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## Education among Jewish Displaced Persons: The Sheerit Hapletah in Germany, 1945-1950

Solomon Goldman

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# Education among Jewish Displaced Persons: The Sheerit Hapletah in Germany, 1945-1950

## Abstract

This dissertation deals with the problems of education among the Jewish Displaced Persons (known among Jews as *Sheerit Hapletah* (Saved Remnant) in Germany following the end of World War II in 1945.

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EDUCATION AMONG JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS  
THE SHEERIT HAPLETAH IN GERMANY, 1945-1950

by  
Solomon Goldman

A Dissertation  
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Dropsie University  
Broad and York Streets  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19132

1978

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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled  
EDUCATION AMONG JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS  
THE SHEERIT HAPLETAH IN GERMANY, 1945 - 1950

by

Solomon Goldman

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Samuel Grayzel  
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Date 2/21/78

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## PREFACE

This dissertation deals with the problems of education among the Jewish Displaced Persons (known among Jews as Sheerit Hapletah (Saved Remnant) in Germany following the end of World War II in 1945.

"Knowledge and Education"--"Learn, Learn and again Learn"--"With Education and Knowledge Your Future Will Be Assured"--such were the slogans of the leaflet distributed by the Regensburg region of the Central Committee of Jewish DPs.<sup>1</sup> However, founding schools for children and adults was not a simple task and this dissertation delves into the available archives revealing the manifold problems that faced the Sheerit Hapletah in their efforts to establish a network of schools.

Apart from printed materials, the main source for this study were the very rich archives of Jewish Displaced Persons' camps and settlements in Germany, Austria and Italy, now located at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, N.Y. A detailed description of this collection of materials will enable the reader to grasp the sui generis world of the Jewish DPs after World War II. It will also prepare him to

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<sup>1</sup>A leaflet addressed to Youth by the Central Committee for Liberated Jews in Niederbayern and Oberpfalz, Regensburg (YIVO, 1384). Note: a reproduction of the original is to be found in appendix section.

understand better the complexity of that existence.

A few collections constituting the archives are worthy of mention. These are:

1. The American Jewish Distribution Committee Archives, an extensive and highly important collection of materials on aid to Jews overseas in three fateful periods in Jewish life: the 1930s, the years of World War II and the post-war years. Most of the materials are from the post-war period, from the surrender of the Nazis to 1958.<sup>2</sup>
2. A collection of newspaper clippings on the condition of the DP's, mostly from the years 1945-46 by Professor Koppel S. Pinson when he was cultural director of the DP program under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Included in this group are several confidential reports, minutes of meetings, the curricula of DP schools, programs of musical, dramatic and literary soirees, a list of twenty DP Publications, mostly ephemeral.<sup>3</sup>
3. The Leo W. Schwartz private archive obtained by YIVO in 1958. Leo Schwartz was Director of American Jewish Distribution Committee in the United States Zone of Germany. It alone consists of 651 files.

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<sup>2</sup>News of the YIVO No. 79, July 1961.

<sup>3</sup>News of the YIVO No. 80, October 1961.

4. YIVO and YAD VASHEM Established the Joint Documentary Projects. Its primary aim has been the publication of a comprehensive bibliography on the Jewish Catastrophe in all languages and a classified catalogue of the huge collection of materials on the survivors in the YIVO Archives.<sup>4</sup>

A complete picture of the collections is rendered in the following excerpt:

The cataloguing of the huge YIVO collection of materials on the DP's in Germany was recently completed. The work was done by the staff member Z. Szajkowski. The catalogue furnishes an excellent overview of the complex organizational structure and ramified activities of the largest DP center in Europe in the years 1945-1950.

The collection consists of 2,320 files, containing over 200,000 leaves, which may be divided into four major divisions: the Central Committee of the Association of Liberated Jews in Germany and its branch organizations; the separate DP camps; the political and cultural organizations of the DP's operating independently from the Central Committee; institutions and organizations that aided the DP's, such as the Jewish Distribution Committee, the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and similar organization.

Included are the following materials of the Central Committee: minutes of the plenary sessions, the presidium and the congresses; the literature of the congress elections, such as lists of candidates, posters, announcements of meetings and the like; the reports of the branches; correspondence with the camps, the Jewish Distribution Committee, Jewish World Congress and other organizations and representative bodies. Noteworthy is a list of 136,682 Jews in the various camps and cities.

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<sup>4</sup>News of the YIVO No. 82, April 1962.

Then there are the various materials--minutes, reports, correspondence, bulletins, circulars, printings and the like--of the departments of the Central Committee, namely economics and finance, provisioning, transportation, health, sports and physical education, agriculture, productivization, culture and education (which was in charge of the elementary, secondary and trade schools, as well as evening schools, kindergartens, theaters, orchestras, libraries and the like), the Central Historical Commission, information and guidance, immigration, the Commission on Personnel, the Commission on Liquidation, and the autonomous central arbitration court. Special mention should be made of the archives of the association of the staff members of the Central Committee and of the individual camps (a list of 640).

Of the individual camps, the largest is that of Feldafing, which contains 273 files, giving a complete picture of daily life in a DP camp. Other large collections deal with the following camps: Eschwege, Fernward, Landsberg, Schwabach and Stuttgart, as well as several cities with large settlements of Jewish DP's. Of special interest are the archives of the camp courts, such as the one at Fernwald, containing 165 files and Feldafing--30 files. These court archives are of particular significance for the history of the Catastrophe, for many of the cases considered arose from the abnormal conditions of life in that period. Of no less significance are the reports of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration teams of 22 camps.

This gigantic collection is an important source not only for the history of the survivors and their rehabilitation, but also for the history of the Catastrophe itself. In the files of the arbitration courts and in most of the other materials there are many repercussions and reflections of the years of desperate struggle with the enemy, of trials and tribulations and--in some instances--a measure of triumph.

On the other hand, this rare collection provides a clear picture of the vigorous and complex life going on in the DP camps, from the minute details of daily life to such general and complicated matters as the illegal immigration to Palestine, consultations on Jewish affairs on the part of the American forces of occupation (including diaries and notes).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>News of the YIVO No. 87, September 1963.

One must also mention the YIVO Library which is very rich in original documents and materials on the Sheerit Hapletah, all of which have now been catalogued. In the notes, in most cases, single documents are identified for reasons of authenticity and credibility. In other cases a description of the file is given. The number in parentheses at the end of each note referred to as "YIVO" indicates the number of the file, each one very often consisting of many items.

The documents are written in Hebrew, Yiddish (in Latin characters, since there was no Hebrew type available in Germany after the war), German, Polish and other languages. It was my good fortune to possess a knowledge of these languages, which made my study possible.

I am grateful to YIVO for making available to me the archives which enabled me to undertake and complete this study.

To Mr. Marek Webb, Associate Archivist, Ms. Susan Leibtag, Processing Archivist, Mr. Zosa Szajkowsky, Research Associate and Ms. Dina Abramowitz, Head Librarian, and all of the YIVO staff I express my appreciation for their help.

Last, but not least, I am indebted to my teachers. Dr. Meir Ben-Horin, Dr. Juda Pilch and the late Dr. William Chomsky. Dr. Yehoshua I. Gilboa, Yibadel L'Hayim Arukim, consented to serve in place of Dr. Chomsky. He read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions. Dr. Solomon

Grayzel, Chairman of the Sponsoring Committee, who gave of his expertise and guidance to bring this work to completion deserves my everlasting gratitude.

December 1977

## INTRODUCTION

### The Scroll of Agony of the Jewish Child During and After the Holocaust

#### In the Abyss

Long before the rise of Nazism, Mendele Moher Seforim, the father of modern Yiddish literature,<sup>1</sup> with his customary keenness of observation noted: "There are no Jewish children, only small Jews and big Jews . . ."

These words were never truer than when applied to the inhuman treatment Jewish children suffered at the hands of the Nazis. They were not thought of as children, only small Jews.

In the annals of the unbelievable horrors and brutalities committed in Nazi-dominated Europe, the plight of the Jewish child certainly fills the darkest page. Starving, suffering from cold and deprivation, hunted day and night by the inhuman persecutors, they perished by the hundreds of thousands--in the ghettos, in the deportation trains, in the concentration camps and in the gas chambers.

There is no debased torture which was not experimented upon innocent and defenseless Jewish children.<sup>2</sup> Wherever

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<sup>1</sup>Pen name of Shalom Yaacov Abramowitz (1835-1917), actually known as the "zayde" (grandfather) of modern Yiddish literature.

<sup>2</sup>Italics S. G.

the Nazi genocide program for Jews went into action, the children under fourteen and the older people above age forty-five, were segregated and exterminated, while the able-bodied Jews were sent to slave labor camps to toil until death. Jewish children were deported from their homes or places of refuge, separately or together with their parents, to the death camps of Oświęcim, Treblinka and Maidanek. A Jewish child who escaped the ghettos and hid among Aryans was persecuted by hundreds of Gestapo officials, SS men and Wehrmacht members, and was often denounced and betrayed by adults, and even by children of the local population. The Jewish child served as a target for Hitler-Jugend shooting lessons. No mercy, no leniency was shown him or her. For Jewish children carry with them the heritage of their race; they represent "a latent danger" which could only be forestalled by their "disappearance"--as the quislingite Dutch Volk en Vaterland explained when asked by a naive reader whether it was not possible to save some innocent children, even if they were Jewish.<sup>3</sup>

At the outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939, all formal types of Jewish education and child care ceased to exist. School systems such as Tarbut, Tsisho, Yavneh, Beys and Bnos Yaacov, as well as countless talmud-toras, chadorim and yeshivot were ruined overnight. A more lethal blow was rendered

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<sup>3</sup>Zorach Warhaftig, "Uprooted," American Jewish Congress, World Jewish Congress, November, 1946, p. 118.



the Jewish philanthropic child care centers under the auspices of organizations like CENTOS and TOZ.<sup>4</sup> Children of these institutions became the instant victims of an earthquake-like upheaval. From the very onset of the war, chaos engulfed millions as they fled their homes. Bombardments from above, mass arrests and initial mass executions in every town tore the entire fabric of Jewish life. Under these circumstances the child became most vulnerable to starvation, disease and epidemics. The world that was as brutally merciless to the child as to the adult rendered the child a burden, a liability.

Traditional Jewish love for the child oftentimes demanded superhuman courage and self-sacrifice. This led to initial steps aiming at protecting the homeless, orphaned and dislocated children. These actions were essentially the same throughout Poland and, with the exception of minor differences reflecting local conditions, they may be divided into the following five categories:

- a) Spontaneous or immediate assistance;
- b) Organized assistance;
- c) Constructive assistance;
- d) Moral protection and guidance;
- e) Rescue work.

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<sup>4</sup>Centrala Opieki Nad Sierotami (Tsentrala Opyeki Nad She-ro-tami); Center for the Protection of Orphans. Towarzystwo Opieki Zdrowia (Tova-zhystvo Opyeki Zdrovia); Society for the Protection of Health.

Each of the above categories symbolizes a phase of life in the ghettos and the heroic struggle which the doomed organized on behalf of their helpless, innocent children. If the Catastrophe<sup>5</sup> in its totality does not represent to some the most tragic chapter in the history of man, and if the victims' unbelievable endurance to retain the "image of God" and their humanity is minimized by others, then the tragedy of a million Jewish children on the face of Europe, by itself, shall for all times stand as an indictment against Christian Europe. The only redeeming factors in this dark period of mankind were the acts of love and self-sacrifice shown these innocent children, not only by parents, but by the entire community. It is proper as well to acknowledge the courage of many individual non-Jews throughout Europe who, at the risk of their lives and those of their families, saved Jewish children from extermination.

At first private initiative by neighbors, among them teachers, nurses or doctors, was predominant in bringing "first aid" to children in need. In the large city courtyards, feeding stations were organized and standards for the maintenance of personal hygiene and sanitation were set up. As the number of needy children grew they would be divided into age groups. This permitted the introduction of some "educational" work and guidance. At that time, immediately after the cessation of war operations, there were as yet no schools, no organized life.

At the end of October 1939, in response to the ever-growing

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<sup>5</sup>"Catastrophe" is used by some writers instead of "Holocaust."

need for help and services, the American Joint Distribution Committee and other welfare institutions organized a central agency ZYTOS (ZSHYTOS),<sup>6</sup> which took over the coordination of all welfare programs. Later this agency entrusted the welfare of all needy children to CENTOS. Soon its activities were extended to embrace all needy children in the territory of Poland occupied by the Germans.

It is estimated that 400,000 Jews lived in the Warsaw ghetto when its gates were closed on November 16, 1940. Among them were 100,000 children up to the age of 15. Almost 75% of them were in need of food, medical care, guidance and shelter. CENTOS tried desperately to extend its helping hand to them. A few statistical data showing various types of shelters, dorms, child-care centers, with the number of children in them illustrate the situation as it existed on December 1, 1941, in Warsaw and vicinity.

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>
16 dormitories	2,295
5 half-dormitories	899
2 houses of quarantine	68
25 kitchens for children	15,467
8 stations for children	1,540
24 clubs in refugee centers	2,608
39 clubs	3,820
2 stations for nursing mothers	1,725
	Total 28,422 <sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Zydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Socjalnej (Zshy-dov-skie Tova Zshystvo Opyeki Sotsyalney); Board for Jewish Social Services.

<sup>7</sup>Warsaw Collection No. 135, YIVO Archives, New York City.

Dr. Adolf Berman, Director of CENTOS provides the following data regarding the scope of his agency's outreach program in July, 1942:

1. 30-31 orphanages and shelters;
2. over 20 part-time dorms and stations for children;
3. over 20 kitchens for children;
4. over 30 clubs for children;
5. over 10 day care centers (day camps).<sup>8</sup>

A total of over 110 institutions provided varied services and assistance to 25,000 children, i.e., 25% of the child population in Warsaw and the surrounding communities.

To gain a real picture of the scope of the misery existing in the ghetto we must remember that 75% of the 100,000 were in need of help. Of them, only 25,000 or, more exactly, 28,422 received that aid; viz. a little over 1/3 of them. What happened to the other 50,000? To be sure, there were some privately organized institutions and societies that provided some form of help. The others had to work or assist their parents in obtaining food. Some of them took care of their younger siblings while their parents were at work. The rest made up the beggars, smugglers, "thieves," actors, and the homeless starving in the streets. "Children in the ghetto became grownups overnight. Instinctively they felt that whoever wants to remain alive must cease to be a child."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. Adolf Berman, "Walka z Dziecmi," PRZELOM, Warszawa, June, 1948.

<sup>9</sup>Mira Berger, "Schools and Educational Institutions in the Ghetto of Vilna." Dertsziungs Entsiklopedie, Vol. II, Congress of Jewish Culture, New York, 1959, p. 199 (italics, S. G.).

It would, however, be erroneous and indeed sinful not to speak of the spiritual and cultural life in the ghettos. If there is need to prove that there is a spiritual dimension to life, and that man can transcend himself in the face of the worst kind of deprivation, the cultural life in the ghettos should prove it.

Long before the Germans ordered the Judenraten to open the schools, a widespread "illegal" school system existed. The very kitchens where children were supposed to come for a meal and leave in order to make room for others, became nests of educational activities. Jewish holidays were celebrated, stories of Jewish glory and heroism were related and very often the JNF box, even if the only tangible symbol of Eretz Yisrael, expressed the hope for a better tomorrow.

In Warsaw, In Bialystok, In Vilna, in Cracow and indeed in all Jewish settlements, teachers taught, historians wrote chronicles, actors organized programs even as the bitter cold, hunger and continuous uncertainty of one's fate were a constant reminder of a brutal, merciless world. Of all acts of courage the story of Jewish education in the ghettos is unique because it involved limitless idealism, love and devotion to the most innocent of all victims--the children.

Here is what Genia Silkes, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and a teacher there, writes:

Of all the legendary deeds and acts--which now, after the passing of time, seem to be unbelievable--the story of Jewish education is unique. It was continued without interruption during all upheavals, deportations, pogroms and

incessant brutal decrees and police actions. It took place while hiding long months in bunkers, in attics, in cellars and even while hiding outside, on the Aryan side in shelters provided by Christians.

Teaching Jewish children took place with fervor at feeding stations, kitchens, shelters, orphanages, etc. Even during the short period when the Germans did permit schools to reopen and to teach only subjects they approved of, even then, under the mantle of legality, subjects taught were of Jewish content, serving Jewish interests, nurturing the Jewish soul.<sup>10</sup>

Schools which before the war used Polish as the language of instruction, and were de facto public schools without any Jewish content, stressed Jewish cultural and national values in the ghetto. "To sustain Jewish youth morally, to heighten Jewish awareness, to instill a sense of national pride and faith in a future when redemption would come--these were the ideological foundations of education under all circumstances, legal or illegal."<sup>11</sup> The school was the only refuge for the tortured soul of the Jewish child, the kitchen the only warm place for his meager body, and the teacher the only person in a position to transform the harsh world into a "promised land."

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<sup>10</sup>See, "Di Bloy Vaisse Pushke Oif Groye Ghetto Vent," by Genia Silkes, The Day-Morning Journal, New York, Friday, June 17, 1966.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

On August 31, 1940 the Germans ordered the Judenrat to open the schools. The Judenrat established a department of education and TOZ, known for its activities from before the war, took over from CENTOS the administration of all kitchens and other facilities serving children. At the same time the newly established department of education proceeded with preparations to open elementary and secondary schools. High schools were only allowed to offer a program of vocational and professional training. The pursuit of liberal arts or science remained outlawed. It may be mentioned that these restrictive measures regarding education applied to the Polish population as well.

The order of August 31st, as we saw, included trade and professional schools. This opened an opportunity to embrace many teenagers who, till that time, were completely neglected and very often demoralized. It was hoped that now they would be directed to constructive work by learning trades, agriculture and other technical skills. When soon after it became apparent that only those engaged in productive work would be spared from deportation, many sought to register for courses or work in the shops. Two organizations, ORT<sup>12</sup> and TOPOROL<sup>13</sup> responded by offering their expertise in the field of vocational training. On December 1st TOPOROL started its activities. They included:

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<sup>12</sup>ORT; Organization for Rehabilitation and Training.

<sup>13</sup>TOPOROL; Towarsystwo Popierania Pracy Rolnej (Tovazshystvo popye-rania pratsy rolney); Society for the Promotion of Farming.

1. exploiting any available land for cultivation;
2. providing courses in gardening, farming and landscaping;
3. training in some areas of agricultural industry.

ORT and TOPOROL had two objectives: to provide an education thus strengthening the Jewish child morally; and to enable its students to become productive--a matter of life and death.

Jewish children and teenagers were engaged in the production of vegetables, so badly needed in the ghetto, and in planting gardens and flowers which would "beautify" the surroundings. With the assistance of ORT and other community agencies the work had begun. In addition, two courses for boys and girls aged 14 were opened where they studied for nine months. ORT had also offered a series of courses in the chemical field and in the production of pharmaceutical products. Other courses were in the field of engineering. Permission was even obtained to train teachers. Such a course lasted in Warsaw from May to the end of July, 1942.

During this period of time the old school organizations like Tarbut, Yavneh, Bet-Yaacov, Mizrachi, all of them enjoying the support of an ideologically oriented constituency, did their utmost to provide the badly needed moral support for the child and teenager. In June of 1940 the activists among the nationally oriented circles opened a Hebrew Gymnasium (High School). This was the first underground Hebrew High School formally operating as a school and not merely as a group of students being taught by a teacher. It opened in August with an enrollment of three students; one month later it had grown to 35 students, and by



the end of the school year it listed 72 students with a faculty of 11 teachers. The school ultimately grew to 120 students and 13 teachers. The director was Professor Rundstein and among the staff members we find the names of the now famous Emanuel Ringelblum, the Yiddish-Hebrew poet, Yitzchak Katzenelson and Janusz Korczak.<sup>14</sup> The school was modeled after the Polish Gymnasium from before the war: four classes with Hebrew or Polish as the language of instruction plus two years of lyceum, offering courses either in humanistic studies or in natural sciences. It had a budget of 50,000 Polish zlotys provided by tuition fees and community support. The greatest number of students came from poor homes and attended free of charge. While the program included subjects such as Hebrew, Polish, Latin and either German, French or English, History, Jewish History, Bible, Physics, Mathematics, Jewish Sociology and the Arts, the emphasis on Jewish studies was the real motive of the founders in the establishment of the school.

The students of this school became involved in furthering cultural activities and advancing Jewish awareness in the ghetto. They, as well as their teachers, took up arms when the time came to defend the honor of their people.

Vilna, the crown of Jewish culture and scholarship in Europe, the Yerushalayim d'Lita, came under German rule only two days after the war between Germany and Russia broke out on June 22,

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<sup>14</sup>See bibliography.

1941. The initial "introduction" the new rulers launched did not differ from the hundreds of other places. On September 6th the 40,000 Jews were enclosed in two prepared ghettos. After seven weeks of existence, the smaller one was liquidated. But even there a school had started to function. The other one, ghetto no. 1, existed for two years and two weeks. In the first year of its existence it established over 20 institutions of learning where, without a system of compulsory education, 80% of the children of school age did attend school. Underground school units on the elementary and secondary levels were prevalent. By the time the Judenrat was ordered to open schools, 3,000 children six to fourteen years of age registered. Many children remained outside the system for reasons similar to those prevailing elsewhere: they had to work, assist parents, take care of younger siblings, smuggle or beg in the streets.

Here, as in Warsaw, the legalization of schools enabled the teachers to introduce subjects of Jewish content in the two national languages: Hebrew and Yiddish. The national Jewish ideologysignalized the educational work. Jewish History and Bible constituted a significant part of the curriculum.

Here is what a leading personality of Vilna formulated as the principles of education:

It should foster:

1. a feeling of national Jewish pride;
2. love for the people's past and for its heroes/champions of liberty (the Hasmoneans, Bar-Kochba, Massada);
3. cognition of the present condition of Jewish communities

- and the deepening of faith in their future;
4. belief in a free Jewish people in a sovereign Eretz-Yisrael as a member of the free family of nations;
  5. love for work and liberty;
  6. a spirit of international cooperation among all nations in the struggle for a better and more just world;
  7. the study of Israel (not the State) as a subject by itself;
  8. religion--non-obligatory--to be taught to children wishing to acquire a basic knowledge of the subject.<sup>15</sup>

It is interesting that in the Vilna ghetto supplementary religious schools were established at the request of many parents. Two Yeshivot, one elementary and one for advanced Talmudic studies, existed. In all, 200 students were enrolled in the religious schools.

As long as there was a semblance of conditions that permitted the contemplation of a future, in spite of all indications to the contrary, parents, teachers, and community leaders did everything to protect the children by providing a framework for their physical and moral growth. All these efforts were made while the reign of terror and death prevailed. Hunger, starvation, executions, deportations of individuals and groups was the daily

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<sup>15</sup>Yerushalayim d'Lita, in Kamf un Umkum, chapt. "Shulvezn" (The School System), ibid. (See bibliography.)

bread of ghetto dwellers. One never knew whether he would return home if he ventured out into the street. Especially tragic was the lot of orphans whose numbers grew from day to day. In spite of the enemy, teachers prepared courses of study, lesson plans, and extracurricular activities; and they cared for the proper functioning of the schools.

In 1941, "The Month for the Jewish Child" was proclaimed in Warsaw. With the cooperation of many civic and community organizations, a million zlotys were raised.

Lag BaOmer--May 5th--1942 was designated "Day of the Child" which was elaborately celebrated wherever children dwelt together. A few excerpts from the program-guide developed by CENTOS are in order:<sup>16</sup>

1. The "Day of the Child"--Lag BaOmer--ought to generate a spirit of celebration and exultation, symbolized even by the display of symbolic greens;<sup>17</sup>
2. Programs: entertainment, dramatic presentations in all institutions such as shelters, orphanages, kitchens, day care centers, clubs and stations for refugee children, and hospitals (over 100 places);
3. All places provided for by CENTOS ought to be appropriately decorated displaying childrens' creations, works and posters;

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<sup>16</sup>Warsaw Collection, file #49/4, YIVO Archives, New York City.

<sup>17</sup>*Italics* S. G. Obviously there was little vegetation in the ghetto.

4. Each child is to receive a flower (made of paper) and, if possible, a flag or pin;
5. On the "Day of the Child" a special holiday dinner should be served, with additional rations and sweets to be provided for each child;
6. Prior to, and on that day, all children-beggars should be removed from the streets and assembled in the quarantine house and other "first aid" stations.

On May 20, which was a Saturday, a grand performance, "Children for Adults" took place. The program included dances, a choir and dramatizations. Dr. A. Berman and Mr. Geffner extended greetings.

Let us return for a while to the Vilva ghetto. There, "an unusually high quest for learning prevailed." This quest did not come from a conviction that one would survive, hence it was the best way of utilizing available time. No; the majority used study as the only humanizing factor in the escape from reality.<sup>18</sup>

To meet the needs of the working youth, clubs were organized which functioned as self-governing units assisted only by specialists. Numerous sections covered a wide range of interests, such as history, mathematics, physics, world literature or Yiddish and Hebrew literature. In December 1942 the History Club organized a mock public trial of Herod. On January 7, 1943, on

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<sup>18</sup>Mira Berger, "Di Lern un Dertsiungs--Anshtalten in der Vilner Ghetto," Dertsiungs Entsiklopedie, Vol. II, New York, 1959, p. 204.

the occasion of opening its new quarters the club staged a childrens' opera, a Sholem Aleichem dramatization, two choral recitations and dances. This program was presented to children and adults and was repeated six times.<sup>19</sup> Other programs included a Tschernihowsky evening, as well as another mock trial, this time of Josephus Flavius. The Yiddish circle under the leadership and guidance of the well-known Vilna poet Abraham Sutzkever organized a literary program in honor of Yehoash<sup>20</sup> and on that occasion dedicated a Yehoash exhibit which remained open for two weeks. As late as March 12th, 1943 a Sutzkever program was tendered in honor of the poet by the organization of teachers, at which time the honoree read his latest poem "Kol Nidrey."

The picture of the cultural activities would remain incomplete without mentioning the Vilva Jewish libraries. Of its collection of 45,000 volumes in all European languages, the library lost about 20% in the first few weeks of the Nazi occupation. The library was reorganized and reopened for the public. 1,500 members, most of them youths, registered as subscribers.

