ער מאַכט אַ געוואָלד.

– ווער האָט דערלויבט די "די־פייס" צו פאַרנעמען צימערן אין "אונראַ"־הויז? מילא, איך, ווי איך, איך בין אַן אַמעריקאַנער. אַבער זיי? דער שאַפּער? די פּיאַניסטקע? מישאַק? שוין זאָלן זיי אַרויסנעמען די זאַכן און זיך אַפּטראַגן פון דאַרטן. איך טראַכט: זאָל איך פאַרפירן מיט אים אַ מחלוקת פונקט איצט ווען אין לאַגער איז אַזאָ סומאַטאַקע? זאָל ער שוין בעסער איבערקומען אויף אַנדעדיע הענט ... טאַב איז זייער אויפגעבראַכט. ער קען זיך אַבער נישט מישן. קיין רעכט צום וואוינען אין דער "אונראַ"־קוואַרטיר האָבן נישט מיינע מענטשן. זיי זיינען "די־פייס". אַ, דער "אונראַ"־בּחור מיט די שטייגל איז "ודאָך" [!] אַ איד ... ער זעט דאָך די לאַגע. זיי זיינען שוין דאָ – לאָז זיי שוין זיין די עטלעכע טעג (כ'האַב פיל מאָל געפועלט ביי קריסטלעכע מיליטערי־לייט מיזאַל מיינ פּיאַניסטקע אַריינלאָזן אין זייערע קלובן. די אַפיצירן האָבן זיך מחיה געווען מיט איר פּיאַנאַ־שפּילן). מיך האָט די האַנדלונג זייער אויפגעבראַכט.

– אויב מיינע מיטפאַרערס טאָרן זיך דאָ נישט געפינען – זאָג איך צום "חשובן" אידן, דעם "אונראַ"־דירעקטאָר פון קאַליפּאָרניע – וויל איך אויך דאָ נישט זיין. קומט, חברה! מיר נעמען די זאַכן און מיר גייען. וואו גייט מען?

צו וואוינען ביי דייטשן און געניסן פון זייער עקאָנאָמיע – דאָס טאָרן מיר נישט. האָט אונז טאַב דערווייל אַריינגענומען צו זיך אין צימער. ער האָט געעפנט אַ פּושקע מיט קאַנסערוון און מיר האָבן איבערגעכאַפט. כ'האַב זיך אַפּגעזאָגט פון עסן אַפילו אין דעם "אונראַ מעס־האַל" (מ'האַט מיר דערציילט אַז אויס פּראַטעסט צוליב דעם דירעקטאָרס האַנדלונג קעגן מיר און מיינע מיטפאַרערס זיינען אַ סך אַנגעשטעלטע פון "אונראַ" נישט געקומען עסן אין "מעס־האַל").

ווען דער אידישער לאַגע־קאָמיטעט האָט זיך דערוואוסט וועגן דעם וואָס ס'האָט פּאַסירט, האָבן זיי אונז גלייך איינגעאַרדנט אין לאַגער גופא. איך האָב געגעבן האַנסן און מישקאַץ אַ גאַנצן קאַרטאָן מיט אַמעריקאַנער צייגאַרעטן און זיי האָבן "אַרגאַניזירט" גענוג שפייז. בערנאַרד טאַב האָט אונז אויך צוגעזען מיט זיינע אייגעקויפטע אַרטיקלען פונעם "אַמעריקען פּי־עקס" און פון הונגער זיינען מיר נישט געשטאַרבן.

צוערשט האָב איך, צוואַמען מיטן "דזשאַינט"־דירעקטאָר טאַב, באַזוכט דעם רב פון פּאַקינג. אַ ליבער איד, נעבעך אַ חלוש. ער האָט זיך זייער שטאַרק |531| מצער געווען פון דעם וואָס ס'איז געשען אין לאַגער. כּיבעט אים אַז ער זאָל אַפּעלירן צו די מתפללים צווישן מנחה און מעריב, מזאָל מאַכן שלום. ווייל די שונא־ישראל זיינען מלא־שמחה וואָס אידן קוילענען זיך אויס ... אין שפּיטאַל בין איך געגאַנגען פון איין בעט צום צווייטן און געשפּילט די ראָלע פון אַ רודף־שלום.

מיר האָבן אַרויסגעהאַנגען פּלאַקאַטן און געמאַלדן דריי קאַנצערטן: צוויי פּאַר דערוואַקסענע און איינעם פּאַר אַלע קינדערלעך פונעם לאַגער. צו מיין ערשטן קאַנצערט זיינען אויך געקומען דער "אונראַ"־דירעקטאָר מיט זיין יפהפּיה. וואָס ס'האָט זיך מיר געוויקלט אויפן האַרצן האָב איך געוואַלט אויסלאָזן צו זייערע קעפּ. כּהאָב זיך אָבער באַטראַכט: צו־וואָס זיי מאַכן וויכטיק? האָב איך זיי אינגאַררעט. מיינע פּאַרשטעלונגען האָבן יאָ באַרואיקט דעם עולם און ס'איז געוואָרן שלום. אַממע־רסטן געליטן פון דעם אינצידענט אין לאַגער האָט דער אידישער לייטענאַנט פון די "עם־פּייס", וועלכע מ'האָט אַרויסגערופן צו האַלטן אַרדענונג. די אַנטיסעמיטן צווישן זיין חברה דערגייען אים די יאָרן – האָט ער מיר דערציילט. ס'איז אים אַזוי דערגאַנגען צום האַרצן, אַז ער האָט אויף דער גלאַז פון זיין אָפּיס־טיר אויסגעמאַלן: "לייטענאַנט (נאַמען), דזשו" (איד)! די אַנטיסעמיטן אויף צו־להכעיס ...

דער רב האָט מיך געבענטשט פּאַר מיין הייליקער שליחות. ער האָט מיר געוואונטשן כּזאָל קומען אַהיים בשלום צו מיין פרוי און קינדער. מיין פרוי בעלאַ גלויבט אַז נאָר אַ דאַנק דעם רבינס ברכה בין איך אַרויס פון די לאַגערן קוים מיטן לעבן.

אַרויספּאַרנדיק פון פּאַקינג האָבן אידן מיך באַגלייט ביזן אַרויספּאַר־טויער. אַ מיידל איז צוגעלאָפּן צום אַמבולאַנס, אַריינגעוואָרפן דורכן פענסטער אַ גרויסן קאַנווערט און איז נעלם געוואָרן. איך האָב פון קאַנווערט אַרויסגענומען אַ בילד פון אַ פּאַיאָץ. כּקוק־אָן: איין האַלבער פנים וויינט, דאָס צווייטע לאַכט. מיט דעם פּאַרטערט איז אויך געווען אַ בריוו צו דער וועלט. דאָס קעפל האָט זיך געלייענט: אַט אַזוי זעען מיר אויס! דאָס בילד איז קינסטלעריש געמאַלן. ביז היינט־צו־טאָג וואונדערט מיך: ווער איז עס דער אַרטיסט?

בערנאַרד טאַב מיט זיין פרוי און טאָכטער זיינען איצט מיינע שכנים. מיר וואוינען אין איין הויז. מיר דערמאָנען זיך אַפט אונזערע איבערלעבונגען בעת דער "אידישער מלחמה" אין פּאַקינג. [...]

Translation

Pocking.⁵ I receive a telegram from the Joint in Munich, instructing me to break my itinerary and head for the camp in Pocking. An order is an order! We turn around and drive to Pocking in the ambulance. It's a large camp packed with Jews of various political persuasions and ideologies. A lot of Jews in the camp are religiously inclined. There were many of the "Lubavitch" there.⁶ Before my arrival in the camp a Hachnoset Sefer Torah⁷ ceremony took place there. The Torah scrolls were carried under a wedding canopy, all the religious parties demonstrated with their flags and there was a holiday in the camp.

We drive up to the camp. Standing at the gate are American MPs, who check our documents. What's all this nuisance, I think to myself. How come there are military police here? They are prohibited from having a presence in a DP camp, so how come they are here? The officer, a Jewish guy from around Baltimore, tells me the following story:

"The Jews have had a fight, stabbed one another with knives, so we were called in to restore order."

We drive into the camp and find Bernard Tabb,⁸ the director of the Joint. The good-hearted Jewish chap is in despair. He's glad of my arrival because

5 In mid-1947, around the time of the events described here took place, Pocking-Waldstadt DP Camp (aka Pine City) had approximately 6,300 Jewish inhabitants.

6 There was a significant Lubavitcher Hasidic group living in Pocking; the Lubavitchers follow a branch of Hasidism (a spiritual revival movement in Judaism founded in 18th-century Poland centered around piety and achieving a mystical connection with God) founded by Shneur Zalman of Liady (1745–1813) in the Pale of Settlement around 1725. In the immediate postwar era, the Lubavitcher Hasidim followed Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn, who had been rescued from Nazi-occupied Poland and brought to New York through the efforts of its Lubavitcher community in 1940. On the Lubavitcher Hasidim, see David Assaf, *Untold Tales of the Hasidim. Crisis and Discontent in the History of Hasidism*, Waltham, Mass., 2010 (first Jerusalem 2006). On the Lubavitcher group in Pocking, see Tobias, "Vertraut Gott auf ewig – schüttet ihm eure Herzen aus!"; Greenberg, *German Displaced Persons Camps*. See also the documents in chap. 8.

7 A festive ancient ceremony for inaugurating a new Torah scroll in the sanctuary of a synagogue.

8 Bernard I. Tabb (1912–2003), formerly Tabachnikoff, was born in Kiev, Russia (now Kyiv, Ukraine). He immigrated to the United States with his parents, settling in New York. Tabb returned to Europe to work in the DP camps on behalf of the JDC, in part

he can't decide what to do to appease the passions of the camp Jews. This is what happened:

A troupe of actors arrived from Munich to give theater performances. Great, isn't it? Well, they slipped up on a trifle: they let themselves be influenced by the free thinkers of the camp and announced that the performance would take place on Friday night. The camp was stirred up. Observant Jews protested – desecration of the Sabbath! The free thinkers, in turn, argued that they didn't have to comply with the laws of the clerics. The actors were getting ready for the performance and sold tickets.

In all my time touring Germany, I never once performed on a Friday night and Sabbath until after the Havdalah.⁹ So that I didn't miss out on Friday, I would put in a concert during the day in a children's home or a hospital in the neighborhood where I was to perform on Saturday night. But never on a Friday night – neither did I want to, nor did the Joint allow it.

On the Friday night, before the performance in Pocking, hundreds of religious Jews were standing outside the great barrack where the performance was to take place. They protested and hindered those who nevertheless came to the theater. One word led to another, and crushing and blows ensued. As a result, twenty odd people were taken to the camp hospital with serious injuries. The camp became agitated. Jews took their bitterness out on one another. A war broke out all over again ... The Jewish camp police were helpless against such a riot and had no choice other than to call in the American MPs to restore order in the camp. That was indeed desecration of the Sabbath. The military police with their jeeps and weapons provoked the desperate Jews even more, and another bloodbath was imminent. Bernard Tabb, the representative of the Joint in Pocking, got in touch with Samuel Haber,¹⁰ the JDC Chief Executive

to locate members of his family who had remained in Kiev and had not been heard from since the beginning of the war.

- 9 The ceremony performed at the conclusion of the Sabbath to separate its holiness from the profaneness of the rest of the week, which consists of praying and singing, lighting a twisted candle, and performing a blessing over wine.
- 10 Samuel L. Haber (1903–1984) served as the director for JDC operations in Germany starting in spring 1947 when Yablokoff toured the DP camps. Born in Hirlau (Harlau), Romania, he emigrated to the United States in 1911, graduated with an economics degree from the University of Wisconsin, worked for the Works Progress Administration and in statistical planning for the Roosevelt administration from 1935 to 1942, served in the U.S. Army and Military Government from 1943 to 1946, and then for the JDC. From 1947 to 1954 he organized JDC relief, first in the American Zone of Germany and then in all of Germany and Austria. In 1954 the JDC assigned him to Morocco, in 1957 he organized social welfare programs in Poland, and in 1958 he

in Munich. On that basis, they sent me in to appease the crowds. For they know that the camp Jews treat me as one of their own, a fellow Jew!

I asked the Jewish lieutenant of the MPs to leave the camp because their presence with the automatic machine guns was even more provoking to the Jews who had barely escaped with their lives from the German machine guns ... He realized I was right and ordered his MPs to withdraw from the camp.

The director Bernard Tabb takes us to the UNRRA quarters. The staff allocate rooms to us and we start to unpack. First, I think to myself, I need to go to the hospital, visit the injured, find out more details and put pressure on them to persuade their followers to give up the war.

The UNRRA director, also a Jewish guy from California, arrives (I don't want to give his name). He's wearing an American [530] uniform, but also Russian boots. This is the first time I've seen this. His assistant, a lady in British uniform, also arrives with him. She, too, is wearing Russian boots. He makes a fuss:

Who has allowed the DPs to take up rooms in the UNRRA house? I'm all right, I'm an American, but them? The driver? The piano accompanist? Mishka?¹¹ They are to get their things and clear out of here. I think to myself: should I get into an argument with him now, when the camp is engulfed in such a chaos? Shouldn't he rather be on our side ... Tabb is furious, but he can't interfere. My people have no right to stay in the UNRRA quarters. They are DPs. But the UNRRA officer in the boots is a Jew, after all! He sees what the situation is like. They're already here, so let them stay for the few days (I've many times succeeded in getting Christian military personnel to allow my piano accompanist access to their clubs. The officers enjoyed her playing). This sort of treatment made me very angry.

"If my companions aren't allowed to be here," I say to the "VIP," the UNRRA head from California, "I won't be here either. Come on, folks!" We get our things and off we go. Where to?

To stay with the Germans and benefit from their economy, we mustn't. For the time being Tabb put us up in his room. He opened a box of tins, and we had a bite to eat. I even refused to eat in the UNRRA mess hall (I was told that in protest against the director's treatment of me and my companions many UNRRA staff members hadn't turn up to eat in the mess hall).

moved to the JDC European headquarters in Geneva as Assistant Director-General. In 1964 he transferred to New York, where in 1967 he became the Executive Vice Chairman of the JDC; upon retirement in 1975 he was named Honorary Executive Vice President.

11 A partisan from Russia who played Piano for the author. Yablokoff, *Der Payatz*, 353.

When the Jewish camp committee learnt of what had happened, they promptly accommodated us in the camp itself. I gave Hans and Mishka a whole packet of American cigarettes and they fixed enough food. Bernard Tabb also took a good care of us with the goods he bought in the American PX store,¹² so we certainly didn't die of hunger.

First of all, accompanied by the director of the Joint, Tabb, I visited the rabbi of Pocking.¹³ A dear man, sadly a sickly one. [531] He was very aggrieved by what had happened in the camp. I asked him to appeal to the worshippers between the morning and evening prayers to make peace. Because the enemies of the people of Israel are gloating over the fact that Jews are slaughtering one another ... In hospital I went from bed to bed, acting as a peacemaker.

We hung out posters and announced three concerts: two for adults and one for all the children of the camp. The UNRRA director and his beauty came to my first concert. Everything that was spinning on my mind I wanted to bring down on their heads. But I thought to myself: why make them important? So I ignored them. My performances did indeed calm the people down and peace was reinstated.

The one who suffered most from the incident in the camp was the Jewish lieutenant of the MPs that were called out to maintain order. The anti-Semites among his colleagues were getting under his skin, he told me. He was so cut up about it that on the glass door of his office he painted: "Lt. such and such, Jew!" to spite the anti-Semites ...¹⁴

12 The Army & Air Force Exchange Service (also known as The PX) provides goods and services for soldiers of the U.S. Army and Air Force worldwide.

13 Rabbi Yehuda Lipot Meisels (1910–1993) was the main rabbi of DP Camp Pocking. Meisels was born in Szeged, Hungary. His family moved from Poland to Szeged so that his father could become the Dayan of Szeged. Meisels later moved to Budapest, where he met and married his wife Sara Piroshka Hakohen Zuckerman (1919–1988) before the onset of the Second World War. Sara and their two daughters Yehudit and Miriam (born in 1940 and 1941) were ultimately relocated to the nearby ghetto, but avoided deportation by hiding and thus survived the Holocaust. By that time, Meisels had been sent to a labor camp, and later Auschwitz, as punishment for helping Jewish refugees coming into Budapest. He was ultimately sent on a death march from Auschwitz to concentration camp Pocking, where he was liberated by U.S. Army forces. The American authorities designated him the main religious authority of the DP camp. Among many other tasks as rabbi of the DP camp, Meisels established a memorial for the Jews murdered at concentration camp Pocking.

14 Antisemitism among U.S. Army personnel in occupied Germany was fairly widespread, particularly once those troops involved in liberating the camps had been relieved of duty and were replaced by personnel who had not seen what Jewish

The Rabbi blessed me for my holy mission. He wished me to return home safely to my wife and children. My wife Bella¹⁵ believes that only thanks to the Rabbi's blessing I escaped with my life from the camps.

When I was leaving Pocking, the residents saw me to the exit gate. A girl ran up to the ambulance, threw a large envelope through the window and disappeared.¹⁶ From the envelope I pulled out a picture of a clown. I took a closer look: half of his face was weeping, the other half, laughing. With the portrait there was also a letter to the world. The heading said: This Is What We Look Like! The picture was masterfully painted. Until this day I don't know who that artist is.¹⁷

Bernard Tabb with his wife and daughter are now my neighbors. We live in the same house. We often reminisce about our experiences during the "Jewish war"¹⁸ in Pocking.

survivors had endured in the concentration camps firsthand. Evidence of antisemitism among U.S. Army personnel can be found throughout local and regional reports submitted to the American Office of Military Government headquarters. See Joseph Bendersky, *The "Jewish Threat": Anti-Semitic Politics of the U.S. Army*, New York 2000; Leonard Dinnerstein, *The U.S. Army and the Jews: Policies Toward the Displaced Persons after World War II*, in: *American Jewish History* 68 (March 1979), no. 3, 353–366.

- 15 Bella Mysell (born Meisel, 1902–1991) was a well-known actress in Yiddish theater, and a lyricist. She was married to Lithuanian-American composer Alexander Olshanetsky (1892–1946) in her first marriage.
- 16 Yablokoff was presented with many gifts and works of art during his visits to the DP camps, some of which have been donated to museums and archival sites. See, e. g., USHMM Archives, Washington D.C., acc. no. 1989.58.148, Cherubim wood carving (April 29, 1947, Gift of Anita Willens), <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn514179>> (May 27, 2024).
- 17 It is noteworthy that Yablokoff recalls his receipt of this portrait of a clown as a gift, as he would later title his memoir *Der payatz* (The Clown). It was also the name of one of the most well-known musical productions written, directed, and produced by Yablokoff, in which he performed as the play's namesake character. He subsequently incorporated the character into his weekly Yiddish radio program of the same name.
- 18 Allusion to *Jewish War*, authored by Roman-Jewish scholar and hagiographer Flavius Josephus (born Yosef ben Matityahu, 37–100), in which he chronicled the Jewish uprisings against Roman rule of the years 66–74 CE, as well as the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE).

Document 53

Dawid Koton,¹⁹ “Americans Applaud Jewish Boxers!”

Landsberg am Lech, June 4, 1947

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish in Latin letters; translated by Lena Watson

Jidisze Sport-Cajtung,²⁰ June 4, 1947 (no. 2), 6, in: *National Library of Israel, Jerusalem*, no. 990002766790205171

Amerikaner aplodirn di jidisze bokzers! ...

Amerikaner Servis Club – Ichud (Landsberg) 9:7 in boks.

Noch a rej sport farmestungen cwiszn landsberger jidisze sportler un Amerikaner, hobn zich dinstik dem 20-tn maj in dem „olimpiszn“ zal fun amerikaner Team Kaufbojern cum ersztn mol getrofn di boksmanszaftn fun amerikaniszn garnizon un landsberger „Ichud“.

Der grojser zal iz gewen iberfult mit militerlajt un ajngeladene gest, welche zajnen gekumen cu zen die jidisze bokzers. Farn onhojb hobn di organizatorn durchn mikrofon ongezogt, az es weln kemfn jidisze D.P. bokzers, was iz durch di farzamlte ojfgenumen geworn mit aplodismentn.

A najes iz far undz gewen der fakt, was a por amerikaner bokzers hobn in ejn ownt gekemft 2 un afilu [sic] 3 mol. Dos ken men fartajtszn mit dem was cwiszn di amerikaner hobn zich gefunen bokzers, was zajnen cugewojnt cu profesjonale kemfn, was dojern wi bawust mer wi 3 rundes.

Die kamfn hobn gehat folgndn farloif:

Dzon Awwa (Hawai) – Szulrit [sic]. Der Amerikaner warft on a tempo un k'mat durch ale draj rundes kumt for an ojstojsz fun klep. Di richter onerkenen dem kamf far unentszidn.

19 Dawid (later David) Koton (1921–2001) was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, and survived imprisonment in concentration camps during the Holocaust. After liberation, he made his way to the American Zone and became a DP in Landsberg, where he met and married his wife. With their two-year-old son, they immigrated to the United States in 1949 and settled in the Bronx.

20 The weekly, later fortnightly circulated *Jidisze Sport-Cajtung* (Jewish Sporting News), the organ of the *Center far Fizischer Dercijung bajm Central-Komitet un Farband fun Jidisze Turn- un Sport-Farejnen in der U.S. zone* (Center of Physical Education at the Central Committee and Union of Jewish Sport Associations in the U.S. Zone), was issued by the publishers of *Undzer veg* (Our Way) with a circulation of 5,000; it was founded in May 1947 and ceased in June 1948.

Tomi Klein (Kalifornia) – Dilewski [sic]. Szejner kamf, in welchn der jidiszer majster Dilewski wajzt a serie sztarke klep glajch in der erszter runde, un bakumt a grojsn punktn [i]berwog. In der 2-ter runde sztrebt er cu a k.o. un noch a rej sztarke klep, noch welche der Amerikaner falt a por mol ojf di breter, git zich Tomi Klein unter ... Gewint durch a techniszn k.o. Dilewski.

In 3-tn kamf tret Dzon Awe [sic] cum cwejt n mol. Dos mol mit Koper. Zajn gewicht iz 62 klg., bes Koper wegt nor 48 klg. Di nit glajche kegner wajzn a szejnem kamf, welchn gewint der Amerikaner ojf punktn.

Luci (Filadelfia) – Blauweis. In ale 3 rundn hot Blauweis a iberwog un gewint di bagegenisz.

Denny Balenmole (Los-Angeles) – Szneider. Der Amerikaner iz majster fun di okupacjons-sztrajtkreftn. Er iz a sziler fun barimtn weltmajster Dempsey ... Di erszte runde kemfn bejde forzichtig. Der Amerikaner prubirt ongrejfn un wert durch dem Jidn stopirt. Di runde iz a glajche. In der cwejter gejt der Amerikaner cum sztarkn ongrif un git a rej sztarke linke „hakns“. Szneider halt dos ojs un prubirt alejn ongrejfn. In der 3-ter runde kemfn bejde zejer farbisz bizn lectn gong. Der szejner kamf endikt zich unentszidn.

Der zelber Denny Balenmole kemft wajter in 6-tn kamf mit Wisocki Josl. Der Jid troc zajn elter kemft zejer gut un wajzt arojs a gute technik. Ober der Amerikaner iz an alter rutinirter bokser, iz zejer flink, treft beser, un gewint zajn cwejtn, lojt der rej, kamf ojf punktn.

Ojch Luci (Filadelfia) kemft cum cwejt n mol. Dos mol mit Farago. Der lecturer iz ober szwacher fun zajn kegner un git zich in der 2-ter runde unter.

In lectn bagegenisz tret cum 3-tn mol in dem ownt ojf (!) [sic] Denny Balenmole. Er iz der libling fun cuszojer, er hot an ojsdojer fun a profesjionaln bokser un a hojche technik, micad di Jidn tret arojs Niedobir, an alter bokser fun warszewer Makabi, mit a grojser bokser-rutin. Bejder [sic] wajzn arojs szejne „fus-arbet“, un kurce un precize klep ojstojszn. Glajch fun onhojb brent zich der kamf fanander. Denny hot erszt in dritn farmestung gekrogn di form! ... Niedobir kemft szejn un treft a por mol dem Amerikaner in gezicht, noch wos der falt ojf di breter ... Szpeter bakumt er alejn a klap un gejt biz 4 ojf di breter. Er sztejt ojf un kemft wajter. Der emocjoneler kamf endikt zich unentszidn.

Der algemejner rezultat fun matsz is 9:7 far dem amerikaner „Servis-Club“.

Ingichn darf in lager forkumen der rewanz matsz. Di jidisze bokser zajnen zejer szejn ojfgenumen geworn un zajnen mit gezang opgefirt geworn ahejm.

Koton Dawid – Landsberg

*Translation***Americans Applaud Jewish Boxers!**

American “Service Club” vs. “Ichud” (Landsberg) 9–7 in boxing²¹

After a series of sports contests between the Landsberg Jewish athletes and the Americans, the boxing teams of the American garrison and the Landsberg “Ichud” met for the first time on Tuesday, May 20, in the “Olympic” Hall of the American Team Kaufbeuren.

The large hall was packed to the rafters with military personnel and invited guests, who had come to see the Jewish boxers. Before the start, the organizers announced through the microphone that Jewish DP boxers would be fighting, which was received with applause by the spectators.²²

It was news to us that a couple of American boxers fought two and even three times in one evening. This can be explained by the fact that among the Americans there were boxers used to professional fights that last, as is known, longer than three rounds.

The fights ran the following course:

John Awwe²³ (Hawaii) vs. Szulrit [sic].²⁴ The American sets the tempo, and an exchange of blows takes place throughout almost all three rounds. The referees declare the fight a draw.

Tommy Klein (California) vs. Dilewski [sic].²⁵ A great fight in which the Jewish master Dilewski demonstrates a succession of powerful punches

21 This boxing match was one of numerous bouts between American military members and Jewish DPs; the first time the Landsberg *Ichud* (Unity) team faced off against American GIs was on May 20, 1947. Jewish DPs also occasionally fought against German boxers in unofficial matches, though it was expressly forbidden by official Jewish DP policy. Gabriel N. Finder, “Boxing for Everyone”: Jewish DPs, Sports, and Boxing, in: Ezra Mendelsohn (ed.), *Jews and the Sporting Life: Studies in Contemporary Jewry XXIII*, New York 2008, 36–53; Philipp Grammes, *Sports in the DP Camps, 1945–1948*, in: Michael Brenner/Gideon Reuveni (eds.), *Emancipation through Muscles: Jews and Sports in Europe*, Lincoln, Nebr., 2006, 187–212.

22 See Figure 13.

23 Spelling as in the original; later instances in the original are spelled “Awe.”

24 Motek Szulrif (1927–2006) was born in Ciechanów, outside of Warsaw. He lost his entire family in the Holocaust. He was a DP in Landsberg until 1949, when he immigrated to the United States.

25 Hersh (later Harry) Dylewski (1919–1967) was born in Częstochowa, Poland, where he was a renowned boxer and member of the local Jewish boxing club. He survived the Holocaust and made his way to the American Zone, where he became a DP in Landsberg. During his time there, he was named boxing champion in the American

already in the first round and gets a big advantage by points. In the second round he aims for a KO and after a succession of strong punches, which a couple of times send the American down to the ground, Tommy Klein gives in ... Dilewski wins by a technical KO.

In the third fight John Awe appears for the second time, this time with Koper. His weight is 62 kg, while that of Koper is only 48 kg. The two unequal rivals put on a great fight won by the American on points.

Luci (Philadelphia) vs. Blauweis. In all three rounds Blauweis has the upper hand and wins the bout.

Danny Balenmole (Los Angeles) vs. Schneider. The American is a master of the occupying forces. He's a pupil of the famous world champion Dempsey²⁶ ... In the first round both fight cautiously. The American attempts to attack and is stopped by the Jew. The round is a draw. In the second round the American launches a forceful attack and delivers a succession of strong left "hooks." Schneider holds out and himself attempts to attack. In the third round both fight very fiercely until the last bell. The great fight ends in a draw.

The same Danny Balenmole fights Josl Wisocki²⁷ in the sixth bout. The Jew fights very well despite his age and demonstrates a good technique. But the American is an old, experienced boxer, very nimble, better at hitting, and wins his second consecutive fight on points.

Luci (Philadelphia) also fights for the second time, this time with Farago. The latter, however, is weaker than his opponent and gives in in the second round.

In the last bout Danny Balenmole appears for the third (!) time in the evening. He's the favorite of the spectators, he has the stamina of a professional boxer and a high technique; on the Jewish side appears Niedobir [sic],²⁸ an

Zone, and served as the team trainer for the camp's boxing team. He later immigrated to Montreal.

26 Jack Dempsey (1895–1983) was an American professional boxer born in Colorado, who became the undefeated world heavyweight champion from 1919 to 1926. He remains one of the top-rated all-time heavyweights and is a member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame.

27 Josl (or Josef, later Joseph) Wisocki (1906–1979) was born in Warsaw. After surviving the Holocaust, he made his way to the American Zone, where he became a DP in Landsberg. He immigrated to New York in 1949.

28 Mordka (or Mordechai) Niedobiur (later Murray Niedober, 1916–1996) was born in Zakroczym, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), just outside of Warsaw, where he began boxing with the Warsaw Maccabi boxing club at the age of 15. He survived the Holocaust by obtaining false identity papers and passing as an "Aryan." After liberation, he made his way to the American Zone, where he became a DP in

old boxer from the Warsaw “Maccabi,” very experienced in boxing.²⁹ Both demonstrate great “footwork,” and short, precise exchanges of blows. The fight heats up right from the beginning. Danny has got into shape only in the third bout! ... Niedobir fights beautifully, and a couple of times punches the American in the face, whereupon he’s downed ... Later he himself gets a punch and goes down for a count of 4. He gets up and keeps fighting. The emotional match ends in a draw.

The overall score of the match is 9–7 in favor of the American “Service Club.”

A rematch is shortly due to take place in the camp. The Jewish boxers were received very warmly and escorted home with singing.

Dawid Koton – Landsberg

Document 54

*Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria,
“To the She’erit Hapletah in the American Zone!”*

Munich, December 12, 1945

Typewritten announcement, 1 page

Language: Yiddish in Latin letters; translated by Moishe Dolman

Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn, December 12, 1945 (vol. 1, no. 1), 6, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004283, call no. 1964-Y-466, reel 15.11

Landsberg and met and married his wife. He and his family immigrated to New York in 1949.

- 29 There is a long history of Jewish success in the sport of boxing, particularly in interwar Central and East-Central Europe, Britain, and the United States. Scholarship argues that in Western countries, boxing opened doors for Jews into mainstream society, facilitating acculturation and acceptance as equal members. For the Jews themselves, the adoption of boxing was often seen as a response to stereotypes portraying Jews as weak and emasculated. Martin Krauss, Art. Boxing, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 1, 496–499; Brenner/Reuveni, Emancipation through Muscles, esp. chaps. 3, 6, 9, and 12; Michael Berkowitz/Ruti Ungar (eds.), Fighting Back? Jewish and Black Boxers in Britain, London 2007; Allen Bodner, When Boxing Was a Jewish Sport, Westport, Conn., 1997.

**Ojfruf.
Cu der szejris hablejte in der amerikaner zone!**

Dermit meldn mir, az bajm central-komitet fun di bafrajte jidn in Bajern iz gegrindet geworn a historisze komisje, welche organizirt ojch optejlungen baj di kultur-amtn in ale jidisze jiszuwim.

Mir glojbn, az s'iz nit nojtig far di niel-geworene jidn fun hitleristiszn gehenem ojfcuklern di wichtikajt fun aza institucje. Undz szajnt, az in interes fun jedn lebn-geblibenem jid iz, az di unmentszliche lajdn, azoj gut zajne wi fun zajne umgekumene nontste, zoln antplekt wern far der welt-efentlichkajt un zol [sic] glajchcajtig ojsgenuct wern ojfn internacionaln forum durch undzere onfirnde kerpersaftn.

Deriber fodern mir ajch ojf cu zamlen un undz ibergebn:

1. ale hitleristisze dokumentn (in original un in baglojpte opschrift) in cuza-menhang mit der jidn-frage, wi: bafeln, farordnungen, meldungen u.a.w.
2. antisemitisze werk in ale szprachn.
3. jidisze materjaln un dokumentn fun der churbn-epoche, wos balojchtn dos jidisze lebn ojf jedn gebit. Literarisze un folksszafungen, wi ojch folklor u.a.w.
4. Kunstbilder, kliszes, fotografjes, un ale andere art kunstszaungen fun der kataklizm-cajt.
5. baszrajbt ajer martirologje un git dos undz iber, wer s'iz dos nit umszand alejn cu ton zol zich wendn in der historiszer komisje in zajn jiszuw un zajne erklerungen wern protokolirt wern.
6. jidisze werk un szafungen fun undzer owar un gegnwart. Wi ojch muzeale gegensztandn.

Dernont [sic] ajch, wu un baj wemen,

Der ir hot gezen material un git undz on di adresn.

Di basicer fun di materjaln un dokumentn weln kenen, ojf zejzer farlang curik bakumen di originaln, nochn machn di geherike kopjes.

Di nemen fun di nojsnim weln mit dank farefntlicht wern in der prese. Mir rufn ale, welche hobn a [sic] interes, az di finstere cajt-epoche in undzer geszichte zol bakumen di geherige [sic] balojchtung, az der ondenk far undzere kdojszim zol nit farlojrn wern, zich wi am sznelstn, cu szteln mit undz in kontakt.

Di historisze komisje in Minchen iz tetig jedn tog fun 9–12 a zejger, ojser szabes in central-komitet, Siebertstr. 3, cimer 3.

Historisze komisje bajm central-komitet
fun di bafrajte jidn in Bajern.
Minchen, dem 3 december 1945

Translation

**Appeal.
To the She'erit Hapletah in the American Zone!**

We herewith announce that the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria has established a historical commission,³⁰ which is organizing sections in the cultural offices of all the Jewish settlements.

We believe that it is not necessary to enlighten the Jews freed from Hitler's hell as to why such an institution is necessary. It appears to us that it is in the interest of every Jewish survivor that the inhuman suffering – his own as well as that of his murdered nearest – be revealed to the world public and simultaneously be employed at the international forum by our leading bodies.³¹

We therefore call upon you to collect and turn over to us:³²

1. All Hitlerian documents (in the original or in reliable copies) pertaining to the Jewish question, such as: commands, decrees, notices, etc.,
2. Anti-semitic works in all languages,

30 The Central Historical Commission in Munich was founded on November 28, 1945, by a dozen survivors on the initiative of Israel Kaplan, a survivor of the Kovno and Riga ghettos as well as Kaiserwald and Dachau-Kaufering concentration camps (see Document 1), and Moshe Yosef Feigenbaum (1908–1986), who had survived in hiding in Poland. Further cofounders included Shmuel Glube, Levi Shalitan, Marian Pucyz, Yitzkhok Ratner, Chaim Kagan, and Joseph Leibowitz. Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 128–147, esp. 128 f.

31 Here the author highlights the multifaceted nature of the Historical Commission's work. DP leadership embarked upon the work of the Historical Commission with the desire not only to document the experiences of the survivors and allow them to bear witness to the world while memorializing those who perished, but also to identify perpetrators and collect evidence for use in judicial proceedings, and to have that documentation employed in the international arena for political and diplomatic purposes. Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*; idem, *Khurbn-Forshung*. Exemplary calls to help the work of the historical commissions are documented in: Jockusch, *Khurbn-Forshung*, Docs. 17–21.

32 The DP leaders organizing the Central Historical Commission are calling on the public to contribute to the documentation effort; in practice, this would involve DPs submitting documentation or testimony to a local historical commission branch. The local branch would then submit the materials to the Central Historical Commission, which operated in Munich along with other institutions and departments of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews.

3. Jewish materials and documents from the period of the khurbn which illuminate Jewish life in all its domains: literary and popular creation, as well as folklore, etc.
4. Paintings, engravings, photographs, and all other artistic creations from the time of the cataclysm.
5. Write up your martyrology and submit it to us. Whoever is not in a position to do so should approach the Historical Commission in their community and their statements will be recorded.
6. Jewish works and creations from our past and present, as well as museum pieces.³³

Remember where and with whom you saw materials and write us their addresses.

The owners of the materials and documents will be able to receive back their originals upon request once appropriate copies have been made. The names of those who submit materials will be published, with thanks, in the press. We call upon everyone who is concerned that the proper light be shed upon this dark time period in our history and that the memory of our martyrs are not lost, to establish contact with us as quickly as possible.³⁴

The Historical Commission in Munich is active between 9 AM and noon every day except Shabbes, at the Central Committee, 3 Siebert Street, Room 3.

Historical Commission of the Central Committee
of the Liberated Jews in Bavaria
Munich, December 3rd, 1945

33 In addition to the wide range of purposes envisioned for the Historical Commission's work, the scope of the materials requested, too, was quite inclusive. Not only did the Commission seek perpetrator materials and antisemitic publications, but also documentation of Jewish responses to persecution, cultural and artistic works, artifacts, and lists of those who perished. The scope reflects an early commitment to writing a history of the Holocaust centered not on the intent, policy, and acts of violence of the perpetrators, but on the experiences of its victims. Jockusch, *Khurbn-Forschung*, 46–51.

34 The majority of DPs did not respond to this call. Despite an initial lack of interest, however, not only did the Central Historical Commission in Munich flourish, but so too did similar institutions in Lublin (and later Łódź) and Paris, as well as numerous smaller endeavors throughout Europe. Jockusch, *Collect and Record! On the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland specifically*, see Aleksiu, *The Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland 1944–1947*; Jockusch, *Khurbn-Forschung*.

Document 55

Sami Feder,³⁵ “Supplements by Sami Feder for a Diary of ‘Katset-teater’ in Bergen-Belsen”³⁶

Herzliya, 1978

Typescript, 139 pages;³⁷ extract (reproduced here: 8–12); hand- and typewritten corrections; typescript title on top of each page (“Supplements by Sami Feder for a Diary of ‘Katset-Teater’ in Bergen-Belsen”); top of each page bears an additional handwritten, archival pagination (57–61, not reproduced here)

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, RG O.70 (Rosensaft Bergen-Belsen Archive), file 31, 57–61.

35 Sajnwel “Sami” Feder (1909–2000), was a Polish-born Jew who immigrated with his grandfather to Frankfurt am Main, Germany, when he was twelve years old. In 1927, he moved to Berlin, where he participated in the Jewish Theater Collective and worked on the Yiddish magazine *Berliner bleter far dikhtung un kunst* (Berlin Journal for Poetry and Art). He was also active within the Poale Zion (Left). He went into hiding in 1933 after the Reichstag fire, and later escaped deportation by fleeing to Warsaw. Until the beginning of the war, he worked with theater groups in the Warsaw area. During the war, he was forcibly relocated to the Będzin ghetto, where he created and led a Jewish theater and music society until May 1941. He was then deported to a total of twelve slave labor and concentration camps – to which he bore witness in his book *Durkh 12 gehenem-fayern* (Through Twelve Fires of Hell, Tel Aviv 1985), with the last being Bergen-Belsen, where he was liberated. He stayed there as a DP until 1947, during which time he founded the *Katset-teater* (see Figure 19) and helped organize and run the Jewish committee of the camp, in which he served as head of the Cultural Department. Feder stayed in Paris and immigrated to Israel in 1962. In his autobiography *Mayn lebn* (My Life, Tel Aviv 1995), he also recounts his time as a DP in Bergen-Belsen, among other things.

36 A note at the end of the section (not reproduced here) indicates it was written in 1978 in Herzliya, Israel, where Feder then lived.

37 The typescript is a compilation of historiographical and autobiographical material on the history of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Feder cited his own diary entries and complemented these memories with the accounts of others in letters, newspaper articles, yearbooks, and monographs such as *Irgun She’erit ha-pletah me-ha-ezor ha-briti* (Organization of She’erit Hapletah of the British Zone), (ed.), Belsen, Tel Aviv 1957. The focus was on the history and liberation of the Belsen camp, on the accounts of those who survived death marches, but above all on camp life, including theater performances in Belsen and other camps. The documents cover the period from the establishment of the camp until March 1983. The collection, entitled *Zamlung fun katset- un geto-lider* (Songs of the Ghetto and Concentration Camps), was apparently never published.

[Feder recounts the aftermath of Bergen-Belsen's liberation when the surviving Jews, though gravely ill and traumatized, hoped for a renewed Jewish life. On the first Sabbath after liberation, they gathered for a moving celebration, marked by a bonfire and Hasidic songs. Feder describes the initiation of a cultural revival in the camp, establishing the Cultural Department of the camp's Jewish committee. It faced immense challenges, lacking resources such as literature and musical instruments. Nevertheless, they formed a drama group and conducted classes in Yiddish literature, theater history, and acting techniques, relying on memory and improvisation due to the scarcity of materials. Feder and his team procured resources through creative means, often repurposing items from the camp and nearby towns. Their efforts culminated in the first Yiddish theater performance in Bergen-Belsen, an event charged with emotional and historical significance. The Katsset-teater garnered international attention, performing in Belgium and France, and receiving invitations from the World Jewish Congress. Their success highlighted the ongoing plight of Jews in postwar camps and underscored the need for cultural and historical preservation, although the troupe was disbanded in 1947.]

נאָך דער באַפֿרייאונג פֿון קאַצעט־לאַגער אין בערגען־בעלזען
והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך על־פני תהום ... בראשית איב'

... פארפֿינצטערט, קראַנק און פֿארפֿיניקט, אויפן ראַנד פֿון טויט האַט זיך געפֿונען דאָס ביסל אַפּגעראַטעוועטע ייִדישע "העפֿטלינגע" אין די טעג פֿון די באַפֿרייאונג פֿון בערגען־בעלזען. אַ קליינער שטראַל פֿון האַפענונג האַט אַריינגעשיינט אין זייערע פֿינצטערע באַראַקן און אין זייערע מיידע אויסגעפֿיניקטע הערצער. האַבן זיי זיך געקלאַמערט אין דער שטילער האַפענונג פֿון אַ ניי אויפֿגייענדיק ייִדיש לעבן. דורכגעגאַנגען דעם גאַנצן היטלעריסטישן גיהנום פֿון מי יחיה ומי ימות, מי במים, מי באַש, מי בחרב און מי במצא (!), פֿון מי בחניקה ומי בסקילה און ... קוים דערלעבט די באַפֿרייאונג – און וויפֿל האַבן דערלעבט?

די באַפֿרייטע, טויט־קראַנקע יידן, האַבן זיך באַוועגט, ווי קינדער, וואָס שטעלן זייערע ערשטע שריט (!), אַבער עס האַט זיי שוין געצויגן צום נייעם אויפֿקום. און טאַקע באלד אַ שבת נאָך דער באַפֿרייאונג, זענען זיי זיך צוזאַמענגעקומען אויפן גרויסן געוועזענעם אַפּעל־פּלאַץ אין בערגען־בעלזען, כדי צוזאַמען פֿייערן דעם ערשטן שבת נאָך דער באַפֿרייאונג.

אַ געוואַלטיקע שמחה, אויסגעמישט מיט טיפֿן טרויער, איז געלעגן אויף די אויסגעפֿיניקטע פֿנימער. די מאַטע טרויעריקע אויגן האַבן פֿון צייט צו צייט אויפֿגעבליצט און זיך געריסן צום לעבן און ווידער צוריקגעפֿאלן צו דער קראַנקער מידיקייט זייערער.

מען האַט זיך געטוילעט איינער צום אנדערן, עס זאל זיין וואַרעמער און זיך אויסגעזעצט אין אַ קרייז. פֿלוצעם דערהערט זיך אַ ברומען פֿון אַ ניגון און שוין זינגען אלע. מ׳זינגט ייִדישע און העברעאישע לידער – דאָס איז דער ערשטער תּענוג פֿון אַ פֿרייען ייִדישן עונג שבת נאָך דער באַפֿרייאונג.

עס האט אנגעהויבן טונקלען און שטערן האבן זיך באוויזן אויפן הימל. חברה האבן האָלץ צוזאמענגעשלעפט און א ריזן פייער אנגעצונדן – מען דארף מאכן הבדלה ... ביי דעם דאזיקן פייער, וואס האט אזויפיל נייע האפענונגען אריינגעשיינט אין אונדזערע אויסגעפיניקטע הערצער, האב איך הויך פאר אלעמען רעציטירט מיינע אקאָרשט אָנגעשריבענע לידער וועגן "אומקום און אויפקום" און דערביי זיך באקענט מיט דעם יוגאָסלאָווישן געפאָנגענעם אָפיציר, מיטן רוטן מגן דוד אויפן מיליטערישן היטל, דעם ראַבינער ד״ר צבי העלפֿגאַט.

ראַבינער ד״ר צבי העלפֿגאַט וואס איז אויך ערשט באַפֿרייט געוואָרן, האט אונדז דעמאלט, ביים פייער פון עונג שבת, מיט זיינע הארציקע רייד געגעבן טרייסט, האָפֿענונג, און באַגייסטערונג צום נייעם אויפגייענדיקן יידישן לעבן. איך דערמאָן זיך, ער האט דעמאלט זיינע ווערטער געענדיקט מיט אויפהייבן אַ פֿויסט און מיט אַן אויסגעשרייע: "אַ טויט די פּאַשיסטן, זאל לעבן די פּרייהייט!" דאן האט ער גענומען פון פייער א ברענענדיק שייטל האָלץ און האט הבדלה געמאכט און געזונגען "אליהו הנביא". דער עולם האט מיטגעזונגען, און ס׳איז לאַנגזאַם איבערגעגאַנגען אין א וויגן זיך און טאַנצן. קראַנקע, האַלב־טויטע, סקעלעטן, שאַטנס פון מענטשן זינגען, באוועגן זיך און טאַנצן התלהבותדיק ארום דעם צעפלאַקערטן פייער. דאס דאזיקע בילד וועל איך קיינמאל נישט פאַרגעסן.



באלד אין אנהויב נאך דער באַפֿרייאַונג פון בערגען־בעלזען (מיר זענען באַפֿרייט געוואָרן דעם 15טן אפריל 1945), טרעפן מיר זיך – יוסף ראָזענזאַפֿט, הרב ד״ר צבי העלפֿגאַט, סאַניאַ באַטשאַקאָוסקאַ ואני קטן זאַמי פֿעדער און מיר באַשליסן, ביים נייעגעשאפֿענעם יידישן קאמיטעט אין בערגען־בעלזען, צו אָרגאַניזירן אונטער מיין אָנפירונג די קולטור־אָפֿטיילונג וואס זאל אַרומנעמען – שולן, צייטונג, זאַמלען עדות־דערקלערונג פון דער שוואַה־צייט, ארכיוו אַזײַוו, און דאס שאפן פון א טעאַטער־סטודיע.

