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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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Series A: World War II/Displaced Persons Camps, 1944-1990.
Subseries 1: Documents, 1944-1990.

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1

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9

Landsberg Displaced Persons Camp memorial. 1982-1989.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Herbert A. Friedman

The Jewish Historical Society

501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

9 May 1989

Col. (ret.) Irving Heymont
3904 Adrienne Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22309

Dear Col. Heymont:

I read your letter in the Jerusalem Post of 25 April 1989, concerning your plans for a memorial at Landsberg, and was very interested in the project.

I was a chaplain with the 9th Division, later became assistant advisor on Jewish affairs to the Commanding General of USFET (Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, later Gen. Lucius D. Clay). Our office was in the I.G. Farben building in Frankfurt.

When a riot took place in Landsberg (1946?), and 19 young men were brought before a military court, I was sent down by Gen. Clay to make sure that relations between the U.S. Army and the Jewish inhabitants remained civil.

There are many things I could tell you about the Landsberg camp, as there are many things you could tell me about the very early days. I would like very much to meet you. Perhaps we could meet in Washington, which I visit frequently.

May I make one comment concerning the text of the plaque, as it was printed in your letter. The third sentence listed the cooperating organizations which brought assistance, and one major organization was omitted - namely, The Jewish Agency for Palestine. They sent several hundred volunteers from Palestine, wearing UnRRA uniforms, with JAFP shoulder patches, exactly like the JDC. They were essentially teachers

Herbert A. Friedman

The Weizel Heritage Foundation
531 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

212 628-9119

and social workers, and at the height of the Landsberg operation, there were about a dozen assigned to various functions in the camp. Perhaps you would want to add the name of The Jewish Agency to the plaque.

My phone numbers in New York are:
Home: 212 628-9119
Office: 212: 355-6115

I would be happy if we could arrange to meet.

Very truly yours,

Herbert A. Friedman

(Rabbi) Herbert A. Friedman

HAF/jf



The Wexner Heritage Foundation

551 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

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41 South High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215

212 355 6115 New York
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June 13, 1989

Col. Irving Heymont
3904 Adrienne Drive
Alexandria, Va. 22309

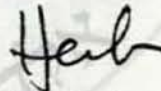
Dear Col. Heymont:

So far, no luck regarding funds to enable Dr. Peck to visit Munich in September. I will keep trying, but am not encouraged. I have a luncheon date with a certain person on 26 June, who can easily put up the \$1,000, but he will ask if there is any tax-deductible organization through which he can channel the gift. Is there one? Let me know, as soon as possible.

Remember the court-martial of the Landsberg group which I told you about? The defense attorney was Major Abraham S. Hyman. He now lives at Kibbutz Ha ma'apil, Israel 38945. Phone #063-67893. Country code for Israel is 972. He has a wealth of information about Landsberg. Hyman and I are old friends.

The prosecuting attorney was Captain Herman Gulkin. I don't have an address for him, but he lives in Denver, telephone # 303: 758-1492. I haven't seen him in 40 years, thus can't vouch for what he remembers. But I think it's also worth a call.

Best regards,



(Rabbi) Herbert A. Friedman

HAF/jf

P.S. What is the exact date of the ceremony in September?

June 13, 1989

Dr. Abraham J. Peck
Administrative Director
American Jewish Archives
3101 Clifton Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220-2488

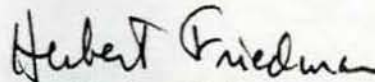
Dear Dr. Peck:

I have your letter of May 23 and wish to thank you for the volume of Col. Heymont's letters. The important thing about his experience was (aside from his very human concern for the DP's) the manner in which his hard work on their behalf brought him back to Judaism.

Your article about the survivors' ideology interested me greatly. I knew personally so many of the members of the Central Committee; visited so many of the camps; was so intimately involved in the relationship between the DP's and the Army; spent so much time with them (more than two years) - that I can understand perfectly what you were driving at in the article. I would enjoy very much talking to you about the whole thing. I once did about ten hours of oral history with a Professor at the Hebrew University during the years we lived in Jerusalem (mid-70's).

I will be in Colorado during most of July, but back in New York on July 25, and in the city all of August. Perhaps you could give me a ring at the office, and we could make a date to meet.

Sincerely yours,



(Rabbi) Herbert A. Friedman
President

HAF/jf

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



DR. ABRAHAM J. PECK
Administrative Director

May 23, 1989

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
The Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Col. Irving Heymont sent me a copy of your letter to him of May 9.

Outside of Col. Heymont, I have been the other major player in the unfolding drama of the Landsberg DP camp. I was perhaps the first baby born in Landsberg in May of 1946. My family and I remained in the camp until the end of December 1949.

I was indeed very surprised and pleased to know of your own background regarding Landsberg. I have for a number of years been working on a social history of the Jewish DP camps and am always looking for individuals to interview who had personal experience during that period.

I would of course very much like to meet with you at some point and interview you about your Landsberg and other experiences.

In the meantime, I am enclosing a copy of a volume containing Irving Heymont's letters from Landsberg which were published here at the American Jewish Archives some years ago. I am also enclosing a copy of an article that I wrote dealing with a survivor's ideology which emerged in the DP camps.

At some point, I would like to talk to you about the work of a remarkable group of Landsberg citizens who are now trying to struggle against the efforts of the majority of the Landsberg community to erase the history of an incredible number of events which make Landsberg unique as a small German city during the Holocaust years and beyond. These individuals, led by a local high school teacher, deserve support and recognition from our own American Jewish community.

I also plan to be in Landsberg for the plaque ceremony in September.

With all good wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

Abraham J. Peck
Administrative Director

AJP:eml

Irving Heymont

3904 Adrienne Drive, Alexandria, Va. 22309
(703) 780-4940

May 18, 1989

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
The Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

Your letter of May 9th was a pleasant surprise. My letter to the Jerusalem Post brought a number of replies from outside of Israel.

You are correct. I know little of what happened at the Landsberg camp other than what Dr. Oleiski told me many many years later when we met in Israel.

The infantry battalion that I commanded was responsible for the Landsberg camp from about the beginning of September until about the end of 1945. During that period I wrote to my wife almost daily describing the events (trials and tribulations) at the camp. She saved the letters and they were published as a book entitled "Among the Survivors of the Holocaust-1945--The Landsberg DP Camp Letters of Major Irving Heymont." The book is distributed by the KTAV publishing house of New York.