This is what Mira Berger reports:

Remarkably, after each action (deportation) the lines in front of the library grew bigger. The library served

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<sup>19</sup>Italics S. G.

<sup>20</sup>Yehoash; pseudonym of Yehoash Solomon Bloomgarden (1872-1927), Yiddish poet and Bible translator.

over 300 readers daily, most of them children. In the first year of its existence the library exchanged 88,697 books. The library offered a resting place physically and spiritually to its visitors. It was open seven days a week, eleven hours daily. Usually books were exchanged at a temperature of below zero. Only seldom were the doors closed because of the cold.<sup>21</sup>

This, then, was a struggle for the retention and preservation of the human spirit.

We know now that all this was of no avail. . . . The ever-growing Hurban Literature<sup>22</sup> records atrocities beyond human imagination perpetrated upon the tortured body of the house of Israel on the European continent. We have concentrated on Warsaw and Vilna because of their prominence. However, the same and even greater brutalities were perpetrated in Lublin, Cracow, Tschenstochova (Czestochowa) and hundreds of towns and villages.

Any writer or researcher must be stirred to his deepest emotions when he confronts the cynicism and perfidy which the German Reich carefully devised in carrying out the extermination of children. The cover-up methods used seemed almost like acts of mercy (a cherished value of Western civilization). One

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<sup>21</sup>Mira Berger, "Di Lern un Dertsiungs--Anshtalten in der Vilner Ghetto," Dertsiungs Entsiklopedie, Vol II, New York, 1959, p. 204.

<sup>22</sup>Reference to the literature on the Holocaust.

becomes so deeply embarrassed by belonging to the Family of Man that any human endeavor, or for that matter, recording this chapter, seems to be fruitless.

In their eye-witness testimony, two Jews from Tschenstochova, Poland state:

One morning Digenhardt came and ordered the Jew Glaster (in charge of supplies by the Judenrat) to appear before him. He pulled out his revolver and threatened to kill him if "the poor Jewish children will continue to be so poorly fed." "Is it the fault of small children that a war, a plague of God, ravages?" When Glaster answered that he had no supplies, the German gave him the right to some. He ordered Glaster to be supplied with additional rations of milk and eggs for the children. A few days later Digenhardt again appeared and said "if he were sure to locate a few women who would take good care of the children, he would release them from other work so that they could devote themselves exclusively to the children." Special quarters were assigned for the over 100 children on Kozshe St. He used to come daily, pat the children on their heads and give them gifts. Suddenly in December 1942 on a very frosty day, Digenhardt appeared in the children's home and ordered the police to deliver them to police headquarters. Seeing that many registered children were missing he ordered the Judenrat to deliver them within two hours, otherwise they would be executed. The children were delivered. The Germans loaded them by throwing them on the trucks. Before the departure



the children were undressed. Many of them froze to death before they were killed. Digenhardt witnessed the scene, his face expressing full satisfaction with the successful execution of his plan.<sup>23</sup>

August 17, 1943 was the day when the uprising in the ghetto of Bialystok was liquidated.

The Gestapo announced that all children between 6-10 years of age would be removed from the place of selection and sheltered in a house. Rumors were spread that the children would eventually be transported to Switzerland where they would be exchanged for German POWs--two children for one German soldier. To give credence to this announcement three families in possession of foreign passports were attached to the children. Following is an excerpt from the description of this day by Chana Bubiak:

Many parents believed that their children were destined to be rescued and voluntarily enlisted them. Many pushed their children into the "lucky group" though they were either younger than six or older than ten. Many parents gave their children addresses of their relatives abroad. But there were parents who refused to give up their children. The Nazis tore them from their hands and thus assembled 1200 children. A supervisory staff of 40 was assigned, among them educators, supervisors, even a doctor. Only

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<sup>23</sup>"B. Rand, Testimony; Abraham Izbitzky, Testimony." Tschenstochover Yidn, (Jews of Czestochowa, Poland), New York, 1947, pp. 201-212,

two of the teachers survived, the only ones of the entire group, and from them this account was recorded. They are Wolkenberg and Sprung-Lefkowitz.<sup>24</sup>

The following is another account of the tragic end of a once glorious center of Jewish cultural and religious life, Lublin, famous for its yeshivah "Yeshivas Hahmey Lublin." As a result of the systematic concentration of the Jewish population in bigger cities, Lublin, which before the war numbered about 37,000 Jews, became in 1941 the site for close to 300,000 Jews who lived in its vicinity; of that number there were 10,000 children. After the deportations in 1941 the number of helpless orphaned children grew as did the hunger and starvation. Professor Nachman Korn gives this vivid picture about the unfortunate children there:

Children started knocking on doors. There no longer was a question of education, but simply of giving them food to save them from death by starvation. One saw many horrible pictures of children's desolation and pain in the narrow streets of the Lublin ghetto. As the autumn of 1941 progressed, during the cold rainy season, children, bare-footed, wrapped in rags, languishing, would stretch out their swollen hands begging for bread.

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<sup>24</sup>Chanah Bubiak, "Der Goyrl fun di Bialistoker Kinder funem Geyrush in August 1943" (Fate of Bialystok's children on the day of deportation in August 1943), Bleter Far Geshichte B'4, Book 3, July-September, 1953.

During the continuing exterminations of March-April 1942, 10,000 children of the Lublin ghetto and among them the 100 children of the orphanage were gunned down in Kalinowszczyzna in the vicinity of Lublin.<sup>25</sup>

In Warsaw amidst the heightened and intensified efforts on behalf of the children, the ax of the executioner fell. The beginning of the end, "the final solution," had arrived there as well. A visual symbol of that incredible bestiality is the now famous picture of the Jewish boy in the Warsaw ghetto, his hands up, his face and eyes expressing a chilling fear, and a German soldier turning his bayonet at him.

The deportations and extermination actions lasted two months. During that period 90% of the Jewish population was murdered. It is estimated that between 330,000 and 340,000 people perished, among them 90,000 children.

The first victims were the children. Under the pretext of removing undesirable elements, all children on the streets, in shelters and orphanages, or those on their way to public kitchens were caught and led away to their deaths. The panic in the ghetto was indescribable. The entire fabric of life collapsed and all welfare agencies were totally unable to protect their children. Indeed, children in institutions became easy prey for the Germans in their program of making the ghetto "Kinder rein."

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<sup>25</sup>Nachman Korn, "Dertsyungs Problemen un Kinder Elnt in Ghetto" (Problems of Education and Children's Loneliness in the Ghetto), Dos Buch fun Lublin (The Book of Lublin), Paris, 1952, p. 503.

CENTOS' attempts to send children to families was of no avail because most of them were already orphans. Nothing helped. This became apparent when the institution of the tragically famed Janusz Korczak was not spared. Korczak himself, a little babe in his arms, insisted on going with "his children," not wanting to take advantage of the offer to stay back.

In the Fall of 1942, the remnants in the ghettos had no illusions about the ultimate aim of the Germans. Those who remained were granted "the right to live" and again were assured that there wouldn't be any more deportations. In Warsaw, according to Nachman Blumenthal<sup>26</sup> there remained about 30,000 Jews who were employed in workshops and factories, and another 25,000 "wild ones," i.e., those who had escaped deportation. Between 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. a curfew was imposed and nobody was to be seen in the streets.

Feverish plans to rescue the children were now in the minds of everyone. Contacts with the underground were established. Dr. Adolf Berman, former director of CENTOS was now on the Aryan side himself. The cooperation of Polish individuals and institutions was sought to rescue as many children as possible. A "Council for the Rescue of Jews" was formed and within this framework attempts to accommodate children on the Aryan side were made. Dr. Eva Rubitska, in charge of social services for

children in the Polish part of Warsaw, was very helpful ever since the occupation had begun. Some children found refuge in institutions, monasteries and orphanages. Others who escaped the ghetto and "lived" there were hunted by the Polish police and their accomplices and thrown back into the ghetto. Most of these unfortunate children were beyond rescue, swollen from hunger, sick with open wounds, terrified. They were usually rounded up and delivered to the Umschlagplatz<sup>27</sup> for deportation.

The ghetto, now reduced to an area of about twelve streets, started to prepare for armed resistance. Underground bunkers and shelters were built, food stored and arms either scught or produced. The "leaders" of Z.O.B.,<sup>28</sup> many of them in their teens and coming from the ranks of National or Zionist youth movements, became a serious factor in the affairs of the ghetto. When the hour struck they rose in defense of their human dignity in an uneven confrontation, knowing well that theirs was not a fight for their own lives.

The heroism of children and youths, both on the battlefield as well as in meeting the challenges of everyday life in the ghettos is a legacy of the invincibility of the human spirit over tyranny.

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<sup>27</sup>A collecting point in the ghettos for deportation, usually near a railroad siding.

<sup>28</sup>Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Zshydovska Organizatsya Boyova). The Polish name for the Jewish Fighting Organization in the Warsaw ghetto.

Remarkably, a young Jewish girl from the Netherlands, Anne Frank,<sup>29</sup> will for all times remain a source of inspiration for everything that is noble in life. Another young Dutch-Jewish child, Moshe Flinker,<sup>30</sup> recorded his inner thoughts in a diary written in Hebrew. These two young martyrs may well symbolize the same "faith and fate" of all Jews.

While Anne Frank came from an assimilated environment, Moshe Flinker was a devout young Jew. One wrote in the language of her birthplace and adopted home; the other in the age-old language of his people--Hebrew. The one recorded what man had made of man, the personal details of the cramped, circumscribed human circle in which she moved; the other, the relations between Israel and its God. The one saw catastrophe, the other redemption.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to them, who, comparatively speaking, lived in good circumstances, let us hear the voices of two youngsters in the Warsaw ghetto who joined the underground and worked closely with Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum, the historian of the Warsaw ghetto. Both of them, Nahum Grzywacz (Gszy-vatsh), and David Graber, children of the poor working classes, buried their entries and "Last Wills" in the summer of 1942. They were found at the

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<sup>29</sup>Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl, Pocket Books, New York, 1953.

<sup>30</sup>Young Moshe's Diary, Yad Vashem and the Board of Jewish Education, New York & Jerusalem, 1971.

<sup>31</sup>Aryeh Newman, "Moshe Flinker--Anne Frank's "Double" with a Difference," *ibid*, cover.

same time as the Ringelblum archives. Indeed, their work was to safeguard Ringelblum's chronicles and bury them for posterity. Though they did not become "famous," and theirs was a life of struggle and self-sacrifice, it is important to hear their voices: On July 30, 1942 [during the mass deportations, S. G.] Nahum writes:

I was one of those who buried the treasure containing the pain of the Jewish people in the Hitler-land area. During the days of mass executions I have hidden and buried these materials so that you might know about the Hitler tyranny.

My Last Will:

I am writing my last will. We lost contact with our comrades. In the midst of our work we were separated. I, the teacher Lichtenstein, and Graber decided that times like these have to be recorded and we have started doing so, last night because we weren't sure that we would live till today, August 3, 1942, ten after 2:30. I have finished writing. We don't want to stay alive for our own sake, but only in order to alarm the world.

Our goal is to sabotage "quietly" the German front. Our work was minimal considering that we are within the ghetto walls. But the knowledge that we are not merely waiting for Messiah, but getting ready for the armed struggle with the enemy, fills us with joy. The military exercises encouraged us. Happy is the one who is accepted in the organization.

On pages 30-33 we read:

Whatever we could not say aloud to the world we have buried in the ground. . . .

I don't expect any thanks. I have not given of myself for that. I would like to be alive when this treasure will be unearthed one day and its message made known to the entire world. For those who have not gone through our experience we should appear as decorated veterans. We should be the fathers, the teachers of the future, the grandpas who tell their grandchildren the stories of victories and defeats, of life and destruction. . . .

We will, however, certainly not live that day, and therefore I am writing my last will. May this treasure fall in good hands. May it alarm the world and tell what happened in the Twentieth Century. Our last wish is that after its publication, this archive should find its permanent place in a museum in a liberated, independent Eretz Yisrael. Then we shall rest in peace--liberated. Now we can die, we have done our share, we finished our mission. May history pronounce its verdict.

David Graber<sup>32</sup>

After the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto we find in the underground paper, "The Voice From Abyss," published in 1944 by the Council to Rescue Jews, on the Aryan side the following note:

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<sup>32</sup>Jewish Historical Archives, Warsaw, No. 1720.



There are almost no Jewish children left in Poland. The Germans killed 99% of them. Those to be found alive live in hiding to avoid the eyes of the hunters. Those who are discovered are killed instantly.<sup>33</sup>

From now on the Jewish child becomes the most hunted, the most wanted enemy of the Third Reich. Whatever existence there was left for Jewish children throughout Nazi-occupied Europe could be described as one in which they had to be capable of functioning in an atmosphere of incessant fear. It required self-immolation, erasing ones own identity. Even those whose physical features and command of the Polish language were in their favor to pose as gentiles had a difficult task of internalizing Christian usages, responses and skills. It ought to be remembered that Jews in Eastern Europe constituted a distinct culture and religion. Under stress it was easy to elicit responses which would unmask their true identity.

A crypto-Jew could betray himself with a Jewish turn of phrase, an ignorance of more complicated Polish customs and mores, a different way of caring for or caressing his child, an unwillingness to join in anti-Semitic conversations, lack of friends and relatives, too much money, etc. All this could, and in many instances did, unmask a Jew.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Dertsungs Entsiklopedie, Vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> Eva Mahler, "The Fate of Jewish Children During the Holocaust," Yad Vashem Bulletin, No. 15, Jerusalem, August, 1964, p. 48.

One is at a loss trying to select excerpts from a book based on hundreds of children's autobiographies and over sixty interviews with people who survived the war as children, and later settled in Israel.

Giselle M. (at present a dancer in the Israeli opera) was only five when her desperate parents decided to send her and her eight-year-old brother to the "Aryan" side. Giselle refused to go. She clung desperately to her mother, holding onto her dress, clutching her hands, and kissing her endlessly. Taken out of the room, the little girl grabbed the door handle, kissing it as passionately as she had kissed her mother before. The door handle represented home for her. . . .

Meta Wrobel was 12 when, in the confusion and panic of a night action, she became separated from her parents and brothers in a field. "I remained all alone in the world," recalls Meta, "in the dark of the night. And I did not know where to go . . . I crawled into the bushes and stayed there holding my breath . . . Then some shooting started. A woman with a baby at her breast was killed not far from me. I thought in my fright and misery: 'God only knows if my mother is still alive. I haven't any place to go . . . there's only shooting and screaming all around . . . I have nothing to eat . . . and there isn't anybody to say a word to . . .'"

Her parents and four of her six brothers had been killed. Meta, hiding with one of the remaining brothers, survived by

a sheer miracle. Again alone in the bushes, she brooded: "My brother is no longer alive . . . My mother is no longer alive, and my father and my four big brothers are dead too. For whom shall I live? There's nothing to eat . . . Why stay alone in such cold in the bushes? I will go and give myself up to the Germans . . ." <sup>35</sup>

The girl, Lea K. tells her story in a broad dramatic outline:

From that day on our real experiences began. Each passing day was full of miracles. We stayed in that hospital, and then moved to another ghetto. Then we were once more driven to the pits to be shot, and escaped. We came to my father's friend, a Gentile. He kept us for a few months . . . When the Gentile had to flee for his life, we ran away too.

My mother was blond, looked "Aryan," and spoke good Polish . . . Nobody suspected that we were Jews. We wandered from one village to another, from town to town. Mother made sweaters and socks, sewed and begged . . .

We were nearing the front line. We never met any Jews, and never heard of them. Many a time on a cold night somewhere in the woods, hungry and cold, I would huddle close to my mother and beg her: 'Mommy, I am afraid, talk to me. . . Tell me how you will take me to Eretz (Israel).' And my mother would tell me how the whole world would welcome

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid, p. 49.

the remaining Jews, and we would go to Eretz, and I would learn Hebrew together with other Jewish children . . .

Tramping around became more difficult from day to day. We could have fallen into German hands at any moment. So we had to hide during the day. But then we did not have anything to eat. Mother was very weak. She did not believe that we would survive. She begged me: 'Leyele, let's go to the pond and drown ourselves. Let's end our misery.' I cried and pleaded: 'Hold on, Mommy. For my sake, hold on. I won't ever again tell you that I am hungry. But don't take me to the pond . . .'<sup>36</sup>

#### In the Aftermath

Over a million Jewish children under 15 years of age perished in Nazi-dominated Europe.<sup>37</sup>

Superhuman efforts were made to save the children. Jewish fathers and mothers willingly sacrificed their lives in order to rescue them. Small children were hidden for months and years by Jewish parents and other inmates of concentration and labor camps, and some of them have lived to see the moment of their liberation. During the deportation wave of Jews from France to the East, when the deportation of orphaned children was ordered halted, Jewish

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> "Jewish Children in Liberated Areas," Joint Distribution Committee Research Department Reports, no. 1, January, 1946, p. 1.

mothers and fathers often committed suicide in order to assure the status of orphans to their children. Jewish youth and underground groups, under the risk of their own lives, were active and instrumental in rescuing hundreds and thousands of Jewish children. Jews gave away the last remnants of the property to non-Jewish families which accepted the care of Jewish children.

In some countries the merciful help of parts of the non-Jewish population was very instrumental in the rescue work. In France, Belgium and Holland the help of the underground movement and of the clergy was of great value. Monasteries, convents and Catholic schools, closed to the Gestapo searchings, became places of refuge and hiding for Jewish children.

Chased and hunted by the millions of butchers in Axis Europe, abandoned by the civilized, democratic world, it was little short of miraculous that some children were rescued.<sup>38</sup>

After the war, the number of those saved was relatively small. The total of surviving Jewish children in liberated Europe, outside the USSR was 150,000.<sup>39</sup>

The major responsibility of Jewish aid societies and rescue organizations was to safeguard the return of surviving Jewish children to their parents, relatives or to the Jewish community.

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<sup>38</sup>Zorach Warhaftig, "Uprooted," *ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>39</sup>See note 36, *ibid.*, p. 2.

The European Jewish communities, devastated and shattered, were in no position to undertake this mission and even less to provide the organizational structure for that operation: very often these matters became entangled in international political and legal maneuvering contingent on pending legislation or the whims of local officials. In an address before the Committee for Human Rights of the UN on June 9, 1949, at Lake Success, entitled "The Jewish People Demands the Return of its Children," Dr. Isaac Lewin pleaded: "Children whose parents perished in a war or another catastrophe must be reared in the religion of their parents."<sup>40</sup>

While many Jewish children were rescued from physical destruction, the danger of spiritual or religious destruction hovered over many others. Some Christian individuals and institutions, often convinced of the virtue of bringing "salvation" to their charges, simply refused to release Jewish children. Not infrequently they demanded either a ransom or reward for their protection and care. A Jewish child rescued by a convent in France whose aunt from Israel demanded his return was abducted by a devout nun to Spain in order to escape the French police. The case dramatized the tragedy of many Jewish children in the post-war period.

In Warsaw, for instance, 91 Jewish girls out of 300 rescued from the destroyed ghetto are known to have been baptized by the

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<sup>40</sup>Dr. Isaac Lewin, "After the Destruction," Research Institute for Post-War Problems of Religious Jewry, New York, 1950, p. 287.

Christian educators. More, they were poisoned with anti-Semitism and when reclaimed by their rescued parents, refused to return to "the Jews."<sup>41</sup>

There are even some journalists who justify this cruel climax to the terrible tragedy of the Jewish child in Nazi-dominated Europe. In an article published in Liberation of December 30, 1944, under the title "Les vivants même sont morts," Alexis Danan wrote:

" . . . The real truth, which everybody knows, particularly those who had to do with the rescue of Jewish children from the Hitlerist hell, is that the rescued children do not wish in reality to find their mothers. On the contrary, deep in their hearts, is their wish that they need never return . . .

"You who are living--if you still exist somewhere in a concentration camp in Poland or in Czechoslovakia! Out of love for your children, let your children enjoy life where they are, for if not, they will carry hatred against you because of your return.

"But your benevolence can be counted upon--you will not return . . .

"The children do not want to know you any more.

"If you are not yet dead, your children have died for you."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Jewish Morning Journal (Yiddish), February 2, 1945.

<sup>42</sup> "Uprooted," *ibid*, p. 123.

Certain measures, though quite insufficient, were undertaken to ensure the return of Jewish war orphans to a Jewish environment: In Holland an Order in Council of August 13, 1945 established a War Orphans Committee with whom the compulsory registration of all infants and war orphans had to be made by persons executing actual supervision over them.

In Belgium, in a concrete case, the Vice President of the Civil Court in Brussels ruled that Jewish war orphans should be returned by their present foster parents to their traditional Jewish environment.<sup>43</sup>

In France the Jewish Maquis succeeded both in collecting many Jewish children from non-Jewish homes and in passing them to Jewish institutions.

The Chief Rabbi of Palestine, Dr. I. Hertzog, took an extensive trip through Europe to obtain the orphans' transfers from non-Jewish homes to Jewish environments.

In Poland and Hungary the situation was much simpler. There Jewish war orphans were ransomed by reimbursement of the foster parents' expenses in rearing the children during the war, or upon payment of a reward which at times was excessive. Many hundreds were ransomed in this way, mainly by the Jewish religious communities.<sup>44</sup>

Finding a permanent home for these children was the crux of

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<sup>43</sup>Premiere Chambre No. 30537, September 24, 1945; Le Penple (Brussels), December 4, 1945.

<sup>44</sup>Jewish Morning Journal, October 13, 1945.



the matter. The psychological and educational aspects of the situation and the prospects for the children's future remained dark in the countries where the children had lived through so many horrors, and the death of their dearest ones.

Children and adults, broken in heart and body realized the depth of their tragedy when the most terrible war in history came to an end. They realized what the Heavens had decreed.

The following is one survivor's reaction:

God in His mercy accepted the sacrifice of the Bundist and the Zionist alike! The youngsters of the Hashomer Hatzair, like the yeshivah bochurim, lie under the same canopy. Where in the world will Jewish mothers rock their babes to sleep singing "Rozhinkes mit Mandlen" or "Toyre iz di beste skhoyre?" Jewish towns and villages--desolate and empty--with death hovering above--no voices of children learning by rote in the Kheder, no charming faces of Jewish girls looking through the windows.

All have been decimated by the murderer's sword--believers and secularists alike! Gone is Vilna. Warsaw has disappeared. Lublin has vanished--deserted streets, vacant houses of prayer and learning, devastated cemeteries.<sup>45</sup>

A nation of mourners cried in despair and bitterness. A feeling of guilt engulfed not only those who were outside of the war-

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<sup>45</sup>"Message of a Survivor," Shlomo Goldman, The Principal, Board of Jewish Education, New York. Vol. XXII, No. 8, April, 1977.

zone but also those who survived. On the part of the latter it was the death of the children that tormented their souls. This is reflected in the vast Khurban literature. The most stirring pages were those devoted to the martyrdom of the Jewish child.

The writer has selected three poems-dirges on the death of Jewish children written in four corners of the world to illustrate the universally shared feeling of despair of the House of Israel.<sup>46</sup> Based on Chaim Nachman Bialik's "Unter di Grininke Beymelekh,"<sup>47</sup> J. Papernikow writes a dirge, "Moyshe'lech Shloyme'lech."<sup>48</sup>

No longer do they play under the trees and in the bushes. Moyshe'lech and Shloime'lech, Sara-lach and Lea'lach, the sound of their laughter has been silenced. The House of Israel in Poland has lost its children. Only here and there do lonely children who survived still hide in holes, cowering, crazed by terror, with the fear of death in their eyes.

In Palestine Nathan Alterman, in a stirring poem, "From

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<sup>46</sup>The texts of the poems in Yiddish and Hebrew as well as the translations or transliterations are found in the appendix section, pp.

<sup>47</sup>Chaim Nachman Bialik, "Songs and Poems," I. J. Schwartz, \_\_\_\_\_ 1935, p. 140.

<sup>48</sup>Record published by World Federation of the Bergen-Belsen Associations.

all Peoples,"<sup>49</sup> cries out to Heaven:

When our children cried in the shadow  
of the gallows,  
We never heard the world's anger;  
For Thou didst choose us from all peoples,  
Thou didst love us and favor us.

And in New York a son of Warsaw, Aaron Zeitlin, the son of  
the saintly Hillel Zeitlin, who met his Maker in the Warsaw  
ghetto, quietly prays and whispers:<sup>50</sup>

Kopele, where is your little head?  
Where the spark of your eyes?  
Where is your little hand, Yentele?  
Your little foot, Feygle?  
Names--only they remained:  
Dvoytele--Dvoshele--Khayeles.  
Shmerele--Perele--Serele.  
Shimele--Shiyele--Shayeles.

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Translated by Simon Halkin in "A Treasury of Jewish Poetry,"  
ed. Nathan and Maryam Ausubel, New York, 1957. P. 157.

<sup>50</sup>Aaron Zeitlin, "A Kholem fun noch Maidanek," Part IV,  
in Lider fun Khurbn un Lider fun gloybn, Vol. 1, pp. 93-  
94. Copyright 1967 by Aaron Zeitlin and reprinted with  
his permission in Night Words, a Midrash on the Holocaust,  
compiled by David Raskies. B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation,  
Washington, D.C., 1971.

Dr. Mark Dworzecky, a son of Vilna--the "Yerushalayim of Lithuania"--who dedicated his life to the children of the ghetto, left us this most stirring summons, written in a Biblical verse:<sup>51</sup>

Remember Israel's Catastrophe;

And should you lead your child unto the bridal canopy,

Lift high the memory of Jewish children, who never will

be led unto it,

And for those whose souls no Kaddish will ever be said.

And let them be One! the perished and the living

he who was torn away and he who was spared;

he who departed, and that who remain.

The survivors--the Sheerit Hapletah<sup>51</sup> as it will be shown in Chapter II, represented a group of people between ages 20 and 45 almost completely without elders or children. The fate of the children during the dark night of the Nazi period and the struggle for their redemption after the war made them singly and collectively the most precious possession of the liberated Jews. While education has always occupied a high place among Jews, for its intrinsic values, it became a high priority among the Sheerit Hapletah.

The introduction, while concentrating on the fate of the past will help the reader to appreciate the role of education

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<sup>51</sup>See Footnote no. 14.

<sup>52</sup>Term denoting the surviving remnants of the Holocaust during the Second World War.

in the camps in the restoration of a new faith.