מיר האבן ארויסגעלאזט באקאנטמאַכונגען, אז מיר זוכן מיטגלידער און לערער. דער אנהויב איז געווען זייער, זייער שווער. מיר האָבן גאַרנישט נישט געהאַט. קיין שום ליטעראַטור, קיין נאַטען, מוזיק־אינסטרומענטן, קיין פֿאַרב אויף דעקאָראַציעס, קיין שמייקע, איין וואָרט – גאַרנישט, נאָר בלויז א גרויסן ווילן עפעס צו שאפן, עפעס יידישעס, כדי צו הייבן דעם קולטורעלן ניוואָ ביי די יידישע געוועזענע העפֿטלינגען.

דעם 4טן יולי 1945, האָבן מיר אָנגעהויבן אונדזערע ערשטע ארבעטן, זי איז פאַרגען [59] קומען אין דער ענגלישער שולע (איינגעאָרדנט פון דער ענגלישער מיליטערי־פֿאַרוואַלטונג). עס האבן אָנטיילגענומען די ערשטע צען חברים – מיינסטנס [!] זענען דאס געווען חברה, וואס האבן נאך, געהיים אין לאַגער "בונזלאָוו", אונטער מיין רעזשי געשפּילט טעאַטער; אָנגעטאַן נאָך אין פּאַשאַקעס (געשטרייפֿטע לאַגער־בגדים). איך האב אויסגעפרוווט זייערע באַנאַבונגען און אָנגעהויבן ארבעטן אויף אַן איינהייטלעכן יידישן; לעקציעס וועגן יידישע ליטעראַטור; דאן וועגן טעאַטער־געשיכטע, באַזונדערס – יידישע טעאַטער־געשיכטע. לעקציעס פון שפּראַך־טעכניק און ריטימיק, עטיודן און פּאַנטאַַמיע – דער פּראָצעס פון שאפן א רֶאָל: באַלאַנס צווישן געדאַנק און געפֿיל אַזײַוו. – אַלץ בבעל פּה, ווי איך האָב שוין אויבן באַמערקט, האבן מיר קיין שום ליטעראַריש מאַטעריאַל נישט געהאַט.

דערווייל האט מען אונדז דאס צימער אין דער ענגלישער שולע אָפֿגעזאַגט. די אנדערע פֿאַלקס־גרופּן: פּאַלאַקן, רוסי, טשעכן אַזײַוו, האבן געקאָנט פאַרברייבן, און מיר זענען געווען אויף דער "גאַס". (דעמאָלט האָבן די ענגלענדער אונדז אַלץ באַזונדערע פּאַלקס־גרופּע נישט געוואַלט

אנערקענען. זיי האבן געטעהנט: – ביי היטלערן, זייט איר געווען יודען, ביי אונדז זייט איר פוילישע, רומענישע, אונגערישע אאז"וו).

מיט שווערע מי איז אונדז געלונגען צו באשאפן אַ לעער (!) צימער און איצט האָט זיך געשטעלט די פראַגע: וווּ נעמט מען טעקסטן, לידער און אנדערע מאטעריאלן? ... – ווער פון אייך קען פאָלקס־אדער אנדערע יידישע לידער, – האב איך געפרעגט – דער זאל פאַרזינגען. – די חברטע סאַניע באַטשקאָוסקאַ, וועלכע האָט נאך אונטער מיין רעזשי, פאר דער מלחמה, געשפילט אין דער בענדינער (!) "מוזע", האט געזונגען אַ פאַר הארציקע יידישע לידער, מיר האָבן זיי אלע פארשריבן, דאָן האָבן אויך אנדערע געזונגען קאַצעט־און געטאַלידער. עס זענען צו אונדז געקומען די שוועסטערן: בעבאַ (אַ קלאַוויר־שפילערין) און דאָראַ ווידוטשינסקי און אייניקע אנדערע ליטווישע מיידלעך. מיר האבן זיך געלאזט איבער די בלאַקן און שטובן, צווישן די קראַנקע און "געזונטע", געבעטן זיי זינגען לידער, אָדער רעצטירן (!) און זיי געבעטן, אלץ צו פארשרייבן, דאָס, וואָס זיי האָבן איבערגעלעבט אין די לאַגערן (אַ צאָל פון די דאָזיקע געזאַמלטע לידער, האָבן מיר ארויסגעגעבן אין אַ געדרוקטן זשורנאַל).

ווי איך האָב אויבן באשריבן, אז מיר האבן קיין שום ליטעראַריש מאטעריאַל נישט געהאַט, האָב איך אנגעשריבן אייניקע אקטועלע טעאטער־סצענקעס און לידער, ווי דער "שאַטן", "ווידער פאַרשפילט", "פאַרטזיאַנער", "אזוי האט עס זיך אָנגעהויבן", "געטאַ־מוויקאָנסן" א.א.וו. אויך האָב איך א גרעסערע צאָל סצענקעס אויפגעשריבן, וואָס איך האָב פארגעדענקט פון מייע פריערדיקע רעזשי־ארבעטן: ווי דער "גואל" (נישט שטענדיק פינקטלעך, דערפאַר לויט עמיל בערנהאַרדט, דאָס זעלבע פון יידישע קלאַסיקער, ווי פּרץ, שלום עליכם, משה נאדיר און אנדערע).

עס איז צו אונדז געקומען פון פוילישן טעאטער, וואָס די פוילישע רעגירונג האָט געהאַט אַראַגאַניזירט אין בערגען־בעלזען – די חברטע דאָלי קאָץ פון לאַדזש, א כאַרעאַגראַפֿין. מיר האבן געשריבן צו בערל פרידלער, אַ דעקאַראַציע־מאַלער און שוישפילער, וועלכער איז געווען צו דער צייט אין מינכען אין א לאַגער צוזאַמען מיט בעריש פיענקני (ליכט־עפעקטן) – זיי האָבן מיט מיר מיטגעאַרבעט נאך פאר דער מלחמה אין פוילן אין דער מוזיק און טעאטער־געזעלשאַפט "מוזע". זיי זענען געקומען, און עס האט זיך אָנגעהויבן אן ארבעט אויף אן אמת.

עס קומט צו אונדז די ווונדערבארע טשעליסטיין אַניטאַ לאַסקיער (א ניכטע פון בארימטן יידיש־דייטשן שאַך־שפילער אין די צוואַנציקער יאָרן אין בערלין, עמאַנועל לאַסקיער). די ארבעט גייט אָן אין פולן ברען, אָבער מאטעריאַלן אויף דעקאַראַציעס, קליידער און שמינקע איז נישט פאַראַנען. מיר אַראַגאַניזירן אַ טעכנישע גרופע אונטער דער אָנפירונג פון בערל פרידלער – דאס זענען: מענדל בוטניק, יצחק זילבערניק, יוסף שוואַרץ און ישראל פליך – זיי מוזן באזאָרגן אלץ, וואָס מען באדאַרף צו דער פאַרשטעלונג. זיי האָבן באדאַרפן זיך אַרויסשמוגלען פון לאַגער אין די ארומיקע שטעטלעך, און דאָרט פאַר ציגאַרעטן, וועלכע מיר האָבן פאַרן פּערזענליכן (!) געברויך באקומען, איינקויפן פאַרבן, נעגל, האַלץ, לייונט אאז"וו. אדער אין לאַגער "אַראַגאַניזירן". (זיך באשאפן אויף אלע וועגן, ווי אין די היטלער־לאַגערן, וווּ מען האט קיין שום רעכט נישט געהאַט און געהונגערט, דאָ האָבן מיר געהאַט רעכט און אויך געהונגערט). דאָס אלץ איז געווען די ערשטע צייט נאָך דער באפרייאַונג, שפּעטער איז געווען אנדערש.

איך וויל דאָ דערציילן א קליינעם עפיוֹד: – מיר האָבן באדאַרפן האָבן צו אַ סצענע אין "פאַרטזיאַנער", אַן עלעגאַנט קלייד פאר אַ "פאַרטזיאַנקע", וואָס טרעט ארויס, אלס דייטשע זינגערין, פאר "עס־עס־אַפֿיצערן" אין א נאַכט־קלוב – זי באדאַרף ביי די אַפֿיצערן, אַראַגאַניזירן – געווער פאר דער פאַרטזיאַנער גרופע – וווּ נעמט (!) שטאַף אויף צו מאַכן אזא קלייד? ...

מיר האבן געזען הענגען אין א ביורא־צימער פון אן ענגלישן אפיצער, א שיינעם שוואַרצן פאַרהאַנג – פריער האָט דאָס צימער געהערט צו אן "עס־עס־אָפיצער" – א טאַג שפעטער אין [10] דער פאַרהאַנג אויפן פענצטער נישט מער געהאַנגען – איבער נאכט, איז פון פאַרהאַנג געוואָרן א הויך־עלעגאַנט קלייד, מיט די הענט אויפגענייט פון די חברטעס בוגייסקאָ און יאַקאַבאָן. (מיר "קאַצעטלער", וועלכע זענען אונטער דער ענגלישער פאַרוואַלטונג נאָך אַ לאַנגע צייט נאָך דער באַפרייאַונג, פאַרשאַסן געווען אין די זעלבע לאַגערן, און זיך נישט געקאַנט פריי באַוועגן, האָבן מיר נישט געהאַט קיין אַנדערן אויסוועג, נאָר ווי אין די היטלער־לאַגערן – "אַרגאַניזירן" – ד.ה.: זיך באַזאָרגן, דאָס וואָס מען באַדאַרף, אויף אלע מעגלעכע – געזעצלעכע צי נישטגעזעצלעכע וועגן). מיר זענען געווען גרייט צום אויפטרעטן שפּילן, נאָר איין זאך האָט אונדז געפּעלט, די הויפטזאך – גרים: שמינקע, פּערקוקן, קרעפּ פאַר בערד אַזוי.

א צייט פריער האָבן איך זיך מיט הרב ווילענסקי פון לאַנדאָן (ער איז דעמאָלט געווען אַן ענגלישער מיליטער־ראַבינער), אַרויסגעלאָזט זוכן שמינקע. אין דער דעמאָלסטטיקער צייט, האָבן די דייטשן געהאַלטן פאַרמאַכט זייערע געשעפטן, טאַ, זענען מיר געאַנגען אין זייערע פּריוואַט־ווּונגען, אפּשער וועלן מיר דאָרט קאַנען קויפּן א ביסל שמינקע, אָבער דאָס, וואָס מיר האָבן באַקומען איז גוט געווען פאַר קינדער, זיך פּורים צו פאַרשטעלן, און נישט פאַר קיין טעאַטער. איך באַשליס אויף דעם זעלבן אופן צו שמינקען, ווי איך האָב געשמינקט, ווען מיר האָבן געהיים אין "קאַצעט" געשפּילט טעאַטער, ד.ה. מיט פאַרביקן קרייד און בערד פון וואַטע. לכּבּודו פון הרב ווילענסקי, וויל איך דערמאַנען, ער האָט אונדז די ערשטע פּיִדל און פּלייט געבראַכט – דעמאָלט איז דאָס געווען זייער, זייער א סך.

אזוי ווי איך האָב געהאַט א דרייסיק מענטשן צו שמינקען, האָבן איך אָנגעהויבן א צוויי שעה פריער, ווי די פאַרשטעלונג האָט באַדאַרפן [!] זיך אָנהויבן, און קורץ פאַר דער פאַרשטעלונג, ממש אין דער לעצטער רגע, זענען געקומען – רעוּו. מאַיאָר יצחק לוי (הויפּט־רב פון דער בריטישער ארמיי) און דזשאָ וואַלהענדלער פון "דזשאַינט" און אונדז געבראַכט א גרויסן קאַרטאָן מיט די טייערסטע "לייכנער שמינקע", פאַרשידענע קאַסמעטיק און קרעפּ אויך [!] בערד מיט וועלכע איך וואַלט געקאַנט האַלב בערגען־בעלזען פאַרשמינקעווען און באַבערדלען.

אזוי ווי עס איז שוין געווען שפּעט, האָבן איך דעם איינעם אַקט פון "גואל" געלאָזט שפּילן מיט די וואַטענע בערד, ווי אין "קאַצעט" – אזוי איז די כאַראַקטעריזאַציע פון דאָזיקן אַקט פאַרבלויבן – לזכּר. אויף אונדזער טורנע אין בעלגיע און פראַנקרייך, ווען דאס "קאַצעט טעאַטער" האָט געשפּילט אין פאַריז אין "סאַראַ־בערנהאַרדט־טעאַטער", איז מאַריס שוואַרץ פון ניו־יאָרקער יידישן קונסט־טעאַטער געווען אויף דער פאַרשטעלונג. אין דער פּוּזע, איז ער געקומען צו מיר אין גאַרדעראַב און האָט געזאָגט: אַ שיינע אויפּפירונג, אָבער וואָס פאַראַ כאַראַקטעריזאַציע איז דאָס, וואָס פאַראַ בערד? ... דאָס ערשטע מאָל זע איך אזא כאַראַקטעריזאַציע און אַזעלכע בערד.

איך האָב אים געענטפּערט איין וואָרט: "קאַצעטישע".

אלע אַנדערע אויפּפירונגען האָבן מיר שוין געשמינקט לייטישער.

מיר האָבן געהאַט שמינקע איבערגענוג, נאָר אַ קאַסטן, וווּ די שמינקע אריינצולייגן, האָבן מיר נישט געהאַט; האָבן חברים פון דער סטודיע זיך געלאָזט "איבער דער מדינה", אַרגאַניזירן ד.ה. געפּינען האַלץ אויף צו מאַכן אַ קאַסטן. (ווי איך האָב שוין באַמערקט, איז דאָס אין דער דעמאָלסטטיקער צייט, נישט געווען אזא פשוטע זאך. צוליב נישט האָבן קיין מאַטעריאַל, האָבן מיר אַ סך מאָל געמאַכט "מיני־דעקאָראַציעס" – מיר האָבן עס קינסטלעריש אויסגענוצט. מיט שווערער מי האָבן מיר באַקומען האַלץ און געמאַכט אַ קאַסטן. דער דאָזיקער קאַסטן מיט דעם רעסט־געבלינער [!] שמינקע שטייט היינט אין "ירושלימער טעאַטער־מוזעאָם און ארכיוו". מיר

האָבן שפּעטער אויך באַקומען אַביסל שמינקע און פּערוקן פּון לאַנדאַנער ייִדישן טעאַטער. מיר האָבן זיי אָפּגעדאַנקט, ווען זיי האָבן געוואָלט בויען אַ געביידע פאַר ייִדישן טעאַטער אין לאַנדאָן, האָבן מיר אין בערגען־בעלזען, געגעבן אַ ספּעציעלן קינסטלערישן אָוונט, און דאָס איינגענומענע געלט זיי געשיקט, אלס אַ קליינעם סימבאָלישן ביישטייער.

דער טאָג פּון דער ערשטער פּאַרשטעלונג אין בערגען־בעלזען. דער לאַגער קאַכט. מען גרייט זיך אין גרויס פיבער. דאָס ערשטע מאָל נאָך דער באַפּרייאַונג – אַ ייִדישן טעאַטער מיט ייִדישע לידער, און ווי? ... אין אַמאָליקן, מיט חדשים צוריק, געוועזענעם טויטן־לאַגער "בערגען־בעלזען". דער טעאַטער איז איבערפּולט – דער עולם איז עלעקטריזירט, זיי הערן צום ערשטן מאָל דאָס אינסעניזירטע (!) ליד פּון מרדכי געבירטיק "סיבענט". דער זאָל שטורעמט. אין דער זעלבער צייט, האָט מען זיך געגרייט אין מערב־דייטשלאַנד צום נירנבערגער פּראָצעס. און עס זענען געווען אַ סך אויסלענדישע געסט און זשורנאַליסטן אויף דער פּאַרשטעלונג, זיי פּאַרלאַנגען עטלעכע מאָל, אַז מען זאָל איבערחזרן דאָס ליד, דער גאַנצער עולם זינגט מיט – עס איז פּייערלעך. בעת דער הפּסקה קומט צו אונדז אַ פּאַרשטייער פֿון דער ייִדיש־ענגלישער הילף־אָרגאַניזאַציע [11] און דערמאָנט אונדז נישט צו פאַרגעסן דעם ענגלישן הימן ביים סוף, ווייל מיר זענען דאָ אין דער ענגלישער זאָנע און עס איז אָנוועזנדיק אַן ענגלישער גענעראַל. עס שאַפט זיך ביי אונדז אַן אלגעמיינע קאָנסטערנאַציע: פאַרוואָס עפעס דעם ענגלישן הימן, פאַרוואָס נישט די "התקוה"? פאַרוואָס נישט די "שבועה", און פאַרוואָס נישט דעם "אינטערנאַציאָנאַל"? אַזוי. עס איז קוים געלונגען איינצושטילן די חברה אַקטיאָרן. מיר באַשליסן: נישט "גאָד סעיוו דהע קינג", נאָר – דאָס פּאַרטיזאַנער ליד.

זאָג נישט קיינמאָל, אז דו גייסט דעם לעצטן וועג.

ווען הימל בלייענע פּאַרשטעלן בלויז טעג

ווייל קומען וועט נאָר אונדזער אויסגעבענקטע שעה

ס'וועט אַ פּויק טאָן אונדז (!) טראָט, מיר זענען דאָ.

איך האָב אויף דער שנעל געענדערט אַ סצענע ס'זאָל אויסקומען, אז דער גאַנצער אַנסאַמבל זאָל זיין אויף דער בינע, ווען מען זינגט דאָס אינסעניזירטע ליד צום שלום פּון דער פּאַרשטעלונג. דער גאַנצער אַנסאַמבל האָט עס געזונגען מיט ברען און התלהבות, דער עולם מיטגעריסן האָט אונטערגעקאַפּט די ווערטער און מעלאָדיע מיטגעזונגען מיט דעם זעלבן ברען און התלהבות הויך אויפן קול. מען האָט פאַרגעסן די אלטע קאָזיאַנע (!) הימען, עס האָבן געהילכט די טענער און ווערטער פּון פּאַרטיזאַנער־ליד, וואָס די ייִדישע פּאַרטיזאַנער האָבן געזונגען אין די בונקערס און וועלדער בעת די קאַמפּן, בעת די אויפשטאַנדן, נאָכדעם האָט מען געזונגען "התקוה" און דעם ענגלישן הימן. אזוי איז דאָס פאַרבליבן ביזן היינטיקן טאָג. יעדעס יאָר צום געדענק־טאָג פּון דער שוואַה־צייט, האָבן מיר אָנגעהויבן די טרויער־פּייער מיטן ליד "סיבענט" און פאַרענדיקט מיטן פּאַרטיזאַנער הימן. אזוי האָבן מיר עס געטאָן אין בעלגיע און אין פּראַנקרייך.

עס קומען צו אונדז דער מאָלער יעקב גאַרפּינקל, די ווונדערבאַרע פּידלערין לילי מאָטעי, די קלאַוויר־שפּילערין עליזאַבעט לאַנטאַש; דער פּידלער ציקלאַי פּערענס און [דער] פּרעכטיקער טראָמפּעטיסט בעניעק גיטלער, וועלכער האַט נאָך אין דער בענדינער "מוזע" אין בונזלאָוער קאַצעט ביי מיינע אויפּפירונגען געשפּילט.

עס איז אוועק אַ יאָר זייט מיר זענען באַפּרייט געוואָרן. דורך אַ צופאַל ווער איך פּון אַ קליינע ענגלישע מילטערישע (!) טאַנקעטע שווער פּאַרווונדעט. ליגנדיק אין שפּיטאַל, באַקום איך פּון אַן אויסלענדישן באַזוכער אַ בוך, דער 6־טער באַנד פּון אַ שלום־עליכם אויסגאַבע, ווי די ערשטע דערציילונג איז "דער פּאַרכישופּטער שניידער" – איך באַשליס די דערציילונג צו אינסעניזירן

און אויפצופירן זי צום יאָרטאָג פון דער עקזיסטענץ פון "קאָצעט־טעאַטער". אזוי ליגנדיק אין בעט אַ קראַנקער, האָב איך מיט דער טעכנישער מיטהילף פון סאַניאַ באַטשקאָוסקאַ, די דערציילונג באַארבעט און מיט גרויס דערפאַלג זי אויפגעפירט. שפעטער, האָב איך צווישן אנדערע זאכן, וואָס איך האָב ספעציעל אָנגעשריבן, און אויך פון זכרון עטלעכע דערציילונגען פון יידישע קלאסיקער אינסצעניזירט און אויפגעפירט, אזוי האב איך געשטעלט די פיעסע "200.000" פון שלום־עליכם, און די דאָזיקע פאַרשטעלונג געווידמעט די אומגעקומענע שוישפילער, וואָס האבן אין דער זעלבער פיעסע "200.000" מיטגעווירקט אונטער מיין רעזשי, 1939 אין דער בענדינער "מוזע".

צוליב פּאָליטישע טעמים האָט מען אונדז געמאכט גרויסע שוועריקייטן, סיי מיט טראַנספּאָרט און סיי אויך מיט באקומען אַ טעאַטער־זאַל, און דערפאַר האָט די פראווינץ נישט געקאָנט ווי געהעריק געניסן פון אונדזער טעאַטער, און טראַצדעם זענען פאַרגעקומען פאַרשטעלונגען אין האַנאָווער, באַראַנשווייג און האַרצבורג. די דאָזיקע פאַרשטעלונגען האָבן צענדליקער טויזנטער יידן באַזוכט.

מיר האָבן געגעבן אין דער צייט ביזן אוועקפאַרן אויפן טורנע, יוני 1947, קיין אויסלאַנד: 7 פּראָגראַמען, 10 מוזיקאַלישע קליינקונסט־אָוונטן, 47 טעאַטער־פאַרשטעלונגען און אין בערגען בעלזנער שפיטאַל 22 אוידיציעס פון קליינקונסט און לידער, און אַן אָוונט פון קלאַסישע און יידישע פּאָלקס־מוזיק.



מיר ווערן איינגעלאָדן פון יידישן וועלטקאָנגרעס, פון "ראַט פון יידישע אָרגאַניזאַציעס אין בעלגיע" און פון דער "פעדעראַציע פון יידישע געזעלשאַפטן אין פראַנקרייך" צו שפּילן אין בריסל, אַנטווערפן און אין פאַריז.

יוני 1947, זענען מיר מיט דער הילף פון "דזשאַינט" ארויסגעפאַרן אויף אונדזער טורנע, וווּ מיר האָבן מיט גאָר גרויס דערפאַלג געשפּילט. די יידישע און נישט יידישע פרעסע האָבן געשריבן וועגן "קאָצעט־טעאַטער" באַנייטערטע אַרטיקלען. די בעלגישע רעגירונג לאָד [!] אונדז איין צו פאַרברייבן אין בעלגיע און גיט אונדז אלעמען בעלגישע בירגער־רעכט.

מיר דאַנקן האַרציק פאַר דעם שיינעם זשעסט פון דער בעלגישער רעגירונג, נאָר מיר מוזן מיטן טעאַטער ווייטער איבער דער וועלט וואַנדערן און מאַנען, אַז צוויי יאָר נאָך דער באַפרייאַונג זענען די טויערן פון אונדזערע ברידער אין די דייטשע לאַגערן נאָך אַלץ פאַרמאַכט און פאַרשלאָסן און קיינער קאָן נישט ארויס, נישט קיין ארץ ישראל און נישט קיין שום אַנדער [12] לאַנד. דער פאַרטערטער פון בעלגיע אין דער "אונאַ" האט מיך געטרייסט, אז ער פון זיין זייט, אלס בעלגישער פאַרטערטער אין דער "אונאַ", וועט אלס [!] טוען, אז די טויערן פון די לאַגערן זאלן ווערן אויפגעמאַכט.

פון בעלגיע זענען מיר אפגעפארן קיין פאריז און דארט געשפּילט אין באקאנטן "שרה־בערנהארדט־טעאַטער", אויך דארט האבן מיר געהאט א גרויסן דערפאַלג. מיר האבן געזאלט פון דארט פארן קיין לאַנדאָן און אמעריקע און פון אמעריקע קיין ארץ ישראל, וווּ עס האט געזאלט זיין אונדזער לעצטע סטאַנציע – ליידער איז עס געווארן אנדערש צוליב דעם, וואס מיר וואלטן באדארפן [!] ווארטן אין פאריז א זייער לאנגע צייט ביז מיר וואלטן געקאנט ווייטער פארן און די מעגלעכקייט דערצו האבן מיר נישט געהאט. חברים, וועלכע אייניקע פון זיי האבן באקומען איינרייע־דערלויבנישן [!] קיין אמעריקע, ארץ־ישראל אדער אין אנדערע לענדער, האבן געוואלט אפפאַרן, צוליב דעם האב איך געמוזט דעם טעאַטער־קאלעקטיוו אין אויגוסט 1947 אויפלייזן און די חברים זענען זיך צעפארן אין פאַרשידענע [!] לענדער און א טייל פון זיי זענען צוריק קיין בערגען־בעלזען.

Translation

After the liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp
 Now the earth was unformed and void, and darkness was upon
 the face of the deep ... (Genesis 1:2)

... Haggard, sick and harrowed, on the brink of death were the few surviving Jewish “inmates” in the days of the liberation of Bergen-Belsen. A little ray of hope shone into their dark barracks and their exhausted, devastated hearts. So, they clung to the quiet hope of a new emerging Jewish life. They have gone through all of Hitler’s inferno of “who will live and who will die, who by water and who by fire, who by sword and who by thirst, who by strangulation and who by stoning”³⁸ and ... They barely lived to see the liberation, but how many have survived?

The liberated, gravely ill Jews moved like children who are taking their first steps, but already they were drawn to the new revival. And indeed, on the first Sabbath following the liberation, they gathered on the large former roll-call square in Bergen-Belsen to celebrate together the first Sabbath after the liberation.

An immense joy, mixed with deep sorrow, reposed on the haggard faces. The lackluster, sad eyes sparkled from time to time, aspired toward life, only to sink back into their ill exhaustion.

The people huddled up to one another for warmth and sat down in a circle. Suddenly, someone started humming a Hasidic tune, and everyone joined in. They sang Yiddish and Hebrew songs – it was the first time they had enjoyed a free Jewish Oyneg Shabes since the liberation.

It started to grow dark and stars appeared in the sky. The group dragged in some wood and made a huge bonfire – to perform Havdalah³⁹ ...

It was by this fire, which brought so many new hopes shining into our devastated hearts, that I declaimed aloud [and] for everyone the poems about

38 Imprecise quote from the second paragraph of the liturgical poem *Unetanneh tokef*, recited as part of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services. Literally “we shall ascribe holiness to this day,” a prayer describing the awe of the Day of Judgement, recited on the High Holy Days before the *Kedushah* of *Musaf*. While often attributed to an 11th century German sage by the name of Amnon of Mainz (Mayence), modern scholars believe that it is of much earlier composition.

39 Heb., a religious ceremony that marks the symbolic end of the Sabbath and ushers in the new week.

“destruction and dawn” I had just written and thereby met a captive Yugoslav officer with a red star of David on his military cap, Rabbi Dr. Zvi Helfgott.⁴⁰

Zvi Helfgott, also newly liberated, with his heartfelt words gave us then, by the fire of Oyneg Shabes, comfort, hope and inspiration for the new emerging Jewish life. I recall that he concluded his address by raising his fist and exclaiming: “Death to the fascists, long live freedom!” Then he took a burning piece of wood from the bonfire, performed *Havdalah* and sang “Eliyahu Hanavi.”⁴¹ The assembled joined in and slowly moved on to swaying and dancing. The sick, the half-dead, skeletons, shadows of people sing, move, dance with fervor around the blazing bonfire. This image will always stay with me.



Soon after the liberation of Bergen-Belsen (we were liberated on April 15, 1945), Josef Rosensaft, Rabbi Dr. Zvi Helfgott, Sonia Boczkowska⁴² and my humble self, Sami Feder, got together and decided to organize within the newly created Jewish committee in Bergen-Belsen the cultural section run by me, to include schools, newspaper, collecting Holocaust witness statements, archives, etc., and creating a drama group.⁴³

We released announcements that we were looking for members and instructors. The beginning was very, very difficult. We had absolutely nothing. No literature, no sheet music, no musical instruments, no paint for stage sets, no theatrical make-up, in one word – nothing, only a great desire to

40 Rabbi Dr. Zvi Helfgott (1913–2002) was born Hermann Helfgott in Beodra (today Novo Milosevo, Serbia). He completed university in Vienna and became a rabbi. In the early 1940s, he was deported to a concentration camp near Nuremberg and later to several other camps. He was liberated by the British in the area of Pomerania, Germany, in 1945. From there, Helfgott went to Bergen-Belsen to provide spiritual guidance to the DPs living there, arrange proper burials for those who had perished in Bergen-Belsen, and attempt to locate surviving members of his family. In 1965, he settled in Israel and took the name Zvi Asaria though he later returned to West Germany, serving as the Provincial Rabbi of Lower Saxony 1966–1970.

41 “Eliyahu Hanavi” is a song about the Prophet Elijah (known in Hebrew as Eliyahu Hanavi), traditionally sung at the end of the *Havdalah* ceremony.

42 Sonia Boczkowska (1922–2015) was a Polish-Jewish singer and actress from Łódź. She joined Feder’s theater and music society *Muze* after she was forcibly relocated to the Będzin ghetto. After her liberation, she reunited with Feder and the two worked together to establish the thriving Cultural Department of the Jewish committee of DP Camp Bergen-Belsen. The two married in 1950, living in Paris after the *Katset-teater* disbanded. They divorced in 1962 when Feder decided to immigrate to Israel.

43 Fetthauer, Musik und Theater im DP-Camp Bergen-Belsen.

create something, something Jewish, in order to raise the cultural level of the former Jewish inmates.⁴⁴

On July 4, 1945, we started work for the first time, which took |9| place in the English school (arranged by the British military administration). Our first ten participants were mostly those who had secretly done drama under my direction in the Bunzlau⁴⁵ camp; they were still dressed in striped camp outfits. I tested their gifts and began working in uniform Yiddish; [I gave] lectures on Yiddish literature, then on the history of theater, in particular, history of Yiddish theater; lessons in language techniques and rhythmic, sketches and pantomime; the process of creating a role, such as balance between thought and feeling, etc. All was done orally since, as I mentioned earlier, we had no literary material whatsoever.

In the meantime, we were denied our room in the English school. Other peoples, the Poles, the Russians, the Czechs, etc., could stay while we were out “in the street.” (At the time, the British didn’t want to recognize us as a separate ethnic group. They argued, “For Hitler you were Jews, and for us you’re Poles, Romanians, Hungarians, etc.”)⁴⁶

Through laborious efforts we managed to secure an unoccupied room and were now confronted with the question: where are we to get texts, songs and other materials?

“Those of you who know folk or other Yiddish songs,” I said, “should go ahead and sing them for us.” Sonia Boczkowska, who had performed under

44 See Figure 14.

45 The author is likely referring to Bunzlau I of the subcamps of concentration camp Gross-Rosen. Bunzlau I was formally established in May 1944, when forced labor camps were built next to factories producing war materials. On February 11, 1945, about 700–850 prisoners were evacuated on foot to concentration camp Mittelbau-Dora, where on March 25, 1945, only 541 extremely exhausted prisoners arrived, many of whom were sent to the camp infirmary immediately. Prisoners too ill to make the journey were left in the camp hospital of Bunzlau I and were liberated by Soviet soldiers on February 12, 1945. Alfred Konieczny, Art. Bunzlau I, in: Megargee (ed.), USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, vol. 1, p. A, 720 f.

46 Though the British justified their refusal to treat Jews as a separate ethnic group as necessary to avoid treating the Jews as the Nazis had, the refusal also had foreign policy implications. Acknowledgement of the Jews as a separate ethnic group would, on the one hand, strengthen Zionists’ claim that the establishment of a Jewish state was a necessity, and allow Jewish survivors to claim statelessness. Treating the Jews as the nationality of their former homelands, on the other hand, would allow British occupation authorities to repatriate the Jews to their former homelands, thus reducing the pressure to increase the immigration allowance to Mandate Palestine and enabling the British to continue opposing the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

my direction with Muze in Bendin [sic]⁴⁷ before the war, performed a couple of hearty Yiddish songs, and we all wrote them down; after that, others, too, sang concentration camp and ghetto songs.

There came to us the Widutchinsky sisters, Beba [sic] (a pianist) and Dora,⁴⁸ and a few other Lithuanian girls.⁴⁹ We went around the blocks and dwellings, among the sick and “healthy,” and asked them to sing or recite songs and to write down everything they had gone through in the camps (we published a number of those collected songs in a printed journal).

As I mentioned earlier, because we had no literary materials, I wrote a few topical theatrical sketches and songs, like “The Shadow,” “Lost Again,” “Partisans,” “This Is How It All Started,” “Ghetto Musicians,” and others. I also wrote down a larger number of sketches I had recalled from my earlier directing, like “The Redeemer” (not always accurate, therefore based on Emil Bernhard;⁵⁰ the same is true of Yiddish classic writers, such as Peretz,⁵¹ Sholem Aleichem, Moyshe Nadir⁵² and others).⁵³

47 Będzin.

48 Babey (1924–2009) and Dora Widutchinsky (1921–?) were born in Šiauliai, Lithuania. In July 1944 they were deported to Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig, in April 1945 they were moved to Bergen-Belsen. After liberation, Babey played piano for the *Katset-teater*. She married Paul Trepman, an employee of the Cultural Department of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the British Zone (see Document 21); they immigrated to Canada in July 1948. Dora was a dancer and actress for the *Katset-teater*; in 1948 she immigrated to the United States. Fetthauer, *Musik und Theater im DP-Camp Bergen Belsen*, 235–238.

49 On the members of the *Katset-teater*, see *ibid.*, 218–221.

50 Emil Bernhard (1881–1948), born Emil Moses Cohn, was a rabbi, Zionist, and playwright, who wrote several Yiddish theater plays. Before the Second World War, he lived in Berlin. Sami Feder directed some of the plays during the 1930s in Poland.

51 Isaac Leib Peretz or Yitskhok Leybush Peretz (1852–1915) was a Polish-Jewish writer and playwright. He was one of the most famous Yiddish writers of his time and had a great influence on the development of Yiddish theater in Eastern Europe. Dan Miron, *Art. Bontshe*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 1, 472–477.

52 Yitzhak Rayz (1885–1943, pen name Moyshe Nadir) was an American-Jewish writer and satirist. Born in eastern Galicia, he immigrated to New York at the age of 13. There, he became one of the most famous and important writers in the Yiddish press and theater scene. After the great purge in the Soviet Union, he distanced himself from communism.

53 In Bergen-Belsen, the *Katset-teater* developed into a thriving institution despite its short lifespan. It organized four theater programs, including the *Yidishe arbeter-bine* (Yiddish Workers’ Stage), which put on six theater productions and staged numerous short-lived theater projects. Sophie Fetthauer/Lily E. Hirsch, *The Katset-Teater and the Development of Yiddish Theater in the DP Camp Bergen-Belsen*, in: Tina

Dolly Kotz⁵⁴ from Łódź, a choreographer, came to us from the Polish theater organized in Bergen-Belsen by the Polish government.

We wrote to Berl Friedler,⁵⁵ a stage set artist and actor, who was at the time in a camp in Munich together with Berysz Pienkny⁵⁶ (light effects). They had worked with me before the war in the music and drama society Muze in Poland. They came, and the proper work began.

We were joined by the wonderful cellist, Anita Lasker⁵⁷ (a niece of the famous Jewish-German chess player in the 20s in Berlin, Emanuel Lasker).⁵⁸

The work went ahead in full swing, but there were no materials for stage sets, costumes and make-up. We set up a technical group with Berl Friedler

Frühauf/Lily E. Hirsch (eds.), *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, Oxford/New York 2014, 97–120.

- 54 Dolly Kotz (1922–1995), later Dolly Kotz-Friedler, was a dancer and actress born in Łódź. After surviving the Holocaust, she made her way to DP Camp Bergen-Belsen, performing in many of the plays staged by Feder. She later immigrated to Israel, where she published an account of her experiences during the Holocaust entitled *Maḥol be-zeḥel ha-emah* (Dance Behind Barbed Wire, Tel Yitzhak 1981).
- 55 Berl Friedler (1912–1990) was a Polish-Jewish artist who, after liberation, became a DP in Bergen-Belsen. During his time in the camp, he created a book of sketches called *Tsurik fun gehenem: 22 tseykhenungen fun Berl Friedler* (Back from Hell: 22 Sketches by Berl Friedler), which was published in DP Camp Bergen-Belsen in 1947. The sketches chronologically depict his experiences during the Holocaust, including exclusion, ghetto, and concentration camp scenes. In 1946, Dolly Kotz and Friedler married; the couple immigrated to Israel in 1949.
- 56 Berysz Pienkny (1910–?) born in Będzin, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). After the war, he lived as a DP near Munich and soon joined the *Katset-teater*.
- 57 Anita Lasker (b. 1925), now Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, is a German-British cellist, and a surviving member of the Women's Orchestra of Auschwitz. She was born in Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland). She and her sister Renate (1924–2021) were deported to Auschwitz, where her membership in the Women's Orchestra saved her life. Both were deported from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen in October 1944 (as the Red Army advanced toward Auschwitz), where they were liberated by the British Army. Anita was transferred to DP Camp Bergen-Belsen and testified against the former camp commandant Josef Kramer (1906–1945) and his deputy Franz Hößler (1906–1945) during the Belsen trials. Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, *Inherit the Truth, 1939–1945: The Documented Experiences of a Survivor of Auschwitz and Belsen*, London 1996. Her sister Renate, who spoke English, became an interpreter with the British Army. Both women ultimately immigrated to Great Britain, where Anita lives today.
- 58 Edward Lasker (1885–1981), born in the Province of Posen as Eduard Lasker, was a professional chess and Go player. After graduating as an engineer, he moved to the United States in 1914, where he won several important Chess Championships and wrote books about chess and Go.

at the head. They were: Mendl Butnik,⁵⁹ Yitzik Zylbernik,⁶⁰ Josef Schwarz⁶¹ and Yisroel Flihk. They had to procure everything that was required for the performance. They had to sneak out of the camp to the nearby towns and there, for the cigarettes we had received for personal use, purchase paints, nails, wood, canvas, etc., or “fix”⁶² it in the camp (i. e., to procure in every possible way just as in Hitler’s camps, where we had no rights and starved; here we did have rights and also starved). All this was in the first time after the liberation; later things were different.

I’ll tell here a short anecdote: for a scene in “Partisans” we required an elegant dress for a “partisan girl,” who performs as a German singer in front of SS officers in a nightclub; she has to “fix” weapons from the officers for the partisan group – where could we come by a fabric for such a dress? ...

We saw a beautiful black curtain hanging in the office of a British officer (previously the room had belonged to an SS officer). A day later the [10] curtain on the window hung no longer: it had been transformed overnight into a highly elegant dress, hand-sewn by Comrades Bugaiska and Yacobson. (We, the “inmates,” who were locked up in the same camps under the British rule for a long time after the liberation and were restricted in our movements, had no other option than, just as in Hitler’s camps, to “fix” stuff, meaning to procure the required items in every possible, legal or illegal way).

We were ready to perform, but we still lacked one thing, the main thing – make-up: cosmetics, wigs, crepe for beards, etc.

A little earlier I had set out with Rabbi Wilensky⁶³ from London (he was a British military rabbi at the time) in search for cosmetics. Back then the

59 Mendl Butnik (1922–1992), later Milton Butnick, was born in Zawiercie, Poland. During the Second World War, he was deported to a concentration camp, and later transferred to Bergen-Belsen, where he was liberated by the British Army. He became active in DP Camp Bergen-Belsen’s Jewish committee and continued to assist DPs until his immigration to New York in 1952.

60 Isak Zylbernik (1911–?) was born in Sosnowiec, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire).

61 Josef Schwarz (1922–?) was born in Sosnowiec, Poland, and lived there until 1941. He was deported to several labor camps. After internment in Bunzlau, he was finally deported to Bergen-Belsen, where he was liberated. He lost his parents and two of his three siblings in the Holocaust. Schwarz was technical assistant in the *Katset-teater* and also an actor. He stayed in Germany and worked for the Hesse Broadcasting Corporation until 1982.

62 Feder uses the German word *organisieren*, lit. to organize (something), concentration camp language for: steal or appropriate something illegally.

63 Joseph Wilensky or Vilenski (1910–1991) was a rabbi from Manchester and chaplain in the British Army, who helped to liberate Bergen-Belsen and assisted Jewish DPs there.

Germans kept their shops shut, so we went into their private homes hoping to buy some cosmetics there, but what we got hold of was only good for children to have their faces painted for Purim, and not suitable for a theater. I decided to do make-up the way I had done when I had secretly run a drama group in the concentration camp, i. e., with colored chalk and cotton wool beards. To Rabbi Wilensky's credit, I want to mention that he was the one who brought us our first violin and a flute – in those days it was a very big deal.

As I had about thirty people to make up I had started two hours before the performance was due to begin, and shortly before the performance, literally at the last minute, there arrived Rev. Major Isaac Levi⁶⁴ (Senior Jewish Chaplain to the British Army) and Joe Wolhandler⁶⁵ from the "Joint," who brought us a large cardboard box with the most expensive Leichner stage make-up,⁶⁶ various cosmetics and crepe for beards, with which I could have made up and supplied with beards half of Bergen-Belsen.

Since it was already late, I allowed the sole act of "The Redeemer" to be performed in the cotton wool beards, as in the concentration camp, and this is how the characterization of the act stayed – in memoriam. During our tour in Belgium and France, when the "Katset-teater"⁶⁷ performed in Paris in the Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt,⁶⁸ Maurice Schwartz⁶⁹ from the New York Jewish

64 Isaac Levi (1910–2005) was born in London. He studied at Jews' College of London University and received his PhD in Rabbinical History at the School of Oriental and African Studies. During the Second World War, he served as Senior Jewish Chaplain of the British Army and assisted in the liberation of concentration camp Bergen-Belsen.

65 Most likely Joe Wolhandler (1919–2006), an American Jew from New York who volunteered to drive an ambulance with the American Field Service in the European and African theaters during the Second World War. He worked briefly for the United Jewish Appeal after the war before beginning a career in public relations spanning over 40 years, specializing in theater, television, and motion pictures.

66 The German Opera singer Ludwig Leichner (1836–1912), who had also studied chemistry, started to manufacture and distribute (stage) cosmetics since 1873.

67 Concentration camp theater.

68 The *Théâtre de la Ville* was established in the 19th century and has been known by various names throughout its existence. From 1899 to 1957 it was named after the famous actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) who produced at the theater for nearly 20 years.

69 Maurice Schwartz (1890–1960) was born in Zhidachov (today Zhydachiv, Ukraine), and immigrated to the United States with his family in 1902. He was a renowned Yiddish actor and director, performing in Yiddish plays across the country. He formed the Yiddish Art Theater in New York in 1918, in which he developed, and performed in numerous Yiddish plays over more than three decades; his theater troupe staged

Art Theater was in the audience. During the interval, he came to see me in my dressing room and said, “A fine presentation, but what kind of performance is this, what kind of beards? This is the first time I’ve seen such performance and such beards.”

I replied with one word, “katsetish.”

For all our other appearances we had a more decent make-up.

We had plenty of make-up, but no box in which to keep it, so the members of the drama group went from door to door to “fix,” i. e., to get hold of some wood to make a box. (As I mentioned earlier, in those days it wasn’t an easy thing to do. Because we had no materials, we often made “mini stage sets” and used them creatively.) With much difficulty we procured some wood and made a box. This box with the remaining make-up now sits in the Theater Archives and Museum in Jerusalem.⁷⁰ Later, we also received some make-up and wigs from the London Yiddish Theater.⁷¹ We thanked them, when they wanted to build their own Yiddish Theater in London, by giving a special theatrical evening in Bergen-Belsen and sending them the proceeds as a small symbolic donation.

It’s the day of the first performance in Bergen-Belsen.⁷² The camp is astir. The preparations are going ahead feverishly. This is the first time since the liberation that a Yiddish theater, with Yiddish songs, is performing, and where? In the former, as of a few months ago, death camp, Bergen-Belsen.

The house is full beyond capacity –the audience is electrified; they hear for the first time the dramatization of Mordkhe Gebirtig’s⁷³ song

nearly 200 performances for audiences in New York alone. Nina Warnke, *Art. Second Avenue*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 5, 582–589.

70 The Israel Goor Theater Archives and Museum preserves the historical tradition of Jewish theater in Israel and worldwide. Its holdings include personal collections, scripts, films, and many other kinds of objects and documents. Today, the archives and museum are located on the campus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

71 The New Yiddish Theater was originally established in 1936 and relaunched 1943 in the London East End, at the corner of the Adler Street and Commercial Road. After some relocations and a disappearing audience, it closed in 1970.

72 September 10, 1945.

73 Mordechai Gebirtig (1877–1942) was an influential Polish-Jewish poet and songwriter in interwar Poland. Born in Kraków as Mordechai Bertig, he became a renowned folk artist in Yiddish literature and song there and belonged to the Jewish Social Democratic Party in Galicia, which merged with the Bund after the First World War. He was murdered by the Nazis in the Kraków ghetto during the infamous “Bloody Thursday” shooting action on June 4, 1942. One of his best-known songs,

“S’Brent.”⁷⁴ The house is frenzied. At the same time, preparations for the Nuremberg trial are underway in western Germany. Many foreign guests and journalists have come to the performance. They encore the song several times, and the entire audience joins in – it is solemn. During the interval, a representative of the Jewish-British aid organization comes up to us [11] and reminds us not to forget to sing the British national anthem at the end because we’re in the British Zone and there’s a British general in the audience. We all develop a general consternation: why of all things the British anthem, why not the “Ha-Tikvah”?⁷⁵ Why not the “Shvue,”⁷⁶ and why not “The Internationale”?⁷⁷ And things like that. I barely managed to calm the troupe down. We decide: not “God Save the King,” but “Partizaner Lid.”⁷⁸

Never say this is the final road for you,
 Though leaden skies may cover over days of blue.
 As the hour that we longed for is so near,
 Our step beats out the message: we are here.

I hastily altered a scene so that the entire troupe could be on the stage during the singing of the dramatized song at the end of the performance. The entire troupe sang it with fervor and enthusiasm, the audience, enthralled, picked up the lyrics and the tune and joined in loudly with the same fervor and enthusiasm. The old hackneyed anthems were forgotten, instead it was the harmonies and words of “Partizaner Lid” – which had been sung by Jewish partisans in bunkers and woods, in battles and uprisings – that resounded, followed by “Ha-Tikvah” and the British national anthem. This is how it remains to this day. Every year on the Holocaust Memorial Day, we opened the solemn commemoration with the singing of “S’Brent” and concluded with the partisans’ hymn. This is what we did in Belgium and France.