The book was published by the American Jewish Archives. The Administrator of the Archives is Dr. Abraham J. Peck who was born in the Landsberg camp. I am confident that he will be interested in hearing from you about your knowledge of the camp. Recently I learned that a number of people both here and abroad are doing studies of various aspects of the Jewish DP camps. Dr. Peck's address is:

Dr. Abraham J. Peck
American Jewish Archives
3101 Clifton Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220-2488

I must admit ignorance of the role of the Jewish Agency for Palestine volunteers in regard to the DP camps. I did not know of any during my time at Landsberg. I knew of members of the Jewish Brigade coming through on various missions. In any case the plaque is already being manufactured and the text had been coordinated with a number of agencies.

In Landsberg today there is a citizens group concerned with reconciliation with the Holocaust and particularly with the work -to-death camps situation that existed there during the war. The inmates of these small subcamps of Dachau were mostly Hungarian Jewish men and women of whom about one half perished there under horrible conditions. I was present last summer when the group dedicated a memorial at one of the camp sites. The leader of the group is a local history teacher, Anton Posset. He and his family have suffered because of his efforts but he remains undaunted.

I look forward to meeting you when you are in the Washington area.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Heymont



READERS' LETTERS

4/25/89

DP MEMORIAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - The U.S. Army used the Saarburg Kaserne (barracks) in Landsberg, Germany, for the largest Jewish Displaced Persons' camp in Europe. This camp exerted great influence on educational and cultural matters in the other Jewish DP camps.

In the fall of 1945, the infantry battalion that I commanded was responsible for the camp. I visited the Kaserne in July 1988 and found that there is nothing to indicate that it once housed thousands of Jewish DPs.

I plan to place a memorial plaque at the Kaserne's entrance because of the camp's historical importance and have received authorization from the German authorities. It is planned to dedicate the plaque on September 10, 1989, with the participation of the U.S. Army.

The text of the plaque, which will also be in German, follows.

"In this Kaserne in 1945 the U.S. Army established a displaced persons' camp for Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. Here thousands of Jews established vocational, educational, and cultural institutions that helped to prepare them for a new life of freedom. They were assisted by the U.S. Army, Unrra, the Joint Distribution Committee and the Town of Landsberg. The camp closed in 1950. Let us remember, so that such camps will never again be needed."

Former residents of the camp desiring more information can write to me at 3904 Adrienne Drive, Alexandria, Virginia 22309, U.S.

IRVING HEYMONT

Colonel, U.S. Army Retired
Alexandria, Va.

People

An old soldier who didn't forget

By TOBY AXELROD

IRVING HEYMONT, "the colonel who didn't forget," won't let the rest of the world forget either. The 71-year-old retired U.S. Army colonel has lobbied, designed and paid for a memorial at a West German air force base, where, as the presiding officer, he helped thousands of Jews rebuild their lives after World War II.

On Sunday, Heymont will dedicate the bronze plaque at the gates of the Saarburskaserne in the picturesque region of Landsberg. "In this kaserne [barracks] in 1945, the U.S. Army established a displaced persons camp for Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust," reads the plaque, in part. "Let us remember, so that such camps will never again be needed."

The dedication ceremony is to be attended by Munich's only rabbi, former residents of the camp, West German officials and local citizens. The entire event was organized by Heymont, author of "Among the Survivors of the Holocaust — 1945; the Landsberg DP Camp Letters of Major Irving Heymont, United States Army" (American Jewish Archives, 1982).

The event coincides with the publication of Heymont's book in German, a project undertaken by Luftwaffe Col. Peter Schmitz of the Saarburskaserne. In addition, Heymont plans to fund an annual essay contest for local students on the topic of "Landsberg and the Jews in the 20th Century."



Col. Irving Heymont

In September of 1945, Heymont, a young Jewish infantryman from Brooklyn, was assigned to oversee operations of the D.P. camp. Barely returned from fighting, his mind was still filled with shocking images from the front.

"My regiment overran a subcamp of Mauthausen," recalled Heymont. "I don't know if any people at the division level were told: 'There is a concentration camp — try to liberate it.' Prisoner of war camps, yes. We had not even been told about what concentration camps were, what we should expect to find. So, when we saw some people in striped pajamas, we said: 'Let's get those prisoners rounded up and put 'em back into jail.' Then we stumbled onto the camp and found about 2,000 bodies spread around on the field."

The gruesome scene left a deep impression on Heymont, and it

"I don't have a special role," said Heymont, a resident of Alexandria, Va. "I'm not anointed, I'm not obsessed. But I feel that the people of Landsberg should be aware of their history. Those of us who were involved don't need any plaques. The plaque is a witness and a testimony."

Heymont decided to create the memorial after revisiting the site last summer. As Schmitz led him through the compound, where German soldiers now live, Heymont was struck by the fact that "there was nothing to indicate that this had been a Jewish D.P. camp."

"Here were these nice, quiet, orderly, spic and span barracks," Heymont said in a telephone interview, "and then I remembered what it was like in the old days, with crowds of people hanging around reading the bulletin board — the noise, the bustle. Now it was almost deserted, just a few soldiers. When Col. Schmitz complained to me that the Saarburskaserne is overcrowded with 700 men, I told him that when it was a displaced persons' camp we had up to 7,000 people living there."

Heymont

(Continued from Page 2)

prepared him for the refugees that came to Landsberg.

"I was horrified walking through the D.P. camp. I was amazed to see American soldiers standing guard at the gate; people couldn't go out without a pass. And the sanitary conditions were incredibly bad. It struck me, the number of people walking around aimlessly in the camp while the German citizens were walking around freely just outside."

The camp was one of 60 created by the U.S. Army in the American Zone of occupied Germany. When U.S. troops came through Landsberg in April 1945, they liberated several small concentration camps there and sent the former inmates to live in the deserted German artillery barracks. Gradually, the barracks became a full-fledged displaced persons' camp, which over the years was a temporary home for 23,000 uprooted Jews. The army was assisted in running the camp by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the town of Landsberg.

By the time its gates were closed, on Oct. 15, 1950, Landsberg had become a model D.P. camp with an active political and religious life. But, in the beginning, Heymont encountered a devastated people.

"With a few exceptions, the people of the camp appeared demoralized beyond hope of rehabilitation," Heymont wrote in a letter the day he arrived. "They appear to be beaten, both spiritually and physically, with no hopes or incentives for the future."

One of Heymont's first acts was to disband the guard and pass system, and have the barbed wire fence around the compound removed. "We did not conquer the Nazis so we could have the hollow honor of standing armed guard over the victims of Hitler," he told camp residents.