PART I

THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW JEWISH COMMUNITY

## I. THE SURVIVORS: THE SHE'ERIT HAPLETAH

At the end of World War II in the Spring of 1945 the majority of Jews under the Nazis were scattered throughout the territories of the defeated Third Reich. Some of them were liberated by the Russians advancing from the East, the others by the Americans and British advancing from the North and South. Among an estimated 10,422,000 non-German people then in Germany, exclusive of the Allied armies, there were only 75,000 Jews,<sup>1</sup> most of them inmates of concentration camps and a few thousand who emerged from hiding. Almost all of them, unlike other nationals and ethnics, felt that he or she was a last survivor, a remnant. Indeed, they were collectively and individually remnants of wiped out Jewish communities throughout Europe and surely the only survivors of their immediate or extended families. Of the 3.3 million Jews who once populated Poland (1937),<sup>2</sup> for example, only 7,000 were found there at the time of its liberation.

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<sup>1</sup>Malcolm J. Proudfoot, European Refugees, (New York: MacMillan, 1957) pp. 189, 306. He acknowledges that his is no more than an intelligent guess. The reader should bear in mind that this may be true of other statistical data as well.

<sup>2</sup>Algemeine Entziklopedie: Yidn, Association Simon Dubnow, Paris, 1939, p. 312.

This consciousness contributed immensely to the coinage of a collective name for all Jewish survivors, "Sheerit Hapletah" (Spared Remnant). While the international status of this collective body was officially to be known as DPs,<sup>3</sup> the Hebrew name expressed more accurately their self-perception and that of Jewish communities throughout the world. Many writers on the subject admit that among the many millions of DPs, Jews represented a unique group. Unlike others, they belonged to but one category: the Jews had been inmates of concentration camps and their ultimate destiny had been death. This was not true of some other elements. It ought to be remembered that the multitudes of other nationals belonged to various categories other than concentration camp inmates, for example, as slave laborers in private German enterprises. Some of them had volunteered to work in Germany, or had gone there as Volks-deutsche,<sup>4</sup> or as Nazi collaborators who retreated together with the German armies because they felt safer in Germany than in their original homes.

It was the policy of the victorious powers to repatriate

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<sup>3</sup>In November, 1943, the UNRRA (UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) coined the term "DP." It was to define "persons who had been forcibly removed by the Germans and their tools to localities other than their regular place of residence." (The Jewish Displaced Persons Problem, by Kurt R. Grossman, p. 10), New York World Jewish Congress, 1951.

<sup>4</sup>The term denotes people of conquered (occupied) territories who claimed German ancestry.



the majority, if not all of the liberated people, to their homelands as speedily as possible. Indeed, most of the non-Jews had a homeland. Most of them could return to their communities and families. But except for a few thousand Jews from the West who sought repatriation, the majority, East European Jews, knew that there was no country, no community and, most tragic of all, no family to return to. Unique even in this tragic chapter of Jewish history were the experiences of these lonely individuals when they were suddenly confronted with an unexpected liberation.<sup>5</sup> They sensed that nobody belonged to them and they to nobody. None of the other nationals would return to towns and villages completely emptied, or to homes occupied by strangers who would greet them with hostility, express bewilderment at their survival, and refuse to return their properties. The literature on the Holocaust is full of such recorded experiences. In most cases, the burned out synagogues and desecrated cemeteries bore the only testimony of a once existing Jewish community.

Mr. William Bein, JDC Director, Poland, addressing a staff meeting in Paris on February 28, 1948, stated: "Here when I look out of the window I see houses, trees, automobiles and people in the streets. When I look out of my window in Warsaw I see only ruins. I have become so

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<sup>5</sup>The writer was himself liberated by the Seventh American Army on April 30, 1945, in the vicinity of Munich.

accustomed to that sight in Poland that it would be unusual to see something else. Every Jew looking out of his mental window sees a graveyard, a cemetery, ruins."<sup>6</sup>

At this point it will be helpful to summarize for the reader the repatriation policies of the Allied armies in order to understand in how many ways the situation of the liberated Jews differed from that of all others. Ironically the Jews were affected by these policies the same was as some Nazi collaborators, though for different reasons.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), established in 1943, was to provide administrative, medical and welfare teams to work with the DPs. Under the agreements signed with SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces) UNRRA was to function only when "called forward" by the armies and be subject to military regulations. Political realities required the inclusion of categories such as "stateless," "refugee" and "persecutee" in the roster of those to be granted DP status. Of the above the first applied to many Jews and non-Jews, the second to people dislocated within the boundaries of ones own homeland. The third category was of crucial importance to German Jews who, having been persecuted by the Nazis for reasons of race, religion or political opinions, would not

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<sup>6</sup>AJDC Bulletin No. 24, Paris, March 8, 1948, pp. 209 (*italics S. G.*).

be regarded as enemies and thus be granted equal status with other DPs. A most significant clause in the agreement between SHAEF and UNRRA guaranteed the right of any one DP, except war criminals and Soviet citizens, not to be repatriated against his will. While the majority of the DPs were eager to return home and were expeditiously repatriated, others, either because of fear not to be prosecuted or for ideological reasons, refused to return. Paradoxically, Jews found themselves, among others, surrounded in DP camps by Ukrainians or Lithuanians who had murdered Jews in the ghettos and were fearful to return to Soviet occupied territories. Thus the status of DP provided equal protection to the Nazi collaborator and to his victim. For the liberated Jew this was an intolerable situation. The term DP had a different, unique meaning to the Jew. His refusal to return to the country of his origin was rooted in his unique Jewish experience as a Jew and not as a Pole, German or Czech. The immediate past experience of the Jewish survivors demanded solutions reflective of Jewish national aspirations. Even non-Zionists among them sensed that, and expected their liberators, the Allies, to grant them their wishes. On the local scene these yearnings contributed to the establishment of exclusive Jewish DP camps of which we shall speak in greater detail later.

This study is not intended as a history of the Sheerit Hapletah. It concerns itself with the educational system

which the Sheerit Hapletah established in Germany after liberation in 1945 and which continued during a period of five years in the DP camps and local communities.

In order to understand this unique phenomenon we must provide a few insights into the psyche of the liberated Nazi victims. Uprooted and lonely, emerging from the Nazi hell where human life had no value, the victims should have been devoid of any sense of tragedy (reducing human beings to this level of "existence" was the Nazis' goal). Moreover, the absence of a social structure would probably have justified their turning to violence and lawlessness, at least at the time of liberation. It is to the credit of the survivors that they were instead obsessed by a fierce desire to build all over again and "to tell their story." Underlying these desires must have been a conviction which affirms life, and a deeply rooted faith that the world would want to know what had happened inside the German Reich during the War. Each survivor felt that there was a purpose to his survival extending far beyond one's own physical existence. Whether this was to "tell the story," to perpetuate one's family, community or an entire people, varied with each individual. Perhaps it was all of the above plus a belief that the Allies would punish the Germans and establish a new order. But regardless of the motive, there was a sense of mission to survive, and it was shared by all.

In his introduction to The Jewish DP Problem, Kurt R. Grossman's book, Abraham S. Hyman, Major, Office of

Advisor on Jewish Affairs to the Commander in Chief of United States Forces in Germany, writing about the Sheerit Hapletah states: "It is the story of unparalleled courage, the will to live, which this remnant of European Jewry displayed." The "never again" philosophy which characterizes the Jewish individual and collective, conscious and unconscious behavior all over the world nowadays, originated in the ghettos and among the Partisans and was the leitmotif of the Sheerit Hapletah. The national goal gave meaning to the life of the individual survivor. Without that goal life would have been meaningless and an unbearable burden.<sup>7</sup> This, then, evolved as a rationale for existence out of which the educational philosophy developed. It evolved into an educational system built on the ashes of destruction under the most severe physical and psychological conditions. There were no trained teachers and no textbooks, while the students spoke half a dozen different languages. All this, compounded by the absence of a cultural milieu or parental guidance, was, in the world of Major Hyman, part of that "unparalleled courage" demonstrated by the Sheerit Hapletah.

It became a Zionist, future-oriented education. Slogans like "Speak Yiddish, Learn Hebrew,"<sup>8</sup> "Jews, do not

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<sup>7</sup>See Victor Frankl, Man's Search for Meaning, New York 1963, p. xiii.

<sup>8</sup>"Unzer Weg," No. 16, Organ of the Sheerit Hapletah.

flirt with foreign languages, foreigners also flirt very little with you" were to remind the liberated Jew that his was to be a life dedicated to the future of Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel). The story of the role of the Sheerit Hapletah in the struggle for Israel's independence, prior to and after the establishment of Israel, belongs elsewhere. The education of the young and adult segments of the community in transition was to prepare themselves for the future task, while it rejected the notion of recreating or rebuilding the past. Nevertheless, it was rooted in the Jewish experience of the immediate past. An enlightened American Jew, though very close to the scene and sympathetic to the DPs, made the following comment about the education of the young: "It is especially depressing to see young boys and girls of 8-12, 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."<sup>9</sup>

The study of the educational system of this distinct group of people will reveal that its vitality was indeed derived from "the emotional reliving of the past." Without it there was not much sense in a future. The United States Government in Washington and its army in Germany

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<sup>9</sup>Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. IX, 1947, p. 109.

sensed the distinctiveness of this new community by setting up DP camps and centers for Jews only, regardless of their country of origin, and by treating them with special care.<sup>10</sup> These Jews could not have regained their humanity and their sense of dignity in any other way than by organizing their own internal social structure.

We shall now turn our attention to the development of the organizational structure of the Sheerit Hapletah. The educational system here, like those elsewhere, reflected the interplay of ideological and socio-economic conditions of the group. In this study, it will be shown that the ideological and political factors among the She'erit Hapletah outweighed all others. As it was true of Jewish communities in the past so it was necessary now to establish an organizational framework which would provide for the special Jewish needs for the remnants of the Holocaust. Basically, these needs differed from all others. No Polish or Lithuanian DP had to worry whether his community or family suffered total destruction. His people, even under Soviet domination, continued its national existence and his family and community likewise continued living, even if under

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<sup>10</sup>See the Harrison report to President Truman which appeared in the Department of State Bulletin 13, September 30, 1945 and in the New York Times of the same date. Also, the Ben Gurion memorandum to Generals Smith and Eisenhower, October 25 in which he suggested the establishment of a "Jewish enclave" in Germany with "autonomy" and to be treated as a nationality. Yehuda Bauer, Flight and Rescue: Brichah. New York, 1970, Random House, 370 pp.

somewhat different conditions.

The liberated Jew after having succeeded to save his "naked existence" was engulfed in total despair. The horrendous crimes committed against him by the Nazis and hopeless, intolerable circumstances of his existence after liberation, often again behind barbed wires and in concentration camp barracks, evoked resentment and bitterness. The free world and Jewish communities abroad had to hear his cry. He could not dwell with those whom he suspected of complicity with the Nazis. He emerged from the Holocaust as a Jew and had the need for a total Jewish environment.

In the history of the She'erit Hapletah (U. S. Zone) three places are of special significance. They are Landsberg, Feldafing and St. Ottilien. They emerged as exclusively Jewish DP camps and gave rise to an autonomous community structure for the entire U. S. Zone in Germany, legally recognized by the U. S. Army. It is also in place just to mention the role of the famous Bergen-Belsen camp in the British Zone which played a similar role.

Landsberg and its vicinity was the site of many camps which were branches of Dachau. The retreating German army evacuated the camps. Many of the inmates, exhausted, died on these marches or were shot by the SS. When the Americans finally liberated them at the end of April 1945, eight thousand inmates, among them Russians, Poles, French and Jews, returned to Landsberg and its vicinity.



A former concentration camp inmate, B. Viduchinsky, who was liberated by the Americans on April 28, 1945, tells the following about the emergence of Landsberg as a DP Center.<sup>11</sup>

"Liberated concentration camp inmates of various national origins roamed around the town without permanent living quarters. The U. S. field army decided on May 1st to establish the Landsberg camp as a DP Center.

"The first commander of the city had ordered to ingather the scattered inmates from Landsberg and its outskirts and provide them all, regardless of national origin, with living quarters in the camp barracks.

"The barracks were very dirty. In the rooms one could find remnants of uniforms, ammunition, utensils and broken furniture. The first DP arrivals had to sleep on the floor using rags as pillows and blankets.

"The camp housed many nationals: Jews, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Frenchmen, Ukrainians, Italians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Dutch, Belgians as well as Germans. Their number reached between 7,000-8,000 men and women (there were no children in sight). Many were sick, mostly stricken by typhus. There was no hospital in the camp. The two doctors, Nabriski and Akabas, not having any instruments or supplies, had with bare hands

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<sup>11</sup>Landsberger Biuletin, No. 3, May 1947 (translation by Solomon Goldman).

converted a few rooms into an infirmary. They separated the sick from the well.

"The camp was guarded by the military and was administered by a military commandant. Each national group had its representative and all of them would be called daily to receive instructions on how to improve the camp conditions. A camp militia was also organized to maintain order.

"In the main warehouse the Wehrmacht had left behind provisions such as rice, canned meat and peas. This constituted the diet fed to the inmates who would line up daily in front of the kitchens.

"There was also a scarcity of water in camp. A special pump in town provided the camp with limited quantities of water at certain designated times. The water was pumped through leather pipes.

"May the 6th, Captain Cole of the United States 100th Division was appointed Camp Commander, a post he held for six weeks. His men guarded the camp. Nobody could leave it without a special permit. The DPs used all kinds of excuses to obtain a permit, such as going for a hair-cut or seeking a tailor.

"The looks of the DPs and their physical condition were terrible. The Jews attracted special attention, as many among them could hardly walk and had to be assisted by their stronger colleagues.

"No clothing was available. The majority had to wear German uniforms. During Captain Cole's administration the

emphasis was put on sanitation and health.

"When Captain Cole was transferred to Mannheim, two commanders from Nuremberg were appointed in his place, Lts. Friedland and Dr. Stimardt. Both of them energetically undertook the task of improving the living conditions of the inhabitants. They gave special attention to the Jewish inmates and it is thanks to their intervention with the higher authorities that Landsberg was declared a Jewish camp."

The camp was later administered by UNRRA under the directorship of Mr. Credos and his staff. Four and a half thousand Jews remained there, later augmented by new arrivals, reaching at one time the number of 6,000 people.

Among the inhabitants of the camp were people who had experience as community leaders; among them Dr. Samuel Gringaus, Dr. Nabriski, Engineer Jacob Olieski, who later became leaders of the Sheerit Hapleta. Major Irving Heymont, a Christian young man from New York, who understood the needs of these people granted them administrative autonomy during his administration of the camp. In September of 1945 the inhabitants were gathered at a public mass meeting for the purpose of preparing for the election of their leaders. Landsberg thus became the first Jewish community in the United States Zone of Germany which elected its own representatives. It became a model of Jewish autonomous administration of camps and communities in towns and cities throughout the three military zones. This democratization eliminated self appointed "leaders"

who often reminded them of concentration camp regimes. From now on democratically elected leaders representing the entire spectrum of Jewish political, cultural and religious life, were to conduct their affairs locally and speak on their behalf to both U. S. Military or civil German authorities.

Feldafing, like Landsberg, was a former German military camp. In the latter part of May army trucks assembled all former concentration camp inmates in the vicinity and brought them there. As mentioned before, the writer was among the first arrivals in the camp. At first the inmates were cared for by the German hospital staff. The Commander of the camp, Lt. Irving Smith, a Jew, was very much in accord with the idea of making it a Jewish camp since most of the people were Jews. The writer had a personal knowledge of Lt. Smith because he worked for a while in the camp office. In August he joined a group of friends on the way to Poland in search of possible survivors of his family. Smith was a good administrator and contributed much towards the restoration of the health and well being of the camp inmates.

St. Ottilien, a Benedictine monastery used by the Nazis as a military hospital, became in time, a hospital for the many suffering Jewish DPs in Bavaria. The story of St. Ottilien is connected with the names of two individuals who later played a major role in the lives of the She'erit Hapleta. Both were Jews. One of them, Dr. Zalman Grunberg,

himself a Nazi victim, and the other a young Reform Rabbi, Abraham J. Klausner, a chaplain in the United States Army. Both of them had transported sick Jewish DPs to St. Ottilien at the time of liberation. Soon the predominant number of patients were Jews. With the help of Rabbi Klausner and other American officers, St. Ottilien became the first hospital for Jewish DPs. Dr. Grunberg, a Jew from Kovno, Lithuania, became the leader of the group. Not only did he care for the sick but started to organize cultural events for all inhabitants, 400 of them, patients and staff. Among them were members of the Kovno ghetto orchestra, liberated together with Dr. Grunberg. It was there in May of 1945 that the first Jewish organized activity took place. It took the form of a gala concert to mark their liberation.<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned before, 30,000 Jews from Western countries had returned to their countries of origin. From the very beginning, however, the Jewish DPs from Eastern Europe and the Baltic lands refused repatriation. An order on July 10th by General George S. Patton, Jr., Commander of the Third Army, to transfer all liberated persons from the Flakkasserne in Munich to repatriation centers near the Russian zone, resulted in an unauthorized dispersal of the people. Most of them found accommodations in Feldafing,

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<sup>12</sup>This event is movingly described in The Redeemers by Leo W. Schwartz (see bibliography, pp. 3-9/

Landsberg and other "Jewish" centers. A similar order on July 11th to evacuate all DPs from Camp Buchberg brought resistance on the part of the Jews.

These incidents coincided with several internal developments all of which contributed to the consolidation of the organizational structure of the Sheerit Hapleta. On June 20th 1945 a small group of soldiers of the Jewish Brigade of Palestine, serving as part of the 8th British Army, arrived at the Flakkasserne in Munich. This was an emotional experience. The delegation brought to the attention of the eager listeners the existence of an Aliyah Center in Italy which would organize their emigration to Eretz Israel. It was there and then decided to call an assembly at the Flakkasserne of representatives of camps and communities from Bavaria. On June 24th a festive gathering took place where the need for a representative body was raised and decided upon. Organizing the Zionist oriented DPs was another task that had to be speedily accomplished.

On July 1, 1945 Feldafing hosted the first larger assembly of the Sheerit Hapleta in Bavaria. Over forty delegates participated in addition to representatives of the Jewish Brigade, chaplains of the U. S. Army (Rabbi Klausner among them) and guests. The Feldafing assembly adopted a constitution consisting of thirteen paragraphs of one sentence each. The Federation would have as its principle purpose the protection of the survivors in the

American Zone of Occupation and representation of the people vis-a-vis military and civilian authorities, including Jewish relief and political agencies in Palestine and the United States. "The policy making body would be a Rat, that is a Council of 21 men elected at the conference, which in turn would choose a permanent Executive Committee of five."

The conference gave an unmistakable expression of the Sheerit Hapletah's feelings and yearnings. Dr. Zalman Grunberg, the principal speaker, emotionally declared: "We have been robbed of family and fortune, but not of fortitude. The landmarks of a thousand years have disappeared. New ones must be built alongside those of the pioneers who preceded us on our own soil. This and no less must be the goal of the representative body which we have assembled to organize."

"You are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh" responded Major Kaspi of the Brigade. "Our families are overjoyed to know that you have survived, and are waiting to welcome you with open and loving arms." He concluded, "Unite! Be organized and disciplined!"

Grunberg was elected chairman of the Executive Committee.

It was clear from the very beginning that the future of the Sheerit Hapletah and the YISHUV<sup>13</sup> would from now on

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<sup>13</sup>A term used in reference to the Jewish Community in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State of Israel.

be linked together in a common struggle.

The major difficulties hampering the functions of the new organization were lack of official recognition by the military authorities, no communication among camps and communities. It had nevertheless established its headquarters in the bombed out Deutches Museum in Munich and organized its departments. The thwarted actions of the above mentioned attempts by the Third Army to liquidate camp Buchberg and Flakkasserne strengthened the role of the Central Committee.

The Committee had not yet succeeded in establishing its authority internally i.e., vis-a-vis communities, camps and the authorities.

A number of developments on the international scene required the Federation's actions or evidence of its readiness to act. a new Labor government, friendly to Jews came to power in England. President Truman's envoy, Earl G. Harrison,<sup>14</sup> implied that there was sympathy in Washington for the aims of the liberated Jews and in London a meeting was pending between the Zionist Executive and the UNRRA Commission.

It was especially the scorn of two Brigade officers

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<sup>14</sup>We have mentioned the Harrison report before (note 10). Because of its importance it is reproduced and included in the Appendix section.



that "the Federation had not yet sent out deputations to arouse world opinion" that the need for wider political action by the Sheerit Hapletah had to be speedily undertaken. Under these circumstances a third conference was convened on July 25, this time in St. Ottilien. It was by far the biggest and most successful. Ninety-four delegates from all over Germany and Austria participated. It reaffirmed the political stance of the She'erit Hapleta vis-a-vis the world. The fourteen points of St. Ottilien program included the following mandates or demands:

- Liberated youth should be incorporated in the  
Fighting Brigade;
- Existence as a nation be demonstrated by use of the  
Zionist Banner;
- Collection of Historical Documents and their transfer  
to Palestine;
- Full compensation for Loss of Life and Property by  
Germans;
- Representation at International Tribunal for War  
Criminals;
- Teachers to be brought from Palestine to aid Restora-  
tion of cultural life;
- Immediate organization of search service to unite  
separated families;
- Discontinuance of military regime in camps and  
granting of autonomy;

For purposes of our study it will suffice to conclude this chapter by mentioning the fact that General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of SHAEF, in recognition of the special status of the Jewish DPs, paid a visit to Feldafing on Yom Kippur of 1945, observed for the first time in six long years (Tuesday, September 17). There in the synagogue he replied to the enthusiastic greetings of the crowds:

"I am especially happy to be in a Jewish camp on the holiest day of your year. For the time being you are here and you must be patient until the day comes when you can leave for whatever destination is yours. The United States Army is here to help you. And it must rest with you to maintain good order and friendly relations with the established authorities. I know how much you have suffered and I believe there is still a bright day ahead for you."

Eisenhower's visit helped improve the lot of the DPs. Their daily rations were raised from 2,000 to 2,500 calories. On September 20 he ordered more living quarters be provided to eliminate the overcrowded conditions. He also came to the conclusion that the Army was not psychologically capable of dealing with the intricate problems of the DPs. He saw to it that civil authorities and agencies do the job.

After his appointment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in November of 1945 General McNarney and Clay continued his policies with regard to the Jews.

More than fourteen months after the first assembly of the Committee in Feldafing, on the morning of September 7, General McNarney, surrounded by Generals Huebner, Mickelsen and White, and Advisor Bernstein, received the representation of committeemen in the great War Room of the Frankfort headquarters. In this spacious hall whose somber mahogany and hangings betokened power and authority, the commanders of the most powerful nation on earth shook hands with the leaders of the Sheerith Hapletah.

McNarney spoke briefly, with evident candor: "Since the defeat of the Germans and the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the United States Army has accomplished much in behalf of persecuted Jews. It is now permitting the entry of refugees, supplying them with food, dwellings and clothing. Today the Army is recognizing the free, democratic representation of liberated Jews in the American Zone for the purpose of helping the Army fulfill its tasks, to advise the Army and make suggestions to improve conditions and to elevate the moral and cultural status of the people.<sup>15</sup> We must never forget, however, that the Army has many other obligations in Germany. A primary task is the maintenance of law and order.

"Many of your people have come to the American Zone and many must remain longer than we or you would wish. Those who chose to live outside the camps must live among Germans and strict supervision must be kept to prevent incidents and clashes. There is a legal way to settle all disputes, and that is through the United States Military Government. Whether or not our laws meet your approval, as long as you are here they must be obeyed. The Army will do all it can, and is prepared, whenever possible, to confer with the Central Committee and improve these laws.

"The Army will also help materially, as it has in the past. In the matter of rations and clothing, Jews have priority over the Germans. But we must remember that we are living in a postwar era of shortages, and aid must be distributed all over the world. In addition, because of political commitments, the American Zone must now receive millions of racial Germans from the East. America, wealthy as it is, cannot provide for all. It is my earnest wish that by extending the

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<sup>15</sup>Italics S. G.

Army's recognition to the Central Committee, greater mutual aid and understanding will result in the attainment of the maximum that present political and economic conditions will permit."

Gringauz answered for the delegation. He stated that the Committee had also been deeply concerned with the problem of employment, and called upon Retter to present the substance of a work program that the Committee experts had prepared. Retter underscored the intense desire of the people for employment and the equally intense resistance to working in and thus aiding the reconstruction of the German economy. The plan envisioned the employment of 36,000 persons in agriculture, trades and industry, all geared to supply the Army, UNRRA and the people themselves. To succeed, however, raw materials, factory equipment and compensation in real money were necessary. McNarney replied that the fuel and equipment supplies were on the scarcity list, but he would submit the plan to the Army economic experts for study.

Then, precisely at twelve o'clock, Gringauz handed General Heubner's letter of recognition, signed on behalf of the Committee by Retter and Ratner, to McNarney. He in turn signed the letter and, having returned it to Gringauz, invited the committeemen to join him for lunch.

When the simple but moving ceremony was over, there were no multitudes to celebrate the triumph of the recognition. The committeemen returned to Munich alone, elated and conscious of the import of their act. The Committee was now a free, legal institution. A major victory in the long battle for self-rule had been won. What the world still refused to grant in Palestine, they felt they had gained on the incarnadined soil of Germany.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly, long before the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany was officially recognized by the Military Government, the local camp committees and the Central Committee itself were entrusted with the organization of education and cultural activities. The roles of Jewish

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<sup>16</sup>The Redeemers, ibid., pp. 155-156.

chaplains in the Allied Armies, the AJDC and the Jewish Agency for Palestine were crucial.

Rehabilitation, productivization were the concern of thoughtful people emerging as spokesmen for the DPs. Thus the scene was set for the education of the DPs to meet the challenges of the outside world.

While our concern in this study is education, it is well to remember that the formal structure of education was but one of the processes of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Generally speaking, the five year period 1945-1950 may be divided into four phases:

1945-46: physical recovery and frantic search for families;

1946-47: influx from the East and crystallization of the DP pattern of life;

1947-48: stabilization of numbers and hope for an early end to homelessness;

1948-50: mass movement.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Kurt R. Grossman, *The Jewish DP Problem*, *ibid.*, p. 11.