“Es brent” or “S’brent,” was adopted by Kraków’s underground Jewish resistance as its anthem during the war; the song was written in 1938 in response to the 1936 Przytyk pogrom in the shtetl of the same name. Bret Werb, Art. S’brent, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 5, 503–508; Christina Pareigis, Art. Yankele, in: idem, vol. 6, 666–670.

74 Yidd., It’s Burning.

75 Heb., hope.

76 *Di shvue* (Yidd., The Oath) is a Jewish workers’ song from Eastern Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Bund adopted it as its hymn. Regina Randhofer, Art. Di shvue, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 2, 284–285.

77 “The Internationale” was written in 1871 and has become the hymn of various anarchist, communist, socialist, and social democrat movements. In the late 19th century, the Second International adopted it as its official anthem.

78 See Document 37, n. 147.

We were joined by artist Yakov Garfinkl, the wonderful violinist Lily Mathé,⁷⁹ the pianist Elisabeth Lantosh,⁸⁰ violinist Tzikloy Ferenz, and fabulous trumpeter Beniek Gitler,⁸¹ who had played at my performances back in the “Muze” in Bendin and in Bunzlau concentration camp.

A year has passed since our liberation. As a result of a freak accident, I was seriously injured by a small English military tankette.⁸² While lying in hospital, I received from a foreign visitor a book, Volume 6 of an edition of the works of Sholem Aleichem, in which the first story was “The Haunted Tailor.”⁸³ I decided to adapt it for the stage and perform it on the anniversary of the creation of the “Katset-teater.” Lying in my sickbed, I adapted the story with the technical assistance of Sonia Boczkowska and put it on very successfully. Later, parallel to other things that I wrote especially, I also adapted and staged from memory several stories by Yiddish classic writers. In this manner I staged the play “The 200,000”⁸⁴ by Sholem Aleichem and dedicated the performance to the memory of the murdered actors who had participated in that very play under my direction in the Bendin Muze in 1939.

For political reasons we met with great difficulties, both regarding transport and securing a venue, and the province couldn’t therefore properly enjoy our theater, yet despite all that our performances took place in Hanover,

79 Lily Mathé (1910–1985) was born Lily Markstein to a Jewish family in Eger in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She studied violin and orchestral conducting in Budapest, and later settled in Paris. She, along with her music group “The 35 Gypsy Boys of Budapest,” also known as “Lily and her Gypsy Boys,” toured Germany, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and the United Kingdom. With the onset of the Second World War, she moved to the Netherlands, and then returned to live with her family in Budapest in 1941. After the Germans occupied the city in 1944, Lily, along with her parents and other family members, were deported to Auschwitz. Her parents were sent to the gas chambers shortly after their arrival, but Lily was recruited into the Auschwitz Women’s Orchestra. In fall of 1944, she was deported to Bergen-Belsen, where she was ultimately liberated by the British Army.

80 Elizabet Lantosh, probably Erzsébet Lántos, was a piano player from Hungary.

81 Beniek Gitler (1919–?) was born in Będzin, Poland.

82 A tankette was a tracked armored fighting vehicle, which was used in the 1930s and early 1940s.

83 Sholem Aleichem, *The Haunted Tailor*, in: Irving Howe/Ruth R. Wisse (eds.), *The Best of Sholem Aleichem*, New York 1979, 2–36.

84 Also known as *Dos groyse gevins* (The Big Win), “The 200,000” was a play written by Sholem Aleichem, first performed at the Novotshi Theater in Warsaw, Poland in September 1930. In the play, a poor tailor named Soroker is told that he has won 200,000 rubles in the national lottery, turning his life and that of his family members upside-down.

Braunschweig and Harzburg. These performances were attended by tens of thousands of Jews.

During that time and before leaving on tour abroad in June 1947, we presented in total 7 programs, 10 musical variety evenings, 47 theatrical performances and in Bergen-Belsen hospital, 22 variety and song concerts and an evening of classical and Yiddish folk music.



We were invited by the World Jewish Congress,⁸⁵ the Council of Jewish Organizations in Belgium⁸⁶ and the Federation of Jewish Societies in France⁸⁷ to perform in Brussels, Antwerp and Paris.

In June 1947, with the help of the “Joint” we set out on our tour, on which we performed with great success. The Jewish and non-Jewish press alike wrote inspirational article[s] about the “Katset-teater.” The Belgian government invited us to remain in Belgium and granted us all Belgian citizenship rights.

We sincerely thanked the Belgian government for the wonderful gesture, but the theater had to go on traveling around the world and make public the fact that two years after the liberation the gates of the German camps were still locked and shut for our brothers and no one could get out, neither to the Land of Israel nor to any other |12| country. The representative of Belgium in the UNO comforted me that as a Belgian representative of the UNO he on his part would do everything to ensure that the camp gates opened up.

85 Founded in Geneva in 1936 to respond to the rise of the Nazi Party and growing antisemitism throughout Europe, the WJC, under the leadership of Stephen S. Wise (1874–1949), played an active role in organizing relief and assistance to European Jewry during the Second World War and alerting world leaders to the “Final Solution” in 1942. After the war, the WJC assisted in the rebuilding of Jewish communities of Europe and the pursuit of justice against Nazi war criminals. Emmanuel Deonna, *Art. World Jewish Congress*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 6, 639–646.

86 The Council of Jewish Organizations in Belgium was an umbrella committee of Jewish religious, cultural, and self-help organizations in existence during the interwar, wartime, and immediate postwar periods. It was superseded by the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations in Belgium (CCOJB), founded on March 26, 1969, as the Belgian section of the World Jewish Congress. The CCOJB is the key organization representing the Jewish community in Belgium, and the umbrella organization for a variety of Jewish organizations from different religious, political, and social facets of the community.

87 *Fédération des sociétés juives de France* (The Federation of Jewish Societies in France, FSJF), is an umbrella organization of Jewish immigrant societies in France which was established in 1913.

From Belgium, we traveled to Paris and performed there in the familiar Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, also with great success. From there we should have traveled to London and America, and from America to the Land of Israel, which should've been our final stop; unfortunately, it turned out differently as we would have had to wait in Paris for a very long time before we would have been able to continue, and we were not in a position to do that. Some of the members who had received entry visas to America, the Land of Israel or other countries wanted to go, and because of that I had to disband the troupe in August 1947, and the members left for different countries, while some returned to Bergen-Belsen. [...] ⁸⁸

Document 56

Baruch Graubard, ⁸⁹ "How my Friend Yankl Batlen became an Editor"

Munich, October 1946

Published short story, 4 pages

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Baruch Graubard, Geven a sheyres-hapleyte. Notitsbukh fun Moyshe Yoslen [There was a Surviving Remnant. Journal of Moyshe Yoslen] Munich 1949, 14–17

ווי אזוי מיין פריינט יענקל בטלן איז געווארן רעדאקטאר

די מעשה האט מיר דערצייילט יענקל בטלן אליין. א מענטש, וואס איך מוז אים גלויבן, ווייל קודם כל זאגט ער נישט קיין ליגן און א חוץ דעם מוז איך אים גלויבן, ווייל ער דריקט מיר אמאל אפ אן ארטיקל אין זיין צייטונג.

88 The section continues for another page, describing events of Sami Feder's life after the *Katset-teater* disbanded.

89 Baruch Graubard (1900–1976) was born in Skole in eastern Galicia (today Ukraine). Educated in Lvov (today Lviv) and Vienna, Graubard became a teacher, working in Jewish high schools in Konin, Będzin, and Sosnowiec, and as director of a high school in Kielce, between 1923 and 1939. During the Second World War, he survived with his family on the "Aryan" side of Kraków. After liberation, he was appointed to lead the Cultural Department of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone. While living as a DP in Munich, he also contributed to numerous DP journals in and around Munich and was the co-editor of the literary journal *Hemshekh* (Continuation).

פאר דער מלחמה איז געווען יענקל בטלן א סעקרעטאר אין א יידישער גימנאזיע אין פוילן. אין דער שול האבן געלערנט אן ערך הונדערט קינדער. אזא שטעטל ווי וואלקאוויסק האט נישט געקענט אפשפארן פאר א גימנאזיע מער קינדער. דאס שטעטל האט געמוזט באזארגן קינדער פאר צען חדרים, פאר א ישיבה, צוויי יידישע פאלקס-שולן, איינע אן אלגעמיין ציוניסטישע און איינע א מזרחיסטישע און דערצו האט עס געמוזט זיך איבערלאזן א רעזערוו פון ליידיק-גייער, וואס זאלן שפעטער קענען ווערן שדכנים, בדחנים און כלל-טוערס.

וואלקאוויסק האט גאר נישט געהאט אזא גרויסע פראדוקציע פון קינדער, אז זי זאל קענען מיט זיי דעקן דעם גאנצן בעדארף. במילא זיינען הונדערט קינדער פאר א גימנאזיע געווען אן אויפטו און טאקע פון יענקל בטלן, א ייד מיט גרויסע ברילן און מיט קורצע פיס, וואס איז געווען אויסגעקאכט מיט אלע "בעלי-בתים". דער שול האט מען א נאמען געגעבן "גימנאזיע", ווייל צוויי פאלקס-שולן זיינען שוין געווען פון פריער. אויך האט דער ערשטער דירעקטאר, טאקע א וואלקאוויסקער איידעם, מותר געווען פון א פענסיע, אבי צו זיין א דירעקטאר פון א "גימנאזיע".

אז יענקל בטלן איז ארייגעפאלן קיין מינכען אין דער "שארית הפליטה" און געזוכט פרנסה, איז ער קודם כל געלאפן אין "קולטור אמט" אריין.

אריינגעקומען דארט גיט זיך יענקל א קוק ארום. עס |15| שטימט; אזוי דארף עס אויסזען. א סך שאפעס אין א קליין שטיבל, הויפנס פאפירן אויפן טיש, און צוויי יידן, וואס קריגן זיך.

- איר ווילט מיך לערנען - שרייט א בחור, ווי עס זעט אויס דער הויפט בעאמטער אין חדר - איך בין געווען צען יאר דירעקטאר אין א העברעאישער גימנאזיע אין וואלקאוויסק ...

דערהערט וואלקאוויסק, גיט זיך יענקל בטלן א רוק ארויף די ברילן אויפן שטערן און קוקט אן דעם בחור, - קוקט פון אויבן אראפ און צוריק ארויף, גאר נישט, ער זעט דעם בחור דאס ערשטע מאל אין לעבן.

- איך בין אזוי צעטומעלט געווארן - האט דערציילט יענקל, - אז איך האב פארגעסן אפווישן דאס פנים, וועלכעס דער בחור האט באשפיגן אין גרויס התלהבות.

אין דער מינוט עפענט זיך די טיר און עס קומט אריין א ייד, א קליינער, מיט לאנגע וואנצעס.

- גוט מארגן - זאגט ער אין דער ברייט, - וואס זיינען יידן עוסק אין תורה מיט אזא ברען?

- וואס ווילט איר ר' קרוב? פרעגט דער בחור, דאס הייסט דער "וואלקאוויסקער דירעקטאר".

- וואס איך וויל - חזרט דער נייער קליענט איבער, - א פאסטן וויל איך, פון אן אינספעקטאר,

אדער דירעקטאר. איך בין געווען פאר דער מלחמה דער דירעקטאר פון דער באקאנטער

וואלקאוויסקער גימנאזיע.

יענקל איז באפאלן א פחד, צו איז ער חלילה נישט אריינגעפאלן צווישן א כת לצים. ער האט

שוין געוואלט זיך פארשטעלן, אז ער איז דער דריטער וואלקאוויסקער דירעקטאר, אבער אין דער

צייט האט זיך דער בחור, דער בעאמטער א כאפ געטון קושן דעם גימנאזיע-קומענעם.

- אוי א שמחה - האט ער אנגעהויבן זיך רייבן די הענט, איר זייט דער ערשטער דירעקטאר און

איך בין דער צווייטער. געלויבט גאט, וואס איר לעבט און מיר טרעפן זיך אין פריידן.

|16| - אבי מען זעט זיך - האט דער צווייטער זיך צעכליפעט. ווי אזוי הייסט איר טייערער

דירעקטאר? אייער נאמען האב איך פארגעסן. איר פארשטייט, קאצעט ...

- איך האב אייער פאמיליע אויך פארגעסן, חבר שמואל, - זאגט דער בחור, דער בעאמטער.

- אין אמתן הייס איך משה, אבער נאך אזא מלחמה קענט איר האבן א טעות. וואס זאגט איר

עפעס וועגן אן ארבעט פאר מיר?

- עס פארשטייט זיך, מיר דארפן אן אינספעקטאר. ווי אנגעמאסטן פאר אייך. מיר קענען זיך

שוין אזוי לאנג. אגב, דארפן מיר א רעדאקטאר אויך.

יענקל בטלן איז געזעסן א צעטומעלטער. געפונען צוויי "וואלקאוויסקער דירעקטארן", וואס ער האט קיינמאל נישט געזען. וואס קען ער איצט זאגן וועגן זיך אליין? ווער וועט אים גלויבן, אז ער איז געווען דער סעקרעטאר? אבער, אז ער האט דערהערט דאס ווארט "רעדאקטאר", איז אים ליכטיג געווארן אין די אויגן.

- רבותי, - האט ער אנגעהויבן - איך זע, אז אלע וואלקאוויסקער קומען זיך דא היינט צוזאמען. מסתמא געדענקט איר מיך: איך בין געווען רעדאקטאר פון דער "וואלקאוויסקער שטימע", וואס האט זיך געדרוקט אין צען טויזנט עקזעמפלארן.

- אודאי קענען מיר אייך ר' בערל - מאכט דער ערשטער "דירעקטאר".

- מסתמא קענען מיר אייך ר' שמערל - מאכט דער צווייטער "דירעקטאר".

- איז שוין גוט! - זאגט יענקל. נאר פארגעסט נישט, אז אויפן ערשטן נאמען רופט מען מיך יענקל.

- איך ווייס - האבן ביידע "דירעקטארן" צוזאמען אויסגערופן.

- הכלל ר' יענקל - פארענדיקט דער בחור דער בעאמטער - איר בלייבט ביי אונדז רעדאקטאר. און תיכף, האט ער זיך געווענדעט אויפן קול צום ערשט[ן] [17] קליענט:

- אט האט איר עדות. איך בין געווען צען יאר דירעקטאר פון דער העברעאישער גימנאזיע אין וואלקאוויסק און איר זאגט, אז איך פארשטיי מיך נישט אויף פעדאגאגיק!

מיר אלע האבן זיך צולאכט [!] און דער קליענט האט פארשעמט אראפגעלאזט דעם קאפ. ער האט פארשפילט, ווייל ער איז נישט געווען קיין וואלקאוויסקער דירעקטאר. א ייד פאלט איין צו זאגן, אז ער איז געווען גאר א לערער אין קוטנע!

און אז ער זאגט א לערער אין קוטנע, קען זיין, אז ער איז געווען, ווייס איך וואס אין בעלז. א קשיא אויף א מעשה. און אפשר איז ער טאקע געווען א לערער אין קוטנע. עס טרעפן זיך נאראנים, וואס ווילן נישט אוואנסירן אין דער "שארית הפליטה".

אקטאבער, 1946.

Translation

How my Friend Yankl Batlen became an Editor⁹⁰

The story was related to me by Yankl Batlen himself. He's a man I must believe because, first of all, he doesn't tell lies and apart from that I must believe him because sometimes he prints an article of mine in his paper for me.

Before the war, Yankl Batlen was a secretary in a Jewish gymnasium school in Poland. In the school there were about 100 pupils. A town such as

90 This particular short story appeared in an early chapter of Graubard's 112-page book, which compromised a series of satirical short stories about life in the Jewish DP camps. Graubard wrote it while living as a DP in Munich. Some of his works appeared in the Poale Zion (Left) newspaper *Bafreyung* (Liberation). Lewinsky, Dangling Roots; Patt, "Laughter Through Tears."

Wołkowysk⁹¹ couldn't spare more children for the gymnasium. The town had to supply children for ten cheders, a yeshiva, two elementary secular Hebrew schools, one being General Zionist, and the other Mizrahi, and on top of that there had to be left a reserve of idlers who would later become matchmakers, wedding entertainers and community leaders.

Wołkowysk hardly had such a high production of children as to be able to meet the entire demand with them. Therefore, a hundred children for a gymnasium were quite an achievement, and one credited to Yankl Batlen, a man with large spectacles and short legs, who was cozy with all the "householders." The school was named a "gymnasium" since there had already been two elementary secular schools from before. In addition, the first principal, himself a Wołkowysker, had given up his pension for the sake of being the principal of a "gymnasium."

When Yankl Batlen found himself in Munich as part of the She'erit Hapletah and was looking for an income, he first of all hastened to the Cultural Office.⁹²

Having arrived, Yankl had a look around. All fits: this is what it should look like. Many cupboards in a small room, piles of papers on the desk and two Jews, bickering.

"You want to teach me," shouts a young man, by the look of it the chief official in the establishment, "I was the principal of a Hebrew gymnasium school in Wołkowysk for ten years..."

Upon hearing "Wołkowysk," Yankl Batlen pushed the spectacles up to his forehead and gave the man the once-over: from top to bottom and back again – nothing, he saw him for the first time in his life.

"I got so confused," Yankl related, "that I forgot to wipe off my face, which the young man had bespattered in his great excitement."

At that moment the door opened, and a Jew entered, short, with long mustaches.

"Good morning," he says sweepingly, "why is it that Jews are studying the Torah so fervently?"

"What do you want, mister?" enquires the young man, i. e., the "Wołkowysk principal."

"What I want," repeats the new customer, "is a position as an inspector or a principal. Before the war, I was the principal of the well-known Wołkowysk gymnasium."

91 Now Volkovysk, a town in the Grodno Region, Belarus.

92 The Cultural Department of the CCLJA.

Yankl had a panic attack that he might have, God forbid, fallen among imps bent on mischief. He was about to introduce himself as the third Wołkowysk principal when the young man, the official, went about kissing the new arrival.

“Oh, what a joy,” he proceeded to rub his hands, “you’re the first principal, and I’m the second. Praise be to God that you’re alive and that we meet in joy.”

“It’s all that matters,” the other one sobbed. “What is your name, dear principal? It slipped my mind. Concentration camp, you see ...”

“I also forgot your surname, Mr. Shmuel,” says the young man, the official.

“I’m actually called Moyshe, but you can make a mistake after a war like that. Now, how about a job for me?”

“But of course, we need an inspector. As if made especially for you. We’ve known each other for so long. Oh, and we also need an editor.”⁹³

Yankl Batlen sat there utterly confused. He found two Wołkowysk principals whom he’d never seen before. What could he say now about himself? Who would believe him that he was the secretary? But when he heard the word “editor” he saw the light.

“Gentlemen,” he began, “I see that all natives of Wołkowysk are coming together here today. Perhaps you remember me: I was the editor of ‘The Voice of Wołkowysk’ that had a circulation of ten thousand copies.”

“Of course, we know you, Mr. Berl,” said the first “principal.”

“We probably know you, Mr. Shmerl,” said the second “principal.”

“Excellent!” said Yankl. “But don’t forget that my first name is Yankl.”

“I know,” replied both “principals” with one voice.

“So, Mr. Yankl,” rounded off the young man, the official, “you’re our editor.”

Whereupon he promptly addressed the first customer in a loud voice:

“Here’s your evidence. I was the principal of the Hebrew gymnasium in Wołkowysk for ten years and you’re saying I don’t understand a thing in pedagogics!”

The three of us laughed out loud and the customer lowered his head in shame.

He was the loser because he hadn’t been a Wołkowysk principal. A man pops up to say he was a teacher in Kutna!⁹⁴ Imagine that!

93 The editor-in-chief of the editorial board of one of the publications of the CCLJA.

94 Kutna Hora, a city east of Prague in the Czech Republic.

And when he says he was a teacher in Kutna, it's possible he was God knows what in Belz.⁹⁵ Who can tell? Perhaps he was indeed a teacher in Kutna. There are fools who just don't want to climb the ladder within the She'erit Hapletah.⁹⁶

October 1946.

Document 57

Israel Kaplan, "A Newspaper, a newspaper!"

Munich, October 12, 1945

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Undzer veg, October 12, 1945 (no. 1), 3, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc. no. 015004284, reel 20.01

אצייטונג, אצייטונג! [!]

אָט אין די אַנקומענדיקע האַרבסט־טעג 1945 קומען מיר דאָ צו די באַפרייטע יידן פון די קאַנצענטראַציאָנס־לאַגערן מיט דער בשורה:

א צייטונג, א וועכנטלעכע, א יידישע, הויבט אן ארויסצוגיין אין מינכען.

א צייטונג, א יידישע צייטונג!

א בלאט־צייטונג, געדרוקט, טאקע מיט די לויכטיקע פירקאנטיקע יידישע אותיות, – די

גאָלדערנע אותילעך, טייערע אותילעך, וועלכע זיינען דורך דורות אף דורות אויפגעקומען יעדן יידן מיט א ברענענדיקן קוש; פון די יינגסטע יאָרן האבן מיר פלאמיק געדריקט אונדזערע ליפן

צום אלהי־בית, צום סידור, יעדן יידישן ספר ביים עפענען אים און פארמאכן.

העליש פלאקערט די בענקשאפט צום יידישן אות און וואָרט, וואָס איז פון אונדז אזוי גרויזאם פארשטומט געוואָרן און פארשניטן. צאפלידיק שטייט נאָך פאר די אויגן אט די ווילדע צערייזטיקייט, וואָס א יידיש ספר, שריפט, פלעגט ארויסברענגען ביי די רוצחים. נאָר דער אַנבליק פון אָט די

95 Belz, a small city of regional importance with a major Hasidic court, in the Sokal district, Lviv Region (today Ukraine).

96 This short story is a satire containing many kernels of truth. A DP could construct an imaginary prewar identity and assume that in all likelihood, no one would have been the wiser. Graubard quite poignantly and humorously satirizes this reinvention that must have occurred after the war, and surely served as a survival strategy. See Figure 15.

פירקאנטיקע האָט ווי מיט א מיסטישן כוח ניט איינמאל אָנגעוואָרפן אַמין [!] פחד אף די חיות, עפעס־וואס אטרייסל [!] געטאן אין זיי, – און באלד־ווידער פלעגט א פרישער שטרָאם מיט בלינדן האס זיך צעציינדן אין זייערע טרייפּענע אָדערן און אויסוורפישע בליקן ...

די הייליקע פארמעטן זיינען ווי אלע אונדזעריקע פון די טמאדיקע הענט געשליידערט געוואָרן אין שייטער. די טייערסטע און זעלטענע אוצרות ספרים פארברענט – ניט אָבער אונדזער אייביקן גייסט, די פייערדיק־כישופדיקע אותיות!

און אָט מיט די "אותיות פורחות" שיינט אויף ביי אונדז א בלאט. – א צייטונג, א יידישע צייטונג! מיר וועלן עס ארויסגעבן דעם בלאט. –

מיר, די געוועזענע קאצעטלער – "פיגורען, זאָר־באנדע, ציגיינער, פערדאמטע" און מיט נאך די אלע פערלדיקע טיטולן ... יארנלאנג האבן מיר דאָך ניט געטאָרט אריינקוקן אין א צייטונג, אפילו אין די הינטיש פארסטמע, ווילד־העזערישע און שקרים־פולע "פרעסע". האלטן נאָר א "כתיבה" אָדער זיך איבערגעבן "חדשות" – מיט וואָס דאָס האָט געשמעקט! וויפל ברידער אונדזערע זיינען אוועק צו דער תליה כלומרשט פאר "אויססערונגען געגען דייטשען פאָלק"!

מיר, וואָס נאר דער ייגנסטער פון אונז האט דאָ אנגעזען און איבערגעלעבט ימים מיט רשעות, טעמפע שנאה, סאדיזם, וויסטע רציחה – האָבן עס דורות גאנצע און וועלטן אין זייער רייכסטער פאנטאזיע די אָרימסטע השגה ניט. ווייל אזוי איז שוין אונדזער היסטארישער וועג: אדורך לייבגרובן פון קאלכאוויון צום גאזאוויון, פון די נימרודס ביז די היטלערס – און מיר לעבן איבער זיי מיט זייער פעלקישראסאָווער און איידלבלוטטיקער הערשאפט צוזאמען!

מיר ... די פייער־געפרוועטע, געלייטערטע; אונדזער אויג איז שוין צופיל געניט און געשליפן און אָנגעזאפט ... א טיפ־טרויעריקער קאָפּשאַקל, הארציקע מיטגעפיל־ווערטער און אפילו אטאשנטיכל [!] בא די אויגן – נארן אונדז נאָך ווייט ניט. פון אונטער זיבאָנאוויצעציק שעפסך פעלן דערקענען מיר באלד דעם וואָלף ... ניט מיר זאָלן זיך אין אונזער צייטונג לאָזן פארפירן פון "פיינ־סימפאטישע" אויסדריקן און סתם־אַנלאַקנדיקע אידעען. אלץ וועט דאָ ווערן ריכטיק געוואגן און געמאָסטן, באקלערט, אויפריכטיק – און דעם אמת אין די אויגן!

יע, אָט מיר וועלן עס איצט ארויסגעבן א צייטונג; וועלן שרייבן, מאָנען, באמערקן וועגן יעדן און אלץ, וואָס מיר פאָדערן, מוזן עס, ווילן – און וואָס אונדזערע שונאים ווילן עס ניט.

אונדזער צייטונג פארנעמט זיך ניט צו ווערן א שטענדיק־בקביעותדיקער אָרגאן פון אן איינגעזעסענער באפעלקערונג. דאָס וועט זיין נאָר א אונטערוועגס־בלאט פון דעם פארשידנפארביקן קיבוץ יידן, צוזאמענגעטריבענע פון באזונדערע לענדער אף זייער וואנדערונג פון דער נאצישער קנעכטשאפט, אָט דער לעצטער בלוטיקער פונקט אין אונדזער לאנגן פינצטערן גלות־לעבן – צו דעם לאנד פון אונדזער נאצי־אַנאלער פרייהייט־אַרץ־ישראל. דער טרויעריק־בארימטער "מארש נאָך טיראָל" פון די פארשידענע קאצעטן אין די לעצטע גסיסה־מינוטן פון נאציזם האָט אונדז אהער צונויפגעיאָנט. די חרובדיקע מינען, אָט די געוועזענע הייליקע "הויפטשטאט דער בעוועגונג" איז עס געוואָרן דער צייטווייליקער צענטער פון אונדזער עלנט־פארוויסטעטן לעבן דאָ. און פון אָט דער דירת ארעי אין דער "סוכת אשכנז הנופלת" וועלן מיר לאָזן הערן אונדזער פרייע נאצי־אַנאל־אויפלעבנדיקע שטים, – די שטים פון די ווירקלעכע אחרונים לשעבוד!

אָט דאָס יידיש וואָרט און אייביקע שריפט שליט אונדז ווידער צוזאמען מיט דעם גרויסן ציבור פון אונדזערע ברידער פון נאָענט און ווייט איבער דער ברייטער יידישער חרובער און בויענדיקער וועלט. דאָס וועט העלפן גרינטלעכער זיך פונאנדערקלייבן אונדז אין די אָן א צאָל טראגיש פארוויקלטע פראָבלעמען ווי אויך לאזן הערן אונדזער געדאנק און זיך טיילן מיט דער מיינונג פון די פאָלקסמאסן אין ארץ־ישראל און איבער די אלע תפוצות הגולה.

זאָל א וועלט וויסן, אז מיר לעבן, מיר האָבן אריבערגעלעבט! .. טאקע נאָר מיזערנע ברוכטיילן,
 אינגאנצן רואינירטע, מיט טייכן בלוט אָפגעגאנגען – אָבער מיט אן אנטשלאסענעם ווילן ווייטער
 צום לעבן –
 און איבערלעבן!

Translation

A Newspaper, a newspaper!

In these approaching days of the autumn of 1945, we're coming here to the liberated Jews of the concentration camps with the following good news:

A weekly Yiddish newspaper is beginning to come out in Munich.

A newspaper, a Yiddish newspaper!

A gazette printed with no other than the resplendent square Jewish letters – the little precious, dear letters that have for generations greeted every Jew with a fiery kiss upon waking; from our earliest years we have been passionately pressing our lips to the alphabet, the Siddur,⁹⁷ and every Jewish holy book when opening and closing it.⁹⁸

Ablaze is the longing for the Jewish letter and the written word so horrendously silenced and eradicated in us. Still fresh before our eyes is the memory of the wild fury that a Jewish holy book and script used to provoke in the murderers. Not once did the mere glimpse of these square letters as if by a mystic power cast something of an awe on the beasts, causing them to give a shudder; and the next moment a new surge of blind hatred would flare up in their vile veins and their villainous eyes ...

The holy parchments were like all the rest flung by the profane hands into the fire. Burnt were the most precious and rare collections of holy books, but not so our eternal spirit, the fiery and enchanting letters!

97 *Siddur* (Heb., order) is a prayer book and contains the three daily prayers, along with prayers to be recited on Sabbath and other Jewish holidays.

98 Printing with Hebrew letters after liberation was quite a challenge, as there was a lack of Hebrew-letter typefaces; for this reason, the vast majority of Yiddish DP periodicals were printed in Latin-letter Yiddish transcription (see Documents 13, 26, 49, 53 f., and 59). Moreover, printing a Jewish newspaper in Yiddish in Munich after the Holocaust was deeply symbolic, not least because printing in Jewish letters (or Yiddish letters, a double entendre) is considered a sacred act.

It is with these “letters flying off into the air”⁹⁹ that a paper of ours shines. A newspaper, a Jewish newspaper!

It is we who shall be publishing the newspaper.

We, the former concentration camp inmates, the “shady characters, bunch of swine, gypsies, reprobates” along with all the other colorful epithets ... For years we were forbidden to leaf through a paper, even the beastly poisoned, wildly incendiary and lie-filled “press.”¹⁰⁰ Just holding anything written in Hebrew characters or sharing “news” – what that was fraught with! How many of our brothers went to their death for alleged “pronouncements against the German people”!

We, of whom the youngest has seen and experienced days of wickedness, blunt hatred, sadism, wanton slaughter, of which whole generations and civilizations in their wildest imagination do not have the faintest idea. For such is our historical way: via lion pits, from the lime kiln to the gas chamber, from the Nimrods¹⁰¹ to the Hitlers, yet we outlive them all with their populist-racist and blue-blooded supremacy!

We – tested by fire, purified; our eye is too trained, sharpened and satiated ... A deeply sorrowful shake of the head, heartfelt words of condolence and even a handkerchief pressed to the eyes don’t fool us in the slightest. We immediately recognize the wolf under seventy-seven sheep skins ... It is not for us to let ourselves be led astray in our paper by “flowery” expressions and some enticing ideas. Everything will be here correctly weighed and measured, well-considered, sincere – and out with the truth!¹⁰²

Yes, we shall now be publishing a paper; we shall write, claim, make observations about everyone and everything, which we demand, must and want to do, and which our enemies do not will us to.

Our paper doesn’t aspire to become a firmly established organ of a settled population. It will be merely a transitional gazette of the motley crew of the

99 Reference to the words of Rabbi Chanina ben Teradion (2nd century CE), one of the Ten Martyrs, uttered as he was burnt alive by the Romans wrapped in his Torah scroll: “The parchment burns, but the letters fly off into the air.”

100 The use of intellectualism and cultural creativity was seen as a means of responding to antisemitic stereotypes and propaganda.

101 A biblical figure mentioned in the Book of Genesis and the Book of Chronicles, Nimrod was described as a hunter king in the land of Shinar (Mesopotamia). In Jewish tradition, he is considered the leader of those who built the Tower of Babel in contempt of God and converted the government of his land to tyranny. Jan Eike Dunkhase, Art. Nimrod, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 4, 537–544.

102 See Figure 16.

kibbutz Jews, driven together from various countries on their way out of the Nazi slavery, this last bloody stop in our long and grim life in the Diaspora, to the land of our national freedom, the Land of Israel. The notorious “March to Tyrol” from the various concentration camps,¹⁰³ as Nazism was in the last throes of death, drove us in here. The ruined Munich, that former holy Hauptstadt der Bewegung¹⁰⁴ became the temporary center of our lonely and devastated life here. And it is from this temporary abode in the “collapsing sukkah of the Ashkenaz”¹⁰⁵ that we shall let our free reviving national voice be heard, the voice of truly “the last in slavery”!

This Jewish word and the eternal script reconnect us to the large community of our brothers from near and far all over the destroyed and rebuilding wide Jewish world.¹⁰⁶ This will help us analyze deeper the endless tragically complicated problems, as well as let our thoughts be heard and share the opinion of the masses in the Land of Israel and in the Jewish communities across the world.

Let the world know that we’re alive, we survived! True, only tiny fragments, entirely destroyed, drained of rivers of blood, but with a resolute will to live on – and survive!

Document 58

*Vilna Organizing Committee, “Attention, Residents of Vilna and the Provinces!”
Bergen-Belsen, January 26, 1947*

Newspaper announcement, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Unzer sztyeme. Organ fun der she’erit ha-pleita in der englisher zone, January 26, 1947 (no. 17), 29, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004276, call no. 1964-Y-463.464, reels 12.3 and 13.1

103 See Kaplan’s report in Document 1.

104 Germ., capital of the (Nazi-)movement.

105 Amos 9:11, “Sukkat David Ha-Nofelet, or “David’s fallen tabernacle.” In the prophetic sense, the Book of Amos, in foreseeing the restoration of David’s fallen dynasty and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, predicts a future messianic age.

106 This reference to the significance of printing in Hebrew script connects the *She’erit Hapletah* to Jews around the world as well as the broader scope of Jewish history and the Hebrew Bible.

אַכטונג ווילנער און פראַווינץ!

לויט דער איניציאטיוו פון ווילנער קאָמיטעט אין מינכן האָט זיך געשאַפן אין בערגן-בעלזן אַן אָרגאַניזיר־קאָמיטעט, וואָס האָט פאַר אַן אויפגאַבע צו רעגיסטרירן אַלע יידן פון ווילנע און אומגעגנט אין דער בריטישער זאָנע.

יעדן פון אונדז איז טייער דאָס אַלץ, וואָס האָט אַ צוזאַמענהאַנג מיט אונדזער ווילנע. דער פאַרבאַנד שטעלט זיך פאַר אַן אויפגאַבע צו זאַמלען אַלץ, וואָס איז פאַרבונדן מיטן אומקום פון יידישן ישוב אין ווילנע ווי אויך אַנצובינדן אַ קאָנטאַקט מיט די ווילנער לאַנדסמאַנשאַפֿט־אָרגאַניזאַציעס אין דער גאַרער וועלט, וועלכע שטרעבן צו שטיין מיט אונדז אין קאָנטאַקט און קאָנען נישט דאָס דערגרייכן צוליב אונדזער נישט־אָרגאַניזירטקייט.

רעגיסטרירן זיך און אויספילן דעקלאַראַציעס: בל. 65 צימער 17 ביים ח' צ. רייו, יעדן דינסטיק, מיטוואַך און דאָנערשטיק פון 3-5 נ.מ.

אָרגאַניזיר־קאָמיטעט

Translation

Attention, Residents of Vilna and the Provinces!

On the initiative of the Vilna Committee in Munich an organizing committee has been created in Bergen-Belsen, whose task is to register all Jews from Vilna and the provinces in the British Zone.¹⁰⁷

Every one of us holds dear everything that has a connection to our Vilna. The task the union has set for itself is to collect everything that is related to the destruction of the Jewish community in Vilna, as well as to establish contact with the Vilna landsmanshaft organizations around the world, which are striving to stay in touch with us and are unable to achieve it because of our disorganization.

To register and to fill in declarations, see Mr. Ts. Reiz, block 65, room 17, every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 3 to 5 PM.

Organizing Committee

¹⁰⁷ The Vilna Committee in Munich and its initiative calling for the creation of an organizing committee in Bergen-Belsen DP Camp is a rare example of trans-zonal Jewish organizing between the Central Committees of the British and American Zones, in an effort to create postwar *landsmanshaftn* to represent, and advocate for Jewish DPs from Vilna living in occupied Germany.

8. Religion

Document 59

Josele Fernvalder,¹ “The Modern Pessach Haggadah”²

Föhrenwald, April 15, 1946

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Hebrew and Yiddish in Latin letters; translated by Alexandra M. Kramen and Avinoam J. Patt

Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn, April 15, 1946 (vol. 2, no. 5(7))
12, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, acc no. 015004283,
call no. 1964-Y-466, reel 15.11

די מאדערנע הגדה של פסח³
פון יאסעלע פערנוואלדער

- 1 Josele Fernvalder was a pseudonym used by Josef Schawinski (1904–1979), a co-editor of, and frequent contributor to, *Bamidbar. Wochncajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn* (In the Desert. Weekly Newspaper of the Liberated Jews), the Yiddish periodical produced by DPs in Föhrenwald. Born in Jeżów, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire), Schawinski received a traditional Jewish education, moving to Łódź and later Warsaw where he worked as a journalist and writer. He contributed to numerous newspapers before the war, including *Lodzsher togblat* (Łódź Daily) and *Horizontn* (Horizons) in Łódź, and *Der moment* (The Moment) and *Folkstsaytung* (People’s Paper) in Warsaw. He survived the Holocaust hiding in villages and forests near Warsaw; after liberation he made his way to Munich, where he became a DP in Föhrenwald. Schawinski was active in the DP camp committee and was elected to the camp court. His contributions to *Bamidbar* were two-fold. Under his pseudonym Josele, or Josele Fernvalder, he wrote a series of feuilletons and satirical pieces humorously dissecting various aspects of life in the DP camps. Under his actual name, Schawinski provided extensive coverage of and commentary on the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1945–1946) in addition to other political commentary. He later immigrated to Israel, where he continued to write and publish under the name Joseph Shavinsky.
- 2 Schawinski presents a satirical *midrash* (Heb., a mode of biblical interpretation prominent in the Talmud) in the format of the Haggadah, itself an extended *midrash* incorporating various biblical and rabbinic quotations. See Document 62 for another Haggadah.
- 3 Title and author’s name appear in what seems to be hand-printed standard Yiddish. The remainder of the article, like much of the Yiddish press of the DP era (see Documents 13, 26, 49, and 53 f.), appears in Latin-letter Yiddish transcription. The spelling in the Latin-letter Yiddish transcriptions of the Yiddish DP press varied depending upon the dialect of Yiddish spoken, as the transcriptions were based upon phonetic spellings of the original Yiddish words, and their pronunciation varies depending upon the dialect. In Föhrenwald, Galician and Polish Yiddish were the

AWODIM HOJINU –

knecht zajnen mir gewen un [in] di kemps hot men undz wider arajngepak.

WEILU LOJ HOJCI –

wen dr. Grinberg fort nit kajn Amerike woltn undzere fetern biz hajnt nit gewust, wi tif mir lign in der adome.

AFILU KULONU CHACHOMIM –

gej zaj a chachem, wen du bizt ojngesztelt ojf betl-brojt.

KULONU ZKEJNIM –

fun cores.

KULONU JOJDIM ES HATOJRO –

Trocdem wejsn mir nit farwos mir darfn wider helfn ojfbojen Ejrope.

MAJSE DR' ELIEZER –

ober wegn aza miese majse wi in Stuttgart hot er basztimt nit dercejlt.

CHOChem MA HU OJMER? –

wos ken men chochem zogn, az der nar hot di deje?

ROSZO MA HU OJMER?

ich wel szikn an Erec-Isroel ojsforschungs-komisje.

TAM –

iz er azoj lang, biz er bakumt nit kejn benkl.

SZEEJNOJ JOJDEJA LISZOJL –

a guter kandidat in der rewizjons-komisje.

JOCHOJL M'ROJSZ CHOJDESZ –

azoj lejgt men op fun chojdesz cu chojdesz un di Erec-Isroel-frage wert fun der U.N.O. alc nit bahandlt.

HITCHILO OWDU AWOJDO ZORO –

noch nit a [sic] jor curik zajnen ale dajczn gewen naxis un hajnt zajnen zej ale “demokratn” un gewezene kacetler.

BORUCH SZOJMEJR HAWTOCHOSOJ L'ISROEL –

ojf England ken di broche nit kumen ...

W'HI SZEOMDO LAWOWSEJNU –

un doch zajnen undzere owojs ojsgekumen on der hilf der UNRRA.

CEJ ULMAD MA BIKEJSZ LOWON HOARAMI –

un gej tref, wos es mejnt hajnt mr. Bevin.

predominant dialects as Jews from Congress Poland comprised a major segment of the DP population there, including most of the inaugural editorial staff of *Bamidbar*.

- WAJOREJU OJSONU HAMICRIM –
 un di stuttgarter dajczisze policej iz beser?
- WANICAK ...
 ale a mol, hajnt kent ir rejdn cu der want.
- WAJOJEIEJNU ELOHIM MIMICRAJM –
 un arajngezect in di kemps in Bajern.
- DOM W'EJSZ WEJTIMROJS OSZOM –
 farn untercindn di welt, iz Dajczland biz ict nit baszroft [sic] geworn.
- REB JOJSI HAGLILI OJMEJER, MINAIN [sic]?
 un reb Dowid Glizer zogt: "az ich hob nit kejn cutrit cu di UNRRA-mag-
 azinen, minajin? – fun wanent ken ich wisn, wos dort tut zich?"
- MACO ZU SZEONU OJCHLIM –
 iz a cent-chejlik derfun, wos der amerikaner jidntum hot undz geszikt
 durch Joint.
- MOROJR ZE SZEONU OJCHLIM –
 esn mir in jedn dor un a ganc jor.
- B'CHOL DOR W'DOR CHAJOW –
 wi nor a core, warft men di szuld ojf jidn.
- KOJRECH –
 un noch ale jidisze cores zajnen noch ale faran parizer budistn.
- SZULCHON ORUCH –
 noch a jor szmuest men wet gedojern der Nirnberger proces ...
- COFUN –
 tomer, gefint baj dir di dajczisze "demokratisze" policej a por opgeszporte
 mark, lejgt zi dir arojf kejtelech ojf di hent.
- BORUCH –
 erszt demold weln mir zajn gebenczt wen mir weln farlozn di tmejedike
 dajczisze erd.
- SZFOJCH CHAMOSCHO –
 mit der defindung fun der atom-bombe.
- HALEJL –
 Konst lojbn a director fun UNRRA bizn tog arajn, ober kejn culage wet
 er dir saj wi nit gebn.
- L'SZONO HABOO B'JERUSZOLAJIM –
 on an engliszn mandat.

*Translation***The Modern Pessach Haggadah**

by Josele Fernvalder

WE WERE SLAVES TO PHARAOH –

We have again become slaves and have been packed into camps.

IF [G-d] HAD NOT BROUGHT [our ancestors out of Egypt] –

if Dr. Grinberg did not travel to America, our relatives [there] still would not know how deep we are buried.⁴

EVEN IF WE WERE ALL WISE –

try being wise when you are stuck begging for handouts.

[If we were] ALL ELDERS –

from [our] hardships.

ALL KNOWLEDGEABLE IN THE TORAH –

nevertheless, we do not know why we need to help rebuild Europe again.⁵A TALE [is told] BY RABBI ELIEZER⁶But he definitely did not tell of such an ugly story as what happened in Stuttgart.⁷

4 Zalman Grinberg (see Document 3) gave several speeches across the United States in February 1946, going first to Cleveland, where he addressed the Third Session of the American Jewish Congress. Grinberg had been invited, as President of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (later, American Zone), to speak about the situation of Jewish DPs remaining in postwar Europe. Anonymous, Asserts Refugees Prefer Palestine: Rabbi Grinberg, Bavarian Leader, Addresses 500 at American Jewish Conference Session, in: *The New York Times*, February 19, 1946, 9.

5 Jewish DPs often refused to work to improve the state of the DP camps because it was perceived as helping to rebuild the German economy; contributing to the kibbutzim which developed around the DP camps was often promoted by Jewish leadership as a more meaningful alternative. Françoise Ouzan, *Rebuilding Jewish Identities in Displaced Persons Camps in Germany*, in: *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem* 14 (2004), 98–111; Patt, *Finding Home and Homeland*, 31–67.

6 A story told in the Passover Haggadah of Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Yehoshua, Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah, Rabbi Akiva, and Rabbi Tarfon who spent the whole night retelling the story of the Exodus from Egypt at a seder in Bnei Brak.

7 On Friday, March 29, 1946, German police shot and killed Shmuel Dancyger (1910–1946), an unarmed Jewish man living in the Jewish DP center in Stuttgart. Alleging their unfounded suspicion of the presence of guns and other “black market” goods in the center, German police gained permission from American occupation authorities to conduct an armed raid involving several hundred police officers accom-

WHAT DOES THE WISE ONE SAY? –

What can the wise say when the fool has the authority?

WHAT DOES THE WICKED ONE SAY? –

I will send a committee of inquiry to the Land of Israel.⁸

THE SIMPLE ONE –

he waits so long that there is no seat for him [at the discussions].

THE ONE WHO DOES NOT KNOW [enough] TO ASK –

a good candidate for the Revisions Commission.⁹

COULD [the Haggadah be recited] FROM THE FIRST OF THE MONTH [of Nisan] –

when it comes to the question of the Land of Israel the matter is proposed monthly and ultimately will never be addressed by the United Nations.

IN THE BEGINNING [our ancestors] WORSHIPPED IDOLS –

less than a year ago all Germans were Nazis. Now they are “democrats” and former concentration camp inmates.¹⁰

panied by dogs. Many other DPs were injured in the ensuing chaos. In the following weeks, DPs throughout postwar Germany and Austria raised their voices in outrage, both in reportage and commentary in the Yiddish press and in the staging of protests and hunger strikes. In Föhrenwald, the editorial staff of *Bamidbar. Wochmcajtung fun di bafrajte Jidn* published an issue more than twice the length of the paper’s average issue; numerous articles referred to the incident or addressed it directly, including the protest demonstrations that were emerging in response. These articles appear in the same issue of *Bamidbar* as the article reproduced above. For more on the shooting of Shmuel Dancyger, see Aubrey Pomerance, *Shot by German Police in 1946. The Tragic Fate of Shmuel Dancyger Z.L.*, Jewish Museum Berlin, March 29, 2016, <<https://www.jmberlin.de/en/node/9487>> (May 27, 2024).