During his six-month stay, Heymont helped re-establish a sense of pride in the survivors. He emphasized the importance of cleanliness and work, nurtured the establishment of a small, kibbutz-style community and inadvertently encouraged marriages by offering some of the better quarters to families.

"The idea was to use this period to prepare yourself to move on — and I did my damndest to help them," he explained.

Heymont started the camp's Yiddish newspaper, the Landsberger Zeitung. One of the most newsworthy events was a surprise visit from David Ben-Gurion. To greet him, residents decorated the camp with the only material they could find — toilet paper. Several weeks later, residents staged a hunger strike to protest British policy in Palestine, and marched into the center of Landsberg.

"As they marched, they sang various songs, including 'Hatikvah,' which they consider the Jewish national anthem," Heymont reported to his wife in a

letter dated Nov. 15, 1945. "The people of the town lined the streets to watch. They were deathly silent."

Eventually, Heymont's regiment was transferred to another location. He continued his military career, retiring from the army and entering the private sector in 1964.

Wherever he went, however, Landsberg was always with him. In 1982, he realized a dream with the publication of his letters from the D.P. camp. But that wasn't enough for Heymont.

After his visit to the Luftwaffe barracks last summer, he decided that everyone in Landsberg should know what had been there. He wrote to Schmitz about putting up a plaque.

"You have full support for your plans," replied the German, who suggested the plaque be placed "right at the main gate of the Saarburskaserne, so it will be visible to all entering."

Then, Heymont wrote another letter, this time for publication in Jewish newspapers around the world. He announced his plans for the memorial, and asked former residents of the D.P. camp to contact him.

"I am very interested in the planned memorial plaque," responded a woman from Georgia. "My parents met each other there. My mother was on the staff of the newspaper."

"I was born there," wrote a Brooklyn woman. "I have always thought about my birthplace with a mixture of curiosity and revulsion. A place that was and yet isn't."

"One of the most unusual letters came from Felsen Henryk of Haifa," said Heymont. "He was one of those enterprising men at the camp who managed to make some money. I had my officers 'find' a film projector for him and he set up a movie theater there. Now he has movie houses in Haifa."

One letter writer, Chaim Rosen, simply passed by the D.P. camp as a member of the British Army's Jewish Brigade. Rosen and his brothers escaped to Palestine before the war, and volunteered to fight. When the Germans surrendered, Rosen's unit was on its way north from Austria.

"Our dispatch rider came upon the D.P. camp and the poor remnants from hell decorated the main gate with garlands and flags," Rosen recalled. "We were told they stood at the fence part of the night to see the main column of infantry and artillery."

"I cannot describe the scene. No words have been invented. Here, survivors...who had every reason to believe that Jews were only victims, saw Jewish soldiers — with the Star of David and guns — who stood in the field against Rommel and Kesselring and won."

Heymont was transformed, as well. Though he had long ago drifted from Judaism, something happened when he set foot in the camp.

"Landsberg brought me back," he said. "I realized, but for a fluke of fate, I might have been [among the D.P.s] — if I was one of the lucky ones."

Landsberg Journal

The Prostitutes Leave,
But Nazi Ghosts Linger

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

LANDSBERG, West Germany — The prostitutes were driven out last year after only a year in Landsberg because the town had become too small for them.

They arrived with their house trailers in the summer of 1987, soon after Mayor Hanns Hamberger proudly announced that Landsberg had reached 20,000 inhabitants. This was the level at which prostitution became legal in a town, and with a large West German Army base, Landsberg was a lucrative site.

The noise was irritating, but townspeople were generally more bemused than alarmed. "Local men wouldn't go anyway, because of the risk of being recognized, and for the soldiers it meant saving a trip to Munich or Augsburg," Mr. Hamberger said.

But when the results of the 1988 census were published Nov. 24, it turned out that Landsberg had only 19,500 souls, and the police immediately drove the women out of town. They will not be back soon. Though Landsberg is edging back to 20,000, Bavaria has upped the limit to 30,000.

The incident gave Landsberg a small measure of notoriety in the national tabloids. It all seemed a welcome respite from more vexing municipal problems: an unsuccessful effort by a pharmaceutical company to open a plant in town; an influx of young professionals from Munich, and a proposed hydroelectric station on the River Lech, which rushes picturesquely under the battlements and ornate churches of the old town.

By contrast, the prostitutes were a clear-cut case. "I didn't have to do anything," Mr. Hamberger's successor, Mayor Franz X. Rössle, said with satisfaction. "When the new figures came out, the police just went out and told them to leave."

Nazi Ghosts Hang Heavy

It has not been that simple with ghosts, much as they have tried to run them out of town, too. The smaller the town, it seems, the more tenacious and threatening the shadows of the Nazi past.

The past hangs especially heavily over Landsberg. Hitler spent most of 1924 in the state prison in Landsberg after his failed putsch of 1923, and it was here he wrote the first part of "Mein Kampf." After the war, the prison was used to hold war criminals, of whom 308 were hanged.

All of that can be learned from the official town chronicle, prepared for Landsberg's 700th anniversary in 1980, though not without a tinge of lingering resentment. The section dealing with the war criminals is provocatively titled "Revenge," and refers to the "so-called de-Nazification."

It is more difficult in the chronicle to learn about the 11 concentration camps that were set up around Landsberg in 1944 to supply slave labor for local weapons production.

About 30,000 Jews and other inmates were held here, and by the time the 101st Airborne Division entered the camps on April 27-28, 1945, about 14,000 had died. After the war, Landsberg became the site of one of the largest displaced-persons camps in Germany.

The official pamphlet does mention that concentration camps were set up in 1944, but the only detail it provides is that "the miserable procession of prisoners to their work could be observed from the western edge of the city." The number of camps, inmates and victims is not recorded.

War Against Amnesia

To Anton Posset, this is a prime sample of the local amnesia against which he has declared a personal war. A teacher who settled in Landsberg in 1975, Mr. Posset began researching the concentration camps five years ago for a nationwide school competition on the Nazi era.

The project became his obsession as he confronted reactions ranging from silence to open hostility.

"I only want that we should say we committed a great crime, that they recognize that right here, in Landsberg, thousands of Jews were exterminated," Mr. Posset declaimed with passion over a tall glass of opaque wheat beer, causing heads to turn in an old inn.

From a battered briefcase he produced the fruits of his research: terrible photographs showing troops of the 101st Airborne among fields of skeletal corpses in the liberated camps, hate-filled denunciations from Landsbergers. He has been threatened, he says, and his promotions have been blocked.

Mr. Posset may be unique in Landsberg, but not in Bavaria.