II. THE DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH DISPLACED  
PERSONS IN GERMANY AND SCHOOLS

In the second half of 1945, there were, according to one source, 68,469 Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany, 10,097 in Austria, and 12,000 in Italy, and total of 90,566 people. In Germany, 54,419 resided in the American Zone, 12,550 in the British Zone and 1,500 in the French Zone.<sup>1</sup> (Actually, about 40% of the Jewish population in Germany had straggled in from Eastern Europe after the liberation.)

In May 1945 the U. S. Army opened the gates of the Concentration camps for 30,000 Jews in the U. S. Zone. In September 1946, sixteen months after liberation 138,-51 Jews --more than four times as many--were being maintained by the United States Army in the camps and communities of the United States Zone.

Total Population Figures

Jewish population on April 30, 1946	64,519
" " " May 31, 1946	67,691
" " " June 30, 1946	75,517
" " " July 31, 1946	91,410
" " " August 31, 1946	115,898

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<sup>1</sup>Kurt R. Grossman, The Jewish DP Problem (New York: World Jewish Congress, 1951), p. 11.

Jewish Population on September 31, 1946 138,551<sup>2</sup>

From July 1, 1946, to September 30 the Jewish population increased by 63,034 persons.

As of April 30, 1947, the number of Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany, Austria and Italy was estimated at 176,234; by August 31, 1947--16,424; by the end of 1947--160,090, and only 135, 527 by May 1948 (see Table I).<sup>3</sup> This decline was a result of emigration to Palestine and other countries.

Most of the Jewish Displaced Persons lived in camps. However, according to one source, as of May 31, 1948, 32,500 Jewish Displaced Persons in the three countries, lived outside the camps; of them 25,400 lived in Germany (see Table II).<sup>4</sup>

As of January 1, 1948, there were a total of 1,057 Jews in the French Zone of Germany. In addition, 1,360 Jews lived in the Russian Zone of Germany, distributed as follows: Brandenburg--44; Chemnitz--78; Dresden--184; Halle/s--81; Leipzig--359; Magdeburg--188; Schwerin--109; Thuringen --317.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>AJDC (Activity in the U. S. Zone of Occupation in Germany from July to September 1946, p. 2, (YIVO, 52)

<sup>3</sup>Grossman, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>AJDC Paris Bulletin, No. 24, March 8, 1948, p. 213, (YIVO, 158).

By December 1949, only 29,835 Jewish Displaced Persons remained in Germany: 27,535 in the American Zone; 2,000 in the British and 300 in the French Zone. According to a report of July 13, 1959, only 26,421 of them remained in all three zones of Germany. Of these 11,865 resided in camps and 14,556 in cities. By November 1950, the number of Jewish Displaced Persons fell to about 20,000 and by January 1951 only three Jewish DP camps remained in Germany: Foehrenwald with 3,487 individuals; Feldafing with 2,190 and Lechfeld with 1,332. Another 8,000 Jews remained in various cities. and about 600 sick Jews in hospitals.<sup>6</sup> Finally, only one Jewish DP camp--Foehrenwald--remained in Germany. In April 1952, 1,925 people resided there (860 men, 599 women and 466 children); in the beginning of 1954, 1,700 Jews; and by August 1955, about 1,350. The camp, which was then under German jurisdiction, was closed in March 1957.<sup>7</sup>

What was the percentage of children of school age among the Jewish Displaced Persons? According to a survey of November 1945, there were no children under the age of 6 among Jewish survivors in the American Zone and only 3% of those included in the survey were in the age range of 6

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<sup>6</sup>YIVO, 158.

<sup>7</sup>Joseph Gar, "Bafrayte Yidn" (Liberated Jews) Fun Noentn Ovar (Out of the Recent Past), (New York 1959), Vol. IV.



to 17.<sup>8</sup> On December 28, 1945, UNRRA published the first statistics on the Jewish population, based on the JDC report. According to the report, there were then 1.7% children under 6; 2.9% children from 6 to 14; the rest (96.1%) was composed of children over 14 years of age, and adults.<sup>9</sup> The first screening of about 30,300 Jews carried out by the AJDC, in the American Zone in February 1946, showed the following:

Children under 5 . . . . .	1.15%
From 5 to 16 . . . . .	7.28%
Ages 17 and 18 . . . . .	7.05%
Adults, over 18. . . . .	.84.52% <sup>10</sup>

The UNRRA estimated the total Jewish population at the end of March 1946 in the United States, British and French Zones, including Berlin, at 90,964, of whom 53,301 lived in UNRRA centers and 37,663 outside such centers.<sup>11</sup> On March 3, 1946, the AJDC made available the following statistical data based on an investigation of 22,500, out of a total of 40,000 persons who lived in Jewish DP camps at the end of January 1946. Of them, 7,240 were children of

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<sup>8</sup>G. H. Muentz, AJDC Statistical Office to Dr. Philip Friedman, Educational Consultant, re: number of Jewish children in the U. S. Zone (YIVO, 163).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Report on visit to Germany, January 6 to April 8, 1946 by H. Viteles, AJDC, May 11, 1946. (Photostatic copy.) (YIVO, 55.)

of 18 years or younger, of whom 6,240 lived in camps and 1,000 outside camps; 530 were 6 years or younger; 1,970 --7 to 14 years old; 4,780--15 to 18 years old. New data, of September 1946, showed the presence of 9,300 (10,8%) of the 115,898 Jews living in the American Zone as being of school age. By October 1946, new statistics showed the presence of 24,650 (17.5%) children of school age.<sup>12</sup> An AJDC survey estimated the number of Jewish DPs as of early April 1946 to be only 76,818, 14,146 less than the UNRRA estimate. For our purpose, the age of the Jewish DPs is of primary importance. According to a survey conducted in February of 1946 among 65,731 registered Jews in the American and British Zones and in Berlin, 2,800 (4%) were 14 years old or younger and 5,189 (8%) were in the 14 to 18 year old age group (see Table III).<sup>13</sup>

At first, in 1945, there was only a small number of children. Few children came out alive from the concentration camps. Children did not fit into the slave labor program of the Nazis and they were therefore sent systematically to death camps for extermination. Most of the children started to arrive at the DP camps a little later. They came from hiding places and with refugee families from Soviet Russia. Their number grew constantly, as can be

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<sup>12</sup>YIVO, 163.

<sup>13</sup>YIVO, 55, IIIC.

seen from the monthly statistics for 1946. Furthermore, the birthrate among the Jewish DPs was high. According to a report of November 9, 1946, between 600 and 700 babies were born monthly in the American Zone and the number of marriages was on the increase.

As of January 29, 1947, there were 4,557 Jews at the Foehrenwald camp. Among them were 306 babies of one year or younger, 257 nursing mothers and 147 pregnant women.<sup>14</sup> One American Jewish chaplain noted that many Jewish DPs were "feverishly trying to rebuild families which they had lost, to bring children into the world to take the place of those children who had been killed; to love and to be loved." At one time during 1948 there were 15,238 Jewish DPs in the Regensburg region; 8,936 men and 6,302 women. Of the women, 1,046 were pregnant and 900 with infants. Out of 438 newly registered babies, 109 were born in Germany since the end of hostilities.<sup>15</sup> This created a tremendous demand for infants' supplies, including special foods.<sup>16</sup> However, in view of the tendency to emigrate as soon as possible, the high birthrate did not affect the

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<sup>14</sup> YIVO, 163.

<sup>15</sup> Statistical Analysis of the Regensburg Region (YIVO, 1384).

<sup>16</sup> Memorandum by delegation of the Central Committee visiting the U. S., January 28, 1947 to Mr. Edward M. M. Warburg, Chairman, AJDC, p. 3, (YIVO, 20).

schools. In January 1946, there were in the American Zone of Germany, 120 children from one to five years of age; in December 1946, 4,431. The number of children between six and nine years rose from 380 to 4,355, and the number of children between 10 and 17 years rose from 770 to 8,839 (see Table IV).<sup>17</sup>

According to a survey conducted in April 1946, among 63,236 out of 63,640 Jews in the United States and British Zones of Germany, and all sectors of Berlin, 674 were 4 years old or younger; 772 between 5 and 9 years old; 6,338 between 10 and 14; 1,490 between 15 and 16, and 3,501 between 17 and 18. Thus, less than 5% of the Jewish population was in need of a kindergarten, elementary or secondary education.<sup>18</sup>

By January 1947, there were about 170,000 Jews in the United States Zones of Germany (including Berlin and the Bremen region). The age distribution of 29,962 children was registered as follows: 12,989 of pre-school age (5 years or younger); 16,973 of elementary and secondary school age (from 6 to 17 years inclusive). Most of the 29,962 children (except those in Berlin and Bremen) 21,505 lived in DP camps; 2,784 in children's centers; 423 in hospitals and sanatoria; 334 at hachsharoth;<sup>19</sup> and 2,937 in communities

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<sup>17</sup> YIVO, 63.

<sup>18</sup> YIVO, 55.

<sup>19</sup> Hachsharah (-roth, pl.)--an ideological group forming a Kibbutz-type way of life as a preparation for that type of life in Palestine.

outside the camps (see Table V).<sup>20</sup>

As of June 30, 1947, there were in the United States Zone of Germany 15,694 children of school age. Of them, 8,020 were between 6 and 13, and 7,674 between 14 and 17 years of age.<sup>21</sup>

However, those statistics were not always reliable. Thus, 23,600 children between the ages of 1 and 17 were registered according to AJDC statistics of November 1, 1946. In reality, there were 15,000 more children of school age in the American Zone. However, the school statistics of the Kulturamt of the Central Committee showed that only about 10,000 of these 15,000 were registered students. What happened to the remaining 33%? A part of them actually did not attend any school; they were a group between 14 and 17 years of age residing in places where there were only elementary schools with 3 to 4 grades. In other places the Jewish population was too small to have an organized school.<sup>22</sup> In spite of the high birthrate among DPs noted above, the percentage of children was below the normal age distribution. In 1939, for example, 29.6% of Jews in Poland were children up to 14 years of age. In 1948, the

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<sup>20</sup>AJDC Statistical Office, Munich, (YIVO, 54).

<sup>21</sup>AJDC Statistical Office--U. S. Zone in Germany, Munich, June 30, 1947, (YIVO, 453).

<sup>22</sup>Dr. Friedman to Leo Schwartz, Report on November 1946, (YIVO, 28/001684).

majority of the Jewish DP population was still middle-aged. Those between 18 and 45 years of age constituted 62.7% of the total number. The Jewish population had only a small proportion of older people. Age groups over 70 were virtually non-existent since the elderly had been "liquidated" by the Germans quickly because of their uselessness.

Thus the number of Jewish children of school age was very small. The age group 6 to 13 amounted to only 5.6%. The number of men in the marriageable age group between 18 and 45 exceeded that of women by more than 9,000. However, the urge of the Jewish DPs to reconstitute family life and to replace the children who had perished at the hands of the Germans, manifested itself in the extraordinarily high birth rate which prevailed among the Jewish DPs. At a rough estimate, the birth rate in the first half of 1946 was higher than that of any other country or any other population. But there was a downward trend thereafter and in 1948 the birth rate was 31.9 per thousand of the Jewish population.<sup>23</sup>

As already noted above, there were no children of school age among the Jewish survivors of concentration camps in the first weeks after the liberation. Children came later, either alone or with families of survivors from

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<sup>23</sup>Kurt R. Grossman, op. cit., p. 19.

Eastern Europe.

Since the end of the war, there had been a movement of Jews into the American and British Zones of Germany and Austria. Up to December 31, 1945, it was estimated that more than 30,000 Jews had come from Poland alone. From April to November 1946, another 98,000 persons came from Poland, the majority of whom had previously been in Soviet Russia, where they had fled in 1939-1940 from the western provinces of Poland overrun by the Germans. In 1946, Russia permitted the repatriation of Polish nationals. A total of 150,000 to 160,000 of an estimated 180,000 to 200,000 Polish Jews who were in Russia returned. Most of those repatriates did not want to stay in Poland because of pogroms and for a number of psychological reasons. They left the country and came to the United States occupation Zones of Germany and Austria in the hope that their stay there would be only temporary and that they would soon be able to leave for Palestine or any other country of their choice. The movement from Rumania and Hungary commenced at the end of 1945. This postwar infiltration resulted in the U. S. Army directive of April 2, 1947, for the closing of all DP camps to those who entered the zones of occupation after that date. After the fall of the Benes government in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, some 1,100 Jews entered the U. S. Zone of Germany from that country. There was also a large influx, especially in the first part of 1948, from Hungary,

it was impelled by political and economic developments and by the desire to reach Israel. Hungarian Jews sought to reach the U. S. Zone of Germany by way of Czechoslovakia, but adverse measures taken by the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Governments slowed down this movement considerably. It is estimated that between four and five thousand reached the U. S. Zone of either Germany or Austria.<sup>24</sup>

Because of the influx, the Jewish DP population in the U. S. Zone increased steadily from 64,519 on April 30, 1946, to 133,551 by September 30th of the same year. This steady immigration did not merely increase the population but also changed its composition. The first group of Jews, 15,000 ex-inmates of concentration camps who remained in Germany after the liberation, consisted primarily of young people between the ages of seventeen and thirty, the majority of whom were male. A typical composition of this group was given in the statistics of the Displaced Persons camp of Feldafing,<sup>25</sup> which listed only 2.8% as 16 years or younger (Table VI). Among a group of arrivals at Cham on August 20, 1946, 6% were younger than one year, 15.9% from 1 to 16 years, and 78.1% over 16 years.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-16.

<sup>25</sup> The writer was one of the very first group of liberated concentration camp inmates gathered by the U. S. Army and brought to Feldafing in May of 1945.

<sup>26</sup> AJDC Report, July-September 1946, p. 4 (YIVO, 52).



According to a report of Eschwege, between the 12th and 19th of June 1946, 1,000 people came to Eschwege, among them 300 children. Most of the people came from Russia, almost without any clothes or luggage. Of these, 200 were children, who came with them and their health and clothing situation was very serious. They were pale and thin. The personnel were not qualified and were unable to take care of them. However, 70 children did come with an excellent doctor and as a well-organized group.<sup>27</sup>

The constant migration--infiltration to and a desire to emigrate from Germany as soon as possible to Palestine or other countries--created difficulties for the educational system. An AJDC study of June 30, 1946, reported on the fluctuating relationship between these stragglers and education. In the early days, the requirements of camps and communities for educational facilities for children was not too extensive because of the relatively few children to be found. In comparison, the number arriving in the zone later was large and it was not unusual to find as many as 20% children in a transport. New camps, then, required among their primary needs more educational materials and further assistance in planning educational programs. New camps were established at Bad Reichenhall and at Windsheim.

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<sup>27</sup>AJDC, UNRRA Team 522, Eschwege, May 31, 1946, (YIVO, 23/000384).

Large quantities of materials were sent to them for use in schools, libraries and reading rooms. Fortunately, there were enough supplies in the AJDC warehouse to fill essential needs, but at the rate of withdrawal supplies were soon exhausted. More nearby centers were planned, and provisions were made for those also.<sup>28</sup>

In January 1948, the AJDC reported that inherent in the steady exodus from the American Zone through emigration was the disintegration of the social structure, and that this presented new problems with which it had to cope. Maintenance of the educational program was most difficult with the numbers of qualified teachers steadily being reduced. The schools had shown a decrease of 20% as the result of the successful emigration program. This created a serious problem for those children who, not to emigrate for months, would not have the opportunity of attending schools either because of the decline in the number of teachers or because of the small number of students that did not warrant the maintenance of separate classes. In several instances where communities and camps were located near one another, JDC tried to consolidate the schools. However, since this plan obviously could work only in a very limited way, the Board of Education evolved a plan whereby a regional school for all the children between the ages of 13 and 15 was maintained

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

at Struth. In this way, the remaining qualified teachers in the zone were most effectively utilized and educational opportunities were made available for all children of this age group. The children received four months of intensive schooling with a normal curriculum for that age as well as vocational training.<sup>29</sup>

By October 1, 1946, there were ten children's centers in the American Zone with a capacity to house 6,355 children. However, because of emigration and other changes, these facilities were occupied by only 2,932 children and 743 adults (see Table VII).<sup>30</sup>

One JDC worker wrote from the British Zone: "There is not much point in getting too involved in a real educational program because of the transient nature of the camp--particularly children."<sup>31</sup>

It is worthwhile to compare the age distribution of Jewish Displaced Persons in various other countries. According to an analysis of 22,374 Jewish DPs (out of a total of 26,784 registered) in July 1945 in Germany and Austria, 3.6% were 15 years old or younger and 21.7% belonged to the 16 to 20 years age group. In Italy the percentage was somewhat higher and in Sweden the percentage was similar

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<sup>29</sup>ADJC Report for January 1949, p. 13, (YIVO, 48).

<sup>30</sup>YIVO, 52.

<sup>31</sup>YIVO, 165, p. 61.

to the DPs in Germany and Austria. In February 1946, 5.6% of 10,603 Jewish DPs in Italy were 15 years old or younger and 25.2% were of the 16 to 20 age group. At the end of 1945, of 9,239 Jewish DPs, 2.6% were 15 years old or younger and 22.4% were of the 16 to 20 age group.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Zorach Warhaftig, Uprooted, Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons After Liberation, New York 1946, p. 53.

III. FOUNDING OF SCHOOLS

In the very first weeks after liberation, there was obviously no possibility of, nor was any thought given to, matters of education. Everyone was preoccupied with himself. Shocked by the sudden liberation and overcome by vivid memories of hunger and starvation, their immediate thoughts were directed towards searching for any surviving relatives. The first DP camps were in a constant state of flux as the former inmates were coming and going in their inner urge to find somebody they knew from back home. Moreover, the first camps were opened for all liberated people, Jews and non-Jews alike. Such, for example, was the case of the Landsberg camp, where, in the beginning, Jews and non-Jews were kept together. The camp was guarded by American occupation soldiers. There was not enough food or clothing, and even water was scarce. After about a month the non-Jews were transported somewhere else and Landsberg became a camp for Jewish Displaced Persons. The camp's first communal activities were soon organized, but still without any educational plans.<sup>1</sup> Yet, it was not too long before the

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<sup>1</sup>B. Vidutschinsky, in Landsberger Bulletin, no. 3, May 1947.

survivors started thinking about cultural problems in general and about schools for their children in particular.

When the concentration camp Belsen was liberated on April 15, 1945, it was immediately transformed into a camp for Displaced Persons, known as Bergen-Belsen. As early as December of the same year, a school for children was opened there by a group of former Jewish teachers, without any outside assistance. According to one source, in Landsberg, a school for forty children was already opened in September 1945.<sup>2</sup> In January of 1946 the school already had an enrollment of several hundred students.

For a time, there was no central agency in control of these schools. They were supervised by boards on Culture and Education designated by the local Camp Committees. The latter had at the beginning no official status as the camps were administered directly by the U. S. Army or UNRRA. The Camp Committees were nevertheless entrusted with the organization of schools and cultural activities.

In July of 1945 the Jewish DPs in the U. S. and British Zones of Germany organized Central Committees. In the U. S. Zone the Committee was first known as the Federation of Liberated Jews in Bavaria and later as the Federation of Liberated Jews in Germany.

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<sup>2</sup>"Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany and in the United States of America, 1945-1960. A Report by Joseph Batterman," (YIVO, 2270).

In February of 1947 a Central Directorium for Education was established based on an agreement between AJDC, the Central Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

The structure of the educational system in Germany was somewhat as follows: There was a Board of Education in Munich whose chairman was designated by the Jewish Agency. The administrator of the Board was designated by the AJDC. The rest of the Board was composed of representatives from the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany and the AJDC. From then on the schools were directed by the Directorium and were supervised by its inspectors. A number of regional supervisory offices were established as well.

The problems facing the schools were understandably many and most unusual. The children came from various backgrounds and had encountered many experiences. Some of them came from Russia, others emerged from the woods and still others lived as "aryans" during the war. Of special interest and worthy of mention were children rescued from private non-Jewish families or institutions. These were children left by their parents with non-Jewish neighbors before deportation. The parents would, in most cases, reward such neighbors by transferring to them all their possessions. It must be stated that in some cases rescue

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<sup>3</sup>AJDC, The Founding of the Board of Education and Culture, p. 1, (YIVO, 757).

operations were undertaken for purely humanitarian reasons. On the other hand, however, some Jewish children had to be ransomed from either institutions or private families. We will never know how many Jewish children were raised and converted to Christianity.

Unfortunately, the extermination took an especially high toll among the professional intelligentsia, and very few teachers were to be found. Those available were unqualified, with a smattering of education above the elementary level. It was the teachers from Palestine whose expertise and devotion helped the situation. When the actual education was in the hands of professional educators, as represented by Palestine teachers, one had a basic assurance of continuity of the program. In August 1948, one AJDC representative expressed some fears that without the buffer of the professional educators, many difficulties would arise because the Board attempted to maintain the schools with the help of local personnel. "This local personnel," he wrote, "is paid largely in terms of goods and the Board unfortunately reflects politics in its worst sense. There is apt to be indiscriminate action taken which will hurt the morale and the effectiveness of the teachers." One of the gaps in the structure, in his opinion, was the fact that there was no-one on the AJDC staff who was sufficiently equipped or experienced in the field of Jewish education to exercise guidance and influence on the entire educational



program. AJDC had, in fact, been paying for a program administered by others, and there were many instances where things were done "which we ought not to tolerate." The only type of direction given by AJDC was of an administrative nature, and dealt with matters of supplies and money. He was convinced that it was absolutely essential that, as an agency, the AJDC had to share in this program on the level of educational objectives, supervision and methodology. "In the final analysis, the responsibility is ours," he wrote, "and we should therefore be prepared to participate at all times in the decisions and the judgments made on matters of education." Therefore, he recommended that a member be added to the AJDC staff in Munich whose assignment was to be the educational AJDC worker in Germany. But basically, the situation remained unchanged.<sup>4</sup>

Some mistakes were made as a result of the general attitude to the DP problem. Many leaders looked upon the Displaced Persons not as upon individuals but rather as parts of a vague general problem. In August 1948, Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, an AJDC representative, advocated a policy of keener evaluation of each situation, of each camp and each school. He did not entirely agree with an approach that dealt with the whole and ignored the particular, nor did he feel that the entire matter should be ignored since it was only temporary, and the Jewish DPs would quickly

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<sup>4</sup>Dr. Judah J. Shapiro's report of August 18, 1948. YIVO, 446.

emigrate anyhow. "Similar mistakes," he wrote, "were made during the WPA (Work Projects Administration) in America where the maximum was not obtained because of the constant wishful belief that the depression was of a short transitory character. Some of these people in the DP camps were going on to the end of their third year in this situation, and the most optimistic estimates for the future revealed a possible two year program for the future. In the light of this, it became a serious responsibility to sustain the educational program at its maximum level during the course of the general liquidation of the DP problem. The children represented continuity, and already the older ones were in a stage where they evaluated life and its patterns, and unless such evaluation grows with the resources of a good educational program, they will be a generation of extremely serious misfits. Against the abnormalities of their present life, educational efforts must be far better than anything conducted in normal circumstances. If there is to be liquidation and withdrawal, then it must be systematic and controlled."<sup>5</sup>

It is doubtful that the American AJDC personnel in Germany were qualified for such a task and Dr. Shapiro confirms this:

We do not have the (AJDC) personnel to demonstrate

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<sup>5</sup>Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, ibid.

a suitable educational program, nor to establish the climate within which it can take place. It is not for me, I suppose, to make an evaluation of our American personnel, but from the point of view of my own responsibilities and assignment, I say unhesitatingly that we are weakest in this area. I think that I know American Jewish life well enough to suggest that a small corps of competent selfless individuals can be brought into this situation and make a tremendous contribution. I was startled by the fact that in these beautiful summer days, with many of the camps located in areas of breathtaking scenery, there were no activities which were educational in the highest sense of that word, because they aimed at bringing about an appreciation of God's wealth. There were no walks or hikes or discussions or story-telling sessions, or comradeship or a questing for something in life which is more than a package from Joint. For this kind of work, one needs the selfless, well-informed, catalytic kind of person. I know that we have at least a dozen people who with minimum regard for what is in it for them, could turn the lives of the people, and especially the children, into far more meaningful channels.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, ibid.

IV. STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS

Private initiative played an immense role in creating schools. At Landsberg, Dr. Jacob Oleiski, Director of ORT Schools, ordered that there should be a school, and a school was opened.<sup>1</sup> Not only was it difficult to open a school but in some camps it was often necessary to enforce the principle of education. In Foehrenwald, for example, the Orthodox and non-Orthodox adopted a resolution that each child and adolescent up to age 19 must attend school, and after the age of 15 must devote half of his day to vocational training and the other half to study in school. The children were informed that all sweets, clothing and other privileges would be distributed in the school and only to those who attended regularly. In addition, a daily cup of cocoa and biscuit was given daily to each child at school.<sup>2</sup>

As already noted, according to AJDC statistics of November 1, 1946, 23,600 children between the ages of 1 and 17 were registered in the American Zone. In reality, there were--according to reports of the Central Committee--about 25,000 children. Of these, 15,000 were of school age (6-17),

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<sup>1</sup>Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, June 28, 1946, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Report by Arthur Greenleigh, February 1946 (YIVO, 54).

but only about 10,000 pupils were registered at schools. Most of the remaining 5,000 children did not attend school. They were mostly 14-17 years old and lived in places where only elementary schools were available.<sup>3</sup> In November 1946, 3,230 children under 16 were registered in 31 places of the Niederbayern-Oberpfalz-Regensburg regions; only 1,283 of them attended school in eight different places.<sup>4</sup>

As of March 30, 1947, there were 10,823 pupils in 83 schools, 417 classes and 57 kindergartens in the Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Kassel, Bamberg, Regensburg and Munich regions. The total number of teachers was 826 (see Table VIII).<sup>5</sup> In October 1947, there were 76 schools in 70 camps and other places of the United States Zone, with 9,597 children and 759 teachers (see Table VIIIa).<sup>6</sup> As of February 1, 1948, there were in the American Zone of Germany (excluding Berlin) 359 kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, adult education classes, and ORT Vocational courses. The total number of teachers in these 359 units was 894, and the number of pupils was 15,122 (see Table IX).<sup>7</sup> As of

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<sup>3</sup>Report of November 1946 (YIVO, 1993).

<sup>4</sup>Taken from: Kulturamt beim Central Komitet far ba-fraite Jidn in der USA-zone, RAJON NIDERBAJERN un Oberpfalz, Regensburg. Tetikajtsbaricht far der kadenc, 1946, 16 pp.