- 8 DP criticism of the AACI (Document 18) increased as time dragged on without an adequate resolution regarding their ultimate immigration and resettlement. Ultimately, the British government did not accept the recommendations of the AACI, lending further support to DPs’ assertions that the AACI had failed in its mission. Leonard Dinnerstein, *America, Britain, and Palestine: The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the Displaced Persons, 1945–46*, in: *Diplomatic History* 4 (1980), no. 3, 283–301.
- 9 Most likely the Central Revisions Commission (also known as the Central Review Commission) of the CCLJA; the commission was responsible for reviewing and maintaining inventory lists for property and supply stocks earmarked for DP use, as required by the American occupation authorities; Schawinski’s satirical commentary reflects the struggle between DP leadership on the one hand, and American occupation authorities on the other, in determining how best to distribute material support among the DPs. YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), box 10, folder 103, reel 9.162 (Various materials of the Central Review Commission, 1947–1950).
- 10 As geopolitical priorities shifted, denazification policies were sidelined by American occupation authorities, but DPs were understandably disappointed, angry, and fearful

BLESSED BE THE ONE WHO KEEPS THEIR PROMISE TO ISRAEL –
 the blessing would certainly not include England.
 THAT WHICH STOOD FOR OUR ANCESTORS [applies to us as well] –
 and yet our ancestors survived without the help of UNRRA.
 GO OUT AND LEARN WHAT LABAN THE ARAMEAN¹¹ SOUGHT TO
 DO [to our ancestor Jacob] –
 go out and look at what Mr. Bevin is doing today.¹²
 AND THE EGYPTIANS TREATED US HARSHLY¹³ –
 and the German police of Stuttgart are any better?
 AND WE CRIED OUT [to G-d]¹⁴ –
 All the time, today you can talk to a brick wall.
 AND [G-d] BROUGHT US OUT OF EGYPT¹⁵ –
 and placed us in the [DP] camps in Bavaria.
 BLOOD AND FIRE AND PILLARS OF SMOKE –
 for setting the world on fire, Germany still has not been punished yet.
 RABBI YOSI THE GALILEAN SAID, HOW [do we know that the Egyptians
 were afflicted by ten plagues in Egypt and by fifty plagues at sea]?
 And Rabbi Dovid Glizer¹⁶ says, “As I have no access to the UNRRA
 warehouses, how? From whence can I know what is happening there?”

about the Allied failure to ferret out and adequately punish their former tormentors. They frequently and vehemently demanded accountability in the Yiddish press. Eventually, only the highest-ranking Nazi officials were prosecuted by the international military courts and many Nazis returned to positions of power within their profession. Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, Oxford 1991; Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 253–262; Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany*, London 2012.

- 11 Laban the Aramean is a figure in the Book of Genesis. Laban was the brother of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac and mother of Jacob. Jacob sought to marry Laban’s daughter Rachel, and Laban told him that he could do so after seven years of labor. However, after the term of labor, Laban tricked Jacob into marrying his eldest daughter Leah instead. Jacob was then obtained the right to marry Rachel as well, on the condition that he work for Laban for another seven years (Gen 29).
- 12 Ernest Bevin. See Document 23, n. 8.
- 13 Deut 26:6.
- 14 Deut 26:7.
- 15 Deut 26:8.
- 16 Schawinski jokingly refers to Föhrenwald resident and agricultural engineer Dovid Glizer (see Document 41) as a rabbi, to imply both the importance and the futility of his job. As the head of the Labor Department of the CCLJA, Glizer was heavily involved in managing labor and supply needs, among the most pressing issues facing the DPs.

THE MATZAH THAT WE EAT [what does it represent?] –
 the matzoth represent ten percent of what American Jewry has sent us
 through the Joint.

THE BITTER HERBS THAT WE EAT [what do they represent?] –
 we eat [this bitter herb] every generation throughout the year.

IN EVERY GENERATION [one must view oneself as though one had personally left Egypt] –
 any time there is a hardship, the Jews are blamed.

KORECH¹⁷ –
 and after all the hardships sustained by the Jews, they are still [treated]
 like Buddhists in Paris.

SHULCHAN ORECH¹⁸ –
 people say that the Nuremberg trial will last another year ...

TZAFUN¹⁹ –
 if the “democratic” police catch you holding the few marks you have saved,
 they put you in handcuffs.

BARECH²⁰ –
 we will be blessed only once we have left this polluted German soil.

POUR OUT YOUR FURY [upon the nations that do not know you]²¹ –
 with the discovery of the atom bomb.

HALLEL²² –
 you can praise an UNRRA director all day long, and you still will get
 nothing extra from him.

NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM –
 without a British Mandate.

17 A ritual during the Passover seder, when one makes a sandwich out of the bitter herbs (Heb. *maror*), the *haroset* (an apple, nut, and wine mixture representing the clay used in Egypt to manufacture bricks), and the matzah.

18 Heb., lit. long table or set table, *shulhan arukh* is the eating of the festive meal during Passover; its use here is also a play on words, joking about how long it would take for the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg to conclude.

19 Heb., lit. hidden, *zafun* is the eating of the *afikomen*, or the matzah that was broken or hidden away during an earlier ritual during the Passover seder.

20 Heb., lit. bless, *barekh* is the ritual blessing after the meal, thanking God for the food one has just eaten, and for allowing the Passover seder to occur.

21 The full verse in the Haggadah continues, “upon the kingdoms that do not invoke your name, they have devoured Jacob and desolated his home” (Ps 79:6–7). It is possible that Schawinski here is emphasizing that God’s wrath should be poured upon the *goyim* (Yidd., gentiles) more generally, with the atom bomb, which had been discovered, or invented, by Jews.

22 Songs of praise, sung after the eating of the meal during the Passover seder.

Document 60

Ernst Landau,²³ “*Purim auf Elmau*”²⁴
Munich, 1946

-
- 23 Ernst (Ernest) Landau (1916–2000) was born in Vienna to a liberal, but practicing, Jewish family. He studied at the Academy for Press and Politics in Vienna, becoming a journalist. He completed an apprenticeship at the *Neue Freie Presse*, where Theodor Herzl had once worked, and was still working there when the Germans occupied Austria in March 1938. Keenly aware that his profession made him a target of the Nazis, he managed to escape to Paris with the help of professional smugglers. After the German occupation, Landau fled north to Belgium, where he joined the White Brigade, a Belgian resistance movement with cells across the nation. He was arrested by the Gestapo in early 1941 and imprisoned in a series of internment and concentration camps in Belgium, Poland, and finally Germany. Landau was liberated in Bavaria on a prison transport from Mühldorf concentration camp; from there he went to Feldafing, where he briefly became a DP. With the help of Jewish American officers who knew him from Vienna, Landau was able to leave the camp for Munich, where he became one of the founders of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany, as well as the editor-in-chief of the German-Jewish newspaper *Neue Welt*. He later worked as an editor and radio journalist and served on the board of the Munich Jewish Community as well as at the *Bayerische Rundfunk* (Bavarian State Radio). Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 173; Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 80 and 86.
- 24 Schloss Elmau was built in 1916 in the midst of the First World War by Protestant philosopher, theologian, and author Dr. Johannes Müller (1864–1949). Müller envisioned the property as a place where his guests could escape themselves for quiet contemplation. He criticized individualism, materialism, and capitalism, as well as established religion. It was his opposition to individualism which led him to support, in part, Hitler’s proposed national revolution, because it prioritized the common good above self-interest. However, he opposed the Nazis’ antisemitism, believing that the national revolution Hitler desired could only be achieved with the help of the Jews, whom he identified as among the best and brightest of the German intellectual elite. Nazi leadership was convinced that Müller’s paradoxical simultaneous praise of both Hitler and the Jews lent an air of credibility to his assessment of Hitler. In 1942, to preempt the threatened confiscation of Schloss Elmau by the SS, Müller leased the castle to the Wehrmacht as a place for soldiers to rest after returning from the front lines. It was physically seized by the U.S. Army in 1945. The U.S. Army transferred the property to the Bavarian State Commissioner for Persons Subject to Racial, Religious, and Political Persecution, Dr. Philipp Auerbach, for temporary use. Schloss Elmau became a sanatorium for DPs and survivors, operating as such until 1951.

*Typewritten draft, 6 pages; handwritten additions and corrections; on top of page 1 handwritten archival signature (“535/46”) and “‘Aufbau’ New York / Purim auf Elmau / von / Ernst Landau / München 1946”*²⁵

Language: German

*YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 46, folder 535*²⁶

Zwischen Garmisch-Partenkirchen und Mittenwald, in einer der landschaftlich schoensten Gegenden Bayerns, liegt Schloss Elmau. Ein Schloss, erbaut von einem Theosophen,²⁷ das fruher den Besitzenden zu Ferien vom Ich verhelfen sollte.

Heute ist Schloss Elmau ein Erholungsheim, eingerichtet vom Joint, fuer juedische DPs.

Unser Auto faehrt ### {von} Feldafing, dem ersten in Deutschland errichteten juedischen Lager, nach Garmisch. Von Garmisch weiter nach Kleis, einem unscheinbaren Doerfchen. In Kleis muessen wir von der Autostrasse ab. Man sagt uns, wir wuerden mit dem Auto nicht weiterkommen. Und richtig: Nach wenigen hundert Metern bleiben wir im Schnee stecken. Mit Pferden wird der Wagen ins Dorf zurueckgebracht. Wir aber setzen unsere Tour zu Fuss fort. Rund 6 Kilometer haben wir zu gehen. Inmitten einer Landschaft, die aus Nadelwaeldern besteht. Von ferne her blinken die Berge im ewigen Schnee. Mit leichtem Glockengelaeut faehrt ein Schlitten an uns vorbei. Darauf lachende Gesichter, braungebrannt. Juden. Aber ganz anders sehen sie aus. So eigenartig froh, aufgeloeset. Sind das dieselben Menschen, die wir noch vor kurzem im Lager Feldafing gesehen hatten? Sie sind es. Aber sie haben eine Wandlung durchgemacht.

Wir setzen unsere Wanderung fort. Auf einer Huegelkuppe sehen wir den Prachtbau des Schlosses vor uns. Noch wenige Schritte und wir stehen in der Halle.

Wohlthuende Warme empfaengt uns, deren Gesichter rot sind und deren Ohren brennend vom Marsch in schneeiger Luft. Wir treten naeher. Junge

25 If the text was written for the *Aufbau*, as the note seems to suggest, it was apparently never published.

26 Also published in: Dachauer Hefte 24 (2008), 239–244 (introduced and annotated by Juliane Wetzel).

27 An adherent of Theosophy, a religious movement developed by Russian philosopher Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891) around 1875 which combined elements of Plato’s philosophy with Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu thought. The Theosophical Society, which was founded in 1875 to promote Blavatsky’s beliefs, is still in existence today.

Menschen, durchwegs gut aussehend, braungebrannt von der Gebirgssonne, froehlich, lachend. |2| Im Nu sind wir umringt und werden herzlich Willkommen geheissen. Es ist heute Purim.²⁸ Purim auf Elmau. Aber es ist ein anderes Purim als das, dass wir zu feiern gewoehnt sind. Auch hier wird eine Meggilla gelesen. Aber es ist eine andere. Nicht von Esther und nicht von Mordechay ist die Rede, wohl aber von Haman, der hier Hitler heisst und von Ahasverus, den sie Roosevelt²⁹ nennen. Die Meggilla wird nicht gelesen. Sie wird vorgetragen. Und es ist nicht einer, der sie vortraegt, sondern jeder gibt seinen Teil dazu. Stille herrscht waehrend der Vortraege. Manchmal von einem Schluchzen unterbrochen. Aber zum Ende ist Jubel. Freilich, auch der Jubel ist anders. Frueher war Purim ein Freudenfest und die es feierten, waren nicht unmittelbar Leidende gewesen. Die es jetzt feiern, waren Leidende. Der Jubel ist darum gedaempft. Fuer die spaeteren Generationen wird Purim wieder nur ein Freudenfest sein. Wir aber werden uns in diesem Leben schwerlich noch freuen koennen.

Ich habe hier in Elmau das Schoenste gesehen, was ich nach diesen Jahren im KZ sehen konnte. Ich habe den gluecklichsten Vater und den gluecklichsten Sohn gesehen.

Die Geschichte ist einfach. Unter den zu Purim nach Elmau Gekommenen befand sich ein junger Mensch, der, eben aus dem russisch besetzten Gebiet in Muenchen eingetroffen, von Chaplain Abraham Klausner eingeladen worden war, nach Elmau mitzukommen. Und hier in Elmau hat er seinen Vater wiedergefunden. Zum erstenmal nach 6 Jahren. Gewiss: Das Ganze war nicht unvorbereitet gekommen. In den beim juedischen Zentralkomitee in Muenchen aufliegenden Listen hatte der Neuankoemm-|3| ling nach Namen, Geburtsort und Datum seinen Vater zu erkennen geglaubt. Eine telefonische Rueckfrage in Feldafing ergab, dass der Gesuchte sich zur Erholung auf Schloss Elmau befand. Chaplain Klausner, selbst vorbereitet, Purim in Elmau zu verbringen, nahm den Jungen Mann in seinem Auto einfach mit. Und

28 Purim is a Jewish holiday celebrated annually on the 14th day of the Hebrew month of Adar. On the holiday, the Book of Esther, also known as the Megillah Esther, is recited, recounting the deliverance of the Jewish people in 5th century BCE in Persia from the evil plot of Haman, royal vizier to the King Ahasuerus (Xerxes), through the efforts of Queen Esther and her cousin, Mordecai. The day is marked by celebration and feasting to commemorate the deliverance from the evil Haman. The first Purim celebration in the DP camps, marked on March 16–17, 1946, was similarly a way to enact what had often been alluded to during the war: that long-awaited holiday when Jews could celebrate the defeat of their modern Haman (Hitler).

29 Possibly a reference to the late entry of the United States into the war under President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

so kam es, dass zwei Menschen das schoenste Schlachmonesgeschenk³⁰ erhielten, das man sich denken kann: Der eine den Vater, der andere den Sohn.

Soll ich noch etwas ueber Elmau erzaehlen? Dann hoert: Dr. Henry [sic] Heitan,³¹ der Chefarzt des Joint in Feldafing, hat dieses Schloss ausfindig gemacht und beschlossen, dort ein Erholungsheim fuer rekonvaleszente und ruhebeduerftige aus den Konzentrationslagern befreite Juden zu errichten.

Bisher hatten die juedischen DPs nur in Lagern gelebt. In Zimmern, in denen sie zu 20 und mehr Menschen hausen mussten. Sie schliefen in zwei bis dreistoeckigen Holzbetten, sie assen an Holztischen ohne Tischtuch und selten bloss mit Messer und Gabel. Begreiflich, dass ihnen das keine Freude bereitet hatte und sie unlustig waren. Begreiflich auch, dass diese Lager selten in sauberem Zustand angetroffen wurden.

Man hatte Dr. Heitan gewarnt. Die sauberen Handtuecher wuerden schnell schmutzig werden, die Seife aus den Badezimmern verschwinden. Man wuerde Geschirr zerbrechen und es waere ueberhaupt schade um ein so schoenes Schloss. Dr. Heitan aber hatte seine Theorie. Er meinte, dass nicht die Menschen die Bedingungen schuefen, sondern umgekehrt, die Bedingungen die Menschen. Und er wagte das Experiment.

Ich kam unmittelbar von Feldafing. Wie immer, war auch diesmal mein Eindruck dort nicht der beste gewesen. Trotz aller Bemuehungen der juedischen Verwaltung [4] und der UNRRA bot Feldafing aeusserlich keinen reizvollen Eindruck. Es war ein Lager, mit allen schlechten und deprimierenden Auesserlichkeiten eines solchen.

In Elmau aber kam ich in ein Schloss. Schon aeusserlich ein Monumentalbau im gigantischen Ausmass, war seine Innenausstattung hoechst komfortabel. Mit Fliessen [sic] ausgelegte Badezimmer, Zentralheizung, ein holzgetaefeltes Gesellschaftszimmer, ein eleganter Speisesaal, in dem die Ma{h}lzeiten auf die Minute puenktlich, gleichmaessig und sauber serviert werden. Table d'hôte. Man kann nach Belieben essen. Die Speisen sind appetitlich und wohlschmeckend. Qualitativ ausgezeichnet, hergestellt aus den Bestaenden

30 Yidd. term for gifts (especially sweets and drinks) sent to the homes of family, friends, and neighbors on Purim.

31 Henri Heitan was a doctor and JDC representative employed by UNRRA as the Chief Medical Officer in DP Camp Feldafing. Heitan and his wife Ruth were French Jews recruited by the JDC to assist in the DP camps; they were the first JDC team to arrive in the DP camps (July 1945). It was at Heitan's suggestion that the U.S. Army transferred the Schloss Elmau property to Auerbach for temporary use on behalf of DPs and survivors. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 158; Bauer, *Out of the Ashes*, 52 f.

der UNRRA. Das Gesellschaftsleben ist ruhig, unaufdringlich, hoeflich. die Atmosphaere hat alle beeindruckt.

Ich bin durch fast alle freizugaengliche{n} Zimmer gewandert. Durch den Lesesaal, dessen Bibliothek eifrig frequentiert wird. Leider liegt „Aufbau“³² nur in einem Exemplar, das sehr zerlesen ist, auf [sic]. Etwas weiter ist das Spielzimmer. Groesste Stille, denn es wird Schach gespielt. Aber auch bei den Bridgetischen geht es ruhig zu. Lediglich in einer Ecke ist das Klappern der Wuerfel zu hoeren. Ein Stockwerk hoeher ist der Theatersaal. Er ist in diesem Augenblick noch leer. Bloss das Orchester probt. „Bei mir bist Du schoen ...“³³

Drei Gongschlaege. Es ist Jausenzeit. Waehrend ich mich die Treppe hinab in den Speisesaal zurueckbegebe, stroemen auch schon von allen Seiten die Gaeste des Schlosses in den gleichen Raum. Alles geht ruhig vonstatten. Es ist wieder zur Selbstverstaendlichkeit geworden, einander den Vortritt zu lassen. Galanterie und Liebenswuerdigkeit beherrschen das Bild.

[5] Die Tische sind sauber gedeckt. Porzellantassen stehen vor jedem Stuhl, sauberes Essbesteck, eine Serviette. Von einem Tisch zum anderen geht der Hausherr, begruesst seine Gaeste, erkundigt sich nach dem Befinden des einen oder anderen. Der Hausherr ist auch ein ehemaliger Haefling, den der Joint zum Direktor von Elmau erwaeht hat und der sich in der nettesten Weise seiner Schuetzlinge annimmt. Von Beruf eigentlich Lederindustrieller, haette es sich Jakob Rosenberg niemals traehmen lassen, einmal ein Erholungsheim zu leiten. Aber ein Mensch findet sich in alles. Und so ist mein Freund Rosenberg, der mit mir einige Jahre im KZ zusammen war, heute Herr auf einem bayerischen Schloss, das juedischen Menschen der begehrteste und liebste Aufenthalt ist. Geraeuschos reichen die Angestellten die Speisen, ebenso geraeuschos wird gegessen. Vielen merkt man es an, dass sie sich bemuehen muessen, nicht aus dem Rahmen zu fallen, ihr Benehmen dem der uebrigen anzugleichen. Und es gelingt ihnen.

Junge Menschen {sind es}, die als Kinder noch in die Konzentrationslager verbracht wurden, die nicht von ihren Eltern erzogen wurden, sondern ihre Kindheit inmitten brutalster Umwelt und Niedertracht verbringen mussten, hatten sie {doch} niemals die Gelegenheit gehabt, ein Leben zu fuehren, das lebenswert gewesen waere. Sie hatten keine sorgfaeltige Erziehung genossen. Sie waren nicht liebevoll betreut worden. Ist es ein Wunder, dass solche Menschen sich nicht gleich in ein normales Leben einzufinden vermoegen?

32 *Aufbau*, the transnational German-Jewish refugee journal published in New York.

33 The Yiddish Swing song *Bei mir bistu sheyn* (1933), composed by Sholom Secunda (1894–1974), text by Jacob Jacobs (1890–1977), was popularized by the U.S. singers “The Andrews Sisters” in 1938.

Waeren andere unter gleichen Bedingungen nicht zu Verbrechern geworden? In diesen Menschen aber steckt ein guter Kern, steckt eine Jahrtausende alte Sittlichkeit und Ethik. Es ist die Pflicht aller, die von aehn- |6| lichem Schicksal verschont geblieben sind, diesen jungen Menschen wieder auf die Bahn zu verhelfen, die zu einem normalen Leben fuehrt.

In Elmau geschieht es. Bildung kann man nicht so schnell vermitteln. Takt muss angeboren sein. Aber gutes Benehmen und Umgang mit Menschen – das lehrt die Praxis in Elmau.

Soll ich Euch noch etwas erzaehlen? 150 Menschen duerfen jeweils 14 Tage hindurch in Elmau verbringen. 150 junge Menschen kehren nach Ablauf dieser Zeit wieder ins Lager zurueck. Sie erzaehlen von Elmau. Sie zehren von Elmau als dem schoensten Erlebnis seit ihrer Befreiung. Aber noch etwas anderes geschieht: Wohin diese Menschen kommen, sie bemuehen sich, das Elmauer Leben, das Elmauer Benehmen, die Hoeflichkeit und die Zuvorkommenheit auch dort zu leben, wo die aeusserlichen Umstaende es zwar noch schwierig gestalten, wo aber mit gutem Willen noch vieles verbessert werden kann.

Und das scheint mir das schoenste Resultat von Schloss Elmau zu sein.

Document 61

Yitskhok Yakov Bistritser,³⁴ “*The Religious Life of the She’erit Hapletah*”
Munich, April 1948

Journal article, 6 pages; 4 figures on page 53f. (not reproduced here)

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Hemshekh. Shriftn far literatur, kunst, kritik un kulturgezeshafteleke frages,³⁵
no. 1 (April 1948), 52–59, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Periodicals Collection,
call no. 1964-Y-455, acc no. 015005031, reel 1.04

34 Yitskhok Yakov Bistritser (1907–1980) was born in Lepanta, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He survived several concentration camps during the Holocaust, making his way to Munich after his liberation. There, he became the editor-in-chief of *Di yidische shtime* (The Jewish Voice), the organ of the Mizrahi movement established by Jewish DPs living in the postwar Munich area. He published articles on religion and politics in other Yiddish DP periodicals as well. He subsequently immigrated to Israel.

35 *Hemshekh. Shriftn far literatur, kunst, kritik un kulturgezeshafteleke frages* (Continuation. Writings on Literature, Fine Arts, Critique and Social Questions), the organ of the *Shrayber farband fun sheyres hapleyte* (Writers’ Union of the She’erit Hapletah)

[Bistritser provides an overview of religious life in the DP camps as it developed in the American Zone from the time of liberation until 1948. Religious life flourished in the camps, with movements of all types contributing to the richness of DP life, but also leading to conflicts over resources and power. Bistritser depicts the development of both Hasidic and Misnagdic groups, as well as the influence of Orthodox groups on issues such as education, family life, dietary laws, Sabbath observance, and culture. Confrontations between Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups occurred throughout the camps, particularly over perceived "special treatment" and the distribution of supplies, as Jewish chaplains attempted to ensure that various Jewish groups received the supplies necessary for religious practice.]

ר' ביסטריצער

דאָס רעליגיעזע לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה

אין די לעצטע יארן פון לידן און פיין, ווען דאס יידישע פאלק איז געפרוהווט געווארן מיט די גרעסטע נסיונות, וועלכע האבן ניט קיין גלייכן אין דער גאנצער נסיון-רייכער יידישער געשיכטע; ווען דער יידישער מענטש האט געמוזט שטארק קעמפן, כדי צו קענען דערהאלטן און ראטעווען זיין בידנעם לעבן – אין אָט די גרוילפולע צייטן איז דער רעליגיעזער ייד (און דאס גיבן צו אלע, וועלכע האבן איבערגעלעבט די דאזיקע שוידערלעכע תקופה) געשטאנען אויף דעד הויך פון מענטשלעכקייט און ווארעמער יידישער ברידערלעכקייט.

דער רעליגיעזער ייד האט זיך אבער ניט באגנוגט מיט זיין גרויסער דערגרייכונג פון אָפּהיטן זיין "צלם אלקים", נאר ער האט אויף זיך גענומען די דאפלטע (!) אויפגאבע פון קדושהשם, פון קדושהשם אלס ייד – לעבן און שטארבן אלס ייד – און פון קדושהשם אלס רעליגיעזער ייד, לעבן לויט זיינע רעליגיעזע פארשריפטן און לויט די געבאטן פון תורה אין אָט די ניט-מענטשלעכע בעדינגונגען.

אין דער צייט, ווען די סכנה פון אומקום האט געלויערט אויף יעדן ייד און דאס אויספירן די רעליגיעזע פארשריפטן איז געווען פארבונדן מיט איבערמענטשלעכער מסירת-נפש, איז דער רעליגיעזער ייד עומד-בנסיון געווען און האט אויסגעפירט דעם דאזיקן אקט פון קדושהשם אין די געטאס און קאצעטן, אין די וועלדער און תפיסות פון סיביר און אומעטום, ווו ער איז פארוואגלט געווארן אין די דאזיקע קאשמארפולע יארן.



was published from 1948 to 1949 in Munich. The printing of *Hemshekh* was funded by the JDC. Its editor-in-chief was Kovno-born Yoysef Gar (1905–1989), a teacher and writer who survived the Kovno ghetto. During his deportation from the ghetto to Dachau in 1944, he managed to escape, remaining in Lithuania until liberation. He left Lithuania in 1945 for Poland and then made his way to Germany, where he became a DP in Landsberg. He immigrated to the United States in 1948, where he lived and worked in New York and New Jersey.

ווען ס'האט זיך אויפגעהויבן דער פארהאנג איבער דער גרויסער טראגעדיע פון די היטלער־יארן, האבן מיר דערזען פאר זיך דאס אייראפעאישע יידנטום אויסגעבולטיקט און כמעט טאָטאל פארניכטעט. דריי פערטל פון יידישן פאלק אין אייראפע זיינען אומגעקומען און צוזאמען מיט זיי די גרויסע און צאלרייכע רעליגיעזע קבוצים פון מזרח־ און דרום־מזרח־אייראפע.

דער פראצענט־זאץ פון די אומגעקומענע רעליגיעזע יידן איז נאך א פיל גרעסערער פון דעם אלגעמיינעם פראצענט־זאץ פון די אומגעקומענע [55] נע יידן.³⁶ דאס איז טאקע געשען מחמת די אויבנדערמאנטע סיבות: וועלנדיק לעבן לויט זיינע רעליגיעזע פארשריפטן, איז דאס לעבן פונעם רעליגיעזן ייד געווען פיל שווערער און סכנות־פולער, ווי פונעם ניט־רעליגיעזן ייד.

אז ס'איז געקומען דער טאג פון באפרייאונג און די איינצלנע לעבנגעבליבענע רעליגיעזע יידן האבן זיך נאר געקענט אויפהויבן פון זייערע קראנקע בעטן, זיינען זיי תיכף מיט גרויס ענערגיע צוגעטראטן צו ארגאניזירן דאס רעליגיעזע לעבן פארן גאנצן כלל. זיי האבן זיך ניט באגונגט מיט דער מעגלעכקייט, וואס יעדער יחיד האט אצינד באקומען, א דאנק זיין באפרייאונג, צו לעבן פריי און אומגעשטערט אלס רעליגיעזער ייד, נאר זיי האבן אויך געוואלט דערמעגלעכן דעם סתם־ייד צו לעבן אן אמת־דיק, עכטי־דיש לעבן.

ס'האט זיך ארויסגעוויזן פאר פאלש און אומבאגרינדעט די מיינונג פון אייניקע, וועלכע האבן געוואלט באהויפטן, אז די גרויסע ליידן און די שרעקלעכע נסיונות, מיט וועלכע דאס יידישע פאלק איז געפרוווט געווארן, וועלן עווענטועל אפשוואכן די אמונה פון די רעליגיעזע יידן. ניין, אדרבא, זייער רעליגיעזער גלויבן איז נאך געשטארקט געווארן מיט א געפיל פון דאנקבארקייט פאר דער חשגחה, וואס האט אין דער לעצטער מינוט אפגעראטעוועט א קליינעם שארית פון רעליגיעזן יידנטום. דער רעליגיעזער ייד האט אצינד געזען פאר זיין לעבנס־אויפגאבע צו פארנעמען דאס ארט פון די אומגעקומענע טויזנטער און צו זאמלען ארום זיך די אנדערע – ניט־רעליגיעזע – רעשטלעך פון יידישן פאלק און זיי צוריקברענגען תחת כנפי השכינה.

אזוי איז עס געווען אין אלע לענדער פון אייראפע, ווהיין ס'האבן זיך צוריקגעקערט קליינע רעשטלעך פון די לעבנגעבליבענע יידן און אזוי איז עס געווען אין דייטשלאנד, ווו ס'איז געבליבן דער גרעסטער טייל פון די אפגעראטעוועטע קאצעטלער, און צו וועלכע ס'האבן שפעטער זיך אנגעשלאסן די צוגעקומענע יידן פון פוילן און רומעניע אויף זייער וואנדער־וועג צוזאמען מיט זייערע ברידער צו קומען קיין ארץ־ישראל.

בתי־כנסיות און בתי־מדרשות

במשך זיין צוויי טויזנט־יאריקן גלות, אין אלע עקן פון דער וועלט און אויף אלע זיינע וואנדערוועגן אומעטום, ווו ער איז געקומען, האט דער ייד קודם־כל זיך אויפגעשטעלט זיין „מקדש־מעט“, דאס קליינע בית־המקדש־שיל, די שול און בית־המדרש, וועלכע האבן פארטראטן דעם אמאליקן גרויסן און גלאנצפולן בית־המקדש. איידער נאך דער ייד האט געהאט א שטוב פאר זיך, ווו אנדערצולייגן זיין מידן קאָפּ, האט ער אויפגעבויט זיין „בית־תפילה“, ווו ער האט תפילה געטאן צו זיין ג-ט און אויך אין די שווערסטע יארן פון גלות האט ער אין דעם ארט געזאגט מיט שטאָליץ: „כי ביתי בית תפילה יקרא לכל העמים“

אבער ניט נאר סתם געבעט־הייער און תורה־צענטערן זיינען די דאזיקע שולן און בתי־מדרשים געווען. ארום זיי האט זיך אויך קאנצענטרירט דאס גאנצע געזעלשאפטלעכע לעבן פון די יידישע

36 The text of the article stops at the end of page 52 and resumes on page 55; pages 53 and 54 contain photographs.

קהלות, ארום זיי האבן זיך גרופירט די אלע הערלעכע מוסרות [!] פאר צדקה און גמילת-חסדים, די אלע ווונדערבארע פילאנטראפישע אנשטאלטן, ארום זיי זיינען אויפגעשטעלט געווארן די גרויסע תורה-אינסטיטוציעס, ווי א שטייגער, בתי-דינים, ישיבות, תלמוד-תורות און חסידים-שטיבלעך, וועלכע האבן בארייכערט דאס יידישע לעבן און דערצויגן די צוקונפטיקע דורות. בכלל זיינען אט די לעבעדיקסטע און ליכטיקסטע געסלעך פון יידישן געטא – דאס "שול-געסל" – געווען דער מקום-מקלט פארן געפלאגטן ייד, וואס איז געגאנגען אהין זיך אויסרוען, שעפן מוט און גייסטיקע דערפרישונג נאך א טאג פון שווערער האַרעוואניע אויף מפרנס צו זיין זיינע בני-בית; אין טעג פון שווערע ליידן, פון רדיפות און גזירות, איז ער אהין געגאנגען אויסגיין זיין הארץ פאר זיין באשעפער.

און אט די דאזיקע שיינע טראדיציע האט דער ייד, וועלכער איז ארויסגעראטעוועט געווארן פון די גאז-קאמערן און קרעמאטאריעס, ווייטער ממשיך געווען.

תיכף נאך דער באפרייאונג האבן זיך צוזאמענגענומען די איינצלנע געראטעוועטע רעליגיעזע יידן און געשאפן א "מנין". פריער פאר אלץ האבן זיי אין יעדן לאגער און שטעטל אין דייטשלאנד געשאפן א שול, א בית-המדרש און א בית-תפילה; מ'האט זיך מוסר-נפש געווען און נאך זייענדיק שוואך און קראנק אלס "מוסולמאן", איז מען ארומגעלאפן זוכן ערגעץ-ווי א ספר-תורה, וואס איז על-פי-נים נצול-געווארן פון די נאצישע נעגל און איז ניט פארברענט געווארן, כדי מען זאל קענען לייענען און דאווענען בצבור. שפעטער האבן יידן געברענגט מיט זיך ספר-תורות פון פוילן און סיביה, ספר-תורות, וועלכע האבן מיטגעמאכט דעם שווערן ליידנס-וועג מיט זייערע טרעגער און היטער. היינט-צו-טאג איז שוין פאראן אין די לאגערן און שטעטלעך פון דייטשלאנד א גאנצע נעץ שולן און בתי-מדרשים, ווי יעדע עדה יידן, אשכנזים און ספרדים, פוילישע, ליטווישע, אונגארישע און רומענישע דאווענען לויט די נוסחאות פון זייערע אלטע היימען. ס'זיינען אויך פאראן חסידים-שטיבלעך, ווי מ'פראוועט חסידות אויפן אלטן שטייגער.

אין די גרעסערע לאגערן קען מען טרעפן כמעט אלע מינים חסידים פונעם אמאליקן פוילן, גאליציע, רומעניע און אונגארן, ווי גערער, בעלזער, באבעווער, [56] שאראטקעווער, סיגעטער, מונקאטשער, וויזשניצער, סאפינקער א. א. ס'זיינען אויך פאראן גרעסערע גרופעס ליובאוויטשער חסידים (חב"ד), וועלכע זיינען אפגעראטעוועט געווארן אין רוסלאנד און זיינען געקומען אין די לאגערן מיטן שטראם פון די פוילישע פליטים. די דאזיקע גרופעס פארנעמען א באזונדערן ארט אין חסידישן לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה מיט זייער אייגנארטיקן חסידישן לעבנס-שטייגער, וואס איז, ווי באקאנט, גאנץ אנדערש פון פוילישן און גאליצישן חסידות. זיי האבן זיך אויך זייערע באזונדערע שטיבלעך, בתי-מדרשים און ישיבות, ווי ס'ווערט געלערנט און געדאוונט לויט זייער נוסח און וועלכע בארייכערן מיט זייער אינהאלט דאס רעליגיעזע לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה. ס'זיינען אויך דא גרופעס "מתנגדים" אדער "אשכנזים", בעיקר ליטווישע יידן אדער "אויבערלענדישע" יידן פון אמאליקן עסטרייך-אונגארן, וועלכע האבן זיך זייערע סעפאראטע בתי-מדרשים און שולן, אין וועלכע ס'ווערט געדאוונט על-פי נוסח "אשכנז" און וועלכע זיינען ממשיך די אייגנארטיקע "מתנגדישע" יידישקייט.

א באזונדערן קאפיטל שטעלן פאר מיט זיך די א. ג. "קולטוס-געמיינדעס" פון די רעשטלעך פונעם אמאליקן דייטשלענדישן יידנטום. די דאזיקע געמיינדעס זיינען לעצטנס צוריק אויפגעשטעלט געווארן, און זיי האבן צוריק אויפגעבויט זייערע אמאליקע סינאגאגס, אין וועלכע ס'ווערט באנייט דאס אמאליקע דייטשלענדישע רעפארם-יידנטום מיט זיינע ראבינערס. פון אמאליקן אַרטאדאקסישן יידנטום אין דייטשלאנד, פון דער באקאנטער דייטשלענדישער עקסטרעמער ארטאדאקסיע, איז כמעט קיין זכר ניט געבליבן אין היינטיקן דייטשלאנד.

כשרות

ניט האבנדיק בדעה זיך אריינצולאזן אויף די שפאלטן פון דער צייטשריפט אין אן אויספירלעכן אנאליז פון די יידישערעליגיעזע כשרות־פארשריפטן, איז נאר כדאי צו דערמאנען, אז אין דער יידישער תורה ענדיקט זיך די פרשה כשרות מיט די ווערטער: „איך בין אייער גוט, איר זאלט זיך הייליקן און זאלט הייליק זיין, ווייל איך בין הייליק“. די כשרות־געזעצן האבן געהייליקט דאס יידישע פאלק און עס ארומגענומען מיט א שטארקער פעסטונג, וואס האט אונדז באשיצט ביזן היינטיקן טאג.

אויך אין די שווערסטע הונגעריארן פון קריג, אין די געטאס און קאצעטן, האט דער רעליגיעזער ייד מיט אלע מעגלעכקייטן געפרוויט זיך האלטן פעסט ביי די כשרות־פארשריפטן, ס׳זיינען געווען פיל רעליגיעזע יידן, וועלכע האבן געהונגערט, אבער קיין טריפות האבן זיי ניט געגעסן. תיכף נאך דער באפרייאונג האבן די רעליגיעזע יידן אין די לאגערן זיך געשאפן ספעציעלע כשריע קיכן, ווו זיי ווערן פארפלעגט נאר מיט כשר עסן. אין יעדן לאגער איז פאראן א כשריע קיך, אין פיל לאגערן איז בכלל די אלגעמיינע קיך פארן גאנצן לאגער א כשריע, הגם דאס איז פארבונדן מיט פארשיידענע שוועריקייטן, ווי שחיטה פרייזן־פארטייערונג א. א. וו. די רעליגיעזע יידן זיינען אבער גרייט אויף אלע קרבנות, כדי צו קענען לעבן לויט די כשרות־פארשריפטן פון דער תורה.

אין די לאגערן זיינען אויסגעבילדעט געווארן שוחטים, וועלכע שעכטן די בהמות לויט די דינים פון שולחן־ערוך.

טהרת־המשפחה

דאס יידישע פאמיליען־לעבן (!) (ריכטיקער געזאגט: דאס יידישע "עהע־לעבן") איז באקאנט אלס מוסטערהאפט מיט זיין ריינקייט. די יידישע פאמיליע איז געווען איינע פון די הויפט־פעסטונגען, וואס האבן באשיצט און אויפגעהאלטן דאס יידישע פאלק, עס זאל ניט אונטערגיין אינעם ים פון רדיפות.

דער יסוד פון דעם דאזיקן פאמיליען־לעבן בילדן די פארשריפטן פון שולחן־ערוך, וועלכע זיינען באקאנט אונטערן נאמען טהרת־המשפחה (פאמיליען־ריינקייט); לויט דעם, ווערט די יידישע משפחה (עהע) געבילדעט דורך חופה וקידושין, אויסגעפירט דורכן רבנות א. א. און איז אויך פארבונדן מיט מקוה און טבילה.

ביי די באפרייטע שארית־הפליטה־יידן, וועלכע זיינען בעיקר באשטאנען פון אליינשטייענדיקע מענער און פרויען, וואס האבן פארלוירן זייערע ערשטע פאָרן אין די קרעמאטאריעס, אין די קאצעטן און וועלדער, אדער פון יוגנטלעכע, וואס זיינען בכלל נאך ניט געווען חתונה געהאט, איז תיכף נאך דער באפרייאונג אנטשאנען א גרויסער דראנג חתונה צו האבן און צו בילדן א נייע פאמיליע, כדי ניט צו זיין אזוי איינזאם און פארלאזן און כאטש טיילווייז פרווון אביסל לינדערן דעם ווייטיק נאך די פארלוירענע.

אט די יידישע חתונות אין די לאגערן און שטעטלעך פון דייטשלאנד ווערן געשלאסן לויט די יידישערעליגיעזע פארשריפטן מיט חופה־וקידושין ביי אן אנערקענטן רב און סיווערן גענוי אויסגעפירט די רעליגיעזע פארשריפטן, וועלכע זיינען דערמיט פארבונדן.

ס׳מוז צוגעגעבן ווערן, אז אפילו די יידן, וועלכע זיינען ניט־רעליגיעז געשטימט, שילסן (!) זייער חתונה־בונד און לייגן דעם יסוד פון זייער פאמיליען־לעבן, לויט די טראדיציאנעלע פארשריפטן פון דער יידישער רעליגיע.

מילה

[57]

צו די הויפט־יסודות פון יידישן דת געהערט די מצוה פון מילה, וואס ווערט אנגערופן „ברית־מילה“. דורך דעם אקט ווערט דאס יידישע קינד אנגעשלאסן אינעם בונד פונעם יידישן פאלק מיט זיין גוט. אין די לעצטע צוויי יאר זיינען אין די לאגערן און שטעטלעך פון דייטשלאנד געבוירן געווארן טויזנטער יידישע יינגלעך (כ"י) און זייערע עלטערן האבן זיי געלאזט מלזיין כדת וכדין, דורך די ספעציעל־אויסגעבילדעטע מוהלים. (ס'זיינען נאר פאראן גאנץ פאראיינצלטע פאלן, ווען די עלטערן האבן ניט געלאזט מלזיין זייערע קינדער...). איבער 99 פראצענט נייעגעבוירענע ייד. יינגלעך, אויך ביי ניט רעליגיעזע און פריידענקערישע עלטערן, איז מען מל און ס'ווערן איינגעארדנט די טראדיציאנעלע סעודת־מצוות, ווו עלטערן און פריינט זיינען זיך משמח, וואס זיי האבן די זכיה אויפצושטעלן נייע דורות, וועלכע וועלן ממשיך־זיין די קייט פון יידישן פאלק. אין דער לעצטער צייט זיינען אויך פארגעקומען מערערע אקטן פון ברית־מילה פאר גאנצע גרופעס עלטערע קינדער, וועלכע זיינען געבוירן געווארן אין די וועלדער אדער אין רוסלאנד און מ'האט זיי ניט געקענט מלזיין צו דער צייט. די דאזיקע אקטן זיינען אדורכגעפירט געווארן אדער דורך די עלטערן, און ביי די עלטערלאזע קינדער – דורך די רעליגיעזע ארגאניזאציעס און רבנות.

רבנים און רבנות

כדי צו קענען דורכפירן, ארגאניזירן און אויסבויען די פריער־אויסגערעכנטע פיר פונקטן: שולן, כשרות, טהרת־המשפחה און ברית־מילה, איז וויכטיק געווען, אז אין יעדן יידישן לאגער אדער יידישער געמיינדע זאל אויפגעשטעלט ווערן די אינסטיטוציע פון רבנות. דער רב אדער דער בית־דין איז תמיד געווען די העכסטע אויטאריטעט אין יידיש־געזעלשאפטלעכן און אויך אין פריוואטן משפחה־לעבן פון יידישן פאלק. ניט נאר אין רעליגיעזע ענינים האט דער רב אדער דאס בית־דין (!) דעצידירט, נאר אויך אין אלע אנדערע געזעלשאפטלעכע און אפילו אויך פאמיליען־פראגעס איז זייער ווארט געהערט געווארן מיטן גרעסטן כבוד און האט כמעט תמיד אנטשיידן. אין יעדן לאגער און קהלה (!) אין דייטשלאנד איז היינט פאראן א רב און א רעליגיעזער אמת (ענלעך צו די אמאליקע בתי־דינים), וועלכע פירן אויס די רעליגיעזע פונקציעס אינעם לעבן פון דער קהלה.

די דאזיקע רבנים זיינען ארגאניזירט אין א לאנדעס־פארבאנד א. ג. "אגודת־הרבנים". די רעליגיעזע אמתן, ווידער, זיינען א גלייכבארעכטיקטע אפטיילונג פון די לאגער־קאמיטעטן, וועלכע אונטערליגן דעם צענטראליקאמיטעט פון די באפרייטע יידן.

רעליגיעזער חנוך און רעליגיעזע דערציאונגס־אנשטאלטן

די רעליגיעזע דערציאונגס־אנשטאלטן, וועלכע דאס יידישע פאלק האט זיך אויסגעבויט, אנטוויקלט און פארפולקאמט אין פארלויף פון זיין געשיכטע, די גוט־באקאנטע חדרים, תלמוד־תורות און ישיבות – זיי זיינען עס געווען די שמידן, וועלכע האבן געשמידט דאס יידישע לעבן, אנטוויקלט דעם יידישן גייסט און דאס יידנטום דערפירט צו די גייסטיקע און קולטורעלע הויכקייטן, וועלכע די יידישע אומה האט דערגרייכט אין דער אנטוויקלונג פון דער אלגעמיינער מענטשהייט. הגם דאס יידישע פאלק פארנעמט היינט־צו־טאג א בכבודיק ארט אין דער קולטור־ און ציוויליזאציע פון דער מענטשהייט, און די יידישע יוגנט לערנט אין די אלגעמיינע וועלטלעכע שולן, אין אוניווערסיטעטן אד"גל, האלט זיך אבער דער רעליגיעזער ייד נאך אלץ פעסט ביי די טראדיציאנעלע יידישע דערציאונגס־אינסטיטוציעס, ביי די חדרים, תלמוד־תורות און ישיבות, ווו

זיינע קינדער ווערן דערציגן לויטן אלטן נוסח אין שויס פון דער תורה, ווו ס'ווערט געלערנט פיל תנ"ך, תלמוד, שולחן-ערוך און אנדערע רעליגיעזע למודים.

נאך דער באפרייאונג האבן די רעליגיעזע יידן מיט אייגענע כחות אויסגעבויט אין די לאגערן א נעץ פון אוועלכע חדרים, תלמוד-תורות און ישיבות, ווו ס'ווערן דערציגן און ס'לערנען מיט דער טראדיציאנעלער יידישער התמדה טויזנטער יידישע קינדער און יוגנטלעכע, אויפן אלטן שטייגער פון די אמאליקע תלמוד-תורות און ישיבות אין ליטע און פוילן. זיי אלע זעצן פאר די גאלדענע קייט פון תורה, גאונות און גדלות, וואס ציט זיך פון די צייטן פון תלמוד, ראשונים ואחרונים ביזן היינטיקן טאג.

די דאזיקע אלע תלמוד-תורות און ישיבות, זיינען גלייכבארעכטיקט מיט די אנדערע אלגעמיינע שולן אין די לאגערן, וועלכע ווערן אויסגעהאלטן און סובווענציאנירט פון "דזשאינט" און צ. ק. און ווערן אונטערשטיצט פון ועדה-הצלה.

ס'זיינען אויך געשאפן געווארן אין די לאגערן די, א. ג. "יבנה"-שולן - א שול, ווו די יוגנט באקומט א רעליגיעזע דערציאונג, ס'ווערט געלערנט תורה און תלמוד, אבער ס'ווערן אויך גלייכצייטיק געלערנט אלע אלגעמיינע וועלטלעכע למודים און וויסנשאפטן.

די דאזיקע "יבנה"-שולן זיינען געשאפן געווארן לויטן מוסטער פון די "מזרחי"-שולן אין ארץ-ישראל. די דאזיקע לערן-אנשטאלטן באמיען זיך צו שאפן א סינטעז פון רעליגיעזער דערציאונג, תורה-וויסן און אלגעמיינע וועלטלעכער בילדונג.