'They're Very Personal'

"There are people like him all over Bavaria," said a young historian from Munich who grew up in a village nearby. "They find out the dark truth about a place and become obsessed with making it known. They become martyrs. What they don't realize is that people in these towns and villages know all these things. But they're very personal here."

Mayor Rössle, a 42-year-old lawyer who was elected as an independent, insists that the town has made major strides toward acknowledging its past, especially in an exhibition in November for the 50th anniversary of



The New York Times/Serge Schmemmann

Part of the town square of Landsberg, West Germany. The city has ousted prostitutes, but ghosts of the Nazi era are another matter.



The New York Times/July 1, 1989

Landsberg seems devoted to keeping change at bay.

the Kristallnacht pogrom.

The exhibit included extensive materials on the Landsberg camps, he said, but not Mr. Posset's photographs. The corpses would have been too much for the children, the Mayor contends.

"Herr Posset overdoes it sometimes," he said. "He damages his own cause. He demands too much from ordinary people."

Mr. Posset retorted: "They just

don't want to admit there was anything here at all. Before we did this work, Mayor Hamberger used to say there were never any concentration camps. Now they want to say these were only work camps."

Keeping Change at Bay

In Landsberg, as elsewhere in Bavaria, the right-wing Republican Party of Franz Schönhuber did well in the European elections in June, winning 13 percent of the vote.

The result, however, was not a surprise. The town has a tradition of bucking the dominant Christian Social Union, and the Republicans seemed to represent the local anxiety about a rapidly changing world.

The European Community has been a dirty word here ever since local dairy farmers were compelled to freeze production. The town had succeeded in blocking a proposed Eli Lilly pharmaceutical plant, but a hydroelectric station was still being threatened, and a new highway was under construction from Munich, threatening to transform Landsberg into a high-rent suburb.

The vote reflected a yearning to keep things as they were. But unlike the prostitutes, the future and the past could not be chased away.

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Arab Uprising Turns to War of Wills

By ALAN COWELL
Special to The New York Times

SILWAD, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — A portrait of Khalil al-Wazir, Yasser Arafat's slain deputy, adorns a shuttered grocery store here, and the flags of the Palestine Liberation Organization shift in light breezes from telephone wires.

Nearby, in the village of Kafr Maleq, the prohibited flags also hang. There, young Palestinian men in baseball hats and sneakers, who take wooden slingshots from the back pockets of designer jeans to sit more comfortably over coffee, assert that the place belongs to them, not the Israeli Army, not the elders once entrusted with the running of village affairs.

They like to say they have "liberated" their village. "Kafr Maleq is a part of Palestine," said their leader, who declined to be identified. "That is all."

But such boasts notwithstanding, recent events in the two Palestinian villages have spanned the poles of the 18-month Palestinian uprising, from the ways that the protesters have found to try to assert it to the ways that Israel has found to try to suppress it.

Ambiguous Battle of Wills

In Silwad and Kafr Maleq, villagers have discovered that a label like "liberated" does not go unchallenged by the Israeli authorities. As the uprising turns to attrition, both sides have joined in an ambiguous battle of wills over whose writ will prevail.

From the Palestinian side, the battle has led to fragile assertions of localized dominance that are prey to Israeli challenge. And from the Israelis, it has drawn demonstrations that their power to control, change, uproot or enhance Palestinian lives will not simply be wished away by the rebellion known in Arabic as the intifada.

The soldiers came to Silwad on May 26, said the village's Mayor, Musa Mahmud el-Musa, and they did not come alone. First, under cover of darkness, they surrounded the village; then, at dawn, they drove in accompanied by officials from the Tax Department, the Interior Department and the secret police, he said.

His account coincided with those of other Palestinians caught up in often unannounced raids on a string of remote West Bank villages recently.

Each set of officials, the Mayor said, had a list of suspects. People on the



Israeli troops venture into Silwad to contest its "liberated" status.

Palestinians try for village control in the face of Israeli challenge.

lists were brought to the yard of a school that has been closed for most of the uprising, like all other educational institutions on the West Bank.

There, the Mayor said, they were processed. Some had to pay taxes. Others were detained, mainly young men accused of taking part in the stone-throwing confrontations with Israeli soldiers that have provided most of the uprising's imagery. But, the Mayor said, there seemed to be other victims.

As a result of the raid, a married woman and three children and an elderly couple were taken from the village, transported to the bridge across the Jordan River well south of here and deported to Jordan. The deportations reflect a trend that civil-rights advocates in Jerusalem say is spreading.

Loss of Residence Rights

The official reason for the action is that the deportees were illegal residents. But their plight reflects the wider uncertainties of the 1.7 million Palestinians in the occupied territories and the 3.5 million in a diaspora spreading to many parts of the world.



The New York Times/Micha Bar-Am

A sign covered with Muslim slogans at the entrance to the town of Silwad, in the occupied West Bank. The town has become the focus of a war of wills, with Palestinians saying they have liberated it and Israeli soldiers trying to assert control over it.

Corrections

An article in Business Day yesterday about a lawsuit by the Securities and Exchange Commission against Paul A. Bilzerian referred incorrectly in some editions to a company in which he owned stock. It is Pay N Pak Stores Inc., not Pic 'N Pay Stores Inc.

Because of a production error, an article on the Health page on Thursday about nursing mothers' use of medications appeared in some copies with a passage misplaced. The affected passage should have read:

"Normal amounts of caffeine, described as one or two cups of a caffeinated beverage a day, pose no hazards for infants, the report said. The medications considered harmful have a number of effects, from suppressing lactation in the mother to

suppression of the infant's immune system. Some medications are suspected of impairing growth or development of the infant. Besides the risky medications, the report says, six drugs that are often abused are hazardous to nursing infants, as well as to their mothers. They are amphetamines, cocaine (both when it is prescribed as an anesthetic and when used as a recreational drug), heroin, marijuana, nicotine and phencyclidine, or PCP."

An article yesterday about David N. Dinkins, the Manhattan Borough President and Democratic candidate for Mayor, misstated the amount of taxes he owed the Federal, state and city governments from 1969 to 1972. It was \$28,645, not \$28,485.

The case of the woman, Wafa Mubarak Ismail Mubarak, 26 years old, illustrated the vulnerabilities. Her family left Silwad in 1953, drawn by the wealth of the oil-exporting Persian Gulf, and went to Kuwait. They returned for family visits, the woman met a man from the village, Saleh Jamil Ismail Hamed, and a wedding was arranged in 1983.