<sup>5</sup>YIVO, 757.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., (Dr. Philip Friedman to Charles Passman, Zone Director, Monthly Report for November 1947.

<sup>7</sup>AJDC Report for January-February 2, 1948, p. 22, (YIVO, 47).

July 1, 1948, there were in the American Zone:

Elementary and high schools - 66, with 380 classes,  
491 teachers, 6,417 children;

Kindergartens - 52, with 111 teachers, 2,104 children;

Evening schools - 93, with 82 teachers, 1,181 children;

ORT vocational schools - 61, with 41 teachers,  
1,012 students.<sup>8</sup>

During the months of March and April 1949, numerous anticipated problems in the educational field actually developed. Some of these problems were:

a. the rate of resettlement of teachers was more rapid proportionately than that of students;

b. consolidation of schools was impractical due to distances to be travelled and the reluctance of parents to send children to boarding schools in the period prior to resettlement.

The last of the schools in the Kassel area closed at the end of April 1949 because of the lack of teachers and the subsequent general lack of an atmosphere conducive to learning. Between January 1st and March 1st of the same year, the number of schools in the American Zone decreased by 25%, the number of students by 33%, and consequently the number of teachers also declined. On January 1, 1949, there were 53 schools with 300 classes, 4,951 children.

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<sup>8</sup>Statistische oifsztelung fun Lerer, (Statistical data on teachers), YIVO, 453.

By March 1st, there were only 40 schools with 215 classes, and 3,237 children. The number of kindergartens decreased from 50 with 2,056 children on January 1st to 37 with 1,470 children by March 1st. Altogether, the number of pupils decreased from 7,007 to 4,707, and the number of teachers from 486 to 328 (see Table X).<sup>9</sup> As a result of the emigration, only 15 schools and kindergartens with about 2,000 children and 150 teachers existed by June 1949.<sup>10</sup>

According to a AJDC report for December 1948, 521 children were enrolled in five camps in the Ansbach area, showing a loss of 149 children during one month. Because of emigration, it was impossible to maintain continuity in the program. Another report shows 411 children enrolled in January, 350 in February and only 224 in March 1949. In April 1949, the AJDC representative in the area reported: "The schools are now gradually coming to a close. Although there were then 217 children in the schools, their liquidation was planned for May 5, 1949. The camps in the area were being liquidated."<sup>11</sup>

From the Ansbach area it was reported in March 1949: "The general atmosphere of emigration is even permeating

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<sup>9</sup>AJDC Report, February 1949, p. 14, (YIVO, 48).

<sup>10</sup>Samuel Haber; Two Years with the Sheerit Hapletah, Munich, July 1949, 91 typed pp., (YIVO, 63).

<sup>11</sup>YIVO, 192.

the children, thus making it most difficult to carry on the education program." Many parents kept their children out of school while they were busying themselves with preparation for their departure.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



PART II

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS:  
THE REEMERGENCE OF OLD PATTERNS

V. RELATIONS WITH AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN  
JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

This chapter will discuss the relation of DPs to their brethren from abroad, their benefactors. Grateful as the former were for the unprecedented relief and rescue operations, an undercurrent of resentment and dissatisfaction was evident. The mute resentment against the benefactor felt on the part of the receiver is probably a universal phenomenon. The Jewish concept of Tzedakah (charity) as a matter of right differs from the concept of charity which is characteristic of the relationship of the well-off to the underprivileged. Such a relationship between Jews was intolerable. The self-government of all Jewish DP camps and communities therefore aimed at taking over the relief programs as well. They very often could not tolerate the aloofness of professional social workers who, in spite of their dedicated work, could not fully identify with them. This was due not only to the fact that they came from America but, in most cases, these workers lacked basic Jewish knowledge. They were culturally, linguistically and socially different. Unlike the Jewish chaplains who, right after liberation had succeeded in conquering the hearts

of their unfortunate brothers, the professional workers failed to evoke in them similar sentiments. Many of these workers showed a complete lack of Jewish values, education and knowledge of the Eastern European Jewish culture. The DPs, as this study will show, structured their lives on models of their ruined communities. The Palestinians who came to work with them were in this regard much closer to them. The social and political structure of the Palestinian Yishuv<sup>1</sup> was in many ways based on principles similar to theirs. One must also emphasize that the DPs' outlook and hopes for the future were definitely identical with those of the Palestinians. On a personal basis they were fully identical. Many of the teachers, Bricha<sup>2</sup> workers were Europeans who just recently had themselves arrived in Palestine.

No wonder then that conflicts arose between organizations such as AJDC and HIAS and the official organs of the DPs. The Americans were politically and ideologically neutral, the DPs outspokenly committed. The liberated Jews felt that the relief and help came from their brothers and sisters as a matter of right. When they felt that a bureaucracy consisting of many unnecessary layers was established,

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<sup>1</sup>Name of the Jewish community in Palestine before the establishment of Israel.

<sup>2</sup>Bricha was an organization in charge of Aliyah Bet or illegal immigration to Palestine. See Yehuda Bauer: Rescue and Flight: Brichah, Random House, N. Y. 1970.

of hunger--might affect the growing nervous system of children, their entire brain metabolism and brain function. Many children, due to abnormal living conditions, will have acquired anti-social impulses and a hostile attitude toward the community. Many of them will even be affected with deeply impaired moral feelings and behaviour. The re-education of these children, the correction of their attitude and feelings, the treatment of their nervous and mental injuries, will require extraordinary measures and special institutions of mixed therapeutic and educational character. After the war, the Jewish child population will consist almost entirely of children of school age and adolescents. Children between the ages of 4 and 6 born immediately before or at the beginning of the war, will be but few in numbers as not many will have survived the horrors of forced migrations, hunger and cold. Because of the catastrophic fall in the birth-rate and later the almost complete cessation of births, also because of the huge mortality among infants, it is not likely that any infants will have survived.

The hypersensitivity and suspiciousness of Jewish children to the outside world from where so much suffering had come to them, and which left the deepest marks on their being, will remain for a long time after the war, and this factor must be fully recognized in any plan for medical aid to Jewish children in Europe. This fact will determine the nature of the aid institutions which will be needed to serve the Jewish children after the war.

The great majority of the children will be totally illiterate as under the Nazi occupation Jewish schools were abolished and general schools did not admit Jewish children, nor were the Jewish children able to leave the ghettos to attend these schools. Children's education will have to be conducted in children's homes and, generally speaking, must be in the spirit of the Jewish traditions and ideology. Scores of children will have to be removed from their former surroundings and former places of habitation and placed elsewhere where they would not be haunted by past experiences and the dreadful impressions connected with years of ghetto life. Children's homes located away from the centers, in rural surroundings, will be a very necessary form of children's aid.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Kurt R. Grossman Collection (YIVO).

they rebelled against it and demanded to administer the work by themselves. They did not hesitate to plead their case before the American Jewish public opinion.

It is within this framework that the relations with the organizations trying to help the DPs, have to be viewed. The memorandum by Dr. Judah Shapiro in the previous chapter alluded to that underlying conflict. Education, never neutral, and most certainly not among Jewish DPs, was a fertile ground for disagreements.

American-Jewish organizations foresaw the difficulties to be encountered in taking care of children after the liberation. Thus, on June 29, 1944, Dr. C. Walman of the OSE<sup>3</sup> told the Jewish leaders at a meeting of the Committee for Health and Child Care:

"Jewish children need not grow up"--became the Nazi slogan all over Europe. The Germans set themselves to destroy the young Jewish generation. Thousands of Jewish children are now hiding in woods, cemeteries, basements and ruins of devastated homes in fear of the man-hunt. When they come out into the open, they are like hunted animals searching for food, shelter, and protection. The distress of the still remaining Jewish children in Europe is very great. They succumb to all kinds of diseases and perish for want of care and protection. Fear, loneliness, isolation, man-hunt, loss of parents and all the various traumatic shocks to which Jewish children had been exclusively exposed under the Nazis will result in various forms of traumatic neurosis, anxiety hysteria, and even will provoke some acute psycho-neurotic syndromes. Permanent undernourishment--not to speak

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<sup>3</sup>Abbreviation of Russian: Obshtchestvo Zdravookhranenie Evreyev; i.e., Jewish Health Society.

In August 1947, the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction (CIER) listed the following American Jewish organizations active in educational work abroad: American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC); American Association for Jewish Education (which cooperated with other Jewish agencies in sending textbooks, library books and teachers to certain devastated areas in Europe where Jewish schools and children's homes were being established. It also instituted a school adoption plan whereby a Jewish School in the United States adopted a Jewish school in Europe); American Committee of OSE<sup>5</sup> (which maintained 59 children's homes in various countries since January 1947); American ORT (vocational training); B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation (through its Foreign Students' Service, which offered scholarships intended primarily to assist meritorious and needy students in the war-devastated areas of Europe to continue their higher education. Priority was given to Displaced Persons and victims of racial, religious and political persecution); Children to Palestine (which cooperated with Youth Aliyah Committee of Hadassah in providing medical and psychiatric services, educational and vocational guidance programs for Jewish children who arrived in Palestine from former occupied lands); National Council of Jewish Women; United Palestine Appeal; World Jewish

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<sup>5</sup>See footnote 3.

Congress (its Child Care Division supervised the educational and social progress of children's homes in Austria, Germany, Italy, France, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Books and educational missions have been sent to Displaced Persons camps in Germany and Austria).<sup>6</sup> However, other organizations not listed by CIER were very active, for example, Vaad Hatzala.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Kurt R. Grossman Collection (YIVO).

<sup>7</sup>CIER Handbook. Washington, D.C., August 1947. The following organizations (general and Jewish) were listed as active in Germany: American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries, American Federation of Labor, American Friends Service Committee, American Junior Red Cross, American Library Association, American Youth for World Youth, Brethren Service Commission, Camp Fire Girls, Inc., Centre for International Relief to Civilian Populations, College Art Association of America, Congregational Christian Service Committee, Inc., Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc. (CARE), Experiment in International Living, Inc., Foreign Missions, Conference of North America, Freedom Fund of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Geological Society of America, Inc., Germanistic Society of America, Inc., Girl Scouts, Lutheran World Federation--American Section, Lutheran World Relief, Inc., Mennonite Central Committee, National Catholic Welfare Conference--War Relief Services, National CIO Community Services Committee, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Recreation Association, National Self Government Committee, Our World United Thru Books, Inc., Overseas School Committee, Russia Children's Welfare Society, Inc., Salvation Army, Seventh-Day Adventists--General Conference, Unitarian Service Committee, Workers Education Bureau of America, World Student Service Fund, Young Men's Christian Associations--International Committee, Young Women's Christian Association--National Board. Ibid., p. 60.

The formation of the various Jewish schools among the Jewish DPs in Germany was greatly influenced by the pattern of the Jewish school system in Eastern Europe, above all, that of Poland before the war. Such Jewish schools had been organized along political lines. Each school system was representative of an ideological group and affiliated with a certain political movement. The following are the major Jewish school systems in Poland before World War II.

1. The Tsysho Schools of the Tsentrale Yiddishe Shul Organizatsie (Central Jewish School Organization)-- a secular, Yidishist school network which was affiliated with the labor movement, with 169 schools, 632 classes and with 15,486 students in 1934-35;
2. The Poale Zion had its own network of secular schools--shul kult--16 schools with 2,343 students in 1937;
3. The Tarbut schools--a secular Hebraist and Zionist oriented network; 269 schools with 44,780 students in 1934-35;
4. Yavneh--a network of religious schools under the direction of Mizrahi had 229 schools with 15,923 students in 1937;
5. The Orthodox Horev schools, under the direction of the Agudath Israel had 177 schools with 49,123 students in 1937;
6. Beth Jacob, Orthodox Girls' Schools under the



direction of Agudath Israel had 248 schools with 35,586 students in 1937;

7. In 1937, there existed 167 traditional religious schools of the yeshivah type with 15,941 students.

Altogether, in 1937, these seven independent groups of Jewish schools in Poland had 1,275 schools with 180,182 students. In addition, a number of Jewish children were enrolled in the Polish Public schools. In 1934-35, 455,388 Jewish students were enrolled in primary and secondary schools, 77.6% of them in public schools and 22.4% in the above mentioned and other Jewish schools, which were recognized by the Polish government as the equivalent to public schools.

Each of these groups had its own religious, linguistic and cultural traditions and political affiliations. Each Jewish school system was either Yiddishist, Hebraist or Polonized; pro-Bundist, pro-Zionist, secular or Orthodox. These ideological and political affiliations were reflected in the overall philosophy of the school, language of instruction, the curriculum and other aspects of their activities. Thus, the Jewish schools in Poland reflected the general atmosphere of Polish Jewry which was organized and which struggled for its existence not as a united body but along the lines of various political parties. Conflicts were unavoidable and most of what had happened before the war greatly influenced the schools of the

Jewish DPs.<sup>8</sup>

Aid for Jewish schools was part of the activities of the American Joint Distribution Committee long before World War II. The JDC helped the schools and other cultural Jewish activities in Eastern Europe without trying to influence the character of such activities. Aid was thus given to institutions of various political orientations. A similar policy prevailed after World War II. One historian pointed out, however, that in the field of education and culture, unlike any other field of relief and reconstruction work, political and ideological influences were pervasive.

The AJDC representatives arrived in the American occupied zone of Germany on August 4, 1945, some three and a half months after the liberation of the survivors of the concentration camps. During this early period, the survivors

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<sup>8</sup>On the Jewish schools in Poland before the war see: Tonja Lewit, Die Entwicklung des jüdischen Volkswesen in Polen, (Vilna, 1931); Arieh Tartakower, "Das jüdische Schulwesen in Polen," Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, vol. XXXV (1931), pp. 292-306; H. Seidman, Dos Yidishe Religiöse Schulwezn in di Ramen fun der Poylisher Gezetsgebung (Warsaw, 1937); Almanach Szkolnictwa Żydowskiego W Polsce, edited by J. Tsineman, vol. I (Warsaw, 1938); H. Ormian, The Educational Thought of Polish Jewry (Tel Aviv, 1939), in Hebrew; Chaim Szlama Kazdan, Die Geshichte fun Yidishn Schulwezn in Umo-phengiken Poyln (Mexico, 1947); Nathan EK, "The Educational Institutions of Polish Jewry, 1921-1939," The Jewish Social Studies, vol. IX, no. 1 (1947), pp. 3-32; Miriam Eisenstein, Jewish Schools in Poland 1919-39, (New York, 1950).

organized themselves as communities which took care of the manifold needs of the liberated masses. The establishment of activities, including educational institutions, was high on the list of priorities.

The AJDC Educational Director of Germany and Austria was attached to the Central Headquarters of the United States Army in Germany, located at Arolsen. His associates, who at first had confined their activities to the 3rd and 5th districts of the American Zone (formerly the 3rd Army Area) were attached to the Educational Department of the Central United States Headquarters, located at Passing, where the senior UNRRA officers for educational and recreational activities were functioning.

The Senior Welfare Officers attached to UNRRA teams in DP centers were also responsible for education and recreation. The personnel of the AJDC, the Jewish Agency and other Jewish agencies did their work under the supervision of the UNRRA officers. The latter's assistance was, however, limited to providing the necessary accommodation and equipment. They did not participate in supervising education itself. Thus, for example, the Educational Department of the UNRRA in the American Zone of Germany helped the AJDC in printing 2,400 copies of a Hebrew primer. It also helped to obtain permission from the Military Government to distribute among the Jewish DP centers 25,000 volumes from the Rothschild library in Frankfurt-am-Main.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Report by H. Viteles, May 11, 1946 (YIVO, 55, p. 25).

As already noted above, the AJDC adopted a non-political attitude to the problem of Jewish education, thus following a prewar tradition by trying to help each group. On April 15, 1946, the AJDC issued the following directives for educational activities in Germany and Austria:

AJDC had a definite philosophy of Jewish life. Each and every group in Jewish life is worthy of help and encouragement . . . all groups are entitled to our help in working out their programs of educational and cultural work . . . We must be very careful not to impose our own educational philosophy upon the Jewish DPs. The purpose of the AJDC Educational program is, by intensive work, to help those who during the past seven years received no education at all, or a very limited education, to make up for some of the lost time. Education is one of the best therapeutic agents to help develop a more normal outlook upon life; to carry out the old and basic Jewish tradition of "Torah Lishema," study for study's sake . . . develop a love of knowledge per se.<sup>10</sup>

In a report of May 3, 1946, M. J. Joslow, Educational Consultant of the AJDC, spoke of three periods in the work of the Education Division of the AJDC for the previous seven months:

1. Educational chaos;
2. Educational relief;
3. Organization and improvement.

The first period of chaos was a natural sequence to the urgent need for material relief. Little attention was given to the educational and cultural requirements of the DP centers. Activities were limited to conferences where

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<sup>10</sup>Report by H. Viteles, May 11, 1946 (YIVO 55, p. 89).

suggestions were made but there were few supplies or materials of instruction available for distribution. In spite of this latter condition, a start was made. The second period of relief began with the arrival from the United States of the first educational materials and books, and with acquisition of supplies from local or neighboring sources. Meanwhile, work started in the first period continued through this one. The third period marked the opening of a formal system of education, with much greater quantities of instructional materials available and with greater interest shown for the need of educational programs in the camps. During this period, attention was extended to the needs of communities, which, up until then, had been almost ignored. Attention could now be turned to methodology, improvement of instruction and professional growth of teachers.<sup>11</sup>

However, the AJDC did not always have such a liberal attitude to the Jewish DPs. In the beginning, the AJDC representatives tried to work out their own plans and to ignore the DPs' demands. In January 1947 a delegation of the Jewish DPs was sent to the United States. In their report, they complained that the AJDC personnel had often "an unsympathetic approach" to the delicate DP problems.

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<sup>11</sup>M. J. Jasbow, "Report of Activities," Passing, May 31, 1946 to Leo W. Schwartz, AJDC Director, U. S. Zone (YIVO, 22/000017).

The first AJDC workers were "neither trained nor prepared for the job." With few exceptions, the many individuals who came to Germany had to be shifted from job to job or had to be called back from Germany. The turnover in AJDC personnel in the first year was 100%. The delegation complained that the AJDC tried to ignore the DPs and set up an imported machinery in Germany:

There is no need for the Joint (AJDC) to form a Rabbinical Department and import some three or four American Rabbis to perform duties which are adequately performed by the numerous rabbis now in Germany, organized in a Vaad Harabonim, which has demonstrated through its many activities that it can better serve the people than can the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee rabbinate. Similarly, the education department of the Joint, which is neither headed by a competent individual, nor designed to accomplish any real objective, need not be continued as a department especially since the people themselves have set up hundreds of schools and institutions for the education of the various groups. Not only has the American Joint disrupted the Jewish social scene through its paralleled machinery, but it has made distinctions between the people themselves by lifting certain individuals to a category of a Joint worker, thereby increasing his food ration and giving him status over and above other workers who are more competent and who have and are accomplishing much more important tasks but who are working under the Central Committee rather than the Joint.<sup>12</sup>

The DPs complained about the AJDC's "non-political" character:

The Joint has maintained that it is not a political organization and has shied away from political problems. Nevertheless political problems have stalked the Jew at his every step. The Hungarian Jew was

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<sup>12</sup>YIVO, 20.

considered an enemy alien; the Polish Jew was not permitted to go to Palestine; the concentration camp victim was desperate in seeking members of his family. All these movements implied an infringement upon some political directive. Either the directive had to be changed or circumvented. The Joint was always subservient to the period in the directive. So much so, that when a Joint worker snubbed that period, he or she was up for dismissal. In a political work it is impossible to be effective and apolitical at the same time.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of such frequent conflicts in the field of education, collaboration between the DPs and the AJDC was usually normal, especially during the periods when the Educational Directors of the AJDC in Europe were men who understood the psychology of the East European Jewry. Thus, on April 11, 1946, Koppel S. Pinson, then Educational Director of the AJDC, sent out the following circular to all JDC personnel in Germany and Austria:

It has often been said that AJDC has no philosophy or ideology. This is not an accurate statement. AJDC has a definite philosophy of Jewish life. This ideology is that Jewish life is a pluralistic one and that each and every group in Jewish life is worthy of help and encouragement. Such a philosophy does not mean passive disinterestedness in educational or cultural ideas; it should mean a positive approach to Jewish life and active encouragement of all sizeable groups religious and non-religious, orthodox, conservative or reform, Zionist, non-Zionist and anti-Zionist, Hebraist or Yiddishist, Polish, German or Greek. Jews, all of them, are entitled to our help in working out their programs of educational and cultural work. By pursuing such a policy of 'active tolerance' AJDC can make itself felt as an active force in making Jewish group life richer, broader and more tolerant. The AJDC is the only Jewish group relief agency operating in the European Theater of Operations with such a philosophy. It, therefore, has

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

a special responsibility of being the guardian of tolerance for all groups and special protector of minority groups. There are many evidences in the Jewish communities of Germany and Austria, of undue pressure being exercised by either majorities upon minorities or organized majorities. Totalitarianism has left its impress even upon Jews. It is the duty of JDC personnel to see that such pressures in the field of education and culture are reduced to a minimum. Obviously, this is more difficult than indifference, but otherwise we are not carrying out the trust placed in us by the various Jewish groups who unite in their support of the JDC in the United States.

At the same time, we must be very careful not to impose our own educational philosophy upon the Jewish DPs. We must familiarize ourselves with the different types of legitimate cultural need present and do all we can to help our fellow Jews carry out their desires.

JDC workers must also do all they can to enter into sympathetic relationships with the cultural leaders in the camps and communities. One of the main criticisms levelled at JDC has been the cultural gap existing between our workers and the DPs. We cannot all become steeped in Yiddish and Hebrew culture overnight, but we can make up for such lack of familiarity with warm sympathy and interest for their cultural values and accepting them on a par with our own.<sup>14</sup>

One should accept an attitude of caution in the use of reports by American Jewish social workers on the educational and other problems of Jewish DPs. Such reports often mistook pre-war attitudes of East European Jews as a special DP mentality. Professor Koppel S. Pinson correctly noted in a report of December 24, 1946:

An intimate insight into the state of mind of these people is a prerequisite for any kind of intelligent planning of educational work. On the whole, I am of the opinion that there has been great exaggeration on

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<sup>14</sup>"General Directives for Educational Program," AJDC in Germany and Austria, April 1, 1946 (Educational Philosophy), YIVO, 1993).



the subject of a special DP mentality and psychological attitude. Much of this has come from people who never had any familiarity with intensive Jewish life in Eastern Europe before the war. Much of what has been attributed to special DP mentality was just as characteristic of Jewish life in centers like Warsaw, Vilna, Lemberg, or Munkach in the normal years before the war as it is of the people from these areas now gathered in DP camps in Germany. Their requests concerning educational and cultural matters, I have found, are intelligent, reasonable and on the whole pedagogically sound. I am not concerned here with relaxation of moral codes and values among some elements of the camp. What concerns me here primarily is their approach to education and culture. And here the cultural leaders have, on the whole, evidenced a sober and intelligent point of view. Something should be said here concerning their Zionist philosophy. There has been built up on all sides and among all parties concerned with these people something of an alarmist attitude regarding Zionism. Zionism has often been made synonymous with extremism. This is not a true picture. The Zionism of these people is really nothing but a Jewish national approach to their problems. This must be understood in terms of the entire picture of Jewish life in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, etc. Here, the Jews before World War II, constituted a distinct national cultural group and were recognized as such by the Treaty of Versailles and by the fundamental laws of the succession states created out of the old Hapsburg and Russian Empires. Jews in these countries were supposed to enjoy national minority rights; they had their own schools, newspapers, and other cultural institutions. By tradition and culture they constitute a distinct national grouping (Kulturgemeinschaft): their experience of the last 15 years has added even more to the common fund of experience and has made of them more than ever a Schicksalsgemeinschaft. They resent, therefore, attempts made by official authorities to ignore these natural conditions and to force their educational and cultural program into a pattern that is Polish or German, or English, and not Jewish. While these things are obvious facts to anyone familiar with Eastern Europe, they are unfortunately not known to many in official positions.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Education Report for Zeilsheim "Highly Confidential: by Koppel S. Pinson, December 24, 1946 (YIVO, 54).

On the other hand, the specific DP psychology, often mixed with the pre-war ideologies, should not be ignored. Pinson himself noted:

There are a few aspects of their state of mind that are special in character and must be reckoned with in any educational program. They have developed a certain hardness and toughness of personality; it is that of course which was largely responsible for their survival. The softer virtues of personality are covered with layer upon layer of toughness. This strikes an outsider, particularly, when it is displayed by the intellectual intolerance which must be understood properly. A conception of Ichud--(unity) has been developed among the people. These ideological differences formerly existing in Jewish life, were completely subordinated to collective unity. They still consider themselves to be in a state of war, despite the cessation of hostilities and the Allied victory, and hence still struggle to maintain this ideal of unity. Moreover, the issue of Palestine has become emotionally, psychologically and politically so intimately tied up with their own hopes for the future, that they do not even wish to allow discussion of Zionism or anti-Zionism or even non-Zionism which has come to be a threat to the most fundamental stake in the future. It is not a matter here to dispute the question as to soundness of their hopes. It is a state of mind which is a fact. And because this problem has become psychologically and emotionally so inextricably tied up with their hopes for the future, we may say that there is a sort of a subtle terrorization of large elements in the camps who were not especially interested in Palestine or political Zionism. Add to this the very subtle but real effects of twelve years of Nazi totalitarianism, and you find certain influences definitely at work:

- (1) a mistrust of the masses;
- (2) a conception that free discussion of intellectual problems is a luxury which they cannot as yet afford;
- (3) a certain militancy which offers very little room for intellectual humility.

On the basis of my study of these people at Zeilsheim, however, I think that except for a very small fanatical group (made up largely of former Revisionists) these negative aspects of their state of mind can be eradicated by giving them an educational program of real

Jewish content. It cannot and should not be done by trying to fight them on what they still consider to be a life or death question. Meeting them as man to man, I have found, has already been successful in helping restore to them a sense of perspective and intellectual tolerance.<sup>16</sup>

Outside the AJDC, other agencies were active among the DPs. The aim of the various agencies were not always the same, and a collaboration was needed. Thus, in March 1947, the following agreement on a program for educational activities in the American Zone of Germany was signed by representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (JAAP), the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and the Central Committee of Liberated Jews (CCLJ):

1. An educational department will be set up whose Board will consist of two representatives each of JAAP, AJDC and CCLJ. This Board will ask that the Army be entrusted with the direction and administrative responsibility for Jewish education in DPs and assembly centers.