ספרים און ביכער

דאס יידישע פאלק איז באקאנט אונטערן נאמען עס-הספר, דאס פאלק פון בוך און דאס ניט נאר צוליב דעם, ווייל עס האט געגעבן דער וועלט דעם ספר-הספרים (די ביבל א. א. ווערטפולע ספרים), נאר אויך צוליב דעם, וואס דאס יידישע פאלק, יעדער איינצעלנער ייד איז א פאנאטיקער פון ספרים, פון ביכער.

און ווען דאס איז אזוי ביי יעדן ייד, איז עס נאך מער ביים רעליגיעזן ייד. ביים רעליגיעזן ייד איז דאס ספר א הייליקטום, ער באציט זיך צו דעם ווי צו א הייליקער זאך, ער קושט עס, ווען ער עפנט עס אויף און ווען ער שליסט עס צו. ער דערלאזט ניט, עס זאל פארשמוצט ווערן און באנוצט זיך ניט מיט זיין פאפיר, ווען עס ווערט צעריסן; א צעריסן ספר, די אזוי גערופענע "שמות", זיינען ביים רעליגיעזן ייד הייליק און ער באהאלט זיי אויף אן אפגעזונדערטן ארט און ברענגט זיי צו "קבורה". ווען דער סתם-ייד פון לאגער האט תיכף נאך זיין באפרייאונג אלץ געטאן, כדי זיך צו באזארגן מיט א בוך און א צייטונג, האט דער תורה-טרייער ייד מיט נאך מער מסירת-נפש אלץ אנגעווענדעט, כדי זיך צו באזארגן מיט די נויטיקע ספרים, ווי תנ"ך, תלמוד, שולחן-ערוך א. א. וו. מיט אויסערגעוויינלעכער ענערגיע האט ער ארויסגעזוכט די באהאלטענע ספרים אין דייטשלאנד און געלאזט ברענגען ספרים פון אויסלאנד. היינט טרעפט מען שוין אין יעדן בית-המדרש און אויך ביי פריוואטע פערזאנען גאנץ שיינע ביבליאטעקן מיט ספרי-קודש, אין וועלכע ס'ווערן געלערנט די שעורים (אין אלע לאגערן ווערן געלערנט שעורים ברבים). פון תנ"ך, תלמוד, משניות און ספרי-מוסר.

די רעליגיעזע ארגאניזאציעס, ווי מזרחי, אגודה, אגודת-הרבנים, משרד-דתי ביי "דזשאינט" און ועדה-הצלה האבן שוין אויך דא אין דייטשלאנד געלאזט דרוקן פארשיידענע ספרים און זיי פארטיילט צווישן די רעליגיעזע יידן פון דער שארית-הפליטה.

פרעסע

אין געזעלשאפטלעכן און עפענטלעכן לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה פארנעמט זייער א וויכטיקן ארט די פרעסע. ס'דערשיינען איבער א צענדליק יידישע צייטונגען – צוויי-דריי מאל וועכנטלעכע, וואכן-צייטונגען, חודש-זשורנאלן א. א. וו., וועלכע ווערן ארויסגעגעבן דורכן צענטראל-קאמיטעט פון דער ש"ה, דורך די ציוניסטישע פארטייען, דורך די לאגער-קאמיטעטן און אנדערע אינסטיטוציעס. צווישן די דאזיקע צייטונגען פארנעמט א בכבודיק ארט די רעליגיעזע יידישע פרעסע, ווי "די יידישע שטימע", ארגאן פון מזרחי און תורה-ועבודה, דערשיינט פינקטלעך יעדע וואך און האט אן אויפלאגע פון איבער צען טויזנט עקזעמפלארן; "דאס יידישע ווארט", ארגאן פון אגודת-ישראל, דערשיינט איינמאל אין 2-3 וואכן; "קול ישראל בגולה", ארגאן פון דער עקסטרעמער אגודה; "בני-עקיבא בהעפלה", חודש-זשורנאל פון דער מזרחישער-חלוצישער יוגנט-באוועגונג "בני עקיבא"; "בדרך", חודש-זשורנאל פון פועלי-אגודת-ישראל; "ישורון" – זשורנאל פון רעליגיעזע רעוויזיאניסטן א. א.

די דאזיקע ברייט-פארצווייגטע רעליגיעזע פרעסע האט פיל מיטגעהאלפן צו דער פארשטארקונג און פארטיפונג פונעם רעליגיעזן לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה.

קאמף קעגן עמלקים

ס'קען ניט ריידן וועגן רעליגיעזן לעבן פון דער שארית-הפליטה און ניט דערמאנען א טרויעריקע דערשיינונג אין אונדזער לעבן פון דער לעצטער צייט – דאס זיינען די זיך אלץ מערנדיקע פאלן פון „עמלקים“: יידישע יונגעלייט (בעיקר אין די שטעטלעך, ווו יידן לעבן צווישן דייטשן. אין די לאגערן זיינען אזעלכע פאלן זעלטענער), פערקערן מיט די טעכטער פון עמלק, מיט דייטשקעס, און האבן מיט זיי חתונה. ס'איז איבעריק צו זאגן, אז צווישן די רעליגיעזע יידן קומען אזעלכע פאלן ניט פאר און אז דאס רעליגיעזע יידנטום, ביי א געוויסער מיטהילף פון דער אלגעמיינער עפנטלעכקייט, פירט א קאמף קעגן דער דאזיקער דערשיינונג, וואס ווארפט א טונקעלן שאטן אויף א טייל פון אונדזער יוגנט.

און דא מוז דערמאנט ווערן צום שבת פון דער שארית-הפליטה. ביז היינט איז נאך ניט פארצייכנט געווארן קיין איין פאל, אז א יידיש מיידל אדער א יידישע פרוי זאל פארקערן מיט א זון פונעם עמלק-פאלק. דאס באווייזט, אז ביי די יידישע פרויען איז געבליבן פעסט איינגעווארצלט די מדה פון צניעות, וואס זיי האבן געזען און געירשנט פון זייערע מאמעס.

"הדלקת-הנר" (שבת-ליכט צינדן)

רעדנדיק וועגן דער שארית-הפליטה-פרוי מוזן מיר אויך דערמאנען [!], אז די שארית-הפליטה פארמאנט א באדייטנדיקע צאל שטרענג-רעליגיעזע פרויען. איטלעכע יידישער [!] פרוי פון דער שארית-הפליטה, אפילו אויך די, וואס איז ניט-רעליגיעז געשטימט, האלט זיך פעסט ביי דער שיינער יידישער טראדיציע פון ליכט-צינדן לכבוד שבת. ווען מ'שפאצירט דורך די גאסן פון די יידישע לאגערן פרייטיק-צונאכט, קען [59] מען זען ווי ס'לייכטן ארויס דורך די פענצטער פון די טונקעלע לאגער-בלאקן די ברענענדיקע שבת-ליכט, וואס יעדע שארית-הפליטה-פרוי צינדט אן. די דאזיקע ליכט זיינען אן עדות פון די שטארקע סענטימענטן פון דער יידישער פרוי צו די יידישע מנהגים און טראדיציעס.

ס'איז אויך כדאי צו באמערקן, אז די פרוי פארנעמט אן אנגעזען ארט אין די רעליגיעזע פארטייען און באוועגונגען – בעיקר אין די רעליגיעז-חלוצישע יוגנט-ארגאניזאציעס.

רעליגיעזע פארטייען און באוועגונגען

זייער פיל האבן מיטגעהאלפן צו דער אנטוויקלונג און פארשטארקונג פון רעליגיעזע לעבן פון שארית-הפליטה די גוט-באקאנטע רעליגיעזע ארגאניזאציעס און פארטייען, ווי למשל, „מזרח-תורה-ועבודה" און איר יוגנט-באוועגונג „בני-עקיבא", „אגודת-ישראל" און „פועלי אגודת-ישראל", וועלכע האבן מיט דער מיטהילף פון רעליגיעזע שליחים פון א"י אפגעגעבן זייערע כוחות, כדי צו ארגאניזירן די רעליגיעזע יידן, בפרט די יוגנט. די דאזיקע רעליגיעזע פאראייניקונגען האבן אויסגעבויט אויף דער איבערגאנגס-צייט דא אין דייטשלאנד פארשיידענע געז. אינסטיטוציעס און דערציאונגס-אנשטאלטן, וועלכע דערציען און גרייטן צו די לאגער-יידן פאר דער פארזעצונג פון אן עכטן יידיש-רעליגיעזע לעבן אין לאנד פון אונדזער צוקונפט – אין ארץ-ישראל.

Translation

The Religious Life of the She'erit Hapletah

In the past years of suffering and pain, when the Jewish people were tested with the greatest tribulations that have no equal in the entire tribulation-rich Jewish history; when the Jewish person had to fight hard to be able to sustain and save his own poor life – it was in those dreadful times that the *religious Jew* (as all those who survived that terrible era admit) was at the height of humaneness and warm Jewish brotherliness.

The religious Jew wasn't, however, content with his great achievement of preserving his “image of G-d,”³⁷ but he took upon himself a double task of *sanctification of G-d's name*: as a Jew, by living and dying as a Jew; and as a *religious Jew*, by living in those inhuman conditions according to his religious precepts and the commandments of the Torah.³⁸

37 A reference to the Jewish belief of being created “in the image of G-d,” a figurative expression referring to God's bestowing special honor unto humankind, not conferred unto the rest of creation, thereby creating the duty to act morally in accordance with Jewish law.

38 The author refers to multiple meanings of *kiddush ha-shem*, or the sanctification of God's name: by choosing to die as a Jew by continuing religious practices despite the risk of death (thus becoming a martyr), and by never ceasing in devotion to follow the religious obligations (Heb.: *mitzvot*). Both embody a steadfast commitment to religious commandments and are at the core of the classical response to Jewish martyrdom. During the Holocaust, the idea of *kiddush ha-hayyim*, or the sanctification of life, emerged; the term is first attributed to Rabbi Isaac Nissenbaum (1868–1942), a Zionist rabbi living in the Warsaw ghetto, who sought to differentiate between the classical response of *kiddush ha-shem* from the most pressing obligation of their lives *in extremis*, which he identified as spiritually resisting the Nazis and their intention

In the time when danger of death lurked for every Jew and the observance of religious practices came hand in hand with superhuman self-sacrifice, the religious Jew stood firm and performed this act of sanctification of G-d's name in ghettos and concentration camps, in the woods and prisons of Siberia and wherever he wound up in in those nightmarish years.³⁹



When the curtain was raised over the great tragedy of the Hitler years, we saw before us the European Jewry bled dry and almost entirely wiped out. Three quarters of the Jewish people in Europe perished, and along with them the large and numerous *religious* communities of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

The percentage of the perished religious Jews is much higher than the overall percentage of the [55] Jewish victims.⁴⁰ This is due to the above-mentioned factors: because he wished to live according to his religious precepts, the life of the religious Jew was much harder and more riddled with dangers than that of his non-observant counterpart.

When the day of liberation came and the few survivors among religious Jews were able to rise from their sickbeds, they immediately and with great energy proceeded to organize religious life for the community at large. They weren't content with simply having the opportunity, which everyone had now received thanks to being liberated, to live freely and undisturbed as a religious Jew, but they also wanted to enable the ordinary Jew to live a true, genuinely Jewish life.

of annihilating the Jewish people by surviving. Joseph Rudavsky, *To Live With Hope, to Die With Dignity: Spiritual Resistance in the Ghettos and Camps*, Lanham, Md., 1997; Johannes Heil, *Art. Martyrs*, in: Diner (ed.), *EJHC*, vol. 4, 166–172.

39 The author's conception of wartime Holocaust experiences is far more expansive than traditional definitions of the Holocaust, including the experiences of those who fled to, and survived in, the Soviet Union. Bistritsker's definition does not seem to include (at least explicitly) the experiences of those who survived in hiding, or by passing under a false (gentile) identity. His failure to include such experiences may be the result of Bistritsker's Orthodox perspective, as survival via passing often made it difficult, if not impossible, to keep the Jewish commandments.

40 There was a general sense during the war that because religious Jews were targeted specifically for early persecution by the Nazis through physical violence, shaving of beards, and other forms of torture that they died in disproportionately larger numbers. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that secular Jews survived in larger numbers, but Bistritsker highlights this specific targeting of the religious Jews in his appeal to rebuild Jewish religious life after the catastrophe.

The opinion of some, who wished to argue that the great suffering and the terrible trials the Jewish people were tested with would eventually weaken the faith of religious Jews, has turned out to be false and unfounded. No, on the contrary, their faith was further strengthened by a feeling of gratitude for the providence, which in the last minute saved a small remnant of the religious Jewry. From now on the religious Jew saw it as his life's mission to take the place of the thousands who perished and to gather round himself the other, non-observant, remnants of the Jewish people and bring them back "under the wings of the Shekhinah."⁴¹

This is how it was in all European countries where the small remnants of the Jewish survivors returned to, and this is how it was in Germany, where the majority of the rescued concentration camp inmates remained, later joined by Jews who arrived from Poland and Romania on their way to the Land of Israel, together with their brothers.

Synagogues and Study Houses

During his 2,000-year exile, in all the corners of the world and wherever his wandering paths led him to, the Jew first of all set up his "little temple," a synagogue and a study house that represented the great and splendid Jerusalem Temple of old. Even before the Jew had a home for himself where to lay down his tired head, he would build a prayer house where he'd pray to his G-d. Even in the most trying years of the exile it was in this place that he uttered with pride the words: "For My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations."⁴²

But these synagogues and study halls weren't just prayer houses and Torah centers. Concentrated around them was the entire social life of Jewish communities; clustered around them were all the splendid institutions for charity and loans without interest, all the wonderful philanthropic establishments; set up around them were the great Torah institutions, like for instance, *bet din*,⁴³ *yeshivas*, Talmud Torah schools and Hasidic *shtibls*,⁴⁴ which enriched

41 Heb., lit. dwelling/settling, *Shekhinah* denotes the divine presence of God, especially in the Jerusalem Temple. In Rabbinic Judaism, *Shekhinah* represents the juncture where heaven and earth converge and is symbolically depicted as the partner of God. Within medieval Kabbalistic texts, it included a partially feminine force, capable of either aligning with God, merging with Him, or creating distance from Him. The quoted text is from *El Male Rachamim*, a funeral prayer used by Ashkenazi Jews. Elke Morlok, Art. *Shekhinah*, in: Diner (ed.) EJHC, vol. 5, 668–674.

42 Isa 56:7.

43 Heb., rabbinical court; pl. *batei din*.

44 Small Hasidic prayer houses.

Jewish life and raised new generations. On the whole, these liveliest and brightest streets of the Jewish ghetto – the “Shul Street” – were the sanctuary for the afflicted Jew, who went there to rest and draw courage and spiritual refreshment at the end of a day’s hard work to provide for his family; in times of bitter sufferings, persecutions and antisemitic edicts, he went there to pour his heart out before his Maker.

This beautiful tradition was continued by the Jews who survived the gas chambers and crematoriums.

Immediately after liberation the few rescued religious Jews gathered together and made up a minyan.⁴⁵ First and foremost, they set up a synagogue, a study hall and a prayer house in every camp and town in Germany; they didn’t spare themselves and, being still weak and ill like a “Muselmann,” ran around in search of a Torah scroll that had been miraculously saved from the Nazi claws and avoided being burnt so that they could read from it and pray communally. Later, Jews brought with them Torah scrolls from Poland and Siberia, the Torah scrolls that had trodden the path of sufferings with their bearers and keepers.

Today in the camps and towns of Germany there is a whole network of synagogues and study houses where every Jewish ethnic group – Ashkenazi and Sephardi, Polish and Lithuanian, Hungarian and Romanian – pray according to the custom of their old homes. There are also Hasidic shtibles where Hasidic Judaism is observed in the old way.⁴⁶

In the larger camps you can see almost all kinds of Hasidim from prewar Poland, Galicia, Romania and Hungary, like Gerer, Belzer, Bobover, [56] Chortkover, Sighet, Munkacs, Vizhnitzer, Spinker, and others.⁴⁷ There are also larger groups of Lubavitch Hasidim (“Chabad”), who were rescued in

45 A quorum of ten men over the age of 13 required for traditional Jewish public worship.

46 Religious life flourished in the DP camps, with movements of all stripes emerging among the DPs. While the proliferation of these various movements and groups led to the development of a rich tapestry of culture and tradition in the camps, it also resulted in conflict as these groups struggled for resources and power. Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*; Greenberg, *German Displaced Persons Camps*.

47 As Hasidism developed and spread as a Jewish religious movement in Eastern Europe in the 19th century, different dynasties came to be associated with righteous spiritual leaders and rabbis from specific locales across Poland, Galicia, Romania, and Hungary. The Hasidic dynasties listed here include those associated with the Yiddish names for towns from Ger (Góra Kalwaria, Poland), Belz (Galicia), Bobowa (Galicia), Chortkiv (Ukraine), Vizhnitz, Sighet and Munkacs (Hungary), and Spinka (Romania). David Biale et al., *Hasidism: A New History*, Princeton, NJ/Oxford 2018.

Russia and came to the camps with the influx of Polish refugees. These groups occupy a special place in the Hasidic life of the She'erit Hapletah with their distinct Hasidic way of life which is known to be quite different from Polish and Galician Hasidism. They also have their own separate shtibls, study halls and yeshivas where they study and pray according to their customs and whose content enriches the religious life of the She'erit Hapletah.⁴⁸

There are also groups of "Misnagdim" or "Ashkenazim," in particular Lithuanian Jews and oberländische Jews from the former Austria-Hungary, who have their own separate study houses and synagogues where they pray according to the Ashkenazi custom, and who continue the distinct "Misnagdic" Judaism.⁴⁹

The remnants of the erstwhile German Jewry, the so-called Kultusgemeinden,⁵⁰ make up a separate chapter. These communities have recently been revived and their former synagogues rebuilt, where German Reform Judaism, complete with their rabbis, is observed. From the former Orthodox Jewry in Germany, from the well-known German ultra-Orthodoxy, nearly no trace remains today.

Kashrut

Not intending to go into a detailed analysis of Jewish religious dietary laws on the pages of this journal, it is nonetheless worth being reminded that the portion kashrut in the Torah concludes with the following words: "For I am the LORD your G-d: you shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and you shall be

48 There were a variety of Hasidic groups living throughout the DP camps; sometimes sharing the same camp. Conflicts arose between multiple Hasidic groups (often over the division of supplies), as well as between Hasidic groups on the one side and non-Orthodox groups on the other side, over whether various aspects of daily life in the camps adequately complied with Jewish law. Crago-Schneider, *A Community of Will*.

49 Misnagdim (Heb., opponents; sg. *misnagged*) were the rabbinical opponents of the Hasidic movement, primarily based in Lithuania, northern Belorussia, and north-eastern Poland, all territories inhabited by Lithuanian Jews, also known as Litvaks. The conflict between Hasidim and Misnagdim during the 18th century revolved around differences in religious leadership and worship style. Hasidim followed charismatic rebbes and embraced emotional, joyful worship, while Misnagdim adhered to traditional rabbinic authorities and favored a more intellectual and reserved approach to religious practice. Allan Nadler, *The Faith of the Mithnagdim: Rabbinic Responses to Hasidic Rapture*, Baltimore, Md., 1997; Dovid Katz, *Lithuanian Jewish Culture*, Vilnius 2004, 121–161.

50 Germ., religious communities.

holy; for I am holy.”⁵¹ The laws of *kashrut* have sanctified the Jewish people and surrounded them with a strong fence that has protected us until today.

Also, in the hardest famine years of the war, in the ghettos and concentration camps, the religious Jew strove with all his might steadfastly to keep the dietary laws. There were many observant Jews who starved but didn't eat anything ritually unclean.⁵²

Immediately after liberation, religious Jews in the camps set up special kosher kitchens where they're provided only with kosher food. There's a kosher kitchen in every camp. In many camps the general kitchen for the entire camp is kosher, although this is connected with various difficulties, such as a price rise for ritually slaughtered meat, etc.⁵³ Religious Jews, however, are prepared to make any sacrifices in order to be able to live by the dietary laws of the Torah.⁵⁴

Ritual slaughterers have been trained in the camps to slaughter animals according to the laws of the *Shulhan Arukh*.⁵⁵

51 Lev 11:44.

52 As life in the ghettos became increasingly deadly, Orthodox Jews struggled with the decision over whether and how to maintain various religious commandments, including *kashrut* (from Heb. *kasher*, ritually suitable, kosher). Here the author highlights those who chose to maintain strict adherence to religious law, even if that decision resulted in certain death. On the interpretation of various religious commandments as they applied to life in the ghettos, see Esther Farbstein, *Hidden in Thunder: Perspectives on Faith, Halachah and Leadership during the Holocaust*, transl. by Deborah Stern, Jerusalem 2007 (first Jerusalem 2002); Irving Rosenbaum, *The Holocaust and Halakhah*, Jersey City, NJ, 1976.

53 On the food supplies to the DPs see Document 8, n. 34.

54 Confrontations between Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups occurred throughout the DP camps, particularly over perceived “special treatment” and the division of supplies, as Jewish chaplains attempted to ensure that various Jewish groups obtained the supplies necessary for religious practice. Conflicts arose over religious practice in addition to supplies; on one occasion, a violent fight broke out between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews over the holding of a soccer game on the Sabbath. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 157. On the role of Jewish chaplains, see Grobman, *Rekindling the Flame*. For a conflict over a theatrical performance in a DP camp that was scheduled to take place on the Sabbath, see Document 52.

55 Heb., lit. set table, *Shulhan Arukh* is a collection of all Jewish religious laws and prescriptions. While the slaughtering of animals within the DP camps was prohibited by the American occupation authorities, they still managed to obtain animals in the so-called black market to be slaughtered clandestinely. Occupation authorities would conduct raids to catch DPs engaged in such clandestine slaughter, and many found themselves in trouble with the law as a result of their involvement. Crago-Schneider, *Jewish “Shtetls” in Postwar Germany*, 133–143.

Family Purity

Jewish family life (to say more correctly, marital life) is known as an example of purity. The Jewish family has been one of the main fortresses that has protected and sustained the Jewish people so that they didn't perish in the sea of persecutions.

The foundations for this family life were formed by the laws of the *Shulḥan Arukh*, known as *Taharat ha-Mishpaḥa* (Family Purity). According to these, the Jewish family (marriage) is built through *ḥuppah* and *kiddushin*,⁵⁶ conducted by the rabbinical office, etc., and is also connected with *mikveh* and ritual immersion.

The liberated Jewish survivors, consisting mainly of single men and women who had lost their other halves in crematoriums, concentration camps and forests, or of young people, who hadn't yet been married, immediately after liberation felt an overwhelming urge to get married and start a new family so as not to be so lonely and lost, and so as to try at least in part to ease the pain for those they had lost.

Such Jewish weddings in the camps and towns of Germany are performed according to the Jewish religious laws, with *ḥuppah* and *kiddushin*, through the officiation of an accredited rabbi, with all the relevant religious laws being precisely followed.⁵⁷

It must be added that even Jews who are not religiously inclined enter into marriage and lay the foundations of their family life according to the traditional laws of the Jewish faith.

[57]

Circumcision

The commandment of circumcision belongs to the main pillars of Judaism.⁵⁸ Through it the Jewish male child is included in the covenant between the Jewish people and their G-d.

56 *Ḥuppah* and *kiddushin* refer to the Jewish wedding ceremony. The *ḥuppah* is the ritual wedding canopy under which a Jewish couple stands for the *kiddushin* (Heb., lit. sanctification), the first stage of the wedding ceremony.

57 Marriage and other religious rituals played a key role in DP life; such rituals strengthened DPs' social bonds and allowed them to reclaim their agency, shaping identity in the process. Although Bistritser does not mention it, American- and British-Jewish chaplains often officiated weddings and other religious rituals, particularly early in the camps' existence. Margarete Myers Feinstein, *Jewish Observance in Amalek's Shadow: Mourning, Marriage, and Birth Rituals among Displaced Persons in Germany*, in: Patt/Berkowitz (eds.), "We Are Here," 257–288, esp. 269–275.

58 The *bris milah* (Heb.) is the covenant of circumcision in the Jewish faith.

In the past two years thousands of Jewish baby boys (thus should they multiply!) have been born in the camps and towns of Germany and their parents had them circumcised according to the Jewish law and faith by specially trained mohels⁵⁹ (there are only a few isolated cases when parents didn't let the babies be circumcised ...). Over 99 % of newborn Jewish boys, including those born to non-religious and free-thinking parents, are circumcised, and a traditional *se'udat mitzvah*⁶⁰ is given, where the parents and friends rejoice that they have been found deserving of bringing up new generations that will keep up the continuity of the Jewish people.

Recently there have also been more acts of circumcision for entire groups of older children who were born in the woods or in Russia and couldn't be circumcised at the time. These acts were carried out either by parents, or in the case of orphaned children, by religious organizations and the rabbinate.

Rabbis and Rabbinate

In order to carry out, organize and build up the four above-mentioned aspects, namely, synagogues, kashrut, family purity and circumcision, it was important to establish in every Jewish camp or community the institution of rabbinate. The rabbi or the bet din has always been the highest authority both in social and private (family) life of the Jewish people. It wasn't only in religious matters that the rabbi or bet din passed judgment, but in all other social and even private family matters, their word was accorded the greatest reverence and was almost always decisive.

Today, in every camp and community in Germany there is a rabbi or a religious authority (similar to the former batei din) that perform religious functions in the life of the community.

These rabbis are organized into an association, the so-called *Agudat Harabanim*.⁶¹ The religious authorities are a coequal branch of the camp committees that underlie the Central Committee of Liberated Jews.

59 A *mohel* (Heb.) is a person trained in the practice of circumcision according to Jewish law.

60 A *se'udat mitzvah* (Heb.) is a meal celebrating the fulfillment of a commandment.

61 DP leadership created an *Agudat Harabanim*, a Hebrew term meaning Rabbinical Council, within the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany with Rabbi Shmuel Abba Snieg (1878–1970; see Document 64) serving as Chief Rabbi, in order to bring together rabbis representing the various Jewish religious movements active throughout the DP camps. The Central Rabbinate of the American Zone, as it was also known, subsequently split in 1946 following a dispute between the *Vaad Hatzalah* (the American Orthodox relief agency support-

Religious Instruction and Religious Educational Institutions

The religious educational institutions that the Jewish people have built, developed and perfected in the course of their history – the well-known cheders, Talmud Torah schools and – were the blacksmiths that forged Jewish life, developed Jewish spirit and brought the Jewry to the spiritual and cultural heights attained by the Jewish nation in the course of human development.

Although today the Jewish people occupy a respectable place in human culture and civilization and the Jewish youth is studying in general secular schools, universities and the like, the religious Jew is still steadfastly holding on to the traditional Jewish educational institutions – cheders, Talmud Torah schools and yeshivas – where his children are raised according to the old ways in the fold of the Torah, and where a lot of Tanakh, Talmud, Shulḥan Arukh and other religious subjects are taught.

After liberation the religious Jews built under their own steam a network of such cheders, Talmud Torah schools and yeshivas, where thousands of Jewish children and young people are being educated, learning with the traditional Jewish diligence, in the manner of the old Talmud Torah schools and yeshivas of Lithuania and Poland. They all continue the golden chain of the Torah, great learnedness and glory that stretches from the times of the Talmud, from the prophets till today.

All these Talmud Torah schools and yeshivas are coequal with other general schools in the camps, maintained and subsidized by the “Joint” and the Central Committee, and supported by the Vaad Hatzalah.⁶²

There have also been established in the camps the so-called Yavneh schools,⁶³ where the youth receive religious instruction, the Torah and Tal-

ing Orthodox DPs associated with *Agudat Yisra'el*) and the JDC over the sufficiency of matzah supplies for the upcoming Passover holiday. Baumel-Schwartz, *The Politics of Spiritual Rehabilitation in the DP Camps*, 59–79.

62 The *Vaad Hatzalah* (Rescue Committee) was an organization formed by Orthodox rabbis of the United States and Canada, initially established to rescue rabbis and yeshiva students during the Holocaust. The group later expanded its mission to include all Jews as the Germans' exterminatory intent became clear. After the war, the *Vaad Hatzalah* became the representative relief agency of American Orthodox Jewry. Alex Grobman, *Battling for Souls: The Vaad Hatzala Rescue Committee in Post-War Europe*, Jersey City, NJ, 2004.

63 Yavneh was a network of Orthodox schools with instruction in Hebrew, founded by a group of rabbis in Lithuania in 1920 with links to local branches of the *Agudat Yisra'el* Orthodox movement. Mordechai Zalkin, *Ideological Differences Between Jewish Schools*, in: Vladas Sirutavičius/Darius Staliūnas/Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė (eds.), *The History of the Jews in Lithuania*, Leiden 2020, 317–327.

mud are taught, but parallel to that, also all the general secular subjects and sciences.

[58] These Yavneh schools were modelled on the Mizraḥi schools in the Land of Israel. These learning institutions attempt to create a synthesis of religious instruction, knowledge of the Torah and general secular education.

Religious and Non-Religious Literature

The Jewish people are known as “the people of the Book,” and not only because they gave the world the Book of Books (the Bible and other valued books), but also due to the fact that the Jews, every single one of them, are *fanatics* of books, religious and not.

If this is true of any Jew, it's much more so of the religious Jew. For the religious Jew the holy book is a sacred thing; he treats it as such, he kisses it when he opens it and when he closes it. He doesn't suffer it to be sullied and doesn't recycle its paper when it gets torn; torn holy books, so-called sheymes, are sacred for the religious Jew and he conceals them in an isolated place and “buries” them.⁶⁴

While the non-observant camp Jew did everything he could immediately after liberation to get hold of a book or a newspaper, the Torah-faithful Jew with ever greater self-sacrifice applied everything available to him to procure the necessary sacred books, such as the Tanakh, the Talmud, the Shulḥan Arukh, and others. It was with extraordinary energy that he searched for the scriptures hidden in Germany and had other/further/additional holy books brought from abroad. Today in every study house and also in private hands there can be found rather wonderful libraries of Hebrew holy books, where lessons are given in the Tanakh, Talmud, Mishnah and Musar⁶⁵ books (such lessons are public in all the camps).

Religious organizations, such as Mizraḥi, Agudat, Agudat Harabanim, Misrad Dati⁶⁶ at the “Joint” and Vaad Hatzalah, have already had various sacred books printed also here in Germany and distributed them among the religious component of the She'erit Hapletah.

64 According to traditional Jewish practice, a holy book cannot simply be thrown away but must be stored in a *genizah* (Heb., lit. storage). A *genizah* is a storage area in a synagogue or a Jewish cemetery designated for the temporary storage of well-worn books on religious topics prior to proper cemetery burial.

65 Heb., morality. *Musar* is a guide to Jewish spiritual practice, a system of virtue-based ethics, popularized by the 19th century Rabbi Israel Salanter (1810–1883). Geoffrey Claussen, Art. Musar, in: Diner (ed.), EJHC, vol. 4, 412–420.

66 Heb., religious office. The *Misrad Dati* of the JDC in Munich was headed by Rabbi Shlomo Shapira (see Document 64).

Press

Press occupies a very important place in the social and public life of the She'erit Hapletah. There are over ten Yiddish newspapers that come out: the ones that appear 2–3 times a week, weekly papers, monthly journals, etc., published by the Central Committee of the She'erit Hapletah, Zionist parties, camp committees, and other institutions. Among these papers, a honorable place is occupied by the religious Jewish press, like *Di yidishe shtime*,⁶⁷ the organ of Mizrahi and Torah ve-Avodah,⁶⁸ that appears every week without fail and has a circulation of over 10,000 copies; *Dos yidishe vort*,⁶⁹ the organ of Agudat Israel, that appears once every 2 to 3 weeks; *Kol Yisra'el ba-golah*,⁷⁰ the organ of the extreme Agudat; *Bnei Akiva ba-ha'apalah*, the monthly journal of Mizrahi-pioneering Zionist youth movement Bnei Akiva;⁷¹ *Ba-derekh*,⁷² the monthly journal of Poale Agudat Israel;⁷³ *Yeshurun*,⁷⁴ the journal of religious revisionists, and others.

This branched-out religious press has greatly contributed to strengthening and deepening of the religious life of the She'erit Hapletah.

Fight Against “Amalekism”

It's impossible to talk about the religious life of the She'erit Hapletah without mentioning a regrettable recent phenomenon in our life, namely, the increasing number of cases of “Amalekism,” whereby Jewish young men (especially in towns, where the Jews live beside the Germans; such cases are less frequent in the camps) form a relationship with the daughters of Amalek, the German women, and marry them.⁷⁵ It goes without saying that such cases do not occur

67 Yidd., *The Jewish Voice*.

68 The religious school system of the Mizrahi movement.

69 Yidd., *The Yiddish Word*.

70 Yidd., *The Voice of Israel in Diaspora*.

71 The youth movement of the *Mizrahi*, which founded pioneering branches of the religious Zionist movement, dedicated to the ideals of *torah* (Heb., teaching) and *avodah* (Heb., labor) or a fusion of religion and pioneering ideals in the kibbutz.

72 Yidd., *On the Way*.

73 *Poale Agudat Yisra'el* (Workers of Agudat Israel) was an Orthodox labor party established in Poland in 1922 as an offshoot of *Agudat Yisra'el*. The organization was one of the forces promoting the creation of a Jewish state, and supported immigration to and settlement in Palestine, where it established kibbutz *Hafez Hayingim*. Gershon Chaim Bacon, *The Politics of Tradition: Agudat Yisrael in Poland, 1916–1939*, Jerusalem 1996.

74 Heb.; a poetic name for Israel used in the Torah.

75 Referring to Amalek as the incarnation of evil throughout history, “Amalekism” is used here to compare Jewish men who consorted with Gentile women to the

among the religious Jews and that the religious Jewry, with some help from general publicity, is fighting this phenomenon, which casts a dark shadow on some of our young men.

At this point a word of commendation must be said with regard to the Jewish women of the She'erit Hapletah. Until today not a single instance has been recorded of a Jewish girl or a woman forming a relationship with a son of the Amalekites. This demonstrates that the Jewish women still have the deep-rooted virtue of chastity that they observed in and inherited from their mothers.⁷⁶

“Lighting” (of Sabbath Candles)

While on the subject of the woman of the She'erit Hapletah, we must also mention that there is a significant number of strictly observant women among the She'erit Hapletah. Every Jewish woman among the She'erit Hapletah, even those who aren't religiously inclined, faithfully observes the beautiful Jewish tradition of lighting candles in honor of the Sabbath. When one walks through the streets of the Jewish camps on a Friday night, one can [59] see the burning Sabbath candles lit by every woman among the She'erit Hapletah shining through the windows of the dark camp blocks. These candles are witnesses to the strong sentiments the Jewish woman feels for Jewish customs and traditions.

It's also worth mentioning that women occupy a distinguished place in the religious parties and movements, especially in the religious-pioneering Zionist youth organizations.⁷⁷

Religious Parties and Movements

Well-known religious organizations and parties have greatly contributed to the development and reinforcement of the religious life of the She'erit Hapletah, for example, Mizrahi Torah ve-Avodah and its youth movement Bnei Akiva; Agudat Israel and Poale Agudat Israel, who, with the help of religious emissaries from the Land of Israel, volunteered their efforts to organizing the religious Jews and youth in particular. These religious associations have built

Amalekites (see also Document 51), or Nation of Amalek, from the Hebrew Bible. On sexual encounters and relationships between Jewish men and German women in occupied Germany, see Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 227–230.

76 While Bistrितser's claims regarding Jewish female chastity are undeniably hyperbolic, liaisons seemed to have occurred more frequently between Jewish men and German women rather than between Jewish women and German men. *Ibid.* 225–230.

77 Bistrितser's claim here is questionable; women were rarely permitted to hold leadership positions in these organizations. Baumel-Schwartz, *DPs, Mothers and Pioneers*, 99–110.

here in Germany during this transition time various social and educational institutions that instruct and prepare the camp Jews to continue a true religious Jewish life in the land of our future, the Land of Israel.

Document 62

Yosef Dov Sheynzon,⁷⁸ “Dayenu”

Munich, 1946⁷⁹

Published poem, 1 page

Language: Hebrew

Archives of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York, series VI: Overseas, I-180 (National Jewish Welfare Board, Army Navy Division records), box 204, folder 2, Haggadah, Munich, German, 1946

78 Yosef Dov Sheynzon (1907–1990) was born in Anykščiai, Lithuania (then part of the Russian Empire), receiving both a Jewish and a general education. He attended medical school at Kovno University. During the Second World War, Sheynzon survived three years in the Shavli ghetto before being deported to Kaufering in 1944. After his liberation by the Red Army in Czechoslovakia in April 1945, Sheynzon recuperated in Prague before traveling with the *Briḥah* to Landsberg. There he became active with the United Zionist Organization together with other friends from Kovno. In addition to creating this Survivor’s Haggadah, which he produced for UZO and the Zionist youth movement *Noḥam* in winter 1945–1946, Sheynzon wrote for the Yiddish newspaper *Dos vort* (The Word) and was an editor for *Niẓoz* (Spark; see Document 5), an underground journal produced by the *Irgun Brith Zion* in Kovno, which continued to be published in Kaufering before and after liberation. He immigrated to Montreal in 1948.

79 The first Passover after liberation pointed to the ironies of life in Germany after the war, and the increasingly absurd condition of the survivors, who were “liberated but not yet free,” an obvious distinction repeatedly noted by Rabbi Abraham Klausner. Klausner officiated at the first official Passover seder in Munich and facilitated the publication of the Survivors’ Haggadah written by Yosef Dov Sheynzon and printed by the military press with the insignia of the Third Army. In his preface to the Haggadah, Klausner noted the symbolism of the Germany/Egypt comparison for those who would attend the seder from the United States Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), the Criminal Investigation Division, the Information Control Division, UNRRA, and the JDC, coming to “the city of Munich, there to relate as of old, the miracle of freedom [...] in their hearts they felt very close to all that which was narrated. Pharaoh and Egypt gave way to Hitler and Germany. Pitham and Ramsees faded beneath fresh memories of Buchenwald and Dachau.” Klausner, *A Letter to My Children*, 108; Patt, “Laughter through Tears,” 113–131. See Document 59 for another Haggadah.

דְּיָנוּ

אֱלוֹ פְּזַרְנוּ בֵּין הַגּוֹיִים וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב רֵאשׁוֹן דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב שֵׁנִי וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ עֲלִילַת וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב שְׁלִישִׁי דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ רִדְיֹפּוֹת דֵּם דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ עֲלִילַת דֵּם וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ רִדְיֹפּוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב שְׁלִישִׁי וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב שְׁלִישִׁי דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ רִדְיֹפּוֹת מִסַּעֲצֵלֵב שְׁלִישִׁי וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ "אוֹת קְלוֹן" דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ "אוֹת קְלוֹן" וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת הַמְּגַפָּה הַשְּׁחוּרָה" דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת גּוֹזֵרוֹת הַמְּגַפָּה הַשְּׁחוּרָה וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַאִינְקוִיזִיצִיָּה דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַאִינְקוִיזִיצִיָּה וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ גּוֹזֵרוֹת תִּ"ח וְת"ט וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת שְׁחִיטוֹת תַּרְע"ט בְּאוֹקְרִינָה דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַשְּׁחִיטוֹת בְּאוֹקְרִינָה וְלֹא נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַיִּטְלָר דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַיִּטְלָר וְלֹא הִקִּימוּ לָנוּ גְטָאוֹת דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ הִקִּימוּ לָנוּ גְטָאוֹת וְלֹא הִקִּימוּ לָנוּ תַּאֲיִגִּים וְכַבְּשָׁנִים דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ הִקִּימוּ לָנוּ תַּאֲיִגִּים וְכַבְּשָׁנִים וְלֹא הִתְעַלְלוּ בְּנַשְׁנוּ וּבִטְפַּנוּ דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ הִתְעַלְלוּ בְּנַשְׁנוּ וּבִטְפַּנוּ וְלֹא הִתְעַלְלוּ בְּפָרֶךְ דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ הִתְעַלְלוּ בְּפָרֶךְ וְלֹא כָּלוּ בְּנוֹ בְּרַעַב דְּיָנוּ. אֱלוֹ כָּלוּ בְּנוֹ בְּרַעַב וְלֹא כָּלוּ בְּנוֹ בְּרַעַב מִיָּנִי מַחְלוֹת וְעַנְוִיִּים דְּיָנוּ. עַל אֵת כְּמָה וְכְמָה (!) מִשְׁהִיָּע לָנוּ כָּל אֱלֹהֵי הָרִי אֲנוּ חִיבִים לְעֻלוֹת. לְהַעֲפִיל. לְחַסֵּל אֶת הַגְּלוּת. לְבַנּוֹת אֶת אֶרֶץ הַבְּחִירָה וְלְהַקִּים בֵּית לָנוּ וּלְבַנְיָנוּ עַד עוֹלָם.

Translation⁸⁰

DAYENU⁸¹

We would have been content. Had He scattered us among the nations but had not given us the First Crusade, we would have been content.⁸² Had He given

80 Translation from: Saul Touster (ed.), *A Survivors' Haggadah*, Philadelphia, Penn., 2000. Yaron Peleg, Robert Szulkin, and Marc Samuels were involved in the translation, without the respective translations being marked individually. *Ibid.*, viii.

81 The *Survivors' Haggadah* noted the ironies of continued Jewish oppression and enslavement on the "festival of freedom" perhaps nowhere more poignantly than in the *Dayenu* (Heb., lit. enough to us) prayer, a "veritable anti-Hillel." Touster (ed.), *A Survivors' Haggadah*, 63. "In this radically revised version of what was originally a hymn of praise, God is sarcastically 'praised' for an endless litany of punishment and persecution. In addition, through its use of historical references, the postwar 'Dayenu' placed the most recent round of Jewish suffering within the longer history of Jewish persecution, again suggesting the eternal strength of the Jewish people." Patt, "Laughter through Tears," 120.

82 During the First Crusade (1096–1099), Jewish communities on the Rhine and the Danube were attacked by Crusaders in what is known as the Rhineland massacres. Mobs of French and German Christians taking part in the People's Crusade of 1096 committed a series of mass murders of Jews in those communities; numerous historians have referred to these massacres as pogroms. Gerd Mentgen, *Art. Crusades*, in: Richard S. Levy, *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and*

us the First Crusade but not the Second, we would have been content.⁸³ Had He given us the Second Crusade but not the Blood Libel, we would have been content.⁸⁴ Had He given us the Blood Libel but not the persecutions of the Third Crusade, we would have been content.⁸⁵ Had He given us the persecutions of the Third Crusade, but not the Badge of Shame, we would have been content.⁸⁶ Had He given us the Badge of Shame but not the persecutions of the

Persecution, 2. vols., Santa Barbara, Calif., 2005, here vol. 1, 152–155, here 153; Judith Bronstein, *The Crusades and the Jews: Some Reflections on the 1096 Massacre*, in: *History Compass* 5 (2007), no. 4, 1268–1279.

- 83 During the Second Crusade (1145–1149), Jewish communities in the Rhineland, Cologne, Mainz, Worms, and Speyer suffered a new wave of pogroms at the hands of French and German Crusaders from the armies of King Louis VII of France (1120–1180) and King Conrad III of Germany (1093/1094–1152); it was the first of the crusades to be led by European kings. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, Mass., 2006.
- 84 The term blood libel refers to the false allegation that Jews used the blood of non-Jewish, usually Christian, children for ritual purposes. The first case of blood libel in Europe came during the Middle Ages in 1144, when the Jews of Norwich, England were charged with ritual murder after the body of a young Christian boy named William was discovered stabbed to death in the woods. Emily M. Rose, *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of Blood Libel in Medieval Europe*, New York 2015.
- 85 During the Third Crusade (1189–1192), the Jews of England suffered the most brutal pogroms, with mobs of Crusaders massacring Jews first in London and then in Lynn, Colchester, and Stamford. One of the bloodiest pogroms occurred in York in March 1190; the entire Jewish community of around 150 people perished. Sarah Rees Jones/Sethina Watson (eds.), *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts*, Suffolk, 2013.
- 86 The Badge of Shame refers to various types of badges and identifying marks, varying from one country to another and from period to period, that Jews were forced to wear in Catholic countries in medieval and early modern Europe. Badges were often oval or round in the early 1200s in France and Aragon, and usually white or yellow. In England, a law was passed in 1274, requiring a badge in the form of two joined tablets (representing the Ten Commandments) made of yellow felt. In Vienna in 1267, Jews were ordered to wear the *Judenhut*, a cone-shaped hat which was in most cases yellow, instead of a badge. The yellow badge outlasted the *Judenhut*, however, surviving into the 18th century in some places. The use of such badges was revived by Nazi Germany during the Second World War, including a white armband with blue Star of David and the infamous yellow Star of David often emblazoned with the word Jew (in the dominant language of the Nazi-controlled territory in question) in a font meant to resemble Hebrew. Dean Phillip Bell, *Art. Yellow Badge*, in: Levy (ed.), *Antisemitism*, vol. 2, 779.

Black Plague, we would have been content.⁸⁷ Had He given us the persecutions of the Black Plague but not the Inquisition, we would have been content.⁸⁸ Had He given us the Inquisition but not the pogroms of 1648–49, we would have been content.⁸⁹ Had He given us the pogroms of 1648–49 but not the slaughter of 1919 in Ukraine, we would have been content.⁹⁰ Had He given

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- 87 During the Black Plague epidemic in the mid-1300s, some Christian clerics preached that Jews brought on the plague; according to one popular anti-Jewish story the Devil recruited the Jews to carry out this work and they eagerly agreed, supposedly poisoning water wells to infect Christians. The spread of these myths led to persecution of Jews and anti-Jewish violence. Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death*, transl. by Andrea Grover, Berkeley, Calif., 2000 (first Rome 1992).
- 88 The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478 by Catholic monarchs King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504), originally intended to identify heretics among converts from Judaism and Islam (known as *conversos*) to Catholicism. It was preceded by a rise in antisemitic attitudes throughout Europe from the late 1200s throughout the 1300s; in the 1390s, pogroms across Spain led many Jews to convert, practically forced to do so in the face of certain death. In 1492, to further prevent *conversos* from returning to their former religions, the Spanish monarchs ordered all remaining Jews and Muslims to either convert or be expelled from the country. The last person to be executed in the Inquisition was hanged in 1826; around 2,000 people were put to death during the first two decades of its existence, and approximately 12,000 were executed overall. Cullen Murphy, *God's Jury: The Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World*, Boston, Mass., 2003, 65–102; Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*. 2nd ed., New York 2001.
- 89 The pogroms of 1648–1649 took place during the Cossack revolt led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1595–1657). Cossack troops marched through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth toward Kiev, and, in the process of conquering the cities and towns in its path, the Cossacks murdered thousands of Jews, wiping out entire communities. Nathan Hanover, *Abyss of Despair: The Famous 17th Century Chronicle Depicting Jewish Life in Russia and Poland during the Chmielnicki Massacre*, transl. by William H. Mesch, introd. by William Helmreich, 6th ed., New Brunswick, NJ, 2009; Frauke von Rohden, Art. Cossack Persecutions, in: Diner (ed.) *EJHC*, vol. 2, 120–129.
- 90 The 1919 pogroms took place in the first three months of 1919 in the provinces of Volhynia and Podilia. Nearly 100,000 Jews were murdered by militia men fighting for the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic after militia leaders authorized attacks on Jewish civilians. The 1919 pogroms were the deadliest in a wave of pogroms in the region from 1918–1921; historians have identified these pogroms as a prelude to the Holocaust. Veidlinger, *In the Midst of Civilized Europe*; David Engel, *The Assassination of Symon Petliura and the Trial of Scholem Schwarzbard 1926–1927. A Selection of Documents*, Göttingen 2016.

us the slaughter in Ukraine but not Hitler, we would have been content. Had He given us Hitler but no ghettos, we would have been content. Had He given us ghettos but no gas chambers and crematoria, we would have been content. Had He given us gas chambers and crematoria, but our wives and children had not been tortured, we would have been content. Had our wives and children been tortured but we had not been forced into hard bondage, we would have been content. Had we been forced into hard bondage but not been made to die of hunger, we would have been content. Had we been made to die of hunger but not of disease and torture, we would have been content.