Once married, she lost her settlement rights under Kuwaiti laws controlling the number of Palestinians there. But she had no formal residence rights in the occupied West Bank either, because she did not figure in a census taken after the area was occupied in 1967.

So the couple, with three children, applied for what is called a reunification permit, which would allow them to live as a family in the village. It was not granted. Her husband, meanwhile, went to New York in 1986 to work for an elder brother, Talal, who runs a business in Brooklyn, said her family and other residents of this village of 8,000 people.

Troops Arrive With Bulldozer

When the raid came, her family said, she and her children were deported as illegal residents. Civil-rights groups in Jerusalem say she is among dozens to have suffered a similar fate in recent raids by the authorities, which seem designed to display that Israeli power exceeds that of the uprising's leadership and the P.L.O.

But the village's experience does not seem to have altered its political profile. The P.L.O. flags on strings tied to stones were again lobbed onto the telephone wires. The walls were daubed with fresh graffiti in the names of P.L.O. factions and the Hamas Islamic Resistance Movement, despite Israeli efforts to raise the risks and penalties for supporting the uprising.

Like Silwad, Kafr Maleq, a village of 1,500 people, is on a byway off the bigger road leading across the West Bank to the Jordan Valley. The locations of such places calling themselves liberated villages are sometimes seen as evidence of an agreed standoff between the protesters and the military: as long as their "liberation" is confined to out-of-the-way places, there is no point in diverting troops for punitive raids.

But on June 9 and 10 and on June 16, the soldiers came to the village, with a bulldozer to shovel dirt into roadside yards from which rocks had been thrown, said a young man who identified himself as a leader of the protest, and who seemed acknowledged as such by his peers.

Results of the Uprising

"This is not a hobby for us," the man said. "It is an expression of our desire for an independent state. I want to have peace with the Israelis, but on the conditions I choose."

In Arabic, the people who confront the army are called the "shebab," meaning "the guys."

"Here, the shebab run everything," he said. They adjudicate disputes, decide when stores will open and identify purported collaborators with the authorities. Once, they also ran the school, but the authorities said the building would be demolished if they pursued "alternative education," so they dropped the idea.

"We try to assert our independence, they try to assert their occupation," the man said, declining to be identified because, he said, he did not want to be detained as a result. Like other such figures interviewed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, he said he believed the uprising had achieved results because it had thrust the Palestinian issue onto the world's agenda and obliged the Israelis to make at least token political gestures, like its offer of elections.

And, like others, he said there had been no suggestion from the leaders of the revolt, inside the occupied territories or in the Arab world, that it be escalated.

"Basically it's a battle of wills," the young man said. "We try to make sure that the flag never goes down in our village. They try to prove that it's up to them whether it does or not."

5 Indians Slain in Sri Lanka

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka, June 30 (AP) — Tamil rebels ambushed and killed five Indian soldiers in the northeastern jungles, but lost three men in the battle, military officials said today. The rebels said they killed seven soldiers in the attack on Thursday at Nayar, in Mullaitivu district, 170 miles northeast of Colombo.

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TESTIMONY



THE LOST LEGACY OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

BY ABRAHAM J. PECK

Among the most important examples of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust were the courageous and pain-filled verses of the "Partisan Song," written by Hirsch Glick after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The "Partisan Song," as one of its stanzas read, "was written not in pencil, but in blood." It announced to the world (even earlier than Emil Fackenheim) that the Jewish people would live, and that despite the crematoria, they would neither give Hitler an immediate, nor posthumous, victory. "Never say," the song commanded, "that this is my final road, and that the light of day is banished by the clouds/ The hour we

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have waited for is near/ Beneath our tread the earth shall tremble/ We are here."

I would like to suggest that the phrase, "We are here" ("Mir szejnen doh," in Yiddish) may serve as an important key to understanding several ideological configurations of post-war European Jewry. Each of the configurations was interrelated with the others, but each had a distinct expression as well:

1 It meant first of all, a clarion call to resist the death thrust of the Nazi sword against the heart and soul of Europe's remaining Jews.

2 It served as the fighting slogan of the wide-spread Zionist movement within the Jewish DP camps after 1945. Indeed, it served to emphasize that European Jewry would henceforth greet the future from a position of strength, of organization and attack—and not from a position dependent upon religious trust and faith.

As Issac Ratner, one of the most important Zionist leaders in the DP camps, wrote in October of 1945 greeting the appearance of *Undzer Veg*, the

newspaper of the Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany:²

*And when today Undzer Veg appears—created by strength and organization—we, the Zionists, will utter neither a bracha (blessing) nor a shehehianu (a thanksgiving blessing). But we declare instead that 'Mir szejnen doh'—We are here.*³

It is one of the major tasks, and a yet unresearched area in the study of the creation of Israel and of post-World War II Zionism, to evaluate the influence of this ideology upon the events of 1948 and after.

3 "Mir szejnen doh" had yet another meaning among post-war European Jewry. It was the unshakable belief of a group of survivors who felt that they had seen in the Holocaust, as one survivor stated, "the end of creation—not only an indelible memory of horror—but a 'permanent warning,'" that what he and others had experienced was a "pilot project for the destruction of humanity."

It is the final ideological expression

of "*Mir szeinen doh*," its creation and its subsequent encounter with the world, that is the essence of this essay.

I

Displaced Person is a savage euphemism," Marie Syrkin has recently written. "By now," she contends, "a DP is an almost forgotten term, so is DP camp." Yet the period between liberation and the establishment of Israel, during which survivors of the Nazi death camps became DP's, represents for Syrkin, "a grim epilogue to the Holocaust and a coda to its meaning."¹

Despite the obvious need for historians to understand and document the story of the Jewish DP's and of the Jewish DP camps in which they lived for periods of up to eight years and sometimes longer after 1945, precious little scholarly attention has been given to these areas. The reasons for such a state of affairs are numerous, ranging from the previous general inattention paid to the Holocaust (a phenomenon now corrected perhaps to excess,) to the problem (especially in America) of linguistic competency among graduate students and even accomplished scholars, and to the very real problem of artificial periodization in which the twin pillars of Holocaust and redemption allow little room for intermediary self-standing research areas.