2. The Chairman of the Board will be a JAAP member.

3. The Educational Department will work autonomously and the members of the Board will be delegated the authority by the organizations to act immediately as the need arises.

4. The Board will work in close cooperation with UNRRA Child Welfare Department which will be represented on the Board in an advisory capacity.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

5. The first facet of the program is the establishment and direction of elementary schools and Kindergartens, the working out of a curriculum, and the choice of textbooks, the supply of textbooks and school material, and supplementary training of teachers.

6. The school program will be an overall Jewish National non-partisan program. Special emphasis will be laid on Hebrew teaching. As far as possible, the teaching of the English language will be encouraged. Special care will be taken for a proper religious education of religious children.

7. The Board may extend its activities by mutual agreement of its members.

8. The Board will appoint the personnel necessary for the implementation of the education program (supervisors, school principals, etc).

9. Training of Youth leaders (Madrichim) will be the responsibility of the Youth Aliyah Department of JAFP.

10. JAFP will recruit additional teachers and educational experts for the education program.

11. All personnel will be functionally responsible to the Board, personnel enlisted by voluntary agencies will be administratively responsible to the respective agencies.

12. The Board will subsidize all schools under its supervision.

13. The Board will decide on the form of reward to local teachers and staff.

14. JDC will be responsible for the supply budget of the program within the limits of a submitted and agreed upon budget. The approved budget will be at the disposal of the Board. AJDC's participation in the expenses for new recruited personnel will be agreed upon between AJDC and JAFP Headquarters.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Letter to Mr. M. W. Beckleman, AJDC Paris, from E. Dobkin, March 16, 1947. "Agreement on Education," worked out between Beckleman and "our people."

## VI. IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN EDUCATION

Giving surviving Jewish children a normal education in a DP camp was not an easy task. For most children, the DP schools were the first they had ever attended in their young but tragic lives. The AJDC reported in January 1946 that at Regensburg "many under 16 have never attended school and are illiterate."<sup>1</sup> Such a situation prevailed in many other places as well.

Reporting on the education work at the Elman recreation home, a correspondent noted that "children who had received their 'education' in concentration camps could not be educated 'quickly'." Tact was an important factor, but even this was often an impossible task.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, children were often moved from one DP camp to another and their education had to be constantly rearranged in the new surroundings. This was done for reasons such as: the physical condition of the camps, or the necessity to remove the children from often demoralized

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<sup>1</sup>"Confidential," Report of Education Survey, American Zone, Third Army Area, Germany, December 26, 1945-January 5, 1946 by M. J. Jaslow, AJDC Central HQ, Germany.

<sup>2</sup>AJDC Reports and Memoranda, Germany, 1945-1949.

adults. On September 24, 1945, Miriam Warburg, an AJDC worker in Germany, reported:

We are preparing for the reception of about 600-700 children who are to be concentrated in Camp Foehrenwald in which we are stationed. The children are to be taken out from other camps in the Bavarian area. The reasons for this are manifold: first, this Camp is for the winter use and by far the best in the whole country; solid houses, central-heating, no overcrowding and tolerable food. One cannot, unfortunately, say the same of the other camps, especially of Feldafing, where people are sleeping--40 and more --one over the other in wooden barracks with leaking roofs. These barracks must be emptied before the winter, and therefore, people have to be shifted. There was a lot of trouble, discussion and argument about this moving and Shea and I spent day after day convincing the children (who were to come) that it was best for them to come to our place. They did not want to come, they were used to their other surroundings, they hated the idea of being moved again (because it reminded them of so many removals they had gone through), and they were full of mistrust of all and everything. We hope that now we have got their confidence--but it was a hard and bitter struggle. All those children (they are not really children as they are all between 14 and 18--the younger ones have been completely exterminated by Hitler) are in a very unbalanced state of mind and we cannot judge them by normal standards. They feel that because of their sufferings, they have been alienated from us, that they have their own say in their personal affairs, and they will never do what somebody else asks them to do. They wander about all over Europe; they try to find relatives in all the camps, they go to Poland to look for brothers and sisters and come back again--and all this in a heavily guarded country where we are controlled and checked every ten minutes when we travel from one place to another. There are more reasons for concentrating the children in one place. They should be taken away from the grown-ups amongst whom they live, and who are terribly demoralized. Stealing, people of both sexes sleeping together (married couples sleeping with two or three friends is a common thing), unwillingness of three-fourths of all inmates to work; bad habits, etc., create a poisonous surrounding for children.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>YIVO, 54.

In some cases, the migration from camp to camp made the normal functioning of schools almost impossible. In January 1948, for example, there were 226 Jewish DPs at the Struth camp; 146 of them were children (135 between 6 and 13 years old). Many children came there in a neglected physical condition, with almost no clothing other than the clothing they were wearing, which was in very poor shape. There was a shortage of linen and eating utensils; 70% of the children arrived carrying lice; 40% were anemic, 55% were underweight, some had intestinal troubles; 33% were under 8 years old and 70% under 10 . . . each one required individual attention.<sup>4</sup>

In order to prepare the children for emigration to Palestine and a pioneering life of hard work, it was necessary to create enthusiasm among the children, to fight the materialistic tendencies among the DPs, to reverse the drive for money.<sup>5</sup>

There was no clearly defined philosophy of education. It could, however, be stated that the schools were Zionist oriented. As one teacher wrote: "One Palestinian teacher complained that the children were taught various subjects, but were not educated. The teachers taught reading, writing, etc., but they were not prepared for the task of educating

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<sup>4</sup>YIVO, 192.

<sup>5</sup>Deb., in Dvar Hamore Behaapala (Frankfurt-a-M.), No. 1, May 1947, p. 57.



the 'children.' But then, what exactly was 'education.' A teacher, for instance, who had registered for emigration to America instead of to Palestine, was regarded as a bad educator."<sup>6</sup>

At a meeting of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, held on November 12-15, 1946, at Berchtesgaden with the participation of over one hundred delegates, it was reported that "in the children's centers, the children were under the care of madrichim, who worked with much devotion, but were themselves often little more than children or who had insufficient education and experience. Their preparation for this great work was inadequate and they, themselves, had to be checked and trained. The speakers criticized "the political splits within the children's centers" and demanded that the youth organizations take over one or more specific camps to be serviced through one of their Kibbutzim in order to avoid the splitting up of a camp into several Kibbutzim. There was no curriculum, there was a lack of trained kindergarten teachers, a lack of books. Neither teachers nor doctors got anything for their work. The delegates demanded that children be given priority to go to Palestine. The legal status of some of the children was unsatisfactory. As the parents of many of the children were still in Poland or Hungary, there was the danger that

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<sup>6</sup>Ari Murik, ibid., No. 2, July 1948, pp. 2-5.

the children would be returned to their parents."<sup>7</sup>

Curricula were dictated by ideological considerations. In most schools, the ideology of the pre-war Hebrew Tarbut Schools in Poland prevailed. If one considers the many faceted difficulties of an average DP school, it was indeed a miracle that the inexperienced teachers were able to accomplish anything. One observer noted that wherever possible, Hebrew was the language of instruction even for general subjects. The exigencies of mixed age groups with varied knowledge of Hebrew forced a concession on this point and Yiddish was also used as the language of instruction for general subjects.<sup>8</sup> The problems confronting a teacher in a DP school were enough to baffle even the most experienced pedagogue. In one class were children from Hungary who knew no Yiddish, children who had been recovered from Polish Christian families who still had to be taught and convinced that they were Jews, children coming from Samarkand or Uzbekistan or other such places in Soviet Russia, who spoke nothing but Russian--all studying together with little Lithuanian or Carpatho-Russian Jewish children who ran about conversing in a juicy and fluent

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<sup>7</sup>YIVO, 159.

<sup>8</sup>In November 1947 a resolution was passed by the Association of Writers and Artists requesting of the Central Committee to include Yiddish in the curriculum. The same resolution acknowledged that there was no ban on Yiddish. The Central Committee complied with this resolution. J. Gar: "Bafraite Yidn," in Fon Noentn Ovar, Vol. III, p. 173.

Yiddish. Age groupings were difficult and often there were youngsters of 8-10 in the same class with boys of 16-17.<sup>9</sup>

After the liberation, the first reports on education among Jewish DPs were not too enthusiastic. The AJDC educational consultant, M. J. Joslow, wrote: "In general, it can honestly be stated that formal education programs are found in few places. With few exceptions, instruction must frequently be given without texts, pencils or paper,"<sup>10</sup> The situation, however, quickly changed. On August 18, 1948, Dr. Judah J. Shapiro reported to the AJDC in New York:

The most impressive thing about the educational work in Germany is the fact that in these wholly abnormal circumstances, a complete pattern of education --a school system--has been established. I dare to say that in the history of education one will not find so elaborate a program developed so rapidly, and certainly not under comparable conditions. The camps have schools, teachers, and supervisors, children are graded; there are textbooks and libraries, there are school facilities with classrooms, benches and desks, blackboards and maps and other items used in the classroom.<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that a very important factor in bringing about this situation was the corps of teachers brought from Palestine to develop a full school program.

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<sup>9</sup>Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," Jewish Social Studies, ix (1947), 122.

<sup>10</sup>YIVO, 446.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

The credit must be given to AJDC for the boldness with which it approached the problem in making the commitment and fulfilling it, that is, transporting a large group of teachers from Palestine into the DP countries, paying their salaries, their transportation, their clothing, and their cost of living. This Palestine group made a triple contribution:

1. They developed a standardized curriculum;
2. They supervised and made effective some 500 local teachers;
3. They actually taught, and thus demonstrated to local teachers the best methods of teaching.

In August 1948, the entire school program was shaken by the return of the Palestinian teachers to Palestine. In September 1948 S. Lewis Gaber, AJDC Education and Recreation Consultant wrote:

Dr. Zeev Gilad was appointed chairman of the Board of Education and Culture by the Jewish Agency for Palestine and also as their representative on the Board. Unfortunately, Dr. Gilad was the only Palestinian teacher entering into the work for the coming school year, whereas all other teachers were in the process of leaving. The school year began on August 20th and already there were indications of the damage being done to the built-up school system by the evacuation of the Palestinian teachers. Now we are faced with not only the shortage in teachers' cadre, but almost the complete absence of Palestinian professional guidance. We hope that the new group of teachers who, we understand, are coming into the zone, will arrive here during the month of September, so that a minimum of time will be lost.

Some replacements were found, but not in sufficient numbers. Fortunately, however, by then local teachers had gained

more experience and were able to continue the work on their own.<sup>12</sup>

In places where the Jewish DP population came into contact with the Palestinian Jewish Brigade, the cultural activities, including schools, gained much by the initiative and experience of the Jewish soldiers. In Bergen-Belsen, for example, the Hebrew course was conducted by David Litman, a member of the Brigade.<sup>13</sup>

Education was constantly influenced by the Jewish attitude towards Germans. Jewish organizations took a negative attitude towards the idea of recreating a permanent Jewish community in Germany by German Jews or DPs. Evacuation of all Jews from Germany was the official Jewish policy although Harry Greenstein, advisor on Jewish affairs to the United States Military Governor of Germany, tried to persuade Jewish leaders to accept General Lucius D. Clay's point of view, which was in contrast to the official Jewish policy. In time, however, a new German - Jewish community was created and even many DPs settled there permanently. By 1961, about 40,000 Jews lived in Germany in 514 scattered places, mostly in large cities.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> YIVO, 2270.

<sup>14</sup> For a general picture of German Jews in post-war Germany see Norbert Muhler, The Survivors. A Report on the Jews in Germany Today. New York, 1962.

One teacher correctly noted that the temporary character of the DP camps prevented the establishment of a perfect school system. Everything was done to bring about a complete liquidation of Jewish life in Germany. Of course, building for the ultimate liquidation was a great national endeavor, but hardly a good atmosphere for giving children a good schooling.<sup>15</sup>

Often parents were excluded from important school activities. At Leipheim, for example, numerous leaders and guests were invited to a banquet on the occasion of the opening of a new school year, but the parents were not allowed to attend.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, at a meeting of teachers held on November 24, 1946, in Stuttgart, it was emphasized that "the influence of the school is often paralyzed or ruined by the parents at home. Meetings of parents must be held more often for the purpose of helping them better understand the goals of their children's education."<sup>17</sup>

The lack of tolerance among adults had a great influence on children. In July 1946, Sadie Sander, an AJDC worker reported on the "apparent antagonism between the

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<sup>15</sup>Dusia Blincher, in Dvar Hamore Behaapala, No. 2, July 1948, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, Sept. 25, 1946, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup>Monthly Report for November 1947 by Philip Friedman (YIVO, 28/001694).

various political groups" at the children's home of Lindenfels. The non-religious children "in their arrogance of materialism and superiority of worldly knowledge," taunted the religious children with the demand of proof of a corporeal God.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps one should conclude that there was no general policy for all the Jewish DP children. In 1946, Israel Elencwaig noted that each group had its own ideological program of educating children in its spirit. The children could not be classified by age group but by ideology. This had, of course, its repercussions. A social worker who went with the first group of 1,000 children to Palestine told the following story:

"A four year old girl, whose parents perished, was asked by her uncle: 'Would you like me to be your father?' The child replied: 'When you will pray regularly every day, and observe all other precepts, I will become your comrade'."<sup>19</sup>

A 1946 report from Eschwege tells the following story about the correlation between political conflicts among adults and the education of children:

The political fight in the camp started very hard: two new kibbutzim were born this month; nine people are now

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<sup>18</sup>Monthly Report by Sadie Sender, July 1946, Frankfort-am-Main, p. 4 (YIVO, 24/000702).

<sup>19</sup>Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, August 30, 1946, p. 9.

living in eight kibbutzim. Different incidents happened between the members of the police who belonged to the different parties, or about the children, every party claiming full responsibility for them.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Eschwege, May 31, 1946 (YIVO, 23/000384).



VII. PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION

All aspects of education suffered greatly from the language problem. The Jewish Displaced Persons came from many countries and represented a wide panorama of cultures and languages. The age distribution of the children was not uniform for all countries of origin.<sup>1</sup>

At the Leipheim camp there were in June 1946, 1599 Jewish DPs, including 830 children from Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and other places<sup>2</sup> (see Table XI). The situation was even more complicated at the Children's Home of Struth with 276 children from seven countries<sup>3</sup> (see Table XII). According to the report on registration of March 31, 1946 the number of children sixteen years old or younger was only 8.8% and 70.6 were born in Poland<sup>4</sup> (see Table XIII).

In April 1946, a language survey was made among 53,180 Jews in both the United States and British Zones of Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> YIVO, 55.

<sup>2</sup> YIVO, 423.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> YIVO, 54.

The data, based on replies from 41,757 of these Jews, reveal that 612 of them considered Hebrew as their language. Of these 612, only 12 were sixteen years old or younger; 16,409 considered Yiddish as their language (1,144 were sixteen years or younger); 13,917--Polish; 6,557--German; and 4,262--other languages. In Berlin, 9,451 out of 10,460 Jews supplied information about their languages: 28 noted Hebrew as their language (only one under sixteen years); 715--Yiddish (45 sixteen years of younger); 7,458--German (Berlin had already become again a center of Jews of German origin); 1,052--Polish; and 198--other languages. Thus, most children did not know Yiddish and few of them had a knowledge of Hebrew. This was a result of the years spent by children in ghettos, concentration camps or in hiding--especially in hiding--where the knowledge of Yiddish and Hebrew had to be kept secret. Thus it became necessary to introduce in the school of Jewish survivors a language of instruction which was not spoken by most of the children<sup>5</sup> (see Table XIV).

The cultural complexion of the DP group revealed a considerable degree of assimilation acquired partly before the war and partly in the concentration camp and in hiding. Although the vast majority of the East European Jews knew and spoke Yiddish, the greater number of the middle-aged

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<sup>5</sup>YIVO, 55.

lapsed more naturally into Polish, Russian or Hungarian. In many DP camps, official signs in the offices, posted by DPs themselves, were 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." A slogan spread by Unzer Weg read: "Jews, do not flirt with foreign languages, foreigners also flirt very little with you." However, 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, even while their Zionist ideology and their preparations for settlement in Palestine required emphasis upon Hebrew as the language of the future.<sup>6</sup>

In the beginning of 1946, one AJDC official, M. Joslow, wrote: "Because of language difficulties, it is suggested that there be a redistribution of children and young men and women according to spoken languages to facilitate the instructional medium."<sup>7</sup> However, there were too many difficulties for the realization of such a project. The plan for the future seemed to be more important than the existing

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<sup>6</sup> Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," Jewish Social Studies, ix (1947), p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> AJDC Monthly Reports, May-December 1946 by M. J. Jaslow and Dr. Philip Friedman (YIVO, 449).

language pattern. In a report of December 1945-January 1946, Joslow wrote:

The demand immediately pointed out in every center, without exception, is for instruction in English and Hebrew, not only for children, but for adults as well. An investigation revealed that the hope is still borne that the United States will open its gates and, if this 'miracle' does happen, these people will have some preparation for it. The demand for Hebrew is an obvious one: it is a projection of future religious and cultural needs.<sup>8</sup>

Was there a connection between both the language of instruction and the teaching of languages on one side and the political convictions of the Jewish survivors on the other? There can be no doubt that the drive to teach Hebrew was indeed connected with Zionist aspirations. Often, this tendency towards Hebrew was nurtured by an opposition to Yiddish and other languages. Dr. Koppel S. Pinson, in a report on Zeilsheim, dated December 12, 1946, tried to explain the survivors' political Zionist psychology:

Something should be said here concerning their Zionist philosophy. There has been built up on all sides and among all parties concerned with these people something of an alarmist attitude regarding Zionism. Zionism has often been made synonymous with extremism. This is not a true picture. The Zionism of these people is really nothing but a Jewish national approach to their problems. This must be understood in terms of the entire picture of Jewish life in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, etc. Here the Jews before World War II constituted a distinct national cultural group and were recognized as such by the Treaty of Versailles and by the fundamental laws of the succession states created out of the old Hapsburg and Russian Empires. Jews in these countries were

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

supposed to enjoy national minority rights; they had their own schools, newspapers, and other cultural institutions. By tradition and culture they constitute a distinct national grouping (Kulturgemeinschaft): their experience of the last 15 years had added even more to the common fund of experience and had made more than ever of them a Schicksalsgemeinschaft. They resent, therefore, attempts made by official authorities to ignore these natural conditions and to force their educational and cultural program into a pattern that is Polish or German, or English, and not Jewish. While these things are obvious facts to any one familiar with Eastern Europe, they are unfortunately not known to many in official positions. There are a few aspects of their state of mind that are special in character and must be reckoned with in any educational program. They have developed a certain hardness and toughness of personality; it is that of course which was largely responsible for their survival. The softer virtues of personality are covered over with layer upon layer of toughness. This strikes an outsider particularly when it is displayed by the intellectuals in the group. Then there is a kind of intellectual intolerance which must be understood properly. A conception of Ichud (unity) has been developed among the people. This conception of unity holds that in their struggle for survival all ideological differences formerly existing in Jewish life were completely subordinated to collective unity. They still consider themselves to be in a state of war, despite the cessation of hostilities and the Allied victory, and hence still struggle to maintain this ideal of unity. Moreover the issue of Palestine has become emotionally, psychologically and politically so intimately tied up with their own hopes for the future that they do not even wish to allow discussion of Zionism or anti-Zionism. For them, anti-Zionism or even non-Zionism has come to be a threat to the most fundamental stake in the future. It is not a matter here to dispute the question as to the soundness of their hopes. It is a state of mind which is a fact. And because this problem has become psychologically and emotionally so inextricably tied up with their hopes for the future we may say that there is a sort of subtle terrorization of large elements in the camps who were not especially interested in Palestine or political Zionism. Add to this the very subtle but real effects of twelve years of Nazi totalitarianism and you find certain influences definitely at work: 1) a mistrust of the masses 2) a conception that free discussion of intellectual problems is a luxury which they cannot as yet afford

3) a certain militancy which offers very little room for intellectual humility. On the basis of my study of these people at Zeilsheim, however, I think that except for a very small fanatical group (made up largely of former Revisionists) these negative aspects of their state of mind can be eradicated by giving them an educational program of real Jewish content. It cannot and should not be done by trying to fight them on what they still consider to be a life or death question. Meeting them as man to man, I have found, has already been successful in helping restore to them a sense of perspective and intellectual tolerance.<sup>9</sup>

Professor Koppel S. Pinson noted in another report, dated December 24, 1946, that there was a tendency to subordinate mastery of subject content to proficiency in the use of Hebrew. Grading of pupils in a subject such as geography was made, not on the basis of the knowledge of geography but more on the basis of the knowledge of Hebrew, because Hebrew was being used as the language of instruction in the classes.<sup>10</sup>

The teachers at Bad-Zaltshlirft complained that they had to deal with children who often had the experience of grown ups; who knew many languages such as Russian, Polish, languages of Asiatic Russia--but had no knowledge of their own language.<sup>11</sup>

From the Bleidorn Camp, where 1,340 Jewish DPs lived, it was reported in December 1947:

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Zaltshlirfter Leb'n, No. 1, October 1946.

The children learning in the school came from different countries and spoke different languages. It was very difficult to work in the schools, and the teachers had a big job to make the children speak one language. Now all children are speaking Hebrew at school and trying to speak this language at home.<sup>12</sup>

One visitor noted that Hebrew became the language of instruction mainly for practical reasons. As the children came from various countries a common language had to be found.<sup>13</sup>

At the Bialik School in Stuttgart, Hebrew was taught during the school year 1946/47 by using Yiddish as the language of instruction in grades I, II, and VI, Yiddish and Polish in grade II, and only Hebrew in grades IV and VII. Polish was the language of instruction for English in all grades IV and VII: Yiddish and Polish for general and Jewish history, etc.<sup>14</sup>

An AJDC worker reported on the elementary school of Munich (August 1946): "The basic language is Hebrew, and the school is definitely Zionist in its orientation."<sup>15</sup>

The attitude to languages of instruction in schools was but part of a general pattern. Dr. Samuel Gringauz, a DP leader, elucidated this problem in an article on "The Future of Jewish Culture." European Jewry, wrote Dr.

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<sup>12</sup>AJDC, Quarterly Installation Report, Bleidorn Camp, December 1947 (YIVO, 50).

<sup>13</sup>Ema Schaver, Mir Zaynen Do. New York, 1948, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup>Bet-Bialik School in Stuttgart, Documents 1946-1947 (YIVO, 1392).

<sup>15</sup>Etta Deutsch to Leo Schwartz, August 4, 1946, Report on July 1946 (YIVO, 24/000857).

Gringauz, can no longer be considered the bearer of Jewish culture. The future belongs to Palestine and America. The Jews, who have been part of European civilization for close to 2,000 years, will cease to be that any longer. This will mean the "decline of Jewish intellectualism." The Jew will become more primitive in his thought, he continued, more empirical and more concrete. The abstract Germanic character-trait of Jewish thought will gradually disappear and the Jewish spirit will approximate more closely the concrete empirical Anglo-Saxon mode of thought. With the destruction of East European Jewry, wrote Dr. Gringauz, the folk character of Jewish culture based on the village (shtetl) and on Hasidism, is also lost. The language dualism of Yiddish and Hebrew disappears. Yiddish has no place in Palestine and no future in America. With the decline of East European Jewry, the Yiddish language also loses its cultural basis. Even the vitality of American Jewry will come only because of its identification with Palestine. "The entire Jewish people is today, from the viewpoint of national dynamics, personified in two centers, America and Eretz Yisrael and between these two has been set up a tie of common national political goals."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Dr. Samuel Gringauz, "Die Zukunft der jüdischen Kultur." Jüdische Rundschau, May-June 1946, pp. 22-24; also Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, June 4, 1946, p. 9 and other DP newspapers; Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," Jewish Social Studies, ix (1947), p. 113.



For a time, the schools were greatly influenced by the presence of a native group of teachers from Palestine and their attitude had a great impact on the language problem. In some cases, teaching Hebrew became a political question. In Bergen-Belsen, between forty and fifty students were enrolled in an English class. One day the members of the Jewish Brigade who were stationed in the vicinity and who had helped the Displaced Persons in all ways possible, decided that the English classes would have to be suspended. They even took over the room which had been used by the teacher of English, but the latter "decided to continue giving private instruction." Later, the same teacher stated that he had been prevented from organizing an English speaking club at the camp.<sup>17</sup>

The language problem, especially the Hebrew versus Yiddish question, was often discussed publicly among the DPs in Germany and also abroad. Some DP officials stated that there was no struggle against Yiddish but rather for Yiddish. On March 2, 1945, Jacob Pat of the American Jewish Labor Committee stated in the Forverts that Yiddish was banned in the DP camps. This was denied by Unzer Weg, a DP newspaper of August 13, 1947, but Yiddishists continued to criticize the anti-Yiddish attitude.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> YIVO, 2270.

<sup>18</sup> "Der Khayrim ayf Yiddish." Der Veker, May 1947, pp. 9-19 (publication of the Jewish Socialist Labor Bund in Germany).

Some orthodox DPs complained that at the Landsberg camp, where Hebrew became the language of instruction, the children had gained the impression that outside of Hebrew nothing else existed. Of course, such a criticism was exaggerated. History, geography, mathematics were also taught, but in Hebrew.<sup>19</sup>

According to a report of October 1947, Hebrew was taught 11 hours of a total of 24 in grade 1; 7 out of a total of 25 hours in grade 2; and 6 out of 29-35 hours in grades 2-6. Following are the details (see Table XV).<sup>20</sup>

In August 1948, up to 25.5% of the 10,542 class hours were given in Hebrew; 0.2% in Yiddish; 3.4% in English. At evening courses, Hebrew took up 57.7% of the time, and at the ORT courses for supplementary instruction in general subjects--74.1% (see Table XVI).<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, considerable time was devoted to the teaching of Hebrew as most of the children were to emigrate to Palestine. This was disliked not only by a non- and anti-Zionist minority among the Jewish DPs, but also by some non-Jewish officials. The UNRRA of Belsen, located in the British Zone, criticized the emphasis on teaching Hebrew

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<sup>19</sup> Landsberg Lager-Cajtung, May 3, 1946, p. 6

<sup>20</sup> YIVO, 757. Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> YIVO, 47. Ibid., AJDC Report, August, p. 23.

as purely political propaganda. As early as December 24, 1945, Dr. Koppel Pinson, AJDC representative in Germany, pointed out that the Jewish DPs of East European origin resented attempts by German or British authorities to interfere in the education of Jewish children. Not only did these Jews resent such interference by the Germans as the murderers of millions of Jews and of the British because of the latter's politics in Palestine, but they stressed and continued to advocate the tradition of Jews being a distinct national group with its own rights of cultural autonomy.<sup>22</sup>

As a rule, the language of instruction in the kindergartens and elementary schools was Hebrew and Yiddish. However, in cases of large numbers of children who did not know these two languages the language of instruction was, at first, Polish or Hungarian in the camps of Fuerth and Bamberg, for example.<sup>23</sup> An AJDC report of December 1945-January 1946 noted that at Leipheim many of the children were Hungarian and did not speak Yiddish. Any instructional material had to be prepared in their spoken language.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> M. J. Jaslow, AJDC HQ Germany, Report of Educational Survey, p. 10 (YIVO, 54).