All the more so, since all these have befallen us, we must make *Aliyah*, even if illegally, wipe out the *Galut*,⁹¹ build the chosen land, and make a home for ourselves and our children for eternity.

Document 63

Hanover Rabbinat,⁹² "Hear, O Israel!"

Hanover, date unknown

Printed appeal, 1 page

Language: Hebrew and Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson (Yiddish) and Avinoam J. Patt (Hebrew)

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.2 (DP Camps in Germany), MK 483, reel 114, folder 1575

ב"ה האנאווער.

שמע ישראל!

קדיש אחרי אביך לא אמרת
מצבה על קבר אמך לא הצבת
על קבר אביך אינך יכול להשתטח
על קבר אמך לא תזיל דמעות
נאבדו לך כל קרוביך
"שבעה" אחריהם לא ישבת "קריעה" אחריהם לא קרעת

91 Heb., lit. exile, diaspora, captivity. *Galut* refers pejoratively to a period of deprivation of statehood and of life under foreign rule in the history of the Jews, particularly the life of Jews outside Palestine (and now, Israel).

92 The Hanover Jewish DP community was located in the British Zone.

מליונות אחיך בני ישראל נחנקו, נשרפו לאפר
העשית להם איזה זכרון נצח?
ובמה אתה יכול לכבד את זכרם?

ברצונך לעשות זכר וציון לנשמותיהם תיכנס לבית הכנסת ותשתתף עם הצבור ללמוד את "המשנה יומית" לזכר קדושי ישראל, רק שתי משנות ליום ובאמידת תפלה המיוחדת לזכרם אחרי הלמוד וקדיש לאחריה ובוזה אתה מכבד את זכרם.

התחלת ללמוד "משנה יומית" תתקיים בעולם כולו בחגיגות בחג מתן תורה בחג השבועות ואל תפריש מן הצבור.
תמלא את חובתך כלפי הורייך התביבים וקרוביך היקרים הבלתי נשכחים.

ועד למען "משנה יומית עולמות"

הער ייד!

קיינ קדיש נאכן פאטער דיינעם האסטו נישט געזאגט
קיינ מצבה אויפן קבר פון דיין מוטער האסטו נישט געשטעלט
אויפן קבר פון דיין פאטער קאנסטו זיך נישט פארשפרייטן
אויפן קבר פון דיין מוטער קאנסטו קיינ טרערן נישט פארגיסן
עס זיינען דיר פארלוירן געגאנגן אלע דיינע קרובים
"שבעה" נאך זיי ביסטו נישט געזעסן, "קריעה" נאך זיי האסטו זיך נישט געריסן
מיליאנען פון דיינע ברידער די טייערע קינדער פון דיין פאלק זיינען דערשטיקט געווארן
און פארברענט אויף אש
האסטו זיי געמאכט עפעס א [!] אייביקן אנדענק?
און מיט וואס קאנסטו ערן זייער אנדענק?

וויילסט דו [!] מאכן א [!] אנדענק און מצבה צו זייערע טייערע נשמות זאלסט דו אריינגיין אין שול
אריין און זאלסט זיך משתתף זיין מיטן יידישן צבור צו לערנען משניות - 2 משנות יעדן טאג צו
געדענקן אונדזערע קדושים, גיט זאל נקמה נעמן פאר זייער אומשולדיק בלוט. נאך די דאזיקע
משנות זאלסט דו זאגן די תפלה פאר זייער אנדענק און אל תפריש מן הצבור! רייס זיך נישט אפ
פון יידישן צבור! ערפיל דיין פליכט לגבי דיינע געליבטע עלטערן און לגבי דיינע אייביק נישט
פארגעסענע קרובים.

*Translation*⁹³B.H.⁹⁴ Hanover**Hear, O Israel!**⁹⁵

No kaddish⁹⁶ did you recite for your father
 No gravestone did you put up on your mother's grave
 You cannot prostrate yourself on your father's grave
 You cannot shed tears on your mother's grave
 All your relatives are gone
 You didn't sit shiva⁹⁷ for your relatives, nor did you tear your garments
 for them millions of your brothers, the dear children of your people, were
 suffocated and burnt to ashes.

93 The following is a translation of both the Hebrew and Yiddish originals, which are identical with one exception.

94 This abbreviation can stand for either *Be'ezrat ha-shem*, Hebrew for "With God's help," or *Barukh ha-shem*, Hebrew for "Blessed is God." This phrase is often used by Orthodox Jews on the heading of letters and other documents; here it addresses Orthodox Jews living in Hanover.

95 This translation follows the Hebrew headline. The Yiddish headline translates "Harken, Jew!" The Hebrew title is more powerful and resonant than the Yiddish, as it takes the form of the introduction to the prayer Shema Yisra'el. One of the most important prayers in Judaism, it serves as the core of morning and evening Jewish prayer services, as well as the prayer contained in *mezuzot*, small rolled parchment scrolls containing handwritten Hebrew, inscribed by a properly trained religious authority, affixed outside of the doorways into Jewish homes and the entrances to other Jewish sites, to be touched after kissing the hand as an expression of love and respect for God and his commandments. Michael Shire, Art. Shema, in: Diner (ed.) *EJHC*, vol. 5, 674–678.

96 Kaddish, the most prominent prayer for the deceased in Judaism. Kaddish praises and sanctifies God and expresses the hope for the eventual coming of God's kingdom and the establishment of peace in the world. It is recited by those mourning a lost loved one for a certain period of time after the death of the loved one, as well as on the anniversary of the death each year (*yortsayt*). Andreas Lehnardt, Art. Kaddish, in: *ibid.*, vol. 3, 560–563.

97 The Hebrew word for seven, *shiva*, refers to the period of mourning following the death of a loved one, beginning when mourners return home from the funeral and traditionally lasting seven days. During shiva, mourners remain at their home, or the home of the deceased, and receive visitors who bring food and join in prayers.

Have you commemorated them for eternity in any way?
And how can you honor their memory?

If you want to commemorate them and put up a monument for their dear souls you should go into the synagogue and join the Jewish congregation in studying the Mishnah: two Mishnah passages every day to remember our holy martyrs, may G-d avenge their innocent blood.

After these Mishnah passages you should say a prayer for their memory and do not distance yourself from your community!
Do not tear yourself away from your Jewish brothers! Fulfill your duty toward your beloved parents and toward your never-to-be-forgotten relatives.⁹⁸

Committee for the “Mishnah Yomit Olamot”⁹⁹

Mourning traditions during the shiva include covering any mirrors in the home, and the tearing of the clothing (“rending the garments”).

- 98 DPs and survivors of the Holocaust invoked the memory of the holy martyrs who perished during the Holocaust in many ways. Here, we see the Hanover Rabbinat invoking their memory as a means of inspiring Jewish survivors to study the Mishnah, the first major written collection of Jewish oral laws, in order to save the Jewish future and thus honor the memory of their murdered relatives. On Jewish rituals in the DP camps, see Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany*.
- 99 Translation of Hebrew signature line; no signature line in Yiddish version. The committee signing here was likely connected to Rabbi Yonah Sztencel (1904–1969) and an initiative to start the study of *daf yomi* (Heb., page of the day; referring to a daily regimen of learning the Oral Torah and its commentaries, also known as the Gemara, in which each of the 2,711 pages of the Babylonian Talmud is covered in sequence) to commemorate Jews murdered in the Shoah. Rabbi Sztencel was an Orthodox rabbi born in Sosnowiec, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). He immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and settled in Tel Aviv, where he became a member of the Chief Rabbinat. Sztencel founded the learning cycles Mishnah Yomis and Halacha Yomis after most of his family was murdered during the Holocaust.

Document 64

*Union of Rabbis in the American Occupation Zone in Germany, “Survivors’ Talmud”*¹⁰⁰

Heidelberg, 1948

Printed title page and dedication, 2 pages; stamp on page 2 reads “Universitäts-Bibliothek München”; handwritten signature mark “K 06/587”

*Language: English and Hebrew; translated by USHMM*¹⁰¹

USHMM Archives, Washington D. C., RG-10.238 (Rabbi Wilhelm Weinberg Papers), acc. no. 1999.A.0163, BM499 1948 vol. 1

משעבוד לגאולה מאפלה לאור גדול

מסכת

פסחים

מן

תלמוד בבלי

עם כל המפרשים כאשר נדפס מקדם ועם

הוספות חדשות כמבואר בשער השני.

יצא לאור ע”י ועד אגודת הרבנים

באזור האמריקאי באשכנז

בסיוע שלטון הצבא דארצות הברית והדווינט

בגרמני

מינכן היידעלבערג

שנת חמשת אלפים ושבע מאות ותשע לבי”ע

100 Also known as the “Heidelberg Talmud” or the “U.S. Army Talmud.” The Survivors’ Talmud is a 19-volume version of the Babylonian Talmud, a central text of Rabbinic Judaism. The introduction and dedication reproduced here were written in Munich by Shmuel Abba Snieg, Chief Rabbi in the American Zone and Chairman of the Committee of the Rabbinical Organization in the American Zone, Shmuel Yaakov Rose, also member of the committee, in 1946. The Heidelberg Talmud was the realization of Snieg’s original intent when he sought to print the first complete Talmud. He and Rabbi Shmuel Yaakov Rose (1912–1994) began printing the Talmud in St. Ottilien in 1946 using a printing press seized from the Germans; it was the first individual tractate of the Talmud printed in Europe after the Holocaust. Finally, the first complete version (19 volumes) of the Talmud was printed in May 1949; it was made possible with the assistance of the U.S. Army, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis in the United States and Canada, and the JDC. Gerd Korman, *Survivors’ Talmud and the U.S. Army, American Jewish History* 73 (1984), no. 3, 252–285.

101 <<https://perspectives.ushmm.org/item/the-us-army-talmud>> (May 27, 2024).

כמעט כלוני בארץ ואני לא עזבתי פקודיך
מחנה עבודה באשכנו בימי הנאצים

[2]

DEDICATION

This edition of the Talmud is dedicated to the United States Army. This army played a major role in the rescue of the Jewish people from total annihilation, and after the defeat of Hitler bore the major burden of sustaining the DPs of the Jewish faith. This special edition of the Talmud published in the very land where, but a short time ago, everything Jewish and of Jewish inspiration was anathema, will remain a symbol of the indestructibility of the Torah. The Jewish DPs will never forget the generous impulses and the unprecedented humanitarianism of the American forces, to whom they owe so much.

In the name of the Rabbinical Organization

RABBI SAMUEL A. SNIEG
Chairman and Chief Rabbi of the U.S. Zone

בע"ה

ברוך שהחינו וקימנו והגיענו לזמן הזה – הדפסת השי"ס!

בחסדו הגדול ית"ש עלה בידינו להוציא השי"ס הגדול עם רב אלפסי ז"ל כליל היופי וההידור. אחרי החורבן הנורא, ימי האבדון וההשמדה שעברו עלינו, שעת צרה כמוה עוד לא נהיתה מהיות ישראל לגוי. משפט אחד היה לישראל ותורתו, כי הרשעים שהשמדו ושרפו את יהודי אירופא, השתדלו גם כן שלא להשאיר שום ספר עברי, ושיהא היהודי נשרף כרוך בספר התורה. עוד חקוק בזכרונו היטב אותו יום המר. הופאת הפקודה בגיטו. משלטון הרשע הנצים ימ"ש, לאסוף את כל הספרים אל מקום אחד, בכדי להוציאם ולכלותם. וסכנת מות היתה צפויה לזה אשר יסתיר ספר אחד. אויבנו התחכמו עלינו לא להשמיד אותנו בלבד אלא גם להדאיבנו ביותר כל עוד רוח חיים בקרבנו מצאו, כי נטילת הספר מעם הספר זהו פצע עמוק שנשמת ישראל שאין מעלה ארוכה. כל ספרי ישראל נטלו לעבוד ניר, לתשמיש בווי או נשרפו. שאיפתו של הצד המשמיד היתה שימחה חלילה שם ישראל לא מבין החיים בלבד אלא גם מן הספר. ברחמיו המרובים של השי"ת השאיר שארית פליטה, שרידי חרב שנצולו מידי הרשעים הארורים אך בלי ספר בידם. בשנת תש"ו אחרי רוב השתדלות עלה בידינו להדפיס מסכתות קדושים נדרים ולהפיצם בין שארית ישראל ישיבות ובתי מדרשים וליחידים הלומדים, אולם שי"ס שלם ביחד עדיין הוא יקר המציאות ואינו כמעט בנמצא אצלנו מלבד מסכתות בודדות שנמצאים פה ושם. במשך הזמן שאפנו להוציא את השי"ס בשלמותו אבל לזה דרושה הוצאה מרובה מה שאינה ביכולתנו, לפיכך פנינו לשלטון הצבא האמריקאי באשכנו שהם יאפשרו לנו את הוצאת השי"ס, וחפץ די הצליח בידינו הודות לסיוע יועץ הצבא לעניני היהודים בגרמני ד"ר רבי פ. **ברנשטיין** נ"י ובקשתנו נתמלאה בעה"ת והיום הזה הוא יום בשורה לישראל.

כדאי להעיר, שבמשך ימי גלות ישראל הארוך לא פעם נשרפו ספרי ישראל ע"י השלטונות ואף אחת מהן לא הקימה אותם לנו, זהו הפעם הראשונה בדברי ימי ישראל שממשלה תעזור להוציא את ספרי התלמוד אשר הם חיינו ואורך ימנו. צבאות ארצות הברית הצילו אותנו ממות לחיים והם המגינים עלינו גם עתה בארץ זו, ובעזרתם מופיע התלמוד שוב באשכנז.

מלבד הנ"ל השתתף בהוצאה זו ה"דווינט". אותה חברת העזרה הענקית שעבודת ההצלה שלה מקפת את כל ענפי החיים שלנו, מלבד תמיכתה בחיים החומריים, תומכת גם כן בחיי הרוח הוצאת ספרים ועוד. הודות להשתדלותם של פרופ. ר. שמואל ל. זר מנהל צענט. ארט. קאמ. והרב שלמה שפירא נ"י מנהל משרד הדתי על ידי הדווינט, הסכים ה"דווינט" להשתתף בהוצאה זו להגדיל את מספר העקומפלים, בכדי שיספיק מעט לרוות את צמאונם של הלומדים לספרי התלמוד.

בשם היהדות החרדית אנו מביעים את תודתנו העמוקה לצבא ארצות הברית, ול"דווינט" בעד זה. זכות הקמת התורה יגן עליהם.

למרות הטורח והעמל הרב ההגהה ועוד שהי לנו בזה לא מנענו את עצמנו מעבודת קודש זו, בידענו את הצער והכאב של צעירי ישראל בשיבות, והלומדים בצבור, שיש בחסרון ספרי התלמוד, מלבד הבטול תורה שיש בזה. ויהי רצון שחפץ ד' יצליח בידינו ויזכנו השי"ת לברך על המוגמר להגדיל תורה ולהאדירה, ונזכה בקרוב להרמת קרן התורה ולגאולה שלמה בביאת משיח צדקנו אמן.

כת דברי המוציאים לאור המצפים לישועת ד'.

ועד אגודת הרבנים באזור האמריקאי

שמואל יעקב ראז
חבר ועד אגו"הר
מינכן

שמואל אבא סניעג
יושב ראש ועד אגו"הר
התופ"ק מינכן יע"א

מינכן אסרו חג סכות תש"ט

1948

Printed: Manu[a]l-Offset by Druckerei Carl Winter, Heidelberg (Germany)
under supervision of Procurement Division, European Quartermaster
Depot, United States Army

Translation

From Enslavement to Salvation, from Darkness to Great Light¹⁰²
Masechet¹⁰³

102 Bavli, Pesahim 116b.

103 Heb., tractate; an organizational element of Talmudic literature that systematically examines a subject.

Pesachim¹⁰⁴ from the Babylonian Talmud

[with all the commentators as printed in ancient times and
with new additions as explained on the second page.]

**Published by the Committee of the Union of Rabbis in the American Zone
in Ashkenaz¹⁰⁵**

With the assistance of the United States Army and Joint in Germany
Munich-Heidelberg

Year Five Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine to the Creation of the
World¹⁰⁶

*They Almost Wiped Me from the Earth, but I Have Not Forsaken Your
Precepts¹⁰⁷*

A Labor Camp in Ashkenaz in the Days of the Nazis¹⁰⁸

[[2]]

DEDICATION

This edition of the Talmud is dedicated to the United States Army. The army played a major role in the rescue of the Jewish people from total annihilation and after the defeat of Hitler bore the major burden of sustaining the DPs of the Jewish faith. This special edition of the Talmud published in the very land where, but a short time ago, everything Jewish and of Jewish inspiration was anathema, will remain a symbol of the indestructibility of the Torah. The Jewish DPs will never forget the generous impulses and the unprecedented humanitarianism of the American Forces, to whom they owe so much.

In the name of the Committee of the Rabbinical Organization

104 Heb., Passover Festival; the third tractate in *Seder Moed* (Festivals), containing ten chapters that discuss laws relating to Passover.

105 Heb., Germany; a term referring to Jews (and their descendants) who lived in the Rhineland valley and in neighboring France before migrating to Eastern Europe, fleeing the anti-Jewish violence and pogroms brought on by the Crusades. Johannes Heil, Art. Ashkenaz, in: Diner (ed.) EJHC, vol. 1, 197–208.

106 Year in the Hebrew calendar coinciding with 1945–1946 CE.

107 Ps 119:87. Text appears as caption above hand-drawn illustration representing a generic Nazi labor camp on bottom half of page in original.

108 Text appears as caption below the illustration.

RABBI SAMUEL A. SNIEG¹⁰⁹
Chairman and Chief Rabbi of the U.S. Zone

With God's help¹¹⁰

**Blessed is He who has kept us alive, sustained us, and brought us to
this time – the printing of the Talmud!**

**With His great grace, blessed be His name, we managed to publish the
Big Talmud¹¹¹ with Rabbi Alfasi,¹¹² a perfection of beauty and elegance.**

After the horrible destruction and the days of devastation and annihilation that we have gone through, an hour of distress like no other since Israel became a people, one fate was shared by the people of Israel and their Torah, as the evil ones that exterminated and burned the Jews of Europe, did their best also not to leave behind any Hebrew book, as if they willed it, that the burned Jew be wrapped in a Torah book.

We still remember that bitter day, in which an order issued by the evil rule – the Nazis, may their name be obliterated,¹¹³ appeared in the ghetto,

109 Rabbi Shmuel Abba Snieg (1878–1970) was a leading rabbi in Kovno before the beginning of the war; he survived internment in the Kovno ghetto and Dachau concentration camp. After his liberation and recuperation, he, along with Rabbi Shmuel Rose and a dedicated group of religious Jews who had survived along with them in Dachau, made his way to St. Ottilien, where he established a yeshiva. It was here that Snieg, his assistant Rabbi Rose, and their group of yeshiva students embarked on a mission to print the first complete Talmud in the postwar period; their use of a printer confiscated from local Germans was viewed by some as a form of symbolic revenge. Snieg was named Chief Rabbi in Bavaria (and later, the entire American Zone) after the establishment of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria; he remained such until the Central Committee's dissolution in 1950, at which time he was the only original member of the Central Committee remaining in Germany. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope*, 241; Königseder/Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 93 f.

110 The literal translation of the Hebrew abbreviation in the original, which stands for *Be'ezrat ha-shem*; the abbreviation is often used by Orthodox Jews in the heading of letters and other documents.

111 Referring to the fact that this is the first complete Talmud to be printed in Europe after the Holocaust.

112 Rabbi Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi ha-Cohen (1013–1103) was an important scholar of Judaism; he is referenced here to indicate that his works were included in this version of the Talmud.

113 In Hebrew, the phrase *yimakh shemo* (may his name be obliterated) is a curse placed after the name of particular enemies of the Jewish people.

to collect all the books to one place in order to destroy them, and the one who tried to hide but one book was facing mortal danger. Our enemies dealt with us wisely, [attempting] not only to exterminate us but also to upset us as long as we are still alive. Seizing the book from the people of the book is a deep wound in the soul of Israel that cannot be cured. All the books of Israel were taken to be processed into paper, or for other foul uses or burned altogether. The aspiration of this exterminator-enemy was to erase the name of Israel, not only from life itself, but also from all books. In the many mercies of God, blessed be, He left a surviving remnant, survivors of destruction saved from the hands of these cursed evil ones, but with no book left in their possession.

In the year of 5706 we managed, with a lot of effort, to print *masechet Kidushin* and *Nedarim*¹¹⁴ and to distribute them among the remains of Israel, in yeshivas, *Batei Midrash*,¹¹⁵ and to individuals who study. However, the entire Talmud is rare and is rarely found among us, only single *masechet* can be found here and there.

For a time, we have aspired to publish the Mishnah in its entirety, but it requires a significant expenditure that was not within our means. Therefore, we have approached the authorities of the U.S. Army in Ashkenaz to enable us to publish the Talmud, and as God wished it, we succeeded thanks to the help of the Army's advisor for Jewish affairs in Germany, Dr. Rabbi P. Bernstein¹¹⁶ may his light shine, and our request was fulfilled with the help of God, may he be blessed, and therefore this day is a day of good tidings for Israel.

It is worth noting that during Israel's days of diaspora, not once [were] the books of Israel burned by the authorities, but not one authority helped us restore our books. This is the first time in [the] history of Israel that a foreign government helps publish the Talmud books, which are "the source of our being and the length of our days." The U.S. armies saved us from death and they are now our protectors in this land. With their help, the Talmud [came] out once again in Ashkenaz.¹¹⁷

114 *Kidushin* (Betrothal) is the last tractate in *Seder Nashim* (Order of Women), which addresses family law; its four chapters primarily discuss laws relating to betrothal. *Nedarim* (Vows) is also a tractate in *Seder Nashim*; its eleven chapters systematically analyze vows taken voluntarily, particularly those forbidding specific actions or objects.

115 Heb., lit. houses of learning; sg. *bet midrash*; a public place designed for Torah study and discussion, serving the functions of both synagogue and school, as well as meeting place for members of the local Jewish community.

116 Philip Bernstein.

117 See Figure 17.

Aside from the U.S. Army, the Joint participated in this publication. The same enormous society of aid whose relief work encompasses all the fields of our life, besides its support of material life, it also supports our spiritual life, book publishing, and more. Thanks to the efforts of Prof. Rabbi Shmuel L. Sar¹¹⁸ the director of *Tzent art cam*¹¹⁹ and Rabbi Shlomo Shapira [sic],¹²⁰ may his light shine, the director of the office for religious affairs adjacent to the Joint, the Joint agreed to participate in this expenditure and to increase the number of copies to satisfy the need for Talmud books of those who study.

In the name of the Haredi¹²¹ Jewish community, we express our deep gratitude to the U.S. Army and the Joint. May the right of “establishing the Torah” protect them.

Despite the effort and great labor of the commentary and others we experienced here, we did not cease from doing this holy labor, as we were aware of the yeshiva boys’ sorrow and pain, instigated by not having Talmud books, in addition to it causing “wasting time that could be spent on Torah-study.” May God will that we succeed, and may God, blessed [be He], have us “rejoice at the completion,” and increase and extol the Torah. May we soon witness yeshiva graduation ceremonies, and a complete redemption with the coming of the Messiah, Amen.

Thus, the words of the publishers who anticipate the redemption of God.

The Committee of the Rabbinical Organization in the American Zone

118 Rabbi Shmuel L. Sar (1893–1962) was director of the Central Orthodox Committee of the JDC. Born in Ligmiany (today Linkmenys, Lithuania), Sar immigrated to Baltimore in 1914 after training to become a rabbi. Sar was first sent to Europe on behalf of the American Jewish Conference to visit DP camps in Germany and present a survey of the survivors and recommendations on how to address their most pressing needs; he returned in 1948 as director of the Central Orthodox Committee. He also served as acting president and chairman of the *Vaad Hapoel* of American Mizrahi and represented the Mizrahi movement in the Merkaz Olami (World Center).

119 The Central Orthodox Committee of the JDC was established in 1947 by the JDC and the *Agudat Harabanim* (Union of Rabbis) to advise the JDC on the religious needs of Orthodox displaced persons in Europe. The organization closed its operations in 1950.

120 Rabbi Shlomo Shapiro (1916–1974) was an American-Jewish military chaplain who served as director of religious affairs in Germany and Austria for the JDC from 1946 to 1950.

121 *Haredim*, (Heb., lit. those who tremble), or Haredi Jews, are followers of ultra-Orthodox sects of Judaism.

Shmuel Abba Snieg
Chief of the Rabbinical Organization's Committee

Shmuel Yaakov Rose¹²²
Member of the Rabbinical Organization's Committee
Munich

Who dwells here in the holy congregation of Munich, may God protect it

1948

Printed: Manu[a]l-Offset by Druckerei Carl Winter, Heidelberg (Germany)
under supervision of Procurement Division, European Quartermaster
Depot, United States Army

122 Rabbi Shmuel Yaakov Rose (1912–1994, see Figure 17), like Rabbi Snieg, survived the Kovno ghetto and Dachau concentration camp. After his liberation and recuperation at Dachau, he made his way to St. Ottilien with Rabbi Snieg and their group of yeshiva students, where he became a member of the Committee of the Union of Rabbis in the American Zone of occupied Germany.

9. Antisemitism in Germany after 1945

Document 65

Intermediate Court Mindelheim,¹ Transcript of Proceedings, Case No. 227²

Mindelheim, May 27, 1946

Typewritten court transcript, 204 pages; extract (reproduced here: 1–6, 202–204)

Language: English

YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 38, folder 461

INTERMEDIATE COURT

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- 1 Although it is not indicated in the document itself, the Intermediate Court in this case was likely in Mindelheim. Following the Allied occupation of postwar Germany, Austria, and Italy, the U.S. Military Government dismantled the German courts and established their own network of courts in their place, modeled after the federal court system in the United States. They inaugurated three levels of courts: “general military courts, which were competent to impose any lawful penalty including capital punishment; intermediate military courts, which were authorised to impose any lawful sentence except death, imprisonment in excess of ten years, or a fine in excess of 10,000 dollars; and summary military courts, which were allowed to impose any lawful sentence bar death, imprisonment in excess of one year, or a fine in excess of 1,000 dollars.” Yutaka Arai-Takahashi, *The Law of Occupation: Continuity and Change of International Humanitarian Law, and its Interaction with International Human Rights Law*, Leiden/Boston, Mass., 2009, 161. In January 1946, 298 summary courts, and 33 intermediate and general courts operated in the American Zone. Eli E. Nobleman, *Military Government Courts: Law and Justice in the American Zone of Germany*, in: *American Bar Association Journal* 33 (1947) no. 8, 777–780 and 851–852, here 778. The village Oberrammingen, where the incident described here took place, sits in the district of Unterallgäu, the capital of which is Mindelheim.
 - 2 On the evening of March 28, 1946, an incident took place in the village of Oberrammingen near Mindelheim, not far from DP Camp Landsberg, between Jewish DPs and local Germans. About 120 Jewish DPs lived in Unterrammingen (approx. 80) and 44 in Oberrammingen, twelve of whom lived in a former schoolhouse that had been converted into apartments. In Oberrammingen, Jewish DPs lived alongside some 400 Germans. The court proceedings indicate that four German men in their twenties were walking on a footpath in Oberrammingen near the former schoolhouse when two Jewish DPs on motorcycles drove past them. One of the local Germans called out that it was illegal to ride motorcycles on that pathway and threatened to call the local police. The two Jewish DPs stopped their motorcycles to respond to the Germans. One of the two DPs was Dovid Borviner, the leader of the local Jewish DP community. A physical altercation ensued between two of the Germans and the two DPs. The two Germans, brothers Johann Voelk, Jr. and Stefan Voelk, later testified that the DPs got

27 May 1946

Case No. 227

Court Members:

BEATTY, Marion,³ 0903677, Lt. Col., AUS,⁴ PresidentPROPER, Lee A., 0473586, Capt. CMP,⁵ MemberGLASS, Robert A., 01054588, Capt. CAC,⁶ MemberBAER, Martin C., 0-403835, Capt. CWS,⁷ Prosecutor

FRIENDLAENDER, [sic] Albert S., 01590295, Capt., OMC

Attorney for the Jewish defendants

off their bikes of their own accord; Borviner and his compatriot, Abraham Lokawiecz, asserted that they were pushed off the bikes by the two Germans. The altercation between the Voelk brothers and the ten to fifteen DPs pursuing them continued, with one of the brothers suffering a head injury. The Voelks later reported the incident to Martin Mayr, the mayor, who called the local police and then summoned the entire community via trumpet, a signal normally reserved for fires. A German rural police officer testified that Mayr had created a mob in calling the local German community to action, an act which in his professional opinion fell outside the scope of permissible actions in his capacity as *Bürgermeister*. One local German woman testified that it seemed “nearly every” member of the local German community had joined the mob. Numerous Jewish DPs testified that they saw Mayr directing the mob toward the former schoolhouse and heard him call on the mob to attack the Jews living there; one DP testified that he heard and saw two Germans yelling “Heil Hitler!” and at least two DPs testified that Mayr and several other Germans shouted their intent to “kill all the Jews.” Both German and Jewish witnesses testified that the German mob broke down the door to the schoolhouse and assaulted several of the Jews living there with stones and sticks. The local police were called to the scene, and the American Military Police arrived shortly thereafter. Atina Grossmann, *Where Did All “Our” Jews Go? Germans and Jews in Post-Nazi Germany*, in: Susanna Schraffstetter/Alan E. Steinweis (eds.), *The Germans and the Holocaust: Popular Responses to the Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, New York/Oxford, 2016, 131–154.

3 Lieutenant Colonel Marion Beatty was a Kansas State legislator. In 1942, he was assigned to the Judge Advocate Division of the U.S. Army. In March 1945, Beatty was appointed judge of a Military Government court in Augsburg, Germany, where he presided over trials such as this one.

4 Army of the United States.

5 Most probably Corps of Military Police.

6 Presumably Army Coast Artillery Corps, which was responsible for coastal, harbor, and anti-aircraft defense of the United States. It operated between 1901 and 1950.

7 Most likely the Chemical Warfare Service, which was integrated into the U.S. Army in 1920 to improve chemical warfare capabilities.

Dr. KSOLL, Mindelheim

Attorney for the German defendants

Miss Margy Schaetzel, L-205, Interpreter

Mrs. Barbara Bader, G-296, Interpreter

Miss Luba Staliwicz, CIC⁸ Mindelheim, Polish interpreter

Miss Trude Gruettner, E-206, Reporter

Interview of Defendants

BARZINER [sic], DAVID,⁹ being called by the Court, stated as follows:

By the Court: What is your address?

B.: Unterrammingen [sic] number 4841.

By the Court: How old are you?

B.: 34.

By the C.: Are you married?

B.: Yes.

By the C.: Do you have children?

B.: No. They were killed.

By the C.: Do you live with your wife at that address?

B.: Yes.

[2] By the C.: Where were you born?

8 Counter Intelligence Corps. The CIC was the intelligence service of the United States Army; it was founded in January 1942 and existed until 1961 when it was reorganized as part of the newly established Defense Intelligence Agency.

9 David Barwiner (1911–?), or Dovid Borviner, was born in Kielce, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). He survived incarceration in Auschwitz and Mauthausen; at least two of his children perished during the Holocaust. Following his liberation, he made his way to Germany, where he lived in the Mindelheim area. Borviner became the leader of a community of approximately 120 Jewish DPs who chose to settle in the small villages of Unterrammingen and Oberrammingen, instead of one of the nearby DP camps. He subsequently attempted to immigrate to the United States along with his wife and their young child but was blocked by his prior arrest and conviction for his involvement in what was referred to as the Mindelheim Riot. He appealed to the adviser on Jewish affairs to the Commander of U.S. Forces in Europe in late 1948 or early 1949, requesting that his conviction be overturned so that he could move forward with his immigration. It is unknown whether Borviner's conviction was ultimately overturned, and whether he and his family were able to immigrate to the United States. On the aftermath of the trial, see Document 66.

- B.: In Kielce in Poland.
 By the C.: What is your nationality?
 B.: Jewish.
 By the C.: Of what country are you a citizen?
 B.: I want to go to Palestine.
 By the C.: When did you first come to Germany?
 B.: On the 19th February 1942.
 By the C.: How, under what conditions or why?
 B.: In 1943, I was taken to the concentration camp Auschwitz.
 By the C.: In how many concentration camps have you been?
 B.: In Auschwitz and Mauthausen.
 By the C.: Are you a regular inhabitant of Germany or do you consider yourself as a Displaced Person?
 B.: I'm a DP.
 By the C.: Why do you not live in a DP camp for Jews, why do you live in that town?
 B.: In that town are 120 Jews.

LOKAWIECZ, Abraham, Unterammingen 82, was called by the Court and stated as follows:

- By the C.: What is your age?
 L.: 35.
 By the C.: Are you married?
 L.: Yes.
 By the C.: Do you have children?
 L.: I've one child.
 [3] By the C.: Do you live with your wife and child at that address?
 L.: Yes.
 By the C.: Where were you born?
 L.: In Poland.
 By the C.: What is your nationality?
 L.: I'm Jewish.
 By the C.: Of what country are you a citizen?
 L.: Now, I'm stateless. I want to go to Palestine.
 By the C.: Do you consider yourself a regular inhabitant of Germany or are you a Displaced Person?
 L.: I'm a Displaced Person.
 By the C.: How, under what conditions or why did you come to Germany?
 L.: I came over in order to look for some of my relatives.
 By the C.: Did you come voluntarily?

L.: Yes.
 By the C.: When did you come?
 L.: In November 1945.
 By the C.: Do you live in this Jewish community and get your food from UNRRA?
 L.: Yes.

VOELK, JOHANN JR.,¹⁰ Oberammingen 13, was called by the Court and stated as follows:

By the C.: How old are you?
 V.: 24.
 By the C.: Are you married?
 V.: No.
 [4] By the C.: Do you have children?
 V.: No.
 By the C.: What is your occupation?
 V.: Miller and Sawyer [sic].
 By the C.: What is your nationality?
 V.: German.
 By the C.: Are you a citizen of Germany?
 V.: Yes.

VOELK, STEFAN, Oberammingen 13, was called by the Court and stated as follows:

By the C.: How old are you?
 V.: 22.
 By the C.: Are your married?
 V.: No.
 By the C.: Do you have children?
 V.: No.
 By the C.: What is your occupation?
 V.: Milker.
 By the C.: Do you work with your parents in this town where you live?
 V.: Yes.
 By the C.: What is your nationality?
 V.: German.

VOELK, JOHANN Sr., Oberammingen 13, was called by the Court and stated as follows:

¹⁰ Johann Voelk (1926–2021).

By the C.: What is your age?
 [5] V.: 59.
 By the C.: What is your occupation?
 V.: Miller and Farmer.
 By the C.: Are you married?
 V.: Yes.
 By the C.: Do you have children?
 V.: Yes, I have four.
 By the C.: Do you live with your wife and children?
 V.: Yes.
 By the C.: How old are the children?
 V.: 22, 23, 24 and 19.
 By the C.: How many of those live in your house?
 V.: Three, one is missing.

MAYR, MARTIN,¹¹ Oberammingen 63, was called by the Court and stated as follows:

By the C.: How old are you?
 M.: 45.
 By the C.: What is your occupation?
 M.: Farmer and Buergemesiter [sic].
 By the C.: Are you married?
 M.: Yes.
 By the C.: Do you have children?
 M.: I've two children.
 By the C.: How many are living in your house?
 M.: Both.
 By the C.: Are you German?
 [6] M.: Yes.

By the C.: Those are the persons that are charged on three accounts.
 Will those persons stand up, please.

11 Martin Mayr was the local mayor.

The pleas of these defendants were as follows:

David Barwiner:	Not guilty	to	the	first	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	„	„	second	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	third	„	„	„
Abraham Lokawiecz:	Not guilty	to	the	first	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	„	„	second	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	third	„	„	„
John Voelk Jr.:	Not guilty	to	the	first	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	„	„	second	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	third	„	„	„
Stefan Voelk:	Not guilty	to	the	first	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	to	the	second	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	to	the	third	charge	and	part.
John Voelk Sr.:	Not guilty	to	the	first	charge	and	part.
	Not guilty	„	„	second	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	third	„	„	„
Martin Mayr:	Not guilty	„	„	first	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	second	„	„	„
	Not guilty	„	„	third	„	„	„

By the C.: Have all of these persons been advised of these charges, and have they had a copy of these charges served on?

D.A. Friedl.: Speaking of the five D.P.s they are familiar with the charges, but I cannot say for certain, whether they have received a copy.

Court to: Are all of these persons fully familiar with the charges? Do

D.A. Ksoll: they know, what the charges are?

D.A. Ksoll: Yes, they do.

By the C.: Do all the defendants plead not guilty to all of the charges, or does anyone of them plead guilty to any of the charges?

Both Attorneys: They all plead not guilty to all of the charges. [...] ¹²

[202] RECOMMENDATIONS

By the C.: The court will now ask the three attorneys, if they have any recommendation to make, however, the court is not soliciting, and the attorneys are not requested to make any recommendation.

¹² On pages 7–201 the court report continues with the interviewing of additional defendants involved in the incident, as well as the presentation of the prosecution’s and defense’s cases.

Pros.: The prosecution requests that the court, before fixing sentences, reads para 4/3 63,¹³ and the prosecution requests that the consideration in fixing the sentences be in the interest of military government by debarring further violence of this type by these accused or by other people. With regard to the conviction of the Gemeinde of Oberrammingen the prosecution requests that the Gemeinde be fined, that the fine be made sufficient to debar future appearance of this type.

DA Friedl.: Just a few words with respect to the sentence that might be imposed on the accused DP David Barwiner. David Barwiner is the only leader that this Jewish community has, and if his advice and his leadership were denied to the community at this time, the community would be completely lost as to what they should do. He has been carrying on all transactions for the community with the various governmental and military government agencies. They are completely dependent upon him for their welfare. With respect to Hermann Schwartz,¹⁴ I wish that the court takes in consideration his age, his experiences, further the testimony of several Jews and pass the sentence on that consideration. Both of the defendants here have been confined for several years in the various concentration camps here in Germany and in Poland.

DA Ksoll: As to the amount of the sentence I ask the court to take in its consideration that all the German defendants were in a high state of excitement on the night in question. The Burgermeister [sic] was requested by Johann Voelk Sr. [203] and his brother-in-law Ignaz Zech to do something. The Burgermeister, too, got very much excited by the description of the happenings given to him by these two and then took actions the consequences of which he wasn't aware of. Alois Schwels,¹⁵ Simpert Nieberle¹⁶ and Johann Voelk Jr. are rather young people. Therefore, I ask the court for a sentence as mild as possible.

13 The reference to paragraph 4/3 63 is unknown, but the prosecutor's recommendations are clearly designed to enforce the interests of the Military Government in maintaining order and preventing any violence between German residents and Jewish DPs living during the hopefully short period of their co-existence on German soil. As the transcript shows, all parties involved, Jews, Germans, and Americans, were eager to see the Jewish DPs leave Germany.

14 Hermann Schwartz was a 19-year-old Polish DP living in Oberrammingen who had survived Auschwitz.

15 Alois Schwels, at the time 30 years old, was a German farmer from Oberrammingen.

16 The 18-year-old Simpert Nieberle was a German agricultural worker from Oberrammingen.

SENTENCE

By the C.: In regard to the penalty to be assessed against the community the court finds that many more persons than those tried here were involved and some of them perhaps guilty to a greater degree than some of the defendants.

In an effort to be practical the court administers an official reprimand to this community and especially those involved who were not tried.

The community can consider itself fortunate in that such action resulted in so little bloodshed and destruction of property.

The inhabitants must hereafter recognize proper legal channels, and both elements are advised that they must get along together until better conditions prevail for both.

Martin Mayr is sentenced to one year in prison.

David Barwiner is sentenced to one year in prison.

Hermann Schwartz, Alois Schwels, Nieberle Simpert [sic] and Stefan Voelk are sentenced to six months in prison.

Johann Voelk senior is sentenced to six months prison, but three months are suspended due to his old age. [204] This court is adjourned.

DA Friedl.: In view of the circumstances in the community here at this time, I'd like to know, if it is possible to allow David Barwiner appeal bail, so that he can carry on his duties and make arrangements in the event the appeal is denied. The group of DPs under his leadership is entirely dependent on him and will be possibly a burden on both German authorities and Military Government authorities, and it would be to the best interest of all concerned, if David Barwiner would be allowed to continue his functions until the appeal is settled.

By the C.: If the request or motion of the defense attorney were granted, the Burgermeister and perhaps others who have been sentenced might find the same ground or basis for similar request. All persons found guilty and sentenced in a Military Government court might find reasons, why it's inconvenient to serve the sentence.

Therefore, the court denies the motion. There is no such thing as an Appeal Board; there is merely a review by an officer in the Legal Branch of Military Government. Military Government regulations provide that the persons found guilty will start serving their sentences immediately, a petition for review notwithstanding.

The court is adjourned.

Document 66

Marian Gid,¹⁷ "The Last Jew Flees from Unterrammingen ..."

Munich, February 9, 1949

Newspaper article, 1 page

Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson

Dos vort,¹⁸ February 9, 1949 (no. 35), 3, in: YIVO Archives, New York, Jewish DP Periodicals, call no. 1964-Y-459-460, acc. no. 015005065, reel 06.01

דער לעצטער ייד אנטלויפט פון אונטעראמינגען ...
(ספעציעל פאר "דאס ווארט") פון מאריאן זשיד

1.

אונטעראמינגען איז א קליין בייעריש שטעטל אין קרייז פון אויגסבורג. ווי די דארטיקע דייטשן דערציילן, איז זייער שטעטל אויך פאר היטלעריס צייטן געווען יידן־ריין. עס זאל הייסן, אז דארט האבן יידן קיינמאל ניט געווינט. ניטאָ קיין שפורן פון אן אלטן יידישן בית־עלמין.

17 Marian Gid, born Yisroel Moskovski (c. 1909–1993) in Lithuania (then part of the Russian Empire). For the surname of his pen name, Moskovski used the Yiddish term for Jew, which was used pejoratively in Russian, Polish and Ukrainian: *zhid*. Gid lived and worked as a journalist in interwar Lithuania and Poland. He moved to London in 1935, where he continued his work as a journalist, writing for various newspapers including the *Daily Sketch*. In 1945, as a European correspondent for the Atlantic-Pacific Press Agency and *Forverts* (Forward), he visited various countries to report on postwar conditions, including the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Denmark, and Luxembourg, before his arrival in Germany in late 1945. There, Gid reported on numerous trials, including the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1945–1946) and the Belsen trials (1945). He served as a guest correspondent for the *Landsberger Lager-Cajtung* and continued contributing after it became the Yiddish newspaper for all DP camps in the region under the name *Yidische tsaytung*. He settled in Munich, where he became a temporary delegate of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München und Oberbayern* (Munich and Upper Bavaria Jewish Community) to the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Council of Jews in Germany), and the editor of *Naye yidische tsaytung*, a Yiddish newspaper established in 1950; it remained in circulation until 1974.

18 The biweekly *Dos vort* (The Word) was the organ of Poale Zion (*Hitahdut*), printed in Munich, in circulation from 1946 until 1950. In the early days of the *Dos vort*, which were characterized by a lack of paper, editors appeared at public events and presented the content of their articles. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*, 37.

נאכן צוזאמענברוך פון היטלער'ס טויזנט־יאָריקן רייך, איז געקומען א גרויסע ענדערונג אויך אין אונטער־אָמינגען. די ענדערונג איז ניט געשען אין עצם אויסזען פון שטעטל – די אליאירטע לופט־פּלאַן האבן קיינמאל דארט ניט אראָפּגענידערט פון די הימלען. די גרויסע ענדערונג איז געשען אין צוזאמענשטעל פון דער ארטיקער באפעלקערונג. ס'האבן זיך דארט צונויפגעוואָגלט אזש דריי הונדערט יידן – יידן פון קאנצענטראציע־לאַגערן און יידן פון די ווייט־מזרחדיקע געביטן פון סאוועטן־פּאַרבאַנד [!]. פון א רייך־בייעריש שטעטל איז אונטער־אָמינגען פארוואנדלט געוואָרן אין אן ארט מיט א געמישטער באפעלקערונג.

די ארטיקע דייטשן האבן עס געפונען שווער זיך צוצוגעוויינען צום שפּאַגל־פּרישן, אומראיקן עלעמענט צווישן זיי. עס איז געווען צופיל פאר זיי. אחוץ מיט איינצעלנע יידישע סוחרים אין די אלטע צייטן, האבן זיי קיינמאל ניט געהאט צו טאָן מיט יידן. ניט קיין ווונדער דעריבער, אז עס האט אנגעהויבן צו ווירקן אויף זייערע נערוון, וואָס זיינען נאך געווען צערייזט פון יארן נאציסער פּראָפּאַגאַנדע. און אחוץ דעם, האבן זיי זיך אויך געפילט א ביסל פארענגט, ווייל די זיך־געראטעוועטע יידן האבן ניט געוואָלט מער לעבן אין גריבער און לעכער. מען האט זיי צוגעטיילט וויינגען און צימערן, רעקוויזיטע דורך דער אקופאציע־מאַכט.