To some degree, this situation is beginning to change. During the last decade, the Jewish DP's and, to a lesser extent, the Jewish DP camps in the American Zone of Germany, have come to the attention of a handful of American researchers, who have focused, for example, on relations between the American Army and the Jewish DP's, on American immigration policy toward them, and upon the attitudes of the German population toward the Jewish displaced persons.⁴ Israeli scholars have studied among other areas, the efforts of the Jewish survivors to organize themselves in the American Zone, the illegal flight of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe to the camps in Germany, and the activities of American Jewish chaplains among the Jewish DP's.⁵

Unpublished resource materials are

vast, too vast to mention at this time.⁶ Published sources, many of them three decades old, are also available, including first-hand accounts of American Jewish army chaplains, reports of international visitors to the camps, descriptions of the camp newspapers, and reports of secular and religious efforts to educate Jewish children and adults, among others.⁷ One published source is worthy of mention by itself, namely the volume by Leo W. Schwarz entitled *The Redeemers* published in 1953. *The Redeemers* stands as the only attempt thus far published to write the history of the displaced Jews and the camps in the

drome," of the transition from the harrowing experience of being an "individual in the concentration camp" to being the victim of the "concentration camp in the individual." Experts have found the survivors to suffer from a range of ailments, many psychological, the result of stress and suffering over a sustained period of time. The survivor is viewed as an emotional cripple, unable to function normally within society or family.¹⁰

Survivors are also sought out by oral historians wishing to record their memories, and by school systems requesting their presence in classrooms

The period between liberation and the establishment of Israel . . . represents . . . "a grim epilogue to the Holocaust and a coda to its meaning."

American Zone. Schwarz apparently consulted a tremendous number of sources, but his book suffers from a fiction-like narrative, and displays little historical analysis and even less methodological concern.⁸

Little is known, however, about the hopes and aims of the Jewish DP's beyond their need to leave "Galut Germany" for the land of *Eretz Yisrael*. They are usually portrayed as the passive objects of history, awaiting with resignation and despair the acting out of a drama in which they could play little if any role.

II

Marie Syrkin is surely correct: DP is an almost forgotten term. After nearly three decades or more as residents of numerous nations, primarily Israel and America, the Jewish DP's have evolved first into refugees, and finally now, into survivors of the Holocaust.⁹ As survivors, they have become a much-studied group, both socially and psychologically. Psychiatrists conduct hours of research to study the effects of the so-called "survivors syn-

where the Holocaust is studied and discussed. Interestingly, survivors' children and grandchildren, too, have become the objects of serious attention and study. The conclusion, both in Israel and America, is that the survivors of the Holocaust are walking cases of social and psychological abnormalities. It is a status now shared by their children and their children's children.¹¹

Yet, despite many such conclusions, the survivors continue to live, to function. Many have become successful professionally, and have found a place for themselves in their adopted surroundings. They have been steeled by the experience of survival to endure the slings and arrows of the uncertain world of trade and commerce.

Although many possess an external sense of success, the survivors remain a sub-group within the Jewish communities in which they live. They prefer to live in close proximity to each other, worship in their own synagogues, and participate in their own social organizations. And occasionally, when they are studied closely, certain feelings emerge about their relationship to the world,

that vast body of humanity, Jew and non-Jew, which knew of the relentless Nazi drive to annihilate European Jewry. That sense, that the world knew, writes Dorothy Rabinowitz, "coexisted side by side with their perception that people (in America and elsewhere) rejected the facts about the Holocaust which had been published after 1945."¹²

Other feelings, too, emerge which have to do with internal friction among the survivors themselves. There are those survivors who believe that, for many in their group, material well-being has become an end rather than a means. They feel that, because survivors have seen and suffered, "there should have come forward from among them a better sort of person, less selfish than the ordinary, perhaps; one more sensitive to humankind, one with spiritual goals that were a little higher than those of most people—otherwise, for what had they survived?"¹³

The clearest voice among the survivors is that of Elie Wiesel. A voice of international significance, he supports the view that survivors are not normal. Survivors, for Wiesel, constitute a "separate, doomed, rapidly disappearing species, an isolated and tragically maligned species."

Maligned! 'But how?' we may ask. Wiesel responds: "After liberation . . . as they (the survivors) re-entered the world, they found themselves in another kind of exile, another kind of prison. People welcomed them with tears and sobs, then turned away." The survivors were, "disturbing misfits who deserved charity, but nothing else."

What they wanted, according to Wiesel, was to "transmit a message to you, a message of which they were the sole bearers. Having gained an insight into man that will remain forever unequalled, they tried to share a knowledge with you, their contemporaries. But you discarded their testimony."

Wiesel is unforgiving of the world. "Perhaps one day you will be forgiven for what you did or did not do during the Night (of the Holocaust years) but not for what you did or did not do after." He quotes a survivor living in Oslo, Norway: "In 1945 I had a purpose; it has been turned into ridicule."¹⁴

Because Elie Wiesel is not a histor-

ian, much of what he writes may very well be attributed to the creations of a fertile literary imagination. And because the survivors choose for the most part to remain silent beyond a few who write of their experiences in the Holocaust or in America, we who stand accused cannot really understand what Wiesel means when he writes of the message which the survivors looked upon as uniquely their own.

Perhaps a clue to the message could have been discerned in Jerusalem in the summer of 1981 when over five thousand survivors and many of their children met for the first and probably last time in history. The survivors gathered to hallow the memory of six million dead, to ask their children, who will survive them, to continue to bear witness for the six million, and to demonstrate in a quantitative sense, that revisionist historical efforts to prove the Holocaust a myth are vicious lies. "Mir szejnen doh" (We are here), the survivors repeated again and again, as did their children. But the message, the purpose, that which Wiesel calls "a legacy that could have changed the world,"¹⁵ was not handed to the Second Generation. It is, I contend, the lost legacy of the *She'erit Hapletah* (the Saved Remnant).

III

We are not even certain when the term *She'erit Hapletah* (the Saved Remnant) came to be applied to those who survived Hitler's war against the Jews. It is a biblical term which appears in I Chronicles 5, referring to the Jewish remnant that survived the Assyrian conquest. It reappears in the list of survivors which was published in July of 1945.¹⁶ More importantly, it was the source of survivors' identity for those who survived the death camps, those who were partisans in the forests, and those who took refuge from Hitler in the deepest reaches of Russian Siberia. It was an identity which ultimately would give birth to a revolutionary ideology created from the inner being and experience of the *She'erit Hapletah*.

Writing in April, 1946 in the *Landsberger Lager Zeitung*, one of the earliest and best of the Jewish DP papers, J.