In some places--at Leipheim, for example--separate classes were at first organized according to the place of birth of the children. However, by June 1946 the system was reorganized, eliminating the division into Hungarian and Polish classes. There was no need for dividing the school curriculum into two teaching groups since Hebrew had become the common tongue.<sup>25</sup>

According to a report by M. J. Joslow of the AJDC, dated January 1946, the prevailing language in Degendorf was German, in Landsberg--Polish; in Leipheim--Hungarian.<sup>26</sup>

The parents at the Wetzler camp organized two schools, one for young children and the other for older students. Hebrew became the language of instruction in the first school and Yiddish in the second since the older students spoke Yiddish; but even for them, Hebrew took up 40% of the school hours.<sup>27</sup>

The same tendency prevailed in almost all camps. By 1947 Hebrew became the main language of instruction, often at the expense of Yiddish. At the end of October 1947 the Board of Education and Culture of the Central Committee reported:

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 1993.

<sup>27</sup>Correspondence between Department of Education and Culture in Munich and Camp Wetzler, 1946 (YIVO, 751).

The basic language of the schools is Hebrew. This is according to the wishes of most parents, and in accordance with the general principles of the educational philosophy of the Board of Education. Furthermore, this policy reflects the conviction that the destination of almost all the children is Eretz Yisrael. Yiddish is used as a basic language in schools where the students have not yet advanced enough to learn more sophisticated subject matter in Hebrew or if the teacher can teach only Yiddish and not Hebrew. The principal attitude of the Board of Education is to teach the language in which matters of education and culture are most naturally transmitted to the Jewish masses of the Sheerit Hapletah. Yiddish is the language of the meetings of the Board of Education. Both Yiddish and Hebrew are the official languages used in offices of the Board (of Education) either in the written or spoken forms.<sup>28</sup>

According to a report of the AJDC Education Department in Germany dated May 1947, the teachers demanded "the complete Hebraization of the schools." By then, only one school (Schliersee) had applied to include Yiddish in the curriculum. At the same time, however, Jewish Displaced Persons who, for example, used Polish as their language of communication would have resented "very strongly an educational program with Polish as the language of instruction."<sup>29</sup>

This was a result of their resentment of Polish participation in anti-Jewish persecutions before and during the War. The language of instruction was then Yiddish or Hebrew. It seems, however, that Hungarian Jews had no such misgivings<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Summary Report for 1947 entitled "The Founding of the Board of Education and Culture," p. 7 (YIVO, 757).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Koppel S. Pinson's report on Zeilsheim, December 24, 1946 (YIVO, 54).

with respect to introducing Hungarian as a language of instruction.

Also in the evening courses for adults, more hours were spent in teaching Hebrew (4 hours per week) than any other subject (1 and 2 hours). Hebrew was an obligatory subject; no adult was permitted to take another subject without Hebrew.<sup>31</sup> In April 1946, 153 DPs--or only 1.7% of the entire Jewish DP population--were registered at Hebrew courses for adults in the regions of Niederbayern-Oberpfalz and Regensburg; by November 1946, 1,090 (or 5%). At the English courses for adults, 281 (3.1%) were registered in April 1946 and 436 (2.2%) in November 1946. This was due mostly to a general influx of the Jewish DP population.<sup>32</sup> In the Jewish community of Schwarzenfeld an evening course existed with 12 students in 1948; 12 out of the 20 weekly school hours were spent on teaching Hebrew, 6 hours on history and 2 hours on Palestine geography.<sup>33</sup>

Many Jewish DPs who spoke Yiddish could hardly read and write in Hebrew characters and the use of Latin

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<sup>31</sup>YIVO, 757. Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Tetikajtsbaricht Kulturamt bajm Central Komitet far Bafrajte Judn in der USA-Zone. Rajon Niederbajern un Oberpfalc, Regensburg, far der Kadenc 1946. pp. 5-6.

<sup>33</sup>Correspondence on school and culture activities with Praesidium of Central Committee 1947-1948 (YIVO, 753).

characters for private and official correspondence was generally accepted.<sup>34</sup> For this reason--and also because of the lack of Hebrew matrices in German printing places --newspapers and brochures were also published in Yiddish with Latin characters.

For a period of time, writing Yiddish in Latin characters in transliteration according to Polish phonetics was used also for children, as can be seen from the following document:<sup>35</sup>

10 Gebotn farn szulkind

1. Sztej uf um 7 (fri) un lejg zich um 9 (ownt).
2. Wasz sich ganc mit kaltn waser.
3. Mach gimnastik 5 minut in der fri.
4. Puc di cejn in der fri un in ownt, szwejnke zej noch jedn esn.
5. Es langzam, nit ajl zich bajm frisztik farn gejn in szul.
6. Di pauzes in szul farbring af friszer luft.
7. Noch mittog ruh a  $\frac{1}{2}$  szoh.
8. Szpil zich im frajen nochn cugrejtn di lekcjes.
9. Wasz zich farn szlof.
10. Szlof im cimer baj an ofenem fenster.

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<sup>34</sup>The DP collection at YIVO contains a mass of such documents.

<sup>35</sup>YIVO, 1932.

Of course, not even all teachers knew Hebrew. As of July 1, 1948, only 364 out of 658 teachers in the American Zone of Germany knew Hebrew.<sup>36</sup>

It is worthwhile to find out what the language situation was in a particular DP center. On December 12, 1946, for example, Dr. Koppel S. Pinson reported on Zeilsheim. Zeilsheim was a small village about two miles outside Hochst and about 12 miles from a larger center--Frankfurt-am-Main. There were then about 3,000 Jews in Zeilsheim. There was a nucleus of about 75-100 persons in the camp who had considerable cultural or professional background. Dr. Pinson writes:

The languages used by Jews of Zeilsheim are in order of quantitative importance, 1) Yiddish, 2) Polish, 3) Hebrew, 4) German, 5) Russian, 6) English. An important distinction, however, must be made between colloquial language used for ordinary conversation or even for recreational reading on the one hand, and the language of instruction used in a formal program of education. Thus, whereas very many of the DPs in the camp use Polish as a vehicle of communication, they would resent very strongly an educational program with Polish as the language of instruction. The languages in the formal educational program must be Yiddish and Hebrew. For the adult program it will have to be almost entirely in Yiddish and all books, text books and teaching materials will have to be in Yiddish; for the younger groups it will have to be all the six languages listed above. There is a considerable number of Jews from Lithuania and the Baltic countries for whom the cultural language continues to be Russian. There is also a small number of Jews who come from the Soviet

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Statistische Oeffsztelung (Statistical Data), July 1, 1948 (UIVO, 453).



Union and find satisfaction in reading Russian. The bulk of the materials, however, must be in Yiddish and Hebrew languages.<sup>37</sup>

In comparing the countries of origin (or former nationality) of Jewish DPs and refugees in other countries, statistics of 1945-1946 report 83.8% of Jewish DPs in Germany and Austria were of former Polish nationality; in Italy--67.2%; in Sweden--42.84%; and in Switzerland--37.3%. The percentage of Rumanian Jewish nationals was 3.3% in Germany and Austria, 16.6% in Italy and 12.7% in Switzerland (see Table XVII).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 449.

<sup>38</sup>Zorach Warhaftig, Uprooted, New York, 1946, p. 50.

PART III

TYPES OF SCHOOL

### VIII. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The majority of the Jewish DPs were not formally religious. According to Dr. Koppel S. Pinson, the belief that the experience of suffering of the kind they went through, brought people back to religion, was not borne out by the Jewish DPs in Germany. Whatever mystical trend or return to religion had been induced by the Hitler persecutions seemed to have emerged particularly among Jews who did not experience the suffering themselves but who watched from afar with sympathy and with philosophical questioning. The indifference to religion among the majority of DPs was 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 elements of the Jewish population. Even among those who belonged to the religious groups, life in a concentration camp, or for that matter even in a DP camp, tended to downgrade religious observance and religious piety. Small groups of DPs did form a militant orthodox circle, and they strove to introduce the typical symbols of orthodox Jewish life--a synagogue, kosher meat, and a mikveh (ritual bath). This provoked conflicts in the camps between militant minorities and other agencies as to whether scarce lumber, building materials and labor should be diverted from housing or other projects to that of building a mikveh. And usually the

determined and unbending attitude of orthodoxy had its way. The religious leadership in the DP camps during the first year was almost entirely in the hands of Hungarian and Slovakian Jews. Hungary and Slovakia had been the last Jewish areas to be ravaged by the Nazis, and liquidation of Jews there did not begin until 1944. While most of the Polish and Lithuanian rabbis had long been exterminated, a larger number in Hungary and Slovakia survived. It was only with the arrival of stragglers from Russia and Poland that religious groups and leaders from these countries began to play an active role. Among these were considerable numbers of Habad hasidim, followers of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, some of them indigenous Russian Jews who had never been outside the USSR before.<sup>1</sup>

Orthodox Jews created yeshivoth in a number of camps. However, according to one observer, not one of them was in the grand tradition of Mir, Slobodka, Telz or Volozhin. There were no outstanding rabbinical scholars in any of the camps. But the content and mode of study of the old yeshivoth was continued. Such institutions were found in Belsen, Zeilsheim, Feldafing, Foehrenwald, Leipheim, Landsberg, Pocking, and later in Ulm.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. IX (1947, pp. 110-112.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 123.

By May 1946, the Jewish community of Berlin, with about 7,822 professing Jews, had no religious teacher.<sup>3</sup> In November 1946, Rabbi Israel E. Botwinick, the AJDC Deputy Religious Director, reported that "in just about every DP camp throughout the American Zone there was at least one yeshiva. The majority of students were infiltrators."<sup>4</sup>

At the Rosenheim camp, the parents of 16 children organized a religious course because no religious subjects were taught at the regular camp school. However, the camp administration was willing to grant the religious teachers only half of the necessary food rations.<sup>5</sup>

From Table XVIII, one can see that from March - April 1948, there were in the American zone of Germany, eleven yeshivoth maintained by the AJDC, with eleven rabbis, twenty-five teachers and 420 students. In addition, the AJDC gave financial help to the Merkaz of the Kloisenburger yeshivahs, with two rabbis and two field representatives.<sup>6</sup>

In May 1948, there were in the American zone 62 Talmud Torahs and 12 yeshivoth supported by the AJDC, with a total of 4,170 students and 252 principals and religious teachers.

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<sup>3</sup>YIVO, 55, pp. 97, 140.

<sup>4</sup>Rabbi Israel E. Botwinick, Deputy Religious Director, U.S. Zone to Leo W. Schwartz, Director, U.S. Zone Headquarters Report for October 1946 (YIVO, 27/001426).

<sup>5</sup>YIVO, 754.

<sup>6</sup>AJDC Report, March-April 1948, p.24 (YIVO, 47).

(See Table XIX). There was also a Shoetime Seminary with ten students.<sup>7</sup>

From September 15, 1946 to January 1, 1947, the Vaad Hatzala established religious schools in 34 camps of the American zone of Germany with 3,015 pupils and 202 teachers. These schools were of various character: elementary and secondary schools, Talmud Torahs and yeshivoths.<sup>8</sup>

At one time, the Orthodox Vaad Hatzala in the United States supervised fifty-nine religious schools for boys with over 3,000 students, sixteen Beth Jacob schools for girls in Germany, and also a Teacher's Seminary in Bergen Belsen for the girls' schools.<sup>9</sup> See (Table XX.)

On June 8, 1948, a conference on religious education was held with the participation of religious teachers, rabbis and religious organizations. One of its main purposes was to provide a standard curriculum.

At the end of 1948, JDC was exploring the possibilities of uniting the various yeshivoth into one central installation, making for closer cooperation and more direct supervision. At a conference with the Rabbinate and the Vaad Hayeshivoth, this plan was accepted, and JDC was negotiating

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. AJDC Report, May 1948, p.33

<sup>8</sup> Report of Vaad HATZALA Institutions Established in the American Zone Between September 15, 1946 to January 1, 1947 (YIVO, 62).

<sup>9</sup> Disaster & Salvation, The History of Vaad Hatzala in America, New York, 1957, pp. 459-64

with International Refugee Organization for its practical implementation, but the plan was never realized.<sup>10</sup>

Bringing Jewish children back to the fold of the Jewish people was a very desirable and urgent task after the end of hostilities, and such efforts were made also in Germany. The following is the story of one such case: A young boy about six years of age, was living with a Lithuanian family as their child. This boy, who was born in the Kovno Ghetto, had in 1943 been deposited by his mother with a Polish family in order to save his life. That Polish family, not feeling secure themselves, turned the child over to a Lithuanian gentile family who later lived as Displaced Persons in the Frankfurt area. After many trying efforts on the part of his relatives in France and Palestine, and with the assistance of the AJDC Personal Service Department, the boy was finally located and identified as the sole survivor of his entire family. His aunt, sister of his departed father, would not rest until she could herself see the boy and arrange for his return to the Jewish faith. Since she was living in France in very moderate circumstances, AJDC assisted her in coming to Germany and establishing contact with the family who had cared for the child during the past years. The AJDC Religious Department and Legal Department cooperated in carrying on negotiations with the foster parents who finally declared

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<sup>10</sup>AJDC Report for October-December 1946, p.32 (YIVO,47).

themselves willing to return the boy to his family under the condition that they be adequately compensated for the care they had given him over a period of time. The boy's relatives themselves were unable to raise the necessary funds; in the true spirit of brotherhood and mutual assistance the population of the Jewish DP camps in the Frankfurt area raised part of the money needed and AJDC made a special allocation to cover the balance of the sum required. The youngster was prepared for Aliyah to Israel where he joined his surviving uncle.<sup>11</sup>

At the Lampertheim camp, most of the children of a group of 270 from Poland had no knowledge at all of Jewish life. They had been redeemed from Polish families and most of the boys had not been circumcised. It had to be explained to these children that they were Jewish, why their parents had been massacred, etc. Often such children were raised in an anti-Semitic atmosphere.<sup>12</sup>

There was a proposal to teach religious subjects in secular schools and to appoint special teachers for that purpose. But a compromise was neither possible nor accepted. The partisans of a secular but Zionist education complained that the religious schools were nothing more than old fashioned hadarim, where religion was the only subject

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid. P.31.

<sup>12</sup>Emma Schaver, Mir Zaynen Do. New York, 1948, pp. 98, 104.



taught to children, that the religious schools did not even continue in the spirit of the pre-war modern religious schools, and that religion alone was not enough to educate children as future sound-minded Jews.<sup>13</sup>

In 1948, at the Toymhei Temimim Yeshiva at Pocking (with sixty students and five teachers), the first grade spent thirty hours weekly studying Talmud and ten additional hours on other religious subjects, but no secular subjects at all were studied. In the girls' school (with 34 pupils) twenty hours were spent in the first grade on religious subjects and twelve hours on Hebrew and mathematics.<sup>14</sup>

At the Foehrenwald camp, the AJDC tried to interest the religious Beth Jacob school for girls in teaching secular subjects. The AJDC provided a teacher for English, geography and mathematics.<sup>15</sup>

Generally, classes were co-educational in non-strictly religious schools. But at some camps, such as Foehrenwald, the parents demanded and obtained separate classes for Orthodox boys and girls.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>N. Krumer, "Education--Secular and Religious", Landsberger Lager-Catjtung, June 21, 1946, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>YIVO, 1383.

<sup>15</sup>Report of May 4, 1946 (YIVO, 22).

<sup>16</sup>YIVO, 55, p. 92.

IX. KIBBUTZIM, CHILDREN'S HOMES AND CAMPS

Leaders of the DPs and social workers of the AJDC and other voluntary Jewish agencies regarded the Kibbutz to be the best form of life for many young people who were deprived of a normal family environment. This became even more necessary in view of the unhealthy social atmosphere prevailing in some camps. Professor Koppel S. Pinson, AJDC representative for cultural activities reported on December 24, 1946, on the two kibbutz-annexes of Zeilsheim (The Zionist Kibbutz Ichud and the religious Kibbutz Dati):

Life in the Kibbutzim is subjected to more discipline, and activities are carried on in the more organized fashion of camp life. The way of life in the Kibbutzim is oriented around a definite Weltanschauung (the Zionist ideal in the larger Kibbutz, devotion to religious orthodoxy in the smaller one): the motivation is to keep their members away from the more shady aspects of DP camp life, such as idleness and black market operations: morale is on the whole much higher, therefore. Eagerness for education, too, is on the whole more intense at the Kibbutzim. There is, however, a slight tendency in the Kibbutzim to consider themselves as the more select group without feeling the corresponding sense of responsibility to assume leadership in the rest of the camp.<sup>1</sup>

In June 1946, there were 399 children in the children's home of Struth. They came from seven countries, mostly from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, as can be seen from

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<sup>1</sup>Education Report for Zeilsheim by Koppel S. Pinson ("Highly Confidential"), December 24, 1946, p. 1, (YIVO, 54).

Table XXI.<sup>2</sup>

Closely connected with education were summer camps for children. In July 1948, for example, there were eight camps with a total of 1,170 children organized by political Zionist youth movements alone, excluding general camps. (See Table XXII.)<sup>3</sup>

The following recreational supplies were distributed by the AJDC in the summer camps during July 1948:<sup>4</sup>

Footballs.....	8
Ping pong sets.....	6
Ping pong balls.....	300
Chess sets.....	30
Checkers.....	30
Pants.....	770
Air pumps.....	6
Dominos.....	30
Jigsaw puzzles.....	90
Record players.....	9
Records.....	91
Badminton rackets.....	120
Badminton balls.....	240
Kiddi cars.....	4

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<sup>2</sup>YIVO, 23.

<sup>3</sup>General and Monthly Reports of AJDC Departments of Education in the U.S. Zone of Germany 1948 (YIVO, 446).

<sup>4</sup>YIVO, 23.

Airplane kits.....	5
Boxing gloves.....	48
Basket balls.....	10
Chess books.....	18
300 Games books.....	26
Radios.....	4
Harmonicas.....	30
Flutes.....	30

Jewish survivors consistently cared more for children than for adults and wherever possible took care of the children's welfare. For the Jewish DPs, children represented the symbol of survival. The following is an example of a May 1946 report of the Fuerth DP Center, with a static population of 760, including 90 children of school age. By May 1946, there were eight teachers implementing a fully developed curriculum. The children were divided into three groups. Pre-school children, those from 6 to 10, and those from 10 to 16. The curriculum included Hebrew reading and writing, Hebrew grammar, mathematics, Jewish history, world history, geography, Jewish prophets, singing for the younger children, and English for the olders. In addition, there were classes for adults in the evenings in both Hebrew and English. The daily schedule of classes lasted from 9 to 5 and included, as part of the curriculum, were regular classes in gymnastics. During the time the boys went to heder, the girls were taught handicrafts. There was much interest in learning to crochet, knit and sew. All children received, in addition to their regular daily ration of 1/2 liter of

fresh milk, two more servings. Julius Streicher's Farm, where a kibbutz of 100 young men and women of 16 to 25 years of age was located contributed the milk and built some children's furniture (tables and benches) for the school. The milk was delivered every morning, and usually was served outdoors, in the form of cocoa, mid-morning and mid-afternoon. With it, were served homemade cakes or cookies. A committee of Camp Mothers took care of this. Vitamins were given at the time milk was served. The boys' Sports Club had a room of its own. A special officer was in charge and provided footballs, soccer balls, baseball equipment, dart games, chess sets, checkers, boxing gloves, punching bags, and ping pong. There was a football (soccer) match once a week with a competing team. At 8:30 in the morning, there was a gymnastic class for the women. On Sundays, instead of school, the children were taken on outings.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Monthly Report for May 1946 submitted by Helen Witkin, Jewish DP Center, Fuerth, to Leo W. Schwartz AJDC Munich. Copy to Col. Cummings, Director, UNRRA Team 522 (YIVO, 22/000091).

## X. EDUCATION OUTSIDE DP CAMPS

No provision existed for the education of Jewish DP children outside DP camps.

On August 19, 1948, Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, AJDC representative, reported that the second problem in Germany, next to the lack of teachers, was the number of children who lived with their parents in German communities outside of camps, and who, therefore, were completely without any form of Jewish education.

Only about two-thirds of the children lived in DP camps. According to AJDC statistics for District 5 (Munich region) in the American zone, as of January 1, 1947, 9,413 children lived there: 6,234 in camps, 1,898 in children's centers, 106 in Hakhsharoth, 140 in hospitals, and 1,035 lived outside of camps and Jewish centers (see Table XXIII).<sup>1</sup>

It was practically impossible to attempt to send teachers to these small communities to teach six, twelve or eighteen children in a little town. On the other hand, they did merit some attention because they did not live within the framework of a Jewish community and so were apt to become completely estranged from Jewish life itself. The AJDC attempted to develop and offer some informal programs, which included an Oneg Shabbat, discussions of current

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<sup>1</sup>YIVO, 163.

events, celebration of holidays, and at last also a minimal formal program of instruction.<sup>2</sup>

On May 22, 1946, a school was opened in Munich in the community center building at Neuberghausserstrasse 11, with 60 pupils. There were 101 children attending the school, although 25 more had registered. According to the teachers, those who had registered but did not attend lived, for the most part, out-of-town and had not been able to make satisfactory arrangements to enable them to attend the school. Those who did attend ranged in age from 6 1/2 through 22.<sup>3</sup>

In some cases, Jewish children living in cities attended schools of DP centers in nearby camps. This, for example, happened at Stuttgart, where in November 1946, the Jewish community consisted of 1,371 DPs including 128 children.<sup>4</sup> Children of German-born Jews usually attended regular German schools. However, according to a report of May 1946, about 40% of Jewish children outside the camps received no schooling at all.<sup>5</sup>

According to a survey of March 1946 among Jewish survivors in Bavaria and whose last known residence was Germany, there were 59 (or 0.2%) children under 5; 1,192 (or 3.1%)

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<sup>2</sup>YIVO, 446.

<sup>3</sup>Etta Deutsch, (YIVO,24)p.000856

<sup>4</sup>Installation Report, November 1946(YIVO,28) p.001783

<sup>5</sup>YIVO, 55,26.

children from 5 to 16; 2,876 (or 6.5%) children of 17 and 18 years; and 32,340 (or 90.2%) adults over 18.6 According to 1946 statistics of the British zone, the number of children between the ages of 10 and 18 among the surviving German Jews, was smaller than among DPs (see Table XXIV).<sup>7</sup>

In some cases, non-German Jews looked with disfavor upon their brethren who sent their children "to German schools where they were surrounded by German teachers and German schoolmates."<sup>8</sup> The Central Committee of Jewish DPs in the British zone adopted on May 19, 1948 the following resolution: "In order to give children a Jewish education, a boarding school should be established at Bergen-Belsen. Children who lived outside the camps and were enrolled in German schools, should be assisted in areas such as Jewish history and other Jewish subjects."<sup>9</sup> German Jews, however, more easily accepted the idea of educating their children in German schools. In January 1946, for example, a compulsory Volksschule in camp Deggendorf serviced seventy children in four classes. Teachers drawn from the camp were experienced. The curriculum included English, German, Yiddish, Hebrew, geography, history, arithmetic, physical education and singing. A Mittelschule for forty was operated in a school building outside the camp, provided by the Burgermeister.

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<sup>7</sup>YIVO, 160.

<sup>8</sup>YIVO, 2270.

<sup>9</sup>YIVO, 160.



Because of the large number of German Jews, such a school was acceptable.<sup>10</sup>

In some cases, children of non-German Jews also attended German schools. However, in Regensburg, with a Jewish population of about 8,000 in January 1946, both parents and children objected to enrolling in German secular schools.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, however, the children had to follow the general program of schools in Germany. Otherwise, it would have been impossible for the children to obtain legal certificates which would be recognized in other countries.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>J.M. Jaslow ibid, p.11 (YIVO,54).

<sup>11</sup>YIVO, 54 and 1993.

<sup>12</sup>Dr. P. Friedman, in: Devar ha-More be-Haapalah, No. 1, May 1946, p. 16

XI. HIGH SCHOOLS

As of July 1, 1947, there were 83 schools with 400 classes, 826 teachers and 9,021 registered children in the American zone of Germany. Most of the children were concentrated in grades 1-6. As the data is not complete for all schools, it is difficult to formulate a precise correlation between the ages of the children and their grades.<sup>1</sup> (See Table XXV.) As of the beginning of the Summer 1946, no provisions had been made for secondary education for Jewish DP youths desirous of it. In the early days of DP life, the young people who could be considered for such a program were few. A few classes were provided here and there, such as at Foehrenwald, but there was no general organization for secondary education. During the summer of 1946, a Gymnasium (High School) was set up in Munich.<sup>2</sup> Secondary education was offered also in a few other DP centers, but on a very limited basis.

The age groups of Jewish pupils in primary and secondary schools and of Jewish students at universities differed from the normal pattern. This resulted from the fact that most children had lost four or more years of schooling and one

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<sup>1</sup>Statistical Data, July 1, 1947 (YIVO, 453).