און אזוי ווי די דייטשן האבן זיך קוים געקענט צוגעוויינען צו די יידן און זיי באטראכט ווי א דאָרן אין אויג, איז איינמאָל – אין מערץ זעקס־און־פּערציק – געקומען צו א מאסן־געשלעג צווישן ביידע טיילן פון דער באפעלקערונג. די זכרונות וועגן יענעם מאסן־געשלעג זיינען איצט א ביסל אָפּגעבלאַסט געוואָרן. עס איז היינט שווער צו געדענקען ווי אזוי יענע ביזע חתונה האט זיך אנגעהויבן – איינס אבער געדענקט מען גוט: קוים האט זיך דאס געשלעג אנגעהויבן, זיינען די יידן ניט געבליבן קיין בעלי־חובות... פיל פון זיי האבן אלע ביזע חלומות אויסגעלאזן אין יענעם טאג.

ס'איז כאטש אויף א ווייל זיי לייכטער געוואָרן אויף די הערצער – – –

געוויינלעך האט א קאמף, ווי א מלחמה, פארשיידענע סטאדיעס. אמאָל האט איין צד די אויבערהאנט, און אמאָל – דער צווייטער. אבער אין צוזאמענשטויס צווישן יידן און דייטשן אין אונטער־אָמינגען, האט דאן די אקופאציע־מאַכט ניט דערלאזן צו לאנגע אנטוויקלונגען. עס איז געקומען מיליטער און האט אינטערווענירט. און ניט נאר זיינען ביידע צדדים אָפּגעטיילט געוואָרן, נאר עס זיינען אויך דורכגעפירט געוואָרן ארעסטן. און אזוי ווי ביידע צדדים האבן זיך קעגנזייטיק באשולדיקט, און קיין צייגייערין, וואָס זאל זאגן ווו עס ליגט דער אמת איז ביי דער האנט ניט געווען, – זייער ווייניק דייטשע צייגייער האבן זיך צוריקגעקערט פון די אוישוויצער גאז־קאמערן – האט מען צוגעצויגן צו פאראנטוואָרטלעכקייט סיי דעם פארויצער פון אָרטיקן יידישן קאמיטעט און סיי דעם דייטשן כמור־בירגערמייסטער. זייער פּראָצעס פאר אן אמעריקאנער מיליטער־געריכט איז פארגעקומען צוויי מאנאטן נאכן געשלעג און האט געדויערט דריי טעג. אויפן דריטן טאג האט דאס געריכט זיך דערמאנט, אז עס האט אמאָל, ערגעץ־ווו [!], געלעבט א שלמה המלך אויף דער וועלט און אז זיין אופן משפטן איז גאר ניט געווען קיין נארישער. דאס געריכט האט נאכגעטאָן זיין קלאַסישן ביישפיל און האט ארויסגעטראגן אן אורטייל פון איין יאר תפיסה פאר יעדן איינעם פון די באשולדיקטע. און דאס איז נאך געווען מיט רחמים, ווייל זיי זיינען ניט נאר באשולדיקט געוואָרן אין העצן און אין אנטוויילנעמען אין עפנטלעכע אומרוען, נאר אויך אין האנדלען קעגן די אינטערעסן פון די אליאירטע ארמיען.

ביידע צדדים האבן אפּעלירט, אבער עס האט ניט געהאלפן. דער אורטייל איז שפּעטער באשטעטיקט געוואָרן, און סיי דער ייד און סיי דער דייטש זיינען פארשפּאַרט געוואָרן הינטער אייזערנע גראטעס. איבריך [!] צו זאגן, אז פאר דעם יידן האט די "פרייהייט" נאך דער באפרייאונג

געהאט א [!] איראנישן טעם, א סארקאסטישן בייגעשמאק. אקארשט באפרייט געווארן און שוין ווידער א געפאנגענער – – –

עס האבן ניט געהאלפן קיין טענות און קיין פארגלייכונגען, און דער ייד – דוד באַרוינער, הייסט ער, א קיעלצער – איז אוועק ויצן. צוליב זיין גוטער אויפפירונג אין תפיסה, איז אים קיין פול יאר דארט ניט אויסגעקומען צו פארברענגען. ער איז אָפּגעזעסן אַכט און א האלב מאנאַטן און איז באפרייט געוואָרן. ער איז דאן צוריקגעקומען קיין אונטעראמינגען.

2.

אין שטעטל האט זיך אינצווישן דאס לעבן געצויגן אין מער-ווייניקער דערטרעגלעכע באדינגונגען. די דייטשן האבן אויך ווייטער ניט ליב באקומען די יידן, און די יידן, פון זייער זייט, זיינען אויך ניט געפאלן אויף די העלזער פון זייערע שכנים. עס איז צווישן זיי קיין גרויסע ליבע ניט פארלאָרן געגאנגען.

אזוי זיינען פארביי טעג און יארן ביז אין איינעם א טאג האבן די שטעטלדיקע דייטשן אנגעהויבן צו באמערקן, אז די צאל יידן אין אונטעראמינגען ווערט אלץ קלענער און קלענער און ניט נאר האבן פשוטע יידן אנגעהויבן אויסצוואנדערן – ווער קיין ישראל, און ווער קיין אמעריקע – נאר צומאל חשובע מיטגלידער פון זייער קאמיטעט האבן גענומען דעם וואנדער-שטעקל אין זייערע הענט. און אזוי האט דער ישוב פון די וואַגלער-יידן אנגעהויבן אונטערצוגיין, ביז אין איינעם א טאג – ווי א קאָפיטאָן פון א זינקנדער שיף – איז דוד באַרוינער געבליבן דער איינציקער ייד אין אונטעראמינגען, דער לעצטער – דער לעצטער מיט זיין פרוי, סאָפיע, און זיין "קדיש", וואָס איז איצט אלט אכצן מאנאַטן.

עס איז ניט גוט צו זיין איינזאַם, אבער באזונדערס איז ניט גוט צו זיין איין ייד אין א בייעריש שטעטל, וועמענס איינווינער האבן נאך ניט פארגעסן אלטע רעכנונגען ... דוד באַרוינער האט עס גאר-איניכן [!] אנגעהויבן צו שפירן, און צו – הערן. דאָ און דארט האבן אים דייטשן, באקאנטע און אומבאקאנטע, אנגעהויבן צו עצהיען און צו וואָרענען, אז עס וואָלט געווען פאר אים פיל געזונטער אינגאנצן אוועקצוגיין פון אונטעראמינגען – זיך אָפּטראַגן. דוד באַרוינער האט די וואָרונגען ניט אונטערשעצט – גראד פארקערט. ער האט זיי גענומען ערנסט. אבער ער האט אין שטעטל געהאט א ווינונג פון דריי צימערן מיט א קיך, און עס איז ניט לייכט צו געפינען פלאַץ אין אן אנדער אָרט.

און אזוי זייענדיק דער איינציקער ייד אין שטעטל, איז איינמאל, אין מיטן טאג, באַרוינער'ס פרוי אָפּגעשטעלט געוואָרן אין גאס און צעשלאָגן געוואָרן דורך א דייטש. דוד באַרוינער איז דעמאלסט ניט געווען אין דער היים, און ווען ער איז צוריקגעקומען אין שטעטל, האט ער זיין פרוי געפונען אין ווייטיקן. דאס איז געווען מיט קנאפע דריי מאנאַטן צוריק, אבער ביז היינט איז נאך דער שלענער ניט באשטראָפט געוואָרן.

דוד האט אבער ניט גערוט. ער איז געלאָפן אין דערבייאיקן גרעסערן שטעטל און האט געפאדערט פון די אמעריקאנער צו באשטראָפן דעם שולדיקן. די אמעריקאנער האבן זיך אריינגעמישט און אויפגעפאדערט די דייטשע פאליציי צו פארפירן אן אויספארשונג. א פאליציסט איז אראָפּגעקומען – דאס איז געווען צוויי מאנאַטן נאכן אנפאל – און האט כלומרשט געשטעלט פארשידענע פראַגן, אבער "גאנץ פריוואַט" – "צווישן מיר און דיר" – האט ער באַרוינער'ן געראטן ניט צו באשטיין דווקא אויף אן אויספארשונג. "עס וואָלט געווען פיל געזונטער" האט עס געהייסן. דער ייד האט ניט געפאלגט און האט איבערגעגעבן דעם פאליציסט'ס עצה דער אמעריקאנער מאכט. א הויכער אמעריקאנער באאמטער האט ארויסגעוויזן פיל פארשטענדיש [!] און מיטלייד,

אבער האט אים, אין דער זעלבער צייט, אויסגעדרוקט זיין טיפסטן באדויערן, וואָס ליידער קען ער אין דעם ענין זיך מער ניט אריינמישן.

דוד באַרוינער האט דאן געבעטן מען זאל אים העלפן געפינען א דירה אין א נייעם ארט. דער אמעריקאנער האט עס "אפיציעל" ניט געקענט טאָן - האט ער עס געטאָן "אומאָפיציעל". ער האט זיך געווענדעט צום בירגערמייסטער פון טירקיהיים, א דערבייאיק שטעטל. דער דייטש האט צונויפגערופן א זיצונג פון זיינע יועצים און דער סוף איז געווען, אז יענע האבן באאויפטראגט זייער פירער מיטצוטיילן דעם פארשטייער פון דער אמעריקאנער מאכט אז "ליידער האבן מיר מער ניט קיין פלאַץ פאר פליכטלינגע" - פאר דעם "פליכטלינג", וואָס הייסט דוד... און פון אן אנדער ארט, פון מינדלהיים, האט עס לכתחילה געהייסן, אז מען קען דערווארטן א פּאָזיטיווע תשובה, אבער נאכן ווארטן דריי וואָכן איז אויך פון דארט געקומען א - "ניין".

און אינצווישן האבן זיך די וואָרענונגען אוועקצוגיין, וואָרענונגען פון שכנים און ניט־שכנים, געהאלטן אין איין איבערחזרן.

דוד באַרוינער האט זיך דאָן געווענדעט צום "דזשאינט". ער מוז אוועקגיין פון אונטעראַמינגען - און וואָס שנעלער, ווייל עס דראָט אים דארטן פשוט א געפאר. דער "דזשאינט" איז אריין אין זיין לאגע און האט צייטווייליק געפונען פאר אים א פּלאַץ ניט אין א שטאָט, נאר צווישן יידן, אין א יידישן לאגער - אין לאנדסבערג.

דוד באַרוינער האט גענומען זיין פרוי און קינד און אוועק אין יידישן לאגער אריין, גאָט־צור דאַנקען פטור געוואָרן פון אונטעראַמינגען און די דארטיקע דייטשן. אבער דאן האט זיך אנגעהויבן א סדרה פון אריבערפירן די זאָכן. דוד איז איינמאל אוועק - מיט א וואָך צוריק - קיין אונטעראַמינגען ארויסגעמען די זאָכן פון זיין וווינונג. צו זיין אומאנגענעמער איבעראשונג, האט ער די וווינונג געפונען פארויגלט. איז ער געלאפן צום דייטשן רעה־זאָגער פון שטעטל און אים געפרעגט וואָס דאס באטייט. יענער האט זיך געמאכט נאָריש און געענטפערט, אז ער ווייסט ניט פון וואָס צו זאָגן. דוד האט דאָן באשלאסן ארויסצונעמען די זאָכן - טראץ דעם זיגל. אבער צוריקקומענדיק צו זיין וווינונג, האט ער שוין דארטן געפונען א געזעמל פון פופציק־זעכציק דייטשן. יענע האבן אנגענומען א דראָענדע שטעלונג. זייער טענה איז געווען

- ווי קומען איבערהויפט צו דיר זאָכן? - ווען דו ביסט ארויס פון קאצעט האסטו דאָך קיין זאָכן ניט געהאט - - -

עס איז געווען איבריך (!) מיט די דייטשן צו דיסקוטירן. ער וואָלט, א שטייגער, זיי געקענט זאָגן, אז פאָרן אריינוואָרפן אים אין קאצעט, האט ער יאָ געהאט זאָכן, און פיל מער זאָכן - עס וואָלט אבער ניט געהאלפן. דוד האט געהאלטן פאר ווינטשנסווערטער ניט צו פירן קיין דעבאָטן ביי יענער געלעגנהייט. האט ער ארונטערגעלאזן דעם קאָפּ, פארביסן די ליפן און אוועק - אנטלאָפן. דאָן איז ער ווידער געלאָפן צום "דזשאינט". דער "דזשאינט" איז, נאך אלעמען, אן אמעריקאנער אינסטיטוציע און האט בעסערע פארבינדונגען ווי דוד באַרוינער. איר'ס א פארשטייער האט אינטערווענירט ביי דער דייטשער פאליציי און אויך געבעטן ביי דער פאליציי פון דער "איראָ" (אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע פליטים־ארגאניזאציע) מען זאל באַרוינערן העלפן ארויסנעמען זיינע זאָכן. און עס האט געהאלפן. מיט א פאָר טעג צוריק איז באַרוינער צוריקגעקומען קיין אונטעראַמינגען - צוריקגעקומען צום לעצטן מאל - און אָנגעלאָדן זיינע זאָכן. די דייטשע האבן אים נאכגעקוקט, אבער עס איז שוין ניט נויטיק געווען מיט זיי צו פירן קיין וויכוחים - - -

מיטן אנטלויפן פון שלאנגען־נעסט, האבן זיך נאך דוד באַרוינער'ס דאגות ניט פארענדיקט. דער ייד קלייבט זיך קיין אמעריקע. ער וואָלט געוואָלט אוועקגיין פון דייטשלאנד גאָר־אינגיכן (!), אבער דער פאקט, וואָס ער איז, אין זיינער צייט, פאראורטיילט געוואָרן צו א יאָר תפיסה - אן

אקט פון שרייענדער אומגערעכטיקייט – קען זיך ארויסווייזן אלס שטער אין זיין אויסוואַנדערונג אין דער נייער וועלט. ער וואָלט געוואָלט, אז באַטרעפֿנדע ייִדישע אינסטיטוציעס זאלן אָפּשרייַען די דאזיקע עולה. נאך אלעמען איז דאָך דאָ אַ ראַטגעבער פֿאַר ייִדישע ענינים ביי דער העכסטער אמעריקאנער מאכט אין דייטשן לאַנד – און עס וואָלט געווען זיין פליכט אים צו העלפֿן אין באזייטיקן דעם שטער קיין אמעריקע – – –

האַט מען זיך געווענדעט צו אים און איצט וואָרט ער, אז עמיץ, ערגעץ־ווו, וועט איינזען די אומגערעכטיקייט פון דער גאַנצער זאך און וועט ניט לייגן קיין דערנער אין וועג פון זיין צוקונפט.

3.

און אזוי איז דער לעצטער ייד אנטלאָפֿן פון אונטעראַמינגען, אנטלאָפֿן מיט ווייב און קינד און בעבעכעס. די דייטשן האבן געהאַט זייער וועג. ניטאָ מער קיין יידן אין אונטעראַמינגען – ניט געווען פֿאַר היטלערן און ניט געבליבן איצט, נאך דער מלחמה, נאך דער גרויסער באַפֿרייאַונג.

עס זיינען ניטאָ מער קיין יידן, וואָס קענען אַרייַנברענגען אַ "דיסהאַרמאָניע" אין דעם בייַעריש שטעטל. ניטאָ מער קיין ייִדישע שטריכן אין אלגעמיינעם שטעטלשן בילד – – –

וואָלט דאס אַלץ אפּשן ניט געדאַרפֿט זיין אַ ייִדנ'ס לעצטער פֿאַרדרוס. סיי־ווי־סיי וואָלטן דאך יידן אוועק פון דאַרט – עס זיינען דאך נאך פֿריער אוועק צוויי הונדערט ניין און נייַנציק פון דריי הונדערט. אויך דוד באַרוינער וואָלט דאך, פֿריער אדער שפּעטער, אוועק פון אייגענעם גוטן ווילן – אבער דער אופן ווי ער איז אוועק, דער אופן ווי מען האט אים געצוונגען אוועקצוגיין און וואָס עס האט זיך דערביי אָפּגעשפּילט, – דאס אַלץ גיט אַ בילד פון דייטשלאַנד פון די איצטיקע טעג, ערב אן אייגענער דייטשער רעגירונג. אַ בילד, וואָס איז דערווייל אפּשן בלויז כאַראַקטעריסטיש פֿאַר אייניקע פֿאַראיינזאַמטע ווינקלען, דאָ און דאַרט, אבער אויך אַ בילד, וואָס קען מאַרגן־איבער־מאַרגן ווערן אַ געטרייע אָפּשפּיגלונג פון דער ווירקלעכקייט אין צענדליקער (!) שטעט און שטעטלעך אין דייטשלאַנד – – –

Translation

The Last Jew Flees from Unterrammingen ...

(Especially for "Das vort") by Marian Gid

1.

Unterrammingen is a small Bavarian town around Augsburg. As local Germans relate, their village was judenfrei¹⁹ even before Hitler's time. It means that Jews have never lived there. No trace of an old Jewish settlement. No trace of an old Jewish cemetery.

After the collapse of Hitler's thousand-year Reich a great change also happened in Unterrammingen. The change didn't occur in the actual appearance of the town – the allied air forces never descended upon it from the skies. The great change occurred in the make-up of the local population. No fewer

19 Germ., "Jew-free."

than 300 Jews ended up there: Jews from concentration camps and from the Far Eastern regions of the Soviet Union. From a purely Bavarian village Unterrammingen turned into a place with a mixed population.²⁰

The local Germans found it hard to get used to the brand-new, restless element among them. It proved too much for them. With the exception of the few Jewish merchants in the old days they had never had any dealings with Jews. Therefore, it was no wonder that it started to grate their nerves, still frayed by years of Nazi propaganda. And apart from that they felt a little squashed because the rescued Jews didn't want to live in pits and holes any longer. They were allocated flats and rooms, requisitioned by the occupying power.

And since the Germans could hardly get used to the Jews and regarded them as a thorn in their side, once, in March 1946, it came to a mass fight between the two parts of the population.²¹ The memories of that mass fight have since paled somewhat. Today it's hard to recall how the whole grisly affair started, but one thing is well remembered: barely had the fight started than the Jews gave as good as they got ... Many of them well and truly let off steam on that day. At least for a while the heaviness lifted from their hearts ...²²

A fight, like a war, usually has different stages. Sometimes, one side has the upper hand, sometimes, the other. But that time, in the clash between the Jews and the Germans in Unterrammingen, the occupying power didn't allow any further developments. The military came and intervened. Not only were the two sides separated, but there were also arrests made. And since both sides accused each other and no gypsy²³ was at hand to say where the

20 Michael Brenner was one of the first of many historians of Jewish DPs in occupied Germany to point out that "it is surely one of the ironies of history that it was Germany, of all places, that became a haven for Jewish refugees in the first years after the war. [...] Places that had never before had a Jewish population now became short-term Jewish centers." Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 16.

21 See Document 65.

22 See Figure 18.

23 The author here refers to a subgroup of Romani people called Sinti, who are found mostly in Germany; the Sinti were originally an itinerant community like the Roma, another subgroup of Romani. Before the Holocaust, the Sinti in Germany were predominantly settled. The term "gypsy" is no longer used to refer to the Romani people as it is considered a derogatory, disparaging term developed by the majority population. The word was derived from the term Egyptian, as the settled majority populations in Europe assumed the Romani were from Egypt due to their dark complexion; on the contrary, the Roma and Sinti originally came from Northern India around the 12th century. Over time the term became synonymous with thief and beggar, stereotypes of Romani people developed by settled populations. When the

truth lay – very few German gypsies had returned from the Auschwitz gas chambers – both the chairman of the local Jewish committee and the German quasi-burgomaster were charged. Their trial before an American military tribunal took place two months after the clash and lasted three days. On the third day the tribunal recalled that once there had lived a King Solomon somewhere in the world, and his judging method wasn't at all stupid: the tribunal followed his classic example and passed a sentence of a year in prison on both defendants. And that was even lenient for they were charged not only with sedition and participation in open unrest, but also with acting against the interests of the Allied forces.²⁴

Both parties appealed, but to no avail. The sentence was later confirmed, and both the Jew and the German were locked behind iron bars. Needless to say that for the Jew the “freedom” after the liberation had an ironic flavor, a sarcastic aftertaste: barely freed and now a prisoner again ...

No arguments or analogies had any effect, and the Jew, Dovid Borviner was his name, from Kielce, was off to do his term. Because of his good behavior in prison, he ended up not spending the whole year there. He served eight and a half months and was released. Then he returned to Unterrammingen.

2.

In the meantime, life in the town continued in more or less bearable conditions. The Germans disliked the Jews as before, and the Jews, on their part, didn't fall upon their neighbors' necks either. There was hardly any love lost between them.

Days and years went by until one day the Germans noticed that the number of Jews in Unterrammingen was getting smaller and smaller, and it wasn't just common people who started to emigrate – some to Israel, others,

Nazis targeted the Romani populations of Europe and killed hundreds of thousands of them during the Holocaust, they were aided by this history of hatred and discrimination in many European countries. Anton Weiss-Wendt (ed.), *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration*, New York 2013; Ari Joskowitz, *Rain of Ash: Roma, Jews, and the Holocaust*, Princeton, NJ, 2023.

24 The ironic commentary here refers to the American Military Tribunal's insistence on imposing an equal punishment of one-year imprisonment on both the German and the Jewish DP defendants. The DP Dovid Borviner was released after eight and a half months; whether or not his German counterpart served his entire sentence is not known. U.S. Military Government, intent on preserving order and frustrated by Jewish DP unruliness, was as eager as the Jews and the Germans for this period of mostly unwanted co-existence to end but in the meantime, as the judgement reprinted in Document 65 stated, “both elements are advised that they must get along together until better conditions prevail for both.”

to America – but sometimes also important members of the Jewish committee took the wanderer's staff in hand. And so, the settlement of the wandering Jews went into decline until the day when, like the captain of a sinking ship, Dovid Borviner remained the only and the last Jew in Unterrammingen, together with his wife, Sofia, and his Kaddish,²⁵ who was then 18 months old.

It is not good to be alone, but it's particularly not good to be the only Jew in a Bavarian town, whose residents have not yet forgotten old scores ... Dovid Borviner began to feel and hear it pretty soon. Here and there he was advised and warned by Germans, acquaintances and strangers alike, that he would be much better off leaving Unterrammingen, in other words, getting out. Dovid Borviner didn't brush the warnings aside – quite the opposite, he took them seriously. But he had a three-room flat with a kitchen in the town, and it wasn't easy to find a place to live elsewhere.

And as he was the only Jew in town as it were, Borviner's wife was once stopped in the street in broad daylight and beaten up by a German. Dovid Borviner wasn't at home at the time and when he returned to the town, he found his wife in pain. This was barely three months ago, but the attacker still hasn't been punished.

Dovid, however, didn't rest. He sped to the nearby bigger town and demanded from the Americans that the culprit be punished. The Americans interfered and ordered the German police to carry out an inquiry. A police officer came down – this was two months after the attack – and ostensibly asked different questions, but “in private,” “between you and me,” he advised Borviner that he didn't insist on an investigation. “It would be much better,” he said.

The Jew didn't heed this and passed the police officer's advice to the American authorities. A high-ranking American official showed much understanding and sympathy, but at the same time expressed his deepest regret that unfortunately, he couldn't interfere in the matter any further.

Dovid Borviner asked for help in finding him a flat elsewhere. The American couldn't do it “officially,” so he did it “unofficially.” He approached the burgomaster of Türkheim, a nearby town. The burgomaster convened a meeting of his advisers; as a result they instructed their boss to inform the representative of the American power that “unfortunately we have no more room for refugees,” i. e., for the “refugee” called Dovid ... It looked at first as if a positive reply could be expected from another town, Mindelheim, but after a three-week-long wait a “no” came from there, too.

And in the meantime, the warnings to leave or else kept coming from the neighbors and strangers alike.

25 A male heir (usually the one who recites Kaddish, a mourner's prayer, for his deceased parent).

Then Dovid Borviner turned to the Joint. He must leave Unterrammingen, he said, and the sooner the better because his life was simply in danger there. The Joint was understanding and found him a temporary place to live, not in a town, but among Jews, in a Jewish camp, Landsberg.

Dovid Borviner took his wife and child and moved into the Jewish camp, getting rid of Unterrammingen and its German residents, thank God. But thereupon began a saga of moving his things. A week ago, Dovid went back to Unterrammingen to move his things out of the flat. Much to his unpleasant surprise he found the flat sealed off. He hurried to the high-ranking German official of the town and demanded what the meaning of it was. The functionary feigned ignorance and replied he knew nothing of it. Dovid then resolved to retrieve his things regardless, seal or no seal. But coming back to the flat he found there a gathering of fifty to sixty Germans. They assumed a threatening attitude. Their argument was as follows:

“How did you come in possession of these things, anyway? When you left the concentration camp you didn’t have any ...”

It was pointless to argue with the Germans. He could’ve told them, for example, that before he had been thrown into the concentration camp, he had actually possessed things, and many more too, but it wouldn’t have helped. Dovid deemed it more prudent not to have a debate on that occasion. Instead, he lowered his head, bit his lip and left, or to be more precise, fled.

So, he ran to the Joint again. The Joint is, after all, an American institution and is better connected than Dovid Borviner. A Joint representative intervened with the German police and also requested that the IRO (the International Refugee Organization) police assist Borviner in retrieving his things from the flat. And it helped. A couple of days ago, Borviner returned to Unterrammingen one last time and removed his things. The Germans watched him, but it was no longer necessary to argue with them ...

But Dovid Borviner’s troubles didn’t stop at his leaving the snake pit. The man is going to America. He’d like to leave Germany as soon as possible, but the fact that he was once, in his time, sentenced to a year in prison – an act of blatant injustice – can turn out to be an obstacle to his venturing out into the new world. He would like relevant Jewish institutions to effect the overturning of this wrong. After all, the highest American authority in Germany has an adviser on Jewish affairs and it would be his duty to assist him in removing this obstacle to America ...

That person has been approached and now Dovid Borviner is waiting for someone, somewhere to see the injustice of the whole affair and won’t scatter thorns in the path of his future.

3.

And this is how the last Jew fled from Unterrammingen; fled with his wife, child and all his belongings. The Germans had their way. There are no more Jews in Unterrammingen; there were none before Hitler and there are none left now, after the war, after the great liberation.

There are no more Jews who could bring a “disharmony” into this Bavarian town. There are no more Jewish touches in its general picture ...

Perhaps all this didn't have to be the man's last straw. Jews would've left the town anyway; after all, 299 out of 300 had already left. Sooner or later Dovid Borviner would've also left of his own free will ...

But it's the way in which he left, the way in which he was forced out and how it played out at the time that paints a picture of the present-day Germany on the eve of getting her own government; a picture which is for the time being perhaps characteristic only of a few isolated corners, here and there, but is also a picture which tomorrow can become a faithful reflection of reality in numerous cities and towns in Germany ...²⁶

Document 67

Hans-Erich Fabian, “D.P.”

Berlin, February 14, 1947

Newspaper article, 2 pages

Language: German

Der Weg. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums, February 14, 1947 (vol. 1, no. 28), 1f.

26 The description in Documents 65 and 66 of a violent encounter between DP Jews and local Germans and U.S. Military Government judicial intervention to quell the disorder is perhaps unusual in its detail but confrontations and even “riots” that provoked responses by German police and American Military Police were not uncommon. See, e. g., discussion of violent altercations near Landsberg DP Camp in April 1946 or in nearby Camp Föhrenwald in May 1946. Moreover, trigger-happy actions by German police, such as the March 1946 murder of Shmuel Dancyger during a “black market” raid on a Stuttgart DP camp, also spurred violent responses by Jewish DPs. In general, however, American officials as well as UNRRA workers observed that despite deep bitterness, relations were generally pragmatic and free of active conflict, at least until the establishment of the Federal Republic. For discussion of confrontations between Jewish DPs and local Germans and the varied interventions by U.S. military, JDC, or UNRRA officials, see Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 223–226 and 257–260; Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany*, 46–57.

D.P.

Zu den Begriffen, die neu in unseren Sprachschatz aufgenommen worden sind, gehört der des D.P., der „displaced persons.“ Er bezeichnet diejenigen Personen, die, durch das Hitlerregime aus ihrer Heimat vertrieben, bisher noch keine neue Heimat finden konnten. Es scheint aber, als ob dieser Begriff schon einen unangenehmen Beiklang bekommen hat. Man hatte gehofft, daß diese unglücklichen Menschen so schnell wie möglich neu angesiedelt und zu nutzbringender Arbeit herangezogen werden könnten. Es hat sich aber leider gezeigt, daß nicht überall die Bereitschaft besteht, diesen Menschen in der erforderlichen Weise und mit der notwendigen Intensität zu helfen. Das ist der Grund, weshalb der D.P., der ursprünglich nur eine vorübergehende Erscheinung sein sollte, heute noch, fast zwei Jahre nach dem Ende des Krieges, überall in Europa anzutreffen ist. Noch heute müssen Hunderttausende in Lägern [sic] und ohne sinnvolle Beschäftigung leben. Man bedenke, daß jedes Lagerleben ohne geregelte Arbeit auf die Dauer demoralisierend wirkt, auch darf nicht vergessen werden, daß es sich bei den D.P.s zu einem großen Teil um Menschen handelt, die gewaltsam aus der Bahn gerissen wurden und die jahrelang um ihr nacktes Leben kämpfen mußten. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn diese Menschen leichter mit den Gesetzen in Konflikt kommen.²⁷ Ihre Handlungen wollen und können wir nicht billigen. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß es hierfür nur eine Erklärung, aber keine Entschuldigung gibt, und daß hier mit allen Mitteln durchgegriffen werden muß. Auf

27 Fabian refers to the “black” or “grey” market trade activities of Jewish DPs, particularly those living in the large Düppel Center, or Schlachtensee DP Camp – as the DPs called it – in the American sector of Berlin. In the absence of a legal stable currency and with access to scarce goods such as cigarettes, coffee, and tea provided in JDC relief packages, some Jewish DPs were able to participate in the open-air markets of Berlin, such as those on the Hermann or Potsdamer Platz. Polish-Jewish DPs were often singled out as especially prominent within this everyday and entirely commonplace economy even though in reality they were a minority among German and allied occupation soldiers in a marketplace important for survival in Germany prior to the currency reform. Even U.S. military officials, inclined to crack down on large-scale activity, stated that “it was generally agreed that there is no alarming or sensational ‘black market’ activities at the Düppel Center.” The German-Jewish leadership of the *Berlin Gemeinde*, however, was concerned about the reputation of DPs and therefore, as Fabian does here, simultaneously vigorously disapproved of the behavior that could bring Jews into conflict with the law, while seeking to explain and excuse it by reference to the terrible experiences the survivors had undergone. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 118–123, here 123.

der anderen Seite hat diese Erscheinung, die im übrigen nur vereinzelte D.P.s betrifft, dazu geführt, daß man den D.P. ohne weiteres als einen moralisch minderwertigen Menschen ansieht. Nimmt man hinzu, daß ein großer Teil der D.P.s Juden aus Polen sind, die sich in den Lägern aufhalten müssen, weil sie weder vorwärts noch rückwärts können, so ergibt sich, daß man vielfach den D.P. mit dem polnischen Juden gleichstellt. Alle unerfreulichen Erscheinungen, an denen D.P.s beteiligt sind, werden ohne weiteres den polnischen Juden zur Last gelegt. So kommt man zu dem Fehlschluß, daß die polnischen Juden an dem Wiedererwachen des Antisemitismus schuld seien, was wiederum zur Rechtfertigung des Antisemitismus benutzt wird.²⁸

Leider ist diese Auffassung nicht nur in böswilligen Kreisen verbreitet. Es gilt, diese Ansicht energisch zu bekämpfen. Denn so logisch sie auch auf den ersten Blick vielleicht erscheinen mag, so falsch ist sie auch. Sie ist auch deshalb gefährlich, weil sie eine Entschuldigung für den Antisemitismus bedeutet und ihm den Anschein einer Berechtigung gibt. Schon einmal hat man mit ähnlichen Argumenten den Antisemitismus zu erklären versucht. Auch heute hört man noch häufig die Meinung, die Schuld an der Entwicklung in Deutschland sei nicht zuletzt darauf zurückzuführen, daß damals gegen diese Erscheinungen nicht mit der genügenden Schärfe aufgetreten worden sei.

Wir wissen, daß man gegen solche vorgefaßten Meinungen mit Tatsachen und logischen Erwägungen allein nicht ankommen kann. Denn Logik ist nicht immer eine geeignete Waffe gegen gehässige Propaganda. Notwendig erscheint es, daß nicht nur die vernünftigen und einsichtsvollen Kräfte, sondern auch wir selbst uns von dieser falschen Argumentation freimachen. Nur dann können wir der Behauptung entgegenzutreten, die polnischen Juden leisteten in irgendeiner Form dem Antisemitismus Vorschub.

28 Writing for a mostly German-Jewish but also general German audience, Fabian points out that, contrary to public perceptions stoked by press reports, not all DPs are Polish Jews; many are Ukrainian or Hungarian, and moreover, it is not survivors' actions that provoke antisemitism in the postwar period, as is too often alleged, but the antisemitic persecution that caused their displaced status in the first place. He refers to the new and continuing antisemitism of the immediate postwar/post-Holocaust period, which often used the unruly or "illegal" behavior of "alien" Polish-Jewish DPs as a justification. Moreover, while insisting on appropriate punishment for individual offenders, he slyly argues against any weaponizing of "collective guilt," a concept that many Germans vehemently rejected regarding their own responsibility for Nazi crimes. Finally, Fabian highlights the fact that the DPs saw themselves as aliens in Germany and wanted nothing more than to be allowed to emigrate and build up new lives.

Es muß entschieden darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die Juden nur einen Teil der D.P.s stellen und an Zahl von anderen Nationen in den Lagern übertroffen werden.²⁹

Aus den Meldungen der Tagespresse geht hervor, daß sich die Unzutraglich-keiten nicht nur in der Umgebung jüdischer Lager ergeben, sondern vielleicht noch in erhöhtem Maße in der Umgebung anderer Lager.

Daraus ergibt sich, daß nicht jeder D.P. ein Jude ist. Es fällt niemandem ein, aus unliebsamen Vorkommnissen in irgendeinem anderen Lager, sagen wir einmal einem polnischen oder ukrainischen, nun eine Anklage gegen die gesamte Nation zu folgern und berechtigte Vorwürfe in dieser Weise zu verallgemeinern. Die deutsche Öffentlichkeit würde es sich mit Recht verbieten, wenn man Vergehen in deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern, die bekanntgeworden sind, zu einer Diffamierung der gesamten deutschen Kriegsgefangenen mißbrauchen würde. Bei den Juden aber wird die Gesamtheit mit Vorliebe für Verfehlungen Einzelner verantwortlich gemacht. Dabei liegt der Prozentsatz der straffälligen Juden keineswegs über dem allgemeinen Durchschnitt. Dies ist umso anerkennenswerter, als die jüdischen D.P.s unerbittlich aus ihrem bürgerlichen Leben herausgerissen und nach Verlust ihrer Existenz jahrelang ein Lagerleben führten oder als Partisanen dauernd im Kampf lagen. Die Lebensbedingungen in den KZs und die Vorbilder waren nicht geeignet, die Moral zu festigen. Von den D.P.s gibt es eine erhebliche Anzahl, die im Lager heranwuchsen und die dort nichts anderes vor sich sahen. Nur wenige stellen sich außerhalb der Gesetze, und auch sie sind in Wirklichkeit auch in dieser Hinsicht Opfer ihrer Verfolger. Umso verwerflicher ist es, daraus Waffen gegen die Allgemeinheit zu schmieden.

Selbstverständlich hat der einzelne für seine Taten einzustehen. Jedes Verschulden muß an ihm bestraft werden, aber nur an dem Schuldigen, und nicht an der Gemeinschaft, der er angehört. Das gilt für Straftaten jeder Art, das gilt aber auch für das sonstige Verhalten. Unerfreuliche Erscheinungen in der Nähe der D.P.-Lager, wie Schwarzhandel, werden für das Anwachsen des Antisemitismus verantwortlich gemacht. Nach den Käufern und deren ungesetzlichem Verhalten wird in diesem Zusammenhang merkwürdiger-

29 In early 1946, Jews constituted less than ten percent of the total DP population. However, during the “peak period” of 1947–1948, approx. 250,000 Jewish DPs resided in or had passed through occupied Germany. Cohen, *In War’s Wake*, 5f. By late 1948, about 30,000 Jewish DPs remained in Germany. Jews represented only a minority of the hard-core DP population who remained in Germany after the establishment of the State of Israel, the formation of the Federal Republic, and the passage of U.S. DP Acts in 1948 and 1950. Nasaw, *The Last Million*, 547–549. However, there are no precise statistics for the DP population, either Jewish or non-Jewish.

weise nicht gefragt. Auch wir würden es begrüßen, wenn diese unliebsamen Erscheinungen bald verschwinden würden. Im übrigen gibt es ja weit entfernt von den Lagern, so im Innern der Stadt Berlin, Ähnliches festzustellen. Auch dort finden Schwarzmärkte statt. Und dabei handelt es sich nicht um Bevölkerungsteile, die aus der Heimat her gewöhnt sind, daß die Mehrzahl der Geschäfte unter freiem Himmel abgeschlossen wird. Soweit es sich um die jüdischen D.P.s handelt, ist die Lösung einfach. Man braucht ihnen nur die Möglichkeit zu geben, Deutschland ihrem Wunsche entsprechend zu verlassen. Kaum einer von ihnen hat die Absicht, ständig in Deutschland zu bleiben. Nur soll man sich nicht einbilden, daß irgendwelche Maßnahmen gegen D.P.s den Antisemitismus abdämpfen würden. Dem gleichen Irrtum ist man auch vor 1933 bei uns erlegen. Damals glaubte man, daß man durch Aufgabe seiner Eigenart sich gegen den Antisemitismus schützen könne.

Vor allem aber soll man bei der Beurteilung dieser Frage nie vergessen, daß die jüdischen D.P.s wie alle anderen das Opfer der Verfolgung durch das Nazisystem gewesen sind. Sie sind Fremdlinge in Deutschland und wollen es auch bleiben. Soweit sie sich gegen die Gesetze vergehen, müssen sie bestraft werden. Im übrigen kann man nicht aus dem Verhalten dieser Einzelpersonen irgendeinen Rückschluß auf die Moral und die Denkart des Judentums ziehen wollen. Jede andere Einstellung begünstigt geradezu den Antisemitismus. Wie winzig sind aber diese Vergehen, gemessen an der ungeheuren Schuld, die Deutschland in den 12 Jahren ihnen, wie dem gesamten Judentum gegenüber, auf sich geladen hat.

Document 68

Leo Menter,³⁰ “UNRRA-Lager Zehlendorf”³¹

Berlin, June, 13, 1947

Published poem, 1 page

Language: German

Der Weg. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Judentums, June 13, 1947 (vol. 2, no. 24), 8

30 German-Jewish publicist Leo Menter (former Merten, 1892–1966) lived in Berlin before the Second World War and survived the Holocaust in hiding. After 1945, he was a staff member of the refounded *Weltbühne* (originally published 1905–1933) in East Berlin and became a cultural official in the German Democratic Republic.

31 Most likely DP Camp Schlachtensee, located in Zehlendorf; also referred to as the Düppel Center by the U.S. Army.

UNNRA-Lager Zehlendorf

*Im UNRRA-Lager lebt sich's gut,
Doch heut' macht sowas böses Blut.
Die Presse bringt schon allerhand
vom Schwarzen Markt,³² der dort entstand.
Man muß sich solche Sitten
vom UNRRA-Lager verbitten.*

*Daß er gehetzt war wie ein Dieb
Und nur durch Zufall leben blieb,
Daß er nichts weiß von Frau und Kind,
Auch nicht, wie sie ermordet sind,
Gibt's seltener zu hören.
(Wer will das 'raufbeschwören?)*

*Wer bietet diesem UNRRA-Mann
ein kleines Stückchen Heimat an?
Da ist es still, jedoch man spricht
von einer Razzia. Laut Bericht
war sie nicht ganz gelungen,
man fand: Berliner Jungen.*

Leo Menter

Document 69

*Malke Kelerikh,³³ "Why are we being forced?"
Munich, 1948
Published short story, 9 pages
Language: Yiddish; translated by Lena Watson*

32 See Documents 20 and 67.

33 Author Malke Kelerikh (1897–?) was born in Równo, Poland (then part of the Russian Empire). Before the Second World War, she wrote for *Der moment* and *Undzer ekspres* (Our Express), both newspapers were published in Warsaw. She later became chairwoman of WIZO and the only female member of the *Shrayber farband fun sheyres hapleyte* (Writers' Union of the She'erit Hapletah).

Malke Kelerikh, Tsurik tsum lebn. Dertseylungen [Back to Life. Stories], Munich 1948, 87–95³⁴

[Kelerikh explores the harrowing experiences of Holocaust survivors, juxtaposing their time in concentration camps with the cruel disillusionment they face in postwar Germany. She recounts the brutal conditions of the camps, where life was reduced to mere survival, driven by a faint hope for a better future. This hope turns into bitter disappointment upon encountering a world that remains indifferent and segregated, mirroring the oppression she had hoped to escape. On a train, the narrator is confronted by a German child whose innocent actions trigger painful memories of a child from the concentration camp. Kelerikh recounts a gruesome moment when she and a group of fellow Jews, including the child, hide from the Nazis and are forced to strangle the restless child to avoid detection. This haunting memory collides with the present as Kelerikh battles a surge of vengeful hatred, but ultimately cannot harm the innocent child on the train.]

פֿאַרוואָס צווינגט מען אונז?

און ווען איך קלער, וועלכער פון מיינע לאגערן איז געווען דער ערגסטער, וועלכע פון אלע מיינע איבערלעבונגען איז געווען די שרעקלעכסטע, קען איך נישט אנטשיידן. אָבער ווען איך פארגלייך מיין איבערלעבן אין די לאגערן און מיין לעבן דאָ, פיל איך, אַז אַ סך מאָל איז דאָ פיל ערגער. נישט קיין פֿאַראַדאָקס און נישט קיין איבערטריבן געפיל. דאָרט אין די לאגערן מיט דעם חיהישן, הינטישן לעבן, מיט דעם כסדרדיקן געדאנק פון יעדערמינוטיקע טויט־גרייטקייט, האָבן מיר זיך אויף גאָרנישט געוונדערט. אַט נאָר איצט, אַט נאָר די איצטיקע מינוט, און ווייטער גאָרנישט. אזוי לעבן אלע חיות, און אזוי האָבן אויך מיר געלעבט, ווייל אונזער לעבן איז געווען נאָך ערגער פון דעם חיה לעבן. איינס איז נאָך געווען אין אונז מענטשלעכעס, וואָס מיר האָבן געהאָפט, אז ערגעץ ווי, דארט, ווי אין אַ חלום, איז נאָך דאָ אַ וועלט, וואָס ווען נאָר זי, די וועלט ווייסט! ... ווען נאָר זי, די וועלט וועט אימזשטאנד זיין! ...

[88] און ווען עמיצער פון אונז וועט אמאָל דערלעבן און אין אַט דער אויסגעחלומטער וועלט קומען, דעמאָלט ... דעמאָלט, וואָס וועט דען נישט מיט אונז געשען? און דאס איז געווען דאס איינציקע, וואָס האָט אונז נאָך צום לעבן צוגעשמידט, דאס האָט אונז אין מענטש דערינערט. פארענדערט האָט זיך יעצט אין גאנצן אונזער פסיכיק, ווען מיר זיינען צו דער ווירקלעכקייט, צו דער וועלט געקומען.

אמת טאקע, זעער [!] ווייניק האָבן דאס גרויסע גליק געהאט אלץ איבערצולעבן, און צו דער וועלט צו קומען. אבער עס געפינען זיך זעער פיל פון די לעבנגעבליבענע, וואָס זיינען מקנא די געשטאַרבענע. זיי זיינען פארפייניקט געוואָרן אָבער מיט אַ שיינער אילויע געשטאַרבן, אַז ווען! ...

34 The short story appeared first in *Undzer veg* (Our Way, May 9, 1947). *Tsurik tsum lebn* was later published in Hebrew: Malke Kelerikh, *Ha-kelev ve-ani. Sipurim [The Dog and I. Stories]*, Tel Aviv 1979.

מיר האָבן דעם "ווען" דערלעבט, די וועלט דערזען און וואָס פארא שרעקלעכע אנטוישונג! נישט קיין וועלט, נאָר אן אכוריותדיקע פוסטקייט, נישט קיין מענטשן נאָר גלייכגילטיקע, קאלטבלוטטיקע געשטאלטן, נישט קיין לעבן, נאָר די זעלבע צעטיילונג אויף מענטש און נישט מענטש. אייניקע וווינען אין די אייגענע הייזער, מיט די שיינע מעבל, אין היימישע באַדינגונגען, מיט מאן און קינד, פריינט און באַקאַנטע, אין דער היימישער סביבה פון לאנגיאַריקן נאָרמאלן סדר, מיט אן עכטן היינט און מאָרגן, מיט אַ שטאַלץ פון אַ פאַלק, וואָס פילט אַ באַדן אונטער די פיס, און האָט נישט פארלוירן דעם מוט צו פאָדערן.

און די צווייטע? צעבראַכענע, נידערגעשלאָגענע, אָן אַ אַ [!] באַדן אונטער די פיס, גלייך ווי דאָרט אין לאַגער אויסגעשטעלט אלע מינוט אויף נישט באַשטראַפטע שיקאַנעס, מיט אַ כסדרדיקן שרעק פאר דעם מאָרגן. און נאָר דער אונטערשיד [89] איז געבליבן, וואָס דארט אין לאַגער זענען מיר געווען אָפגעצוימט פון דער וועלט. מיר האָבן זי, די וועלט, ווי אַ חלום געווען. איצט זעען מיר זי אויף דער וואַר. טאקע אמת, ס'איז דאָ אַ וועלט, וועלכע לעבט, פעלקער מיט אַ צוקונפט, מיליאנען קינדער לעבן, דאן ווען אונזערע זענען שוין פארפוילט אין דער ערד. און מען זאָגט אונז: "שטייט און קוקט. אַט איז דאס, דאס לעבן צו וועלכן איר האָט זיך אַזוי געצויגן, ס'איז טאקע דא אויף דער וואַר, אָבער נישט פאר אייך!" שרעקלעך איז די אנטוישונג, אָבער נאָך פיל שרעקלעכער, ערגער אפילו ווי דאס לעבן אין די היטלער־לאַגערן, איז דאס צווינגען אונז דאָ בלייבן און דאס אלץ צוקוקן. צוקוקן און זען, אַז די, וועלכע האָבן אונדז באַרובט, וווינען אין אונזערע וווינונגען, גייען אָנגעטון אין אונזערע מאַנטלען, עסן פון אונזער געשיר. זייערע געזונטע, פריילעכע קינדער שפילן זיך מיט אונדזערע געהרגעטע קינדערס שפילצייג. אַט דעם ביטערן אמת האָבן מיר זיך אין די לאַגערן ניט פארגעשטעלט. קיינער האָט אונז נישט געוויזן די צווייטע זייט פון לעבן. אמת, מיר האָבן געחלומט, אָבער אַ חלום איז כסדר נאָר אַ חלום. און יעצט? ווו נעמט מען כוח צו קומען אין באַרירונג מיט די מערדער, ווען דאס באַוווסטזיין איז אַזוי פארסמט פון האס? און ווו נעמט מען כוח צו האסן? און פפרט קינדער האסן? און עס וויינט אַזוי דאס הארץ, פארוואָס צווינגט מען אונז צו דארפן האסן? ... קינדער האסן? און אַז מיר קענען נישט? און אַז מיר זענען נישט קיין עם נוקם ונוטר?