Nemenczyk related a concentration camp fantasy which he had experienced lying in lice-filled straw, in hunger and in pain. "I had a vision," he wrote, "that if the world could not give us back our dead brothers and sisters, then it could give us back a moral world."¹⁷ Even earlier, speaking at the first ceremony, in June, 1945, marking the liberation from Nazism, Dr. Zalman Grinberg, the earliest acknowledged spokesperson of the *She'erit Hapletah*, stressed the moral aspects of its existence:

*Hitler won the war against the European Jews. If we took revenge, we would descend into the lowest depths of ethics and morality 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.*¹⁸

Dos Fraye Vort, the journal of the Feldafing camp echoed Grinberg's message in an article entitled "We Jews and the World." "What we, the *She'erit Hapletah* must do is show that we, the victims of Nazism have always been and will always be the carriers of humanity."¹⁹

Thus the nucleus of a philosophy of Jewish survival was being formed. But it would not develop on European soil. Despite the expectations of many, even of such a renowned interpreter of the European Jewish experience as Salo Baron,²⁰ the *She'erit Hapletah* would not, as had other previous generations of European Jews struck by the sword of hatred, cast off its tragedy and rebuild on European soil. "Should we help in the rebuilding of Europe," Grinberg asked in early 1946, "so that Europe will in time erect new crematoria for us? No!"²¹ Instead, the *She'erit Hapletah* would journey back to the Jewish homeland, *Eretz Yisrael*, and rebuild their shattered remnants as other nations were doing in the aftermath of Nazism.

There was an anticipation, a nervous level of activity among the *She'erit Hapletah* in the months following liberation. The need for Palestine was clear, but so was the need for another source

of purpose. In Grinberg's opening remarks at the first Congress of Liberated Jews in the American Zone, he echoed this need: "This is a conference of surviving *Kaddish*-sayers who will not satisfy themselves with merely saying *Kaddish!*"²² A short time later, Menachem Sztajer grappled with the ultimate role and purpose of the *She'erit Hapletah*. In October, 1946 he challenged the survivors to decide for themselves. "Will it (the *She'erit Hapletah*) simply mean an accidental term for survivors of a destroyed people," he asked, "or will it mean a revolution in Jewish history—a renaissance in Jewish life?"²³

The ideology of the *She'erit Hapletah* was crystallized in a series of brilliant essays by Samuel Gringauz in the years 1947 and 1948.²⁴ Expanding upon the rudimentary ideology of Jewish rescue and unification formulated by the partisan fighter Abba Kovner, who in July of 1945 had spoken of the need to "transform the Jewish tragedy from a sea of tears and blood into a form of revolutionary strength,"²⁵ Gringauz added a number of significant elements. "Today, the *She'erit Hapletah* has an ideology of its own," he wrote. "Ourselves the product of a barbaric relationship of the environment to the Jews, it is our task to create a more humane relationship to the environment." This the *She'erit Hapletah* could do because, Gringauz asserted, "Our eyes are large and deep; for they have looked on eternity."

Gringauz reiterated the need for European Jews to say *adieu* to the discredited continent. "Our place is no longer in Europe. We carry with us the legacy of our millennial history to Palestine and America so that the secular continuity of our ethical and cultural values may be assured." It was the *She'erit Hapletah*, he maintained, who were the victims of civilization. And it was they "who have been called upon to discover the positive basis on which we can unite with it . . . Our tragedy must become the starting point of a new humanism." The Holocaust would be the starting point of a reorientation of Occidental civilization, towards the cultural ideas of the *She'erit Hapletah*. This ideal for Gringauz was no less than a neo-humanism, the ideal of the moral and social perfection of humanity.

Thus the ideology of the *She'erit Hapletah* was completely formulated and the conditions for its implementation were set. Emissaries spoke to gatherings of Jewish organizations in Europe and America, expecting to be the vehicle for revolutionary change within the Jewish people and within the world. But the encounter with the world was only now beginning and it was not a positive one. As early as June 1945, Zalman Grinberg had expressed the fear that "mankind does not comprehend what we have gone through and what we have experienced during this period of time. And it seems to us," he speculated, "neither shall we be understood in the future."²⁶

Grinberg's fear was well-founded. Even those who were sent to aid the *She'erit Hapletah*, to assist them in recovering their humanity, did not understand. The Administrator of the Landsberg camp, an American Jew in the employ of the UNRAA, told a group of visiting Americans that the camp inhabitants did not deserve too much sympathy: "One must not remind them of their frightful yesterdays—they must forget this and work instead. They must realize that work means freedom."²⁷

By 1950, a deep sense of disillusion and disappointment was already evident. In one of the last issues of *Undzer Veg*, P. Pikatsch expressed a sense of that disappointment. "We believed that it was time to conquer evil and inhumanity," he wrote, "that it would be a long time before bestiality would again be able to conquer the idea of freedom." Instead, Pikatsch found a different picture, in which the "spectre of hatred" and the forces advocating the call to destruction and murder emerged freely and openly to attack the democracies they so hated.

Pikatsch realized that the *She'erit Hapletah's* call for change within the human condition and within the Jewish condition was not being heard by a world unwilling to listen and unwilling to understand. Indeed the period from 1945 to 1950 was, in many respects, the beginning of the conspiracy of silence between Holocaust survivors and society. For survivors, especially those in countries outside of Israel, the silence of society would be among the chief det-

riments to their future psychological well-being and to their effective participation in sociocultural and family life.²⁸

The voice of the *She'erit Hapletah* is today silent, its ideology non-existent. Beyond the solitary figure of Elie Wiesel, it has been scattered to the winds of an all too immoral and imperfect world. It was a voice that sought to give meaning to the meaninglessness of survival, to help overcome the feeling of being "living corpses,"²⁹ at the mercy of an uncaring world. It was a voice that sought to change the direction of Jewish destiny and of human destiny, to steer a course towards the moral and social perfection of humanity. It was a prophetic voice, in tune with the biblical voices of prophets in their quest for social justice. Finally, it was the voice of enduring legacy, established for the children of the *She'erit Hapletah*. Zalman Grinberg wrote that "we [of the *She'erit Hapletah*] live not for ourselves, but for our children. We can endanger our own fleeting existence, so that the security of coming generations may be insured."³⁰

But the voice is stilled, stilled because of the fear of "arousing disbelief, of being told 'your imagination is sick' . . . or you are counting on our pity, you are exploiting your suffering."³¹

The question in this historic encounter of the *She'erit Hapletah* with the world must be—who is normal and who is not? Yet the answer is still not as important as the legacy passed on to the Second Generation, and the declaration by the children of the Holocaust that "*Mir szejnen doh.*" That legacy must not be one of silence and it must not be one of fear. It should be the lost legacy of the *She'erit Hapletah*. It is a legacy worth finding. ■

NOTES

¹ Hirsch Glick, "Never Say" (Partisan Song), Copyright 1946.