און אַט פאָר איך אין צוג, און אנטקעגן מיר זיצט זי די גליקלעכע דייטשע מאמע, מיט איר קינד אויף די הענט. אַ שיינ ליכטיק פנימל, צוויי גרויסע פארחלומטע אויגן קוקן אויף [90] מיר מיט צוטרוי און קינדישע [!] פאראינטערעסירונג. מיין האנט־בייטל איז איר שטארק געפעלן. זי לאָזט פון אים די גרויסע אויגן ניט אַראָפּ. און פלוצלינג גליטשט זי זיך אַראָפּ פון דער מוטערס שוים און מיט אַ ברייטן שמייכל דערנענטערט זי זיך צו מיר. זי רירט זיך אָן אין מיין בייטל. אירע נאָקעטע פיסעלעך רירן זיך אָן אין מייןע און אַ ציטער גייט מיר אדורך. איך וויל זיך אַפּרוקן און קען נישט, מיין פנים קרימט זיך אויס, אַ שמייכל צו אַ גרימאסע, איך ווייס אליין נישט, אָבער דעם קינד גייט עס גאָרנישט אָן. זי רוקט זיך אין גאַנצן אַריין צווישן מייןע פיס, שפאָרט זיך אָן מיט אירע קליינע עלנבויגלעך אויף מייןע קני, און קוקט פארהושט אויף מיין האנט־בייטל. די מוטער שמייכלט, אָבער איך בין אין גאַנצן געפלעפט. קלייניקע עלנבויגלעך, וואַרעמע הענטלעך, פונקט ווי ביי איר, ביי "באַשעלען" מיין טייעריקע, מיין קליין באַשעלע, ווו ביסטו? און שוין זענען מייןע געדאַנקען ווייט דאָרט...

17 זענען מיר געווען ... 17 מענטשן אלע רעשטלעך ... טיט הויכע בילדונג, לערער, דאָקטוירים. עפעס צופעליק האָבן מיר זיך צונויפגעקליבן און צונויפגעבונדן. אונז האָט די 6 יאָריקע „באַשעלע" פארלייכטערט אונזער פיין. יעדער פון אונז האָט מיט איר זיין ציל אין לעבן, כלומרשט צוריק געפונען. פאר „באַשעלען" עטוואָס קריגן, באַשעלען שלאָפן לייגן. היינט פלעגן מיר איבער איר

עקספערײמענטן מאכן, שפראכן לערנען, אלע טאָג אַ שפראַך, און עס איז נישט געווען דער פאל זי זאָל עפעס פארטוישן, אַ וואָרט פארגעסן.

מיר האָבן געשטוינט, עפעס אַזוינס האָט נאָך קיינער אין זיין פראקטיק נישט געזען. עפעס אַ מין ווונדער פון דער נאטור. מיר האָבן אָנגעווענדעט אלע אונזערע כוחות, ערנסט און פארהיידושט קוקן ארום. און האָט זיך אַ שמייכל אויף איר פנים באַוויזן, האָט זיך דאן געדאכט, אַז די וועלט איז צוריק וועלט, אַז מענטש, האָפנונג [!], לעבן, אלץ איז ווידער דאָ.

אַט אַזאַ איז זי געווען באשעלע. און די מוטער, זי האָט ווי פארשטאנען, אַז יעצט קען נישט באשעלע געהערן צו איר אליין. זי האָט אונזער אנטײל שטום אָנגענומען. און די קליינע 6-יאָריקע ריקע באַשעלע, איז פונקט ווי אלע אונזערע קינדער דעמאָלט, פלוצלינג גרויס געוואָרן – קיין מאָל קיין פראגן נישט געשטעלט. פארוואָס טאָר מען נישט ריידן, לאכן, נישט פאר דער טיר ארויסגיין, אַ גאנצן טאָג הונגערו, אין די קליידער שלאָפן? נאָך יעדע באַמערקונג, פלעגט זי נאָר אירע גרויסע פארחלומטע אויגן אראַפלאָזן, און זיך נענטער צו דער מוטער צודריקן און צוטוליען.

אין אַ טאָג איז דאס געווען, אַ נאכט איז דאס געווען, צי אפשר נאָר אן אייביקייט איז דאס געווען. – אן אקציע אין לאגער. מיר זיינען אונטן אין קעלער, אין אַ לאָך פארשטעקט געלעגן. אלע 17 אינאיינעם, דער קעלער נישט טיף און אלץ קומט פאָר ווי אינעווייניק. ווילדע געשרייען געוויינען, קנאלן פון בייטשן, פליענדיקע קוילן, שויבן קנאקנדיקע, קינדישע קולות און איבער אלץ טריט, שווערע גראַבע באַשטיוועלטע טריט. ווייטער ... נענטער ... איבער אונזערע קעפ, מיר זיצן שטיל איינגעקאָרטשעט, האלב מענטש, האלב געיאַגטע חיה און באַשעלע מיט אונז און כדי זיין זיכער, אַז דאס קינד וועט קיין הוסט נישט טון, קיין פּיפּס נישט ארויסלאָזן, באַשליסן מיר איר צו געבן שלאָף געטראַנק.

[92] אָבער באַלד שוין האָבן מיר אונזער שרעקלעכן טעות דערזען. דער שלאָף-געטראַנק האָט געגעבן פונקט אַ פארקערטע ווירקונג. דאָס קינד איז געוואָרן אומרויאַק. עס האָט זיך אָנגעהויבן וואַרפן, ברומען. די מוטער האָט איר פעסט געהאלטן, מיט שטילע ווערטער איר געפרוווט באַרויאַקן, אָבער דאס קינד איז געווען באַווסטלאָז און אלץ שטארקער געברומט און געשריגן. מיר זענען געזעסן מיט פארהאלטענע אַטעמס. מיר האבן געפילט: "דאס איז אונזער סוף". די אקציע אין דרויסן איז געוואָרן אלץ נענטער, די גרויזאמע טריט זענען שוין געווען איבער די קעפ און דאס קינד איז געוואָרן אלץ אומרויאַקער. און פלוצלינג האָט עמיצער אַ זאָג געטון: ווער? מיר האָבן נישט געוואָלט זען. וואָס? מיר האָבן נישט געוואָלט הערן, נאָר אין דער לופט האָבן געשוועבט ווערטער. „דאס קינד דארף מען דערשטיקן, זי וועט אומברענגען 16 מענטשן". האָט דאס עמיצער געזאָגט? קיינער האָט נישט געוויסט. שטיל האָט באדארפט זיין און עס איז געווען שטיל. אין אַ לאָך אונטער אַ קעלער 16 מענטשן און ... באַשעלע, אַ קליין 6 יאָריק ווונדער-קינד. די באַשטיוועלטע טריט זענען אלץ נענטער. אַט זענען זיי שוין איבער אונזערע קעפ. די געשרייען, דאס קנאלן, אלץ שטארקער, און פלוצלינג גיט זיך דאס קינד אַ וואַרף און לאָזט ארויס אַ שרעקלעך געשריי. אָבער נאָך איידער דער געשריי איז ארויס, איז ער איבערגערעיסן געוואָרן. עמיצער האָט זיך צום קינד אַ וואַרף געטון, אָבער מיר האָבן דאך גאַרנישט געזען, גארנישט געהערט. דער עיקר שטיל. מיט ארויסגעסטארטשעטע משוגענע אויגן איז זי געזעסן, די יידישע מאמע, באַשעלעס מאמע, און ביי איר אויף די קני האָט געצאָפלט און זיך גע- [93] וואַרפן אין די לעצטע קאָנוולסיעס דאס דערשטיקטע קינד. קיין איין ריר האָט זי זיך נישט געגעבן, קיין קרעכץ, קיין טרער. נאָר 2 משונה ווילדע אויגן האָבן געקוקט ווייט, ווייט און גאַרנישט געזען.

אָבער שטיל איז שוין געווען, אין גאנצן שטיל. אייך באַשעלע איז שטיל, רואיק, ביי דער מוטער אויף דער קני געלעגן. נאָר די צוויי קליינע הענטעלעך זיינען טיף געווען איינגעגראָבן אין דער מאַמעס לייב, ווי זי וואָלט וועלן נאָך אביסל די לעצטע פארבינדונג מיט דער מוטער אָנהאלטן. האָט דאס געדויערט נאָר אַ נאַכט, צי אַן אייביקייט? די טריט זיינען געוואָרן ווייטער, די געשרייען אין דרויסן שטילער און ... 16 מענטשן האָבן זיך געראטעוועט. 16 מענטשן האָבן זייער לעבן אויסגעקויפט און מיט באַשעלען באַצאָלט ...



דאס דייטשע קינד רוקט זיך אין גאנצן ארויף אויף מיר. און פלוצלינג, פונקט ווי באַשעלע, צעשמייכלט זי זיך און הויבט איר קעפעלע אויף, איך דערזע אַ העלזעלע, אַ ווייסינקע מיט שפּאַלטעלעך, שטריכעלעך, פונקט ווי באַשעלעס און פלוצלינג ווערן מיינע אויגן משוגע. „דערשטיקן! פאר באַשעלען, פאר אונזערע קינדערלעך!“ מיין האנט ציט זיך אליין פון זיך. און... דער צוג גיט אַ ריס. דאס קינד גיט זיך אַ וואַקל און איך כאַפּ ס'קינד מיט שרעק ארום. טאקע אַט די האנט, וואָס איז געגאנגען שטיקן, האלט דאס פעסט צו, ס'זאָל חלילה נישט אַ פאל טון, זיך ערגעץ נישט פארלעצן. זי, די פארפירערישע האנט דריקט דאס צו מיין הארצן, וואָס וויינט און קלאַנגט אין מיר. וואָס האָב איך געוואָלט טון? ... און נישט געקענט ...

[94] דער צוג האלט עפעס אַ סטאנציע, איך שטעל פאַרויכטיק דאס קינד, מיינע ליפן ציען זיך צו דעם, איך כאַפּ מייין קליין פעקעלע און לויף ארויס.

עפעס אַ קליינע נישט באַקאַנטע סטאנציע. פינצטער. אַ דריבער רעגענדל נעמט מיך דורך. דער צוג רירט ווייטער, איך שפּאַר זיך אָן, אין אַ סלופ. דער געדאַנק ארבעט אינגאנצן נישט, וואָס איז נאָר וואָס פאַרגעקומען? צי אפשר האָט זיך מיר גאָר געחלומט, אָבער עס איז אַזוי מחיהדיק גוט, שטיין אַזוי אין דער פינצטער אליין, אַן מענטשן.

צו מיר גייט צו אַ דייטש. „אַך זאָ, דאס בין איך על פי טעות אויסגעשטיגן, אָבער נישט אַזוי שלים, אין אַ האַלבע שטונדע קומט אַ צווייטער צוג, און דערווילע קען איך אין וואַרטע-ציימער אריינגיין, ס'איז דאָך אַזוי פינצטער און קאלט“.

כא! כא! כא! פינצטער און קאלט, אָבער איך שטיי דאך נישט נאָקעט, מיט אויפגעהויבענע הענט און דארף דאך נישט האלטן אין איין שרייען "הייל היטלער", "ווייסטו, וואָס עס הייסט שטיין נאָקעט מיט אויפגעהויבענע הענט? האָב איך דאס אויסגעשריען? ווייזט אויס ניין“.

דער דייטש גייט זיך רואיק אוועק. און ארום איז אַזוי מחיהדיק פינצטער און איך בין נישט נאָקעט. און מיינע הענט רוען אַנגעשפּאַרט אין סלופ. אָבער די געדאַנקען!...

יאָ, וואָס איז מיט דער מוטער באַשעלעס? יאָ, אין אַ פאַר טעג ארום איז דאך ווידער אַן אקציע געווען, האָבן מיר זי געזען. זי האָט זיך מער נישט באַהאַלטן און נעבן איר איז "ער" געגאַנגען, אַט דער, וואָס האָט 16 מענטשן געראטעוועט און מיט באַשעלען באַצאָלט.

[95] אַן אויפהער קאפעט און קאפעט דער רעגן. אַזאָ נאַכט! דאס איז דאך געווען אַ גליק פאר די, וואָס האָבן זיך אויסבאהאלטן, פאר די, וואָס האָבן אַ שטיקל קארטאפּל געזוכט ... און יעצט שטיי איך אַנגעטון, נישט נאָקעט, מיינע הענט שטעכן נישט פון קעלט און אַפּגעלאָזט בלוט; און אין הארצן איז פּוסט און פינצטער ווי די נאַכט, און ס'וויינט און ס'קלאַנגט דער אייביקער "פארוואָס"? ... פארוואָס צווינגט איר אונז צו קומען אין באַרירונג מיט אונזערע מערדער?! פארוואָס צווינגט מען אונז, וועלן זיין מערדער, אַז מיר קענען נישט!

*Translation***Why are we being forced?**

And when I reflect which of my camps has been the worst, which of my experiences has been the most terrible, I cannot differentiate. But when I compare my experiences in the camps with my life here, I feel that on many occasions here is worse.

It is no paradox and no exaggerated feeling. Back there in the camps, with the beastly life of a dog, with the constant thought of being ready to meet your death each and every minute, nothing could surprise us. It was only now, only the present moment and nothing beyond it.

This is how all animals live, and this is how we, too, lived because our life was worse than that of an animal. The only human thing about us was a hope that somewhere, in a dream, there was a world, if only it knew! If only it were able ...!

And if anyone of us would ever live to come into this dreamt-up world, then ... Then what wouldn't happen to us? And it was the only thing that bonded us to life, reminded us of being human.

Our psyche had now completely changed when we came to this reality and to this world.

It is true that very few had the great fortune to have survived everything and come to this world. However, there are very many among the survivors who envy the dead. They had been tortured to death but died with a beautiful illusion that one day ...

We did live to see this day, see this world, but what a terrible disappointment it has been! Not a world, but a cruel emptiness, not people, but indifferent, cold-blooded phantoms, not life, but the same segregation into humans and non-humans. Some live in their own houses, furnished with beautiful furniture, in homely conditions, with husband and children, friends and acquaintances; in the home environment formed by a normal order of many years, with a genuine today and tomorrow, with the pride of a people that feels the ground under its feet and hasn't lost the courage to demand.

And the others? Broken, downtrodden, with the ground knocked from under their feet, open every minute just like back in the camps to chicanes that go unpunished, in constant fear of tomorrow. The only difference left is that in the camp we were cut off from the outside world. In our eyes the outside world was a dream. Now we see it in truth. There is indeed a world that lives, nations with a future, millions of children live while ours lie already decayed in the earth. And we're told, "Stand and look, this is it, the life for which you have been striving so much, it's real, but not for you!" The disappointment

is terrible, but even more terrible than that, worse even than life in Hitler's camps, is being forced to stay here and look on.

Look on and see those who robbed us live in our houses, go about dressed in our coats, eat off our plates; their healthy, happy kids play with the toys of our murdered children. We didn't imagine this bitter truth in the camps. Nobody showed us the other side of life. True, we dreamt, but a dream is never more than just that. And now? Where does one get the strength to come in contact with the murderers when the consciousness is so poisoned by hatred? And where does one get the strength to hate? Especially to hate children? The heart is aching so much: why are we being forced to hate? To hate children? And if we can't? And if we are not a vengeful people?³⁵

... I'm on a train. Sitting opposite me is a happy German mother holding her child in her arms. A pretty bright little face, two big dreamy eyes look at me with trust and childish interest. She's taken quite a liking to my handbag. She doesn't take her big eyes off it. And suddenly she slips off her mother's lap and comes toward me, with a big smile on her face. She touches my handbag. Her bare little legs brush against mine and a tremor shoots through me. I want to move away and cannot, my face contorts into a smile or a grimace, I myself don't know which, but the girl isn't put off in the slightest. She gets in between my legs, props her little elbows on my knees and stares dreamily at my handbag. Her mother smiles, but I'm entirely stupefied. Tiny elbows, warm little hands, just as she had, my dearest Bashele, my little Bashele, where are you? And my thoughts are already far away ...

There were 17 of us ... 17 people, all of us remnants ... highly educated, teachers, doctors. It was by chance somehow that we gathered together and bonded. The 6-year-old Bashele eased our pain. It seemed that through her each of us recovered our aim in life: to procure something for Bashele, to put Bashele to bed. We used to experiment with her, teach her languages, a language a day, and she didn't once mix anything up or forget a word.

We were amazed: none of us had seen anything like it in all our practice. A kind of a miracle of nature. We put all our efforts toward keeping her alive. She would look around with a pair of big dreamy eyes with seriousness and amazement. And if a smile appeared on her face, it seemed that the world was a world once more, and that man, hope, life were all there again.

Such was our Bashele. It was as if her mother understood that now Bashele couldn't be hers only. She mutely accepted our involvement. And the 6-year-old Bashele, just as all our children back then, suddenly grew up: never asked any questions. Why mustn't you talk, laugh, leave the house, why must you

35 On stigma, trauma, and feelings of shame among Holocaust survivors, see Leys, *From Guilt to Shame*.

starve all day, sleep with your clothes on? After every remark she would just lower her big dreamy eyes and huddle up closer to her mother.

It happened in the daytime, it happened at night, or perhaps it was an eternity.

... An operation in the camp. We are underneath in a cellar, lying low hidden in a hole, all the 17 of us together. The cellar isn't deep, and everything happens as if it were inside. Wild screams, wails, the cracking of whips, flying bullets, windowpanes splitting, children's cries and above it all, steps, heavy, rough, booted steps. Further away ... closer ... above our heads ... We sit crouching, half man, half hunted animal, Bashele with us, and to make sure that the child doesn't make a cough, doesn't let out a peep, we decide to give her a sleeping draught.

But before long we saw our terrible mistake. The sleeping draught had precisely the opposite effect. The child became restless. She started tossing about and grumbling. Her mother held her tightly, tried to calm her down with soothing words, but the girl was unconscious and grumbled and cried louder and louder. We sat there, holding our breath. We all felt: this is our end.

The operation outside was getting closer, the terrible steps were already over our heads and the child was getting increasingly restless. And suddenly someone said it: who? We didn't want to see. What? We didn't want to hear, but drifting in the air were the words: "The child has to be strangled, she'll destroy 16 people." Did anyone say it? No one knew. It had to be quiet, and it was quiet. In a hole under a cellar there were 16 people and ... Bashele, a little 6-year-old child prodigy.

The booted steps are closer still. Now they're already over our heads. The screams, the cracking grow louder still, when suddenly the child gives a thrash and lets out a terrible cry. But even before the cry escaped from her it was cut short. Someone made a dash for the child, but we saw and heard nothing. Most importantly, it was quiet. She sat there with mad protruding eyes, the Jewish mother, Bashele's mother, and in her lap the strangled child quivered and thrashed in the last convulsions. She made no movement, no groan, let out no tear. Just her mad, wild eyes looked straight in front of them, far, far away and saw nothing.

But now it was quiet, very quiet. Bashele was also lying quietly and calmly in her mother's lap. Just her two little hands were deeply embedded in her mother's flesh as if she wanted to maintain this last bond with her a little longer.

Did this last only one night or for an eternity?

The steps went further away, the shouts outside grew quieter and ... 16 people were saved. 16 people bought their life and paid with Bashele ...



The German child climbs upon me. And suddenly, just like Bashele, she smiles and lifts her head, and I see her neck, white, with little creases and lines, just like Bashele's, and in an instant my eyes get mad. "Strangle her! For Bashele, for our children!" My hand reaches for her as if with a will of its own. And ... the train gives a jerk. The child topples and I clasp her in my arms in fear. The same hand that was about to strangle is holding her tightly lest she, God forbid, take a tumble or hurt something. It, the treacherous hand, is pressing her to my heart, which weeps and laments within me. What did I want to do? And couldn't do ...

The train stops at a station, I put the child carefully down, my lips draw toward her, I grab my little bundle and run out.

Some small unfamiliar station. It's dark. A fine drizzle cuts through me. The train pulls off, I lean against a post. The thought doesn't work at all, what has just happened? Perhaps I dreamt it, but it feels so pleurably good to stand like this in the dark all alone, with no one around.

A German approaches me. "Oh, I got out by mistake, but it's not that bad, in half an hour there's another train, and in the meantime, I can go into the waiting room, it's so dark and cold."

Ha-ha-ha! Dark and cold, but I'm not standing all naked, am I, with my hands up in the air, and don't have to keep shouting "Heil Hitler." "Do you know what it's like standing naked with your hands up in the air? Did I shout it out? Apparently, not."³⁶

The German walks calmly away. And all around me is so delightfully dark and I'm not naked. And my hands are resting against a post. But the thoughts ...!

Yes, what happened to Bashele's mother? Oh yes, a couple of days later there was another operation and we saw her. She didn't hide any longer and walking next to her was "he," the one who had saved 16 people and paid with Bashele.

The rain is falling incessantly. What a night! It was a stroke of luck for those who were in hiding, for those who were looking for a few potatoes ... And now I'm standing fully dressed, not naked, my hands are free from stabbing pain from the cold and drawn blood; yet my heart feels as empty and dark as the night, and the eternal "why" weeps and wails: why are we being forced to come in contact with our murderers?! Why are we being forced to want to be murderers if we cannot!

36 The position of the quotation marks remains unchanged from the original, but they seem misplaced. It would appear the quote should end after the second "up in the air?"

Document 70

John J. McCloy,³⁷ *Speech on the Heidelberg Conference “The Future of the Jews in Germany” with introduction by Harry Greenstein*³⁸

Heidelberg, July 31, 1949³⁹

Typewritten speech, 4 pages

Language: English

in: *Heidelberg Conference, July 31, 1949: “The Future of the Jews in Germany.” Minutes ed. by Harry Greenstein, Heidelberg 1949, 19–22 (YIVO Archives, New York, RG 294.1 (Leo W. Schwarz Papers), MK 488, reel 10.1038, folder 77)*⁴⁰

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- 37 Diplomat and legal expert John J. McCloy (1895–1989) was the High Commissioner for the American Zone (1949–1952), helping to create a civilian government and laying the groundwork for rebuilding West Germany’s industry and commerce. McCloy served as assistant secretary of War under Henry Stimson (1867–1950) and played a key role in securing Congressional approval for the Lend-Lease Act in 1941. From 1947 to 1949 McCloy was president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the main constituent body of the World Bank.
- 38 Harry Greenstein (1896–1971), born in Baltimore, Maryland, was the adviser on Jewish affairs to the Commander of U.S. Forces in Europe from February through October of 1949. He was instrumental in the enactment of the General Claims Law in August 1949, which addressed reparations in the American Zone and would serve as a basis for the 1953 Additional Federal Compensation Act in West Germany.
- 39 While the conference itself took place on July 31, 1949, the minutes of the conference were compiled by Greenstein in September 1949.
- 40 Greenstein, who organized the conference, described its goal as follows: “I had in mind two primary objectives. (1) To bring together the representatives of the Jewish communities and of the major local and international Jewish organizations operating in Germany, (2) to lay the groundwork for the coordination of the efforts of every element in Germany interested in the welfare of the Jews in Germany.” Harry Greenstein, Preface, in: *Heidelberg Conference, July 31, 1949: “The Future of the Jews in Germany.” Minutes ed. by Harry Greenstein, Heidelberg 1949 (unpaginated)*. Further contributors included Chaplain Lewis Barish, German publicist Eugen Kogon (1903–1987), Bavarian State Commissioner for Persons Subject to Racial, Religious, and Political Persecution Philipp Auerbach, Director of Jewish Religious Affairs in Germany Rabbi Isaac Klein (1905–1979), member of the Central Jewish Relief Bureau Max Kreutzberger, and future General Secretary of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* Hendrik George van Dam (1906–1973). A very broad range of Jewish organizations were represented including the American Jewish Committee, the JDC, B’nai B’rith, HIAS, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad, Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, Jewish Relief Unit, and the WJC.

INTRODUCTION OF MR. McCLOY BY HARRY GREENSTEIN

Greenstein: At a great personal sacrifice Mr. McCloy has made a special trip from Bonn to attend our sessions. Before presenting you this group, Mr. McCloy, I should like to introduce this group to you. Gathered in this room are the representatives of the Jewish leaders of the US Zone, of the British Zone, of the French Zone, the representatives of the Central Committees of Liberated Jews of the US Zone and of the British Zone. Participating in these discussions, Mr. McCloy, are also the representatives of the major Jewish organizations of the world, functioning in Germany.

In 1939 there were approximately 550,000 Jews in Germany; today there are from 55,000 to 60,000 Jews. If the present rate of emigration is maintained, we estimate this number will be reduced to 30,000 by the end of 1949.⁴¹

We are gathered here for the purpose of reviewing and discussing the future of those Jews who will remain in Germany, and your presence here, Mr. McCloy, adds importance to what we regard as an extremely significant meeting. We are delighted to have you with us.

And now ladies and gentlemen, I should like to introduce Mr. McCloy to you. I met Mr. McCloy for the first time two weeks ago in Frankfurt, when we had a long discussion about Jewish problems in general and the General Indemnification Law in particular. Mr. McCloy invited me to come to Berlin, to meet with his key staff for a further discussion of the law. I hope Mr. McCloy won't mind if I repeat the story he told at the meeting in Berlin which, I think, will give you some idea of his personal philosophy. During his recent trip through the US Zone, he had occasion to meet one of the leaders of Germany. In the course of the conversation this German leader turned to Mr. McCloy and said, "On the eve of the assumption of your great responsibil-

41 By late 1948, some 30,000 Jewish DPs remained in Germany. By 1953, that number would be approximately halved. Moreover, some 2,500–3,000 DPs had emigrated but then returned, mostly from the new State of Israel. When the Central Council of Jews in Germany was established in December 1950, the Jewish population in the Federal Republic was about 52 percent DP and 48 percent German Jews, albeit very unevenly distributed; in 1949, with four-power-occupied Berlin counting 71.4 percent German Jews and Bavaria only 6.3 percent, altogether, including the Soviet Zone, there were 21,645 members of Jewish communities, both DP and German-Jewish. It is important to note that these numbers include only those Jews who were registered with the official Jewish communities. Henry Maor, *Über den Wiederaufbau der jüdischen Gemeinden in Deutschland seit 1945*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Mainz 1960.

ity, I hope, Mr. McCloy, you will forget the Auschwitzes [sic] and the Dachaus and the other concentration camps and think in terms of the new Germany we are trying to rebuild.” Mr. McCloy turned to him and said, “So far as I am concerned, I cannot forget the Aschwitzes and the Dachaus and I do not want the German people to forget them either. If they do, they will start their new German state in an atmosphere of moral degeneration and degradation.” I think you will agree with me that the President of the United States could not have appointed a man with a more sympathetic and understanding attitude and we can count ourselves fortunate in having as High Commissioner for the US Zone, Germany, our guest of honor, Mr. John J McCloy.

[20] REMARKS BY JOHN J. McCLOY, HIGH COMMISSIONER US ZONE, GERMANY

Thank you, Mr. Greenstein. That was far too fullsome [sic] an introduction. As for any sacrifice in my coming here, I assure you that it was not substantial. I was concerned because we had some very important meetings with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Their plane was late, and it appeared that I would not be able to get down here. Fortunately, the conferences have been concluded and I am only too happy to be here.

The fundamental reason that prompted me to come here is the world significance of the relationship of the New Germany to the Jew and the Jew to the new Germany community. The inter-relationship between the German community and the Jew is as deeply significant as any factor in modern society. When one thinks, as Mr. Greenstein has said, that relatively few years ago, there were over half a million Jews in Germany – a very small proportion of the country’s total population – and that today it is reduced to a mere handful and that all energies are devoted to having what few remain emigrate, that in itself is an incongruity. It is almost an acknowledgment of failure.

I wonder whether we should accept the concept that a country of this size is to exist without a lager or a substantial Jewish population. To admit that Jews cannot live in Germany, as they do in other countries, is, I say, an incongruity in itself, but that is probably something that we cannot alter; at least, in the measurable future. That die has been set. We now have to look at the present, rather infinitesimal, community in Germany and see how it prospers. To assess the crime committed against this community one would have to go back to the darkest, blackest pages of human history. By sheer brutality an entire community was decimated and by a steady drumbeat of propaganda over a substantial number of years the thought was inspired that the Jew was a degraded person and unworthy of life, until the very child who did not know the significance of these thoughts adopted this concept.

We are now moving into a new era. I am told that there is a great deal of

anti-Semitism still rife in Germany.⁴² I would suppose that there would be. We all know the effect of the insistent beat of the propaganda on the human mind when there is no opportunity for independent inquiry of expression. The human mind responds to the one-way street of expression.

[21] It will take many years before we can have an atmosphere of tolerance and breadth of view in Germany. I hope those years will be fewer than some people fear. The attitude of the Jew who remains in Germany will probably have a great deal to do with it. He will be laboring under a strain and will be moving against the current. However, I cannot but believe that with the tenacity, persistence, courage and vigor of the race and with the habit of honest and fair dealing, the Jew in Germany will be restored to a position which he occupied in the past in this community and will reach even higher levels. I do not know how long that will take. We will probably continue to have incidents and expressions which will put even to a greater test the patience, the endurance and the courage of those who remain. Certainly, as long as the occupying powers in Germany have any authority we will not permit any semblance of what once took place. However, there are brutalities that are not physical, that one may have to endure. I cannot but believe that there resides in the German people and in this community a sufficient humanity, sufficient tolerance, sufficient breadth of view and enlightenment to enable any human being to move about and to seek, without hindrance, his companions and his well being.

What this community will be, how it forms itself, how it becomes a part and how it merges with the new Germany, will, I believe, be watched very closely and very carefully by the entire world. It will, in my judgment, be one of the real touchstones and the test of Germany's progress toward the light. I did say that I felt that the moment that Germany has forgotten the Buchenwalds and the Auschwitzes, that was the point at which everyone could begin to despair of any progress in Germany. Naturally, the German leader to whom Mr. Greenstein referred wanted to forget the ugliness of the past. We all have a tendency to try to blot out things of which we are a bit ashamed. We are all disposed to forget about yesterday and to say that tomorrow it will be different.

I know that there are many problems that face you. I will do all that I can to assist you in the solution of these problems. As I have indicated, I do not believe that the community in Germany will lack for interest. I do feel, however, that the success of those that remain will to a large extent depend upon the extent to which that community becomes less of a community in itself and merges with the general community.

42 On antisemitism in early postwar Germany, see, among many other sources, Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge*. For an overview of Jewish life in the postwar Federal Republic, see Brenner (ed.) *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*.

[22] I am sorry that I have such a short time to spend with you. It is a little difficult for me to choose the right words to express my sympathy and my interest in the re-establishment of the Jew in Germany. The very fact that there are so few people in this room today brings up memories of the past and I realize that however sympathetic one may be, you have feelings whose depth no one can plumb.

Mr. Greenstein has spoken of the General Claims Law,⁴³ to whose interpretations and complexities I have only recently been introduced. It is probably an example of the complex problems with which we will have to cope, and which will have to be decided one way or the other. The best that I can pledge you is to decide issues presented to me on the light of my experience and ability. When I left the President of the United States on my last visit with him, we talked about the problems with which I would have to deal. Employing an expression that is common in baseball parlance, he said, "Mr. McCloy, call them as you see them, and we will support you."⁴⁴ I do pledge you that I will call them as I see them with the utmost sympathy for your problems.

43 The General Claims Law (GCL), approved in the American Zone on August 5, 1949, granted compensation in almost all cases not covered by United States Military Law 59, which was established by the U.S. military in November 1947 to enable persecutees living in Germany to demand the return of property forcibly transferred during the Nazi regime. The version of the GCL which was ultimately passed into law resolved several issues in earlier drafts, perhaps most importantly the failure to include DPs living in the camps as beneficiaries. It was the most inclusive compensation law in existence at the time of its passage, but in practice worked to prevent many survivors from receiving compensation for their losses. For example, it demanded that displaced persons relinquish their DP status (and the much-needed benefits which came along with it) in order to qualify for compensation. On the evolution of legal restitution policy in the American Zone in the early postwar period, see Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism*, 69–77.

44 President Harry S. Truman supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and was the first world leader to recognize the State of Israel. His policy toward Jewish immigration to the United States was more mixed. In December 1945, he issued an executive order which did not increase the very limited immigration quotas but did assure that the existing quotas be filled by DPs. In June 1948, he signed the first DP Act, which set a cut-off date for arrival in the American Zone of December 1945, thereby effectively blocking Jewish survivors from Europe who had "infiltrated" into the American Zone after December 1945 from immigrating to the United States. In all, American policies during the Truman administration (1945–1953) led to the immigration of about 400,000–450,000 DPs, of whom some 72,000–100,000 were Jews. Michael Brenner, *Art. Displaced Persons*, in: Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, New Haven, Conn., 150–159; Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*, Ithaca, NY, 1998.

Document 71

*Anonymous,*⁴⁵ *Letter to the Editor*⁴⁶

Munich, August 9, 1949

Printed letter to the editor, 1 page

Language: German

in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, August 9, 1949 (no. 93), 3⁴⁷

... Geht⁴⁸ doch nach Amerika, aber dort können sie Euch auch nicht gebrauchten, sie haben genug von diesen Blutsaugern. Ich bin beim Ami beschäftigt und da haben verschiedene schon gesagt, daß sie uns alles verzeihen, nur das eine nicht, und das ist: daß wir nicht alle vergast haben, denn jetzt beglücken sie (die Juden) Amerika ...

45 The author of the letter reproduced here is anonymous; he revealed his pro-Nazi sympathies in choosing the pseudonym “Adolf Bleibtreu,” which roughly translates to “remain faithful to Adolf [Hitler].” Nevertheless, the author added an address to the letter, although it is not known whether it was his actual address.

46 The following letter to the editor is one of four letters submitted to the liberal Munich daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in response to an article in the issue of August 5, 1949, titled “Judenfrage als Prüfstein.” The article referred approvingly to High Commissioner McCloy’s insistence at the Heidelberg Conference that “the development of a new attitude on the part of the Germans toward the Jews” would be a measure of Germany’s democratic “regeneration.” (Document 70) The letters were chosen by the editors to demonstrate the varying attitudes that were characteristic among the unusually strong response they received regarding the article as the brief introduction notes. The letter reproduced here was the most vehemently antisemitic of the four; the remaining letters were more neutral, with one arguably positive in nature. Jewish DPs subsequently demonstrated against the publishing of the letter, believing it to be indicative of the antisemitic leanings of the newspaper itself. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* was the first newspaper to receive a license from the U.S. Military Government in Bavaria, with its first issue going to print on October 6, 1945. Crago-Schneider, Jewish “Shtetls” in Postwar Germany, 301–317.

47 Previously published in: Ronen Steinke, Die Affäre Adolf Bleibtreu: Wie ein antisemitischer Leserbrief in der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* 1949 eine Straßenschlacht auslöste, in: *Münchener Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* 12 (2018), no. 1, 52–63. The other contributions of this issue of the *Münchener Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* shed more light on the context of the “Bleibtreu affair.” See also Werner Bergmann, Die Bleibtreu-Affäre (1949), in: Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 4, Berlin/New York 2011, 53–55.

48 All omissions by the editor of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

... Sie können sich darauf verlassen, daß ich alles tun werde, um recht viele Amis aufzuklären. Ich versichere Ihnen, daß ich kein Nazi war, aber ich bin ein 100%iger Deutscher. Ich gehöre zu den sogenannten „Stillen im Lande“ und die Flüsterpropaganda ist mehr wert, als 100 Zeitungen ...

Wir sind ein ganz kleiner Kreis (noch!) und alles geht von Hessen aus. Wir sind auf dem „Laufenden“. Selbst in der engsten Umgebung von Dr. Auerbach⁴⁹ & Kogon⁵⁰ sitzen unsere Freunde.

Später, bzw. zur gegebenen Zeit, hören Sie wieder etwas mehr von mir. Bitte veröffentlichen Sie diese Zeilen, wenn Sie „Demokrat“ sind.

*Adolf Bleibtreu,
München 22, Palestrinastr. 33.*

Document 72

Anonymous, Interrogation protocol of Benjamin Häring⁵¹

Munich, October 5, 1949

Typewritten police protocol, 2 pages; typewritten corrections

Language: German

Stadtarchiv München, DE-1992-POL-0932

K -7 -B

München, den 5. Oktober 1949

VERNEHMUNGSNIEDERSCHRIFT:

Vorgeladen erscheint heute der led. Kaufmann

49 Philipp Auerbach.

50 Eugen Kogon (1903–1987), a Munich-born writer, sociologist, and politician. He was a well-known Catholic opponent of Nazism, surviving imprisonment in Buchenwald after his vocal opposition to the regime led to his arrest by the Gestapo. He took part in the Heidelberg Conference as well.

51 The following is a transcript of the interrogation of Benjamin Häring, a Jewish DP living outside of the DP camps in Munich, who was a witness to the violent confrontation between police officers and Jewish DPs demonstrating against the publication of the antisemitic Bleibtreu letter in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Häring, his background, and what would become of him following his interrogation remain unknown. The names of the police officers conducting the interrogation are not indicated in the original document, nor is the name of the person who transcribed the interrogation.

Häring, Benjamin,

geb. 27.6.1910 in Tomaszow/Lublin, staatenlos, wohnhaft München, Pütrichstraße 7/II.

Eltern: Samuel und Feiga *Häring*, letztgeborene Adler, beide verstorben.

Häring mit dem Gegenstand der Vernehmung vertraut gemacht, zur Wahrheit ermahnt, gibt auf Befragen [sic] folgendes zur Niederschrift:

Zur Person: Ende September 1947 kam ich nach München. Zuvor war ich im DP Lager in Pocking. Seit dieser Zeit bin ich in München polizeilich in Wohnung gemeldet. Seit Ende 1947 bis August 1949 war ich als Leiter des Wohnungsamtes beim jüdischen Komitee [sic] angestellt. Ich gab meine Stellung beim Komitee freiwillig auf, weil ich im Geschäft meines Schwagers in der Möhlstraße⁵² beschäftigt bin. Mein derzeitiger [sic] Unterhalt bestreite ich von meinem Einkommen, das mir mein Schwager Münzberg gibt. Vorbestraft bin ich noch nicht. Zur Zeit ist gegen mich ein Strafverfahren nicht anhängig.

Zur Sache: Am 10.8.1949 befand ich mich mit noch vielen anderen jüdischen DPs. bei der Protestkundgebung im Hof der Synagoge, Möhlstraße 43.⁵³ Auf dieser Kundgebung sprach Generalanwalt Dr. Auerbach,⁵⁴ sowie Landesrabbiner [sic] Dr. Ohrenstein.⁵⁵ Die Kundgebung wurde hauptsächlich einberufen

52 Möhlstraße, in the Bogenhausen district of Munich where UNRRA, the JDC, and Jewish DP central offices were located, was the heart of Jewish DP economic life with many small shops, often described as “black market” operations but serving an integral part of commercial life in postwar Munich. By 1949, after the 1948 currency reform and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949, these shops would have become legitimate establishments. Crago-Schneider, Jewish “Shtetls” in Postwar Germany, esp. 218–237; contributions in: *Münchner Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* 12 (2018), no. 1.

53 In an angry reaction to the publication of an antisemitic letter signed by “Adolf Bleibtreu” in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, (see Document 71) Jewish DPs marched on the newspaper offices as well as the offices of the JDC. Descriptions of the precise events vary but the demonstrations turned into a “riot,” with a police bus set on fire, DPs assaulting German police with sticks and cobblestones as they attempted to impose order with truncheons and perhaps even guns fired into the air. Calm was only restored when American security forces arrived and ordered the mounted German police to stand back. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 258–260; Grossmann/Lewinsky, *Way Station*, 137–139.

54 Philipp Auerbach.

55 Rabbi Aaron Ohrenstein (1909–1986), also spelled Orenstein, was born in Berlin and educated in Wrocław and Prague. After passing his rabbinical examination and

zum Protest gegen den Artikel in der „Süddeutschen Zeitung“. Kurz vor Ende der Kundgebung begab ich mich mit meinem Freund *Garfunkel*, Mosche zum israelitischen Konsulat in der Maria Theresiastraße 11. Wir kamen nicht zum Konsulat,⁵⁶ sondern bei der Siebertstraße, Ecke Möhlstraße bemerkten wir, daß sich in der Möhlstraße der Demonstanzzug [sic] in Richtung Friedensengel bewegt. Schon am Anfang des Zuges bemerkte ich, daß offene Transparente mitgetragen wurden. Mein Freund und ich warteten bis der Zug bei uns vorbeikam. Als die Spitze bei uns vorbeikam, wurde der Zug von berittener Polizei angehalten. Bei dieser Gelegenheit kam es schon zwischen Polizei |2| und Teilnehmern des Demonstanzzuges zu Auseinandersetzungen. Ich sah von meinem Platze aus, wie Steine aus dem Zuge auf die Polizei geworden wurden. Daraufhin zogen die Polizisten ihre Gummiknüppel und schlugen auf die Demonstranten ein. In der Zeit kam ein Wagen der MP.⁵⁷ vorbei, welcher sich mit der deutschen Polizei verständigte.

Ebenso kam ein Funkstreifenwagen der deutschen Polizei vorbei. Von diesem Wagen aus sprach ein jüdischer DP, der in jüdischer Sprache⁵⁸ zu den Demonstranten sprach [sic]. Wie ich aus der Ansprache des Sprechers entnehmen konnte, sollte sich die deutsche Polizei zurückziehen und den Demonstanzzug passieren lassen. Die deutsche Polizei zog sich hierauf zurück und der Zug ging weiter bis Ecke Maria Theresiastr.-Prinzregenten-

receiving his doctorate, he returned to Berlin where he worked as a rabbi and teacher until October 1938, when he was stripped of his German citizenship and expelled as a stateless person. After the Germans' invasion of Poland, Ohrenstein fled again to Tarnopol (today Ternopil, Ukraine), where he worked in the Jewish community; he was imprisoned along with the rest of the Jewish community in ghettos in August 1941, after the Wehrmacht conquered Galicia. He escaped deportations in 1943 and survived the remainder of the war underground. After liberation, he made his way to the American Zone, becoming a DP in Munich. Appointed Chief Rabbi of Munich in late 1945, he served as rabbi of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München und Oberbayern* until 1955. A controversial figure in postwar Germany, Ohrenstein was sentenced to a year in prison in connection with the Philipp Auerbach corruption affair (see Document 27). He only served part of his sentence, as the Federal Constitutional Court vacated the verdict of the Bavarian court which originally presided over the matter, but he was nonetheless forced out of his position as Chief Rabbi in Munich in 1955, a move that was contested by numerous members of the Munich Jewish community. Michael Brenner/Norbert Frei, Part Two: 1950–1967. Consolidation, in: Brenner (ed.), *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, 145–285, here 182 f.

56 The young State of Israel opened its first consulate in Munich, a center of Jewish DP life, in 1948, shortly after its establishment.

57 American Military Police who were called in to handle the riotous demonstration.

58 Yiddish.

straße. An diesem Platze war ### bereits das Überfallkommando angekommen. Dieses Kommando hat sich dem Zuge entgegengestellt. Die Polizisten des Kommandos gingen sofort mit ihren gezogenen Gummiknüppeln auf die Demonstranten los. Mein Freund und ich begleiteten den Zug bis zur Ecke Maria Theresiastr.-Prinzregentenstraße. ## Ich wollte mich noch rechtzeitig aus der Schlägerei herausziehen, konnte aber nicht mehr vor noch rückwärts. Nach kurzer Zeit gelang es mir doch, aus dem Gedränge zu kommen, und [ich] wollte mich in den Hof der CIC⁵⁹ begeben.

Auf dem Wege dorthin wurde ich von einem Polizisten mit dem Gummiknüppel über Kopf und Gesicht geschlagen. Zu diesem einen Polizisten kamen noch 2 weitere Beamte dazu, die die Leute auseinandertreiben wollten. Dabei bekam ich auch von diesen beiden Beamten Schläge auf Kopf und Rücken. Durch die Schläge der Beamten war ich stark benommen, versuchte aber trotzdem, den Hof der CIC zu erreichen. Kurz vor dem Eingang erhielt ich den ersten Schuß in den rechten Arm. Ich wollte sehen was passiert war, dabei bekam ich schon den zweiten Schuß in die linke Bauchhälfte. Auf den zweiten Schuß wurde noch ein dritter Schuß abgegeben, der aber nur meinen linken Arm streifte. Beim Niedersinken bemerkte ich noch, daß in etwa 5 mtr. Entfernung ein Polizeibeamter mit der Pistole in der Hand stand, der auch die Schüsse auf mich abgab. Hierzu möchte ich ausdrücklich bemerken, daß es keiner der drei Beamten war, die mich geschlagen hatten.⁶⁰

Durch Hilferufe kamen 2 jüdische DPs. und brachten mich mit einem Wagen in das Krankenhaus rechts der Isar.⁶¹ Nach ungefähr einer dreiviertel Stunde wurde ich mit einem Sanitätswagen in das jüdische Krankenhaus in der Mühlbauerstraße⁶² gebracht. Als ich dort ankam, waren bereits mehrere Demonstranten dort anwesend [sic], welche bei den Zusammenstößen verletzt wurden. Nach meiner Operation kam ich mit den beiden anderen angeschossenen DPs zusammen.

59 Presumably U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps.

60 Häring refers in his interrogation to the DP version of events, which insisted that German police had fired shots and injured several Jews.

61 The Isar River flows through the heart of Munich.

62 The UNRRA Jewish Hospital on Mühlbauerstraße in Munich's Bogenhausen district operated from April 1946 to May 1951 under the supervision of head physician Dr. Moses Osterweil. From its opening through March 1949, it served all political and racial persecutees; from April 1949 until its closing, it cared for only Jewish patients. Jim G. Tobias, "Die Patienten werden das erforderliche Vertrauen nur den jüdischen Ärzten schenken." Displaced Persons Hospitaler und Sanatorien in Bayern unter besonderer Berucksichtigung des Krankenhauses in Munchen-Bogenhausen, in: Jahrbuch des Nurnberger Instituts fur NS-Forschung und judische Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts 6 (2012), 39–56.

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