² Issac Ratner, "Mir Szejnen Doh," *Undzer Veg* 2 (October 19, 1945), p. 3.

³ Marie Syrkin, *The State of the Jews* (Washington D.C., 1980), p. 11.

⁴ Leonard Dinnerstein, "The U.S. Army and the Jews: Policies Towards the Displaced Persons after World War II," in *American Jewish History* (March, 1979), pp. 353-366, and by the same

author, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust* (New York, 1982); Amy Z. Gottlieb, "Refugee Immigration: The Truman Directive," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians, 1980 and Gottlieb's doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois, and Leonard Dinnerstein, "German Attitudes Towards the Jewish Displaced Persons (1945-1950)," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York, 1980) pp. 241-247.

⁵ Yehuda Bauer. "The Initial Organization of the Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria," *Yad Vashem Studies VIII* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 127-157 and *Flight and Rescue: Brichah* (New York, 1970); Alex Grobman, "American Jewish Chaplains and the Remnants of European Jewry," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, n.d.).

⁶ A brief listing may be instructive: In Israel: Yad Vashem Archives and The Institute of Contemporary History (Oral History Section). In America: YIVO Institute, Joint Distribution Committee Archives, American Jewish Committee Archives, ORT Archives, National Archives, Brooklyn Center for Holocaust Studies, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower Libraries. Numerous Archives in Germany and the Public Record Office in London also contain materials.

⁷ On Chaplains: Louis Barish, *Rabbis in Uniform*, (New York, 1962); Judah Nadich, *Eisenhower and the Jews* (New York, 1953); George Vida, *From Doom to Dawn* (New York, 1967). Also, Thomas P. Liebschutz, "Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein and the Jewish Displaced Persons" (unpublished thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1965). On visitors: Israel Efros, *Heimlose Yidn* (Buenos Aires/Sao Paulo, 1947); Emma Shaver, *Mir Szeinen Doh* (New York, 1948); Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," *Jewish Social Studies IX* (1947), pp. 101-126. On education: Syrkin, *op. cit.*; Pinson, *op. cit.*; Vad Hatzala, *Hurbn un Rettung* (New York 1957); Bernard Zittel, "Die UNRRA-Universitaet in Munchen, 1945-1947" in *Archivalische Zeitschrift* (Vol. 75, 1979), pp. 281-301.

⁸ Leo W. Schwarz. *The Redeemers* (New York, 1953).

⁹ In much the same way, the events of Jewish destruction from 1939-1945 have had a long evolution of terminologies, from "recent Jewish catastrophe" to "disaster," to *Khurbn* (in Yiddish) and *Hurban* (in Hebrew) to the present Hebrew term *Shoah* and English term Holocaust. See Gerd Korman, "The Holocaust in American Historical Writing," *Societas—A Review of Social History* (Summer, 1972), pp. 259 ff.

¹⁰ See, for example, the volume entitled "Holocaust Survivors: Psychological and Social Sequelae," a special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, volume 11, number 1 (Spring/Summer 1980) and the citations listed therein.

¹¹ Helen Epstein. *Children of the Holocaust* (NY, 1979). See the bibliography therein.

¹² Dorothy Rabinowitz. *New Lives. Survivors of the Holocaust Living in America* (New York, 1976), p. 196.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 220 ff.

¹⁴ Elie Wiesel. *A Jew Today* (New York, 1978), pp. 185-208.

¹⁵ Quoted in Paula E. Hyman, "New Debate on the Holocaust," *The New York Times Magazine* (September 14, 1980), p. 109.

¹⁶ Bauer. "The Initial Organization of Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria," p. 127; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note.

¹⁷ J. Nemencyk in *Landsberger Lager Zeitung* (April 15, 1946), p. 3.

¹⁸ Z. Grinberg. "We are Living Corpses," *Aufbau* (August 24, 1945), p. 6.

¹⁹ "Mir Yidn un die Velt," in *Dos Fraye Vort* (June 28, 1946), p. 5.

²⁰ Salo Baron. "The Spiritual Reconstruction of European Jewry" in *Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook LV* (Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1946), pp. 193-206.

²¹ Quoted in *Undzer Veg* 17, Munich (January 25, 1946), p. 2.

²² Quoted in "Die Problematische Stellung der Juden in Deutschland" in *Der Weg I* (Berlin, March 1, 1946), p. 2.

²³ Menachem Sztajer. "Szerit Hapleita" *DP Express-Fun Jidiszn Lebn* (Munich, October, 1946), p. 2 ff.

²⁴ Gringauz's essays, excerpts from which will be cited, appeared as *Die Zunkunft der Juedischen Kultur*, *Juedische Rundschau* (May-June, 1946), pp. 22-24; "Ueber die Aufgabe der Europaischen Judenreste," in *Juedische Rundschau* (July, 1946), pp. 5-7; "Jewish Destiny as the DP's See It," *Commentary* (December, 1947) pp. 501-509, and a German version of the *Commentary*

article, "Des Juedische Schicksal wie die Verschleppten es sehen," *Juedische Rundschau* (July, 1948), pp. 35-37.

²⁵ Abba Kovner, "The Mission of the Survivors," in Yisrael Gutman and Livia Rothkirchen, eds., *The Catastrophe of European Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 681.

²⁶ Grinberg. "We are Living Corpses," p. 7. One month later, in July, 1945, Abba Kovner, in a meeting of Jewish Brigade members and partisan fighters in Italy, spoke in a familiar vein: "But how does one instill it in the hearts of a generation that did not live through all this . . . For such people, all this will represent mere abstractions." Kovner, *op. cit.*, p. 681.

²⁷ See the accounts in both Efros, *Heimlose Yidn*, and especially Leivik, *Mit der Sheris Hapleita*, pp. 44 ff. for the quote.

²⁸ P. Pikatsch, in *Undzer Veg* (December 28, 1950), p. 2. For a comprehensive analysis of the conspiracy of silence, see Yael Danieli, "Therapists' Difficulties in Treating Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust and their Children," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1981). The sources of survivor disillusionment are many and deserve serious exploration by scholars.

²⁹ Thus the title of Grinberg's article in *Aufbau*, *op. cit.*

³⁰ Zalman Grinberg. "Die Viersehnte' Ijar: ein Totengedenktag und ein Tag der Nationalen Besinnung der Lebenden," *Juedische Rundschau* (May-June, 1946), p. 28.

³¹ Elie Wiesel. *One Generation After* (New York, 1970), pp. 7-8.

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