<sup>2</sup>Friedman to Leo Schwartz, October 1946 (YIVO 27/001404).

could frequently find sixteen to eighteen-year-old boys and girls, sometimes even adults, in elementary schools. This can be seen from the Table on the age distribution of students in Belsen (see Table XXVI).<sup>3</sup> At the school of Bad-Salzshlirf or Salzshlierf, the difference of ages among the children of the fourth grade was 6 years.<sup>4</sup>

At the Hebrew Elementary school at Landsberg, children 7 and 10 years old were taught in the same class.<sup>5</sup> In December 1946, the 5-grades Gymnasium of Munich had 118 students. The Gymnasium had to be approved and legalized by the Bavarian Kulturministerium and city authorities. This was done at the end of 1946.<sup>6</sup>

How difficult it was for both parents and children to get an education can best be illustrated by the many hardships both had to overcome when the children lived some distance away from a school. In August 1946, a JDC worker reported about children who lived in Foehrenwald and attended the secondary school at Munich. Some students stayed with acquaintances in Munich during the school week, bringing food from home with them, which according to the teachers, they usually ate dry or from cans, except for a cooked meal they received at school. On the whole, living arrangements

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<sup>3</sup>YIVO, 55, p.27.

<sup>4</sup>Salzshlirfer Lebn, No. 1, October 1946.

<sup>5</sup>Landsberger, Lager-Cajtung, January 25, 1946, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Adolphine Eber-Friedman, Educational Officer, "Report on Status of Pedagogical Work in Munich schools, December 27, 1946 (YIVO, 1933).

were not very satisfactory. One girl, who had no parents or relatives and was alone in the world had been sharing a room with three other girls in what she described as intolerably crowded conditions. While it was possible for the JDC worker in this particular instance to get an interested Jewish family to provide a room for her at their home, there were other such situations that were unknown to the AJDC. A young student's mother traveled with him from Foehrenwald and back every day, until the boy was able to arrange to sleep at a friend's home during the week. The Munich Committee decided to establish an "Internat" (Boarding House dormitories) for such children, but the plan was never realized. Children at camps were eager for Gymnasium (High School) education, but did not have such facilities available--a problem which, of course, could be handled on the Munich community level. There were many cases of unusual hardships confronting high school students. In August 1946, Etta Deutsch, an AJDC worker at Munich, reported on a young woman-- a student at the university-- who was the victim of Nazi cruelty and persecution. She lost both legs by amputation and was walking fairly well with two artificial legs furnished her by AJDC. The AJDC tried to help her through the German rehabilitation program for Nazi victims.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Etta Deutsch, ibid. (YIVO, 24/000849).

In September 1948, there were in Bergen-Belsen 125 children in the elementary school and 38 in the secondary school, a total of 163 children.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>YIVO, 446.

## XII. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Five months after the liberation, on October 1, 1945, Jacob Oleiski, who was instrumental in organizing vocational schools among the Jewish DPs, stated at a meeting at Landsberg-Lech:

We former camp inmates, who suffered so much and who witnessed the chaotic condition of man's mental state, we know and we understand how difficult it is to restore the mental equilibrium in the former inmates of concentration camps. But it would be downright criminal on our part to look on the idle and indolent life in the camp without doing anything about it, and permit ourselves to be carried away by the stream. We have to give the man in the camp the possibilities of a future life. We have to reform the daily life, introduce work of all variations and adaptations. We have to feel once more the pulsation of activities. Only in that way will we be able to avert the further demoralization and deterioration of thinking and feeling among our fellow sufferers.

It has been years now since we were flung out from our peaceful and normal way of life. Our lives that we built up through years of physical and mental labor, were destroyed by the Hitler regime. We sunk to a state lower than Pariahs. In the years of the Hitler regime, work became a ghoul that drove us into the arms of death.

The times and conditions of life have, however, radically changed. We shall not remain forever in the camp, and we have to consider the latter only as a preparatory step and transitory to a normal life. Therefore, we must exploit all possibilities in this transition period and try everything to prepare this remnant of the Jews for a new life.

Normal life means a life of meaning and purposes, filled with useful and creative work which could be placed later at the disposal of the community. Now we have to endeavor to eradicate from our minds the negative attitude to work, to destroy that complex that is not justifiable under the present circumstances.

by doing nothing--Work makes life Sweet."<sup>2</sup>

"Not one Child Out of School"--was the slogan of an editorial in a Berlin DP newspaper. This editorial accused parents of a lack of interest in the education of their children. The parents were too busy in various business activities, leaving to the teachers the entire responsibility for their children's education.<sup>3</sup> (YIVO archives possess a photograph and description of a "Commerce Cooperative" organized by five boys who traveled with all kinds of merchandise between Ulm and Stuttgart. One of the boys attended the Ulm school only occasionally and could not even sign his name.<sup>4</sup>) At camp Giebelstadt, Dr. J. Ickowicz, Director of the local ORT training school, spoke in June 1948 on the following subject: "The importance of a trade in general, particularly in view of the establishment of the State of Israel."<sup>5</sup>

Often, vocational schools were started by independent, enthusiastic people who, however, had no experience. At the Foehrenwald-Wolfratshausen camp, for example a course for nurses was started by people with no experience in the

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<sup>2</sup>Jacob Oleiski, "Arbets-process in Landsberger jud, centr." Landsberger Lager-Cajtung, April 2, 1946, p. 6. H. Boruchowicz in ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup>Unser Lebn, No. 4 (22) October 10, 1947

<sup>4</sup>Collection of materials from Stuttgart includes a description of juvenile vendors (YIVO, 1399).

<sup>5</sup>Department of Culture & Education at camp Giebelstadt, Bulletin No. 9, 1948 (YIVO, 1168).

"Habatala Hee Eim Kol Chatat"--"Idleness is the mother of all sins." We see the first attempts to direct life into normal channels in the establishment of trade schools and other institutions of learning, where the former inmates of concentration camps are learning some trade in accordance with their ages and inclinations. Only when these former inmates will become qualified workers, will they be able to lead a well ordered life. The soul of the camper has absorbed so many terrible experiences and memories that move like great dark shadows in the chambers of his inner life. Only through creative work can we tear them out from this condition and bring them into a lighted world. . . .

We have met here to appeal to the whole of the residents of the camp admonishing them to arrange their daily life in work and activity. I am very glad firstly to salute the pioneers who just apprehended the task imposed on them, and set to work with strong intention by work and industry, by forge and weld, by lathe and file to pave the way for the future. From this category will be recruited our future locksmiths and mechanics. Further, we see here our future nurses, who, after theoretical and practical instruction, are ready to place themselves at the service of those who suffer. I do not want to pass over in silence, also, the dental technicians, the radio technicians, motor technicians and the tailors and seamstresses who intend to secure<sup>1</sup> their future existence by learning these professions.

Indeed, Jewish DPs were constantly reminded that they must become "productive", give up black market operations and prepare themselves for the future. "In the Jewish center of Landsberg all Jews must work educate themselves and become productive people." H. Boruchowicz entitled one of his articles in a DP newspaper: "Nothing will be accomplished

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<sup>1</sup> Jacob Oleiski, "The Meaning of the Life-Creative Work". Speech delivered on October 1, 1945 in the cinema building of the Caserne at the evening of the "Culture and Work" festival, devoted to the opening of schools. (YIVO, 21/00206.)



nursing profession. Later, physicians took charge of the work. Often there was much rivalry and competition among the workers. At the same camp, a metal work school was started with very few tools. The locksmiths of the camp "opposed this work with all their might. They were afraid that their source of income would be cut off." But another camp supplied vises. Students were sent out in search of tools and soon the school had seventy young boys working at thirty vises, a smithery, lathes, electric saws, tinwork, etc. Then ORT appeared and gave help, although the school continued to be independent.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, the lack of materials and machines handicapped the work of the schools. From Nuremberg, a JDC worker reported in October 1947:

The ORT training schools are better attended these days but materials are still lacking in shoemaking shop which creates a hardship since people are blocked in their progress. The ladies' tailoring school, however, has been able to obtain a footpaddle sewing machine from the Germans, but still have not enough machines for their needs. The three electric sewing machines are not used at all. There are many young girls in this class and it is amazing what nice things they turn out with their own hands. I saw a young girl of fourteen make a very nice winter dress out of an old coat. Another girl was making a jacket also out of something old. This is beginning to look like a real productive workshop. It would be grand if they could have at least one more sewing machine for they cannot take any more students because of this shortage. The watch repair shop is a real popular spot and so is the automobile repair shop. The laboratory, however, seems to be at a standstill.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 3., (YIVO, 22/00127).

Mr. Weiser, the ORT chairman, tells me that they cannot go on with the work due to lack of materials. The building is completed but needs doors and windows, judging from appearances.<sup>7</sup>

In some instances, the Occupation Authorities provided the vocational schools with tools and machines from seized German military depots. In most cases, however, the DPs had to find their own tools and machines. Also, a steady flow of raw material was needed for the workshops to make production possible on some kind of a continuous basis. The AJDC tried to solve this problem by substituting cloth and leather for finished garments and shoes. This served a double purpose--it gave the DPs the necessary material for their working projects and it also partially solved the tremendous problem of getting the right supply of clothing. At first, ready-made clothing sent by the AJDC from the United States did not even serve the purposes.<sup>8</sup>

A survey of occupational skills among the Jewish DPs receiving help from International Refugee Organization showed that among them there was a relatively greater proportion of the most preferred skills than among the non-Jewish DPs. As of March 31, 1948, the occupational structure of the canvassed Jewish DPs was as follows:<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>YIVO, 192.

<sup>8</sup>Dr. Joseph H. Schwartz' Report of November 9, 1946 (YIVO, 20).

<sup>9</sup>Kurt R. Grossmann, op. cit., p. 21.

Occupation

Administrative.....	3,993
Agriculture and Forestry.....	3,099
Chemistry.....	113
Communications Transportation.....	1,165
Engineering.....	136
Food Processing and Food Handling.....	2,469
Health and Sanitation.....	991
Medical and Dental.....	7,707
Metal Trades.....	9,950
Mining.....	6
Professions and Arts.....	1,152
Public Safety and Welfare.....	197
Skilled Workers.....	22,805
Unskilled Laborers.....	19,881

However, vocational training suffered not only from a lack of machinery tools and other materials, but also from the policy of the UNRRA which had "indirectly discouraged vocational training" by giving preference to German mechanics and drivers over graduates from Jewish trade schools.<sup>10</sup>

Military officials in the British as well as in the American zones did not favor trade or agricultural training. Their interest was in rescue work, not in rehabilitation. They saw no sense in offering training to Jews who were to

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<sup>10</sup>Report by H. Viteles, May 11, 1946 (YIVO, 55, p.20).

leave Germany anyway. In their view, the UNRRA had exceeded its authority when it attempted to do rehabilitation work among the Jews. The UNRRA quickly adopted this policy. Thus, on January 19, 1946, a senior UNRRA liaison officer stated in a report submitted to the Director of the UNRRA in the United States zone, that the UNRRA was not supposed to engage in rehabilitation work and that the Jews would, anyway, be out of Germany by the end of 1946. The use of some properties for agricultural training of Jews was refused because it would have "disrupted" local Germany economy.<sup>11</sup> Agricultural training suffered from the negative attitude of officials to such rehabilitation work.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of all difficulties, ORT opened workshops in March 1946. Previously, there were workshops in only six centers. By November 1947, there were 52 ORT schools with 7,576 pupils, 600 instructors in 352 courses in 53 different trades. From August 1, 1945, until the end of September 1947, 1,511 pupils were trained in the following trades:<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 30, 102-103.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>13</sup>Our Way (Munich), No. 1, November 25, 1947.

Gentlemen's tailoring.....	387
Dressmaking.....	354
Motor mechanics.....	129
Corset making.....	100
Locksmith.....	76
Bookkeeping.....	64
Radio technicians.....	62
Electro technicians.....	61
Underwear production.....	48
Millinery.....	39
Weaving.....	35
Cinema mechanics.....	27
Architecture.....	21
Dentistry.....	20
Typewriter repairing.....	18
Knitting.....	15
Mass children's tailoring.....	13
Photography.....	10
Shoemaking.....	7
Cosmetics.....	7
Chemical technician.....	5
Goldsmithing.....	5
Carpentry.....	4
Paper-hanging.....	3
Fashion designing.....	1
TOTAL.....	<u>1,511</u>

As of December 1, 1948 there were 73 ORT evening courses with 990 students, 63 teachers and a total of 666 weekly school hours for general studies. A General Education Program was also offered at 14 ORT schools, with 181 students, 10 teachers and a total of 115 hours per week (see Table XXVII).<sup>14</sup>

General schooling and vocational training were often combined because many Jewish youths had missed both and had to make up for them. According to a report of May, 1946 at the Foehrenwald-Wolfratshausen camp and also by S. Abramowitz, AJDC Director of Camp Windsheim dated September 1946,<sup>15</sup> the trade schools offered two sessions of four hours each. The pupils were to divide their day between the trade school and the camp school. The same instructors were used for both sessions so that the number of each one's pupils could be doubled. The trade school began with a driving school, which at first consisted of an old truck and an energetic instructor. Soon there were more pupils than the school could handle. In addition to the driving school, the pupils were also required to obtain a general education.

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<sup>14</sup>YIVO, 22.

<sup>15</sup>YIVO, 26/001253.

In June 1946, the Jewish vocational schools were conducted in the German trade schools--at hours when German students were not attending classes. Whenever space permitted, or the set-up of the equipment required it, the Jewish students joined the German students. According to one report, even in the latter instance the two groups got along well together. This was due to the sincere interest the Jewish boys displayed in learning trades.<sup>16</sup>

However, the organization of ORT schools and similar activities were not free of internal conflicts. The following is but one example as told by Leo W. Schwarz, an AJDC official:

Jacob Oleiski founded the first schools among the DPs. However, the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Jewish DPs wanted to coordinate all vocational schools in a general employment agency. This was part of an overall policy and a determination of the Central Committee to bring all schools under its control. To permit Oleiski to serve both organizations--ORT and the Central Committee--was regarded as a dual allegiance that would result in administrative confusion. The committeemen insisted that an official from the international headquarters of ORT, with negotiating powers, come to Munich so that a clear-cut decision could be reached. Thus, Dr. David Lvovicz arrived from Geneva and conferred with the committeemen. Lvovicz had devoted his whole life to the ORT movement. In spite of his wealth of experience, however, the uncompromising attitude of the DPs' committeemen took him by surprise. As chairman of the session, Dr. Abrasha Blumovicz maneuvered his colleagues into an impregnable position. Dr. Boris Pliskin opened by asserting that the Committee was anxious to establish a modus cooperandi with ORT and to support an expanded program, but it should be kept in mind that 90% of the trade schools had been founded

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<sup>16</sup>Etta Deutsch, AJDC Worker, Munich, to Leo Schwartz, July 2, 1946 (YIVO,23/000357) p.3.

by the people themselves. Any such program, therefore could be considered only if it fitted into the general plan of employment and operated under the overall direction of the Committee. Dr. Samuel Gringauz brought the issue to a climax by indicating three alternatives in regulating relations between ORT and the Committee: the two organizations could conduct trade schools independently; or, the Committee could turn over full control of the school to the ORT; or, there could be joint supervision. As the first plan could only result in continual conflict, and the second was inadmissible, he proposed that the third--a principle that had already been put into practice with the AJD, be accepted. The schools could be called ORT trade schools of the Central Committee. Oleiski could direct the program as a member of the Committee, and cooperate with whoever would be appointed the Chief of ORT. Blumovicz closed the debate with a clinching argument. Before the war, he said, ORT was always controlled by the Ministry of Education of the country in which it was operating. Now the Central Committee is the Jewish Government in the United States Zone and the ORT must serve it. He amiably agreed to Lvovicz" request for time to study the proposal. Within the following week, Lvovicz, meeting with a subcommittee of the Praesidium, recognized that there was no appeal from the politicians. There were some minor concessions in phrasing which he might use in defending himself against an inevitable charge by ORT headquarters that he had capitulated. On October 23, 1946, a written agreement was signed by both parties at Siebertstrasse (headquarters of the Central Kommittee).<sup>17</sup>

The relief agencies tried to help students of ORT schools. According to an AJDC report of December 10, 1947, the students of the ORT schools were, at first, receiving the minimum IRO ration in the camps and AJDC, therefore, issued them a supplementary ration of food and a few packages of cigarettes per month. Later, IRO decided to give a worker's ration of over 3,000 calories, plus a few packages of cigarettes per month

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<sup>17</sup>Leo W. Schwartz, The Redeemers, New York, 1953, pp. 72-74.



to all ORT students trained in IRO-approved schools. Taking this into consideration, AJDC decided to reduce its original food ration by 50% and eliminate the cigarette ration entirely. Any students who did not receive the IRO workers' ration, however received the originally allocated AJDC ration in full.<sup>18</sup>

The students of the ORT school at Amberg resolved on January 25, 1948, to go on strike. They objected to the cut of 50% in their fixed rations (in addition to IRO rations). They also decided to attempt to persuade students in other schools to do the same. The teachers supported "the economic demands" of their students.<sup>19</sup>

Like all other schools, the vocational schools, too, suffered from a constant loss of students due to emigration. The ORT schools in the Ansbach area had 233 students in February 1949, a loss of 75 compared to the previous month. In March 1949, only 150 students were enrolled. In fact, after January 1949, no new students had been registered. Some students were transferred to schools in other camps. With the liquidation of the camps in the area, by June 1949, all the ORT schools were closed.

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<sup>18</sup>AJDC Munich, December 10, 1947 to: Central Committee of Liberated Jews; from: Charles Passman, Zone Director (YIVO, 1964).

<sup>19</sup>YIVO, 201.

PART IV

TEACHERS AND TEXTBOOKS

XIII. TEACHERS

Most of the Jewish intellectuals had been exterminated by the Germans. Consequently, the schools in the DP camps suffered from a lack of qualified teachers. One observer noted that those who took over the job of teaching in the first DP schools were youthful idealists who, in most cases, "were only a little more advanced than their pupils."<sup>1</sup> A representative of the AJDC at the Fohrenwald reported:

Teachers. . .are by no means equipped. . .and many do not deserve the name of a teacher. . .we are forced to employ anyone willing to spare the time. The approach of the teacher. . .is the same as that of most of the population, from the direction of the stomach.<sup>2</sup>

The teachers could hardly be blamed. Somebody had to do the job and the best men and women available were chosen.

In May 1946, an AJDC worker reported on the Fohrenwald Wolfratshausen Camp:

Among the first tasks that we started was education. We appointed "teachers" who walked from one children's block to another and taught whatever they could--Hebrew, Mathematics, English, Geography. The doctors taught Hygiene. We drew up time-tables, we tried to provide the young people with a semblance of a school. But nothing was at our disposal. No pencils, no pens, no chalk. Of course we had no textbooks, nor copybooks,

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<sup>1</sup>Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany." Jewish Social Studies, ix(1947), 121.

<sup>2</sup>YIVO, 55, p. 93.

but we had plenty of courage and I bought some chalk and we felt happy. We got a blackboard and thought we had found a treasure. Our classes grew larger and more in number. Proper time-tables had to be worked out. Teachers had to be found and our luck did not fail us. We found teachers, we found the means of coordinating the work of Kibbutzim of different political outlooks. We reached the stage where we transferred the many classes to a central school-building. We broke up a class unit made up by a Kibbutz. Instead, the standard of knowledge was taken as the basis for each class. We had fifteen classes running. Ten in the forenoon and five in the afternoon. A kindergarten was started, furniture was organized. We received some textbooks. The school assumed the shape of a normal school. Twenty teachers, a secretary, cleaners, they all worked together and were responsible for the education of over three hundred children. We had evening classes. Two parallel classes were active for English and Hebrew. At this stage the school needed a full time principal. The AJDC representative who was until now responsible for all this work was engaged in other work and unable to spend as much time as the school required. Fortunately, the Palestinians arrived and one of them took over the direction of the school. Handling of the teachers and their delicate economic problems and supplying of school materials<sup>3</sup> still remained the privilege of the Education Officer.

In order to meet the need of qualified teachers, various courses for teachers were organized. A three months teachers' training course offered, according to a program dated November 11, 1946, the following: Hebrew--72 hours, Jewish history--36 hours, Palestineography--24, general history--24, educational psychology--24, personal hygiene--12, physical education, music, games--36, history of Zionism--12, educational methods--12. Supplementary courses were given in English (36 hours), natural science (24), geography (24),

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 22, p.2.

method of teaching arithmetic (24), physics, chemistry (24), pedagogy (24).<sup>4</sup>

A ten days teachers' seminary was started on July 15, 1947 at Purten with 160 teachers from the American zone (including 39 from Berlin). Lectures were given on the geography of Palestine, the origin of the Hebrew language; psychology of children methods of teaching Hebrew, the Bible, Jewish History, Customs and Current events; mathematics; natural science. Later seminars dealt also with kindergartens.<sup>5</sup>

In June 1948, the second annual seminar for teachers in the U. S. Zone opened in Bad Reichenhall. Heading the permanent teaching staff were the Palestinian Chief of Inspectors, together with two of the Palestinian teachers. This teacher-team was enlarged by outside lecturers especially invited, and by other teachers from Israel. Here, too, financial difficulties interfered with the original plans. Of the 120 teachers who had been invited to attend the seminar, less than half had registered by the end of the first week, because the teachers were without funds to pay their railroad fare. The seminar could not be postponed since the Palestinian teachers were scheduled to leave

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<sup>4</sup> Minutes reports and sample curricula, seminars for teachers and counsellors in the U. S. Zone of Germany, 1946 (YIVO, 451).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 757.

by the end of July and without them no worthwhile seminar could be conducted.<sup>6</sup>

A pedagogical journal was also published, and in 1947, one hundred teachers were placed at the Bad Schliersee summer camp.<sup>7</sup>

As of January 1948, only 42.5% of the teachers in the American Zone were regarded as "qualified"; 76.6% spoke Hebrew; 15.9% had a higher education; 35.5% had a professional education; 42% had experience up to 10 years and 18.4% of more than 10 years. (This, of course, differed greatly according to localities, as can be see from Table XXVIII.)<sup>8</sup>

A report submitted six months later, in July 1948, recorded only 364 out of 658 teachers as having a knowledge of Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> However, this may have been a result of the constant changes in personnel.

Of a total of 658 teachers surveyed by July 1, 1948, only 55% knew Hebrew, 15% had a college education, 25% a pedagogic education. By the end of 1948, the percentage of teachers with a college education fell to 10% (see Table XXIX).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> AJDC Report in June 1948 (YIVO, 47).

<sup>7</sup> YIVO, 757.

<sup>8</sup> YIVO, 446.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 453

<sup>10</sup> YIVO, 47.

Of course, some schools were more lucky than others in finding qualified teachers. In July 1948, for example, the largest number of teachers with pedagogical training were in the Munich district--63 out of 165, while the Stuttgart district had only 13 out of 117 teachers (see Table XXX).<sup>11</sup>

Teachers, and also children, often emigrated in the middle of the school year and the entire set up of many classes had to be rearranged. There was a constant change in the number of pupils and teachers, a decrease in the number of elementary schools and an increase in the number of kindergartens due to high birth rate among the Jewish DPs. This can best be illustrated by comparing the months of January and October 1948 (see Table XXXI).<sup>12</sup>

Because most teachers in the Jewish DP centers did not possess the necessary qualifications for teaching some of the subjects taught in German primary schools, such subjects were not included in the curriculum of many DP schools.<sup>13</sup> But in some centers the Jewish schools (mostly secondary schools) employed German teachers, from secondary schools, who were paid by the German city councils. This happened, for example, in Degendorf, where most of the 35 students of the secondary classes were born in Germany and German was their native

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>YIVO, 446.

<sup>13</sup>YIVO, 55, p.26.

tongue. Also no Jewish teachers for scuh classes were available at Degendorf.<sup>14</sup>

The lack of trained teachers was, at least in part, due to the bureaucratic policies of the occupation forces. A large group of qualified teachers recruited in Palestine, with a knowledge of Yiddish, Hebrew and other languages, were kept waiting for six months for permission to enter Germany. Five teachers assigned by ORT for trade schools had to wait several months in France.<sup>15</sup>

For the school year 1947-48, 85 teachers did arrive from Palestine and 21 for the next school year. These Palestinian teachers were instrumental in organizing seminars and courses for over 600 local teachers.<sup>16</sup>

An AJDC report for March-April 1948 noted:

The rate at which teachers are emigrating from the Zone, the uncertainty as to how many of the Palestinian teachers are going to remain, and the number of indigenous teachers who are leaving the field for other fields of employment, all these contribute to making the future of the education system a precarious one. It is felt that an absolute minimum of at least 15 teachers from Palestine would be necessary during the coming school year in order to maintain the standards of teaching in the Zone. Teaching seminars and other in-service training devices are a necessity for keeping up the teaching strength and helping to raise the level of instruction. A large percentage of the teachers in the school system are not qualified pedagogues, and it is through the seminars, the week-end conferences or one-day meetings that the supervisory staff is

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<sup>14</sup>YIVO, 55, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup>Report by H. Viteles, May 11, 1946 (YIVO, 55, p.28).

<sup>16</sup>Samuel Haber "Two Years with Sheerit Hapletan, ibid., (YIVO, 63).



able to assist in giving the required instruction.<sup>17</sup>

One month later the AJDC again stated that the education system, like every other phase of activity in Germany was seriously affected by the recruitment for Israel, and the resulting loss of teachers represented a real threat to the maintenance and development of the schools. Very few trained replacements could be found in the older age groups or among those not eligible for the mobilization.<sup>18</sup> Israel was proclaimed as a state on May 14, 1948. DPs were massively enlisting to participate in the War of Liberation.

There was no question in anyone's mind that the contribution of the Palestinian teachers had been worthwhile and beneficial. Together with DP leaders they had brought a great degree of organizational skills as well as a knowledge of programming and curriculum construction. However, according to the opinion expressed on May 5, 1948 by Samuel L. Haber, AJDC Director in the American zone of Germany, much more might have been accomplished had the caliber of the teachers been better. "Unfortunately, the cadre of teachers was spotted with young and inexperienced teachers as well as with some who were not, because of personality and temperament suited for the task." Haber suggested that with regard to

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<sup>17</sup>YIVO, 47., ibid., p. 35.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

the coming school year, not more than twenty Palestinian teachers be contracted to remain: In fact, I think that in the light of information coming to me, even this number of teachers will be difficult to recruit, since only a handful are willing to remain; the others have indicated their urgent desire to return to Palestine." according to Haber, the only teachers who could serve efficiently were those who were experienced and who were capable of serving in a supervisory and semi-supervisory capacity. "We need teachers who can supervise a few schools rather than serve in one school, and perhaps even get entirely involved in teaching teachers rather than teaching classes." According to Haber, it seemed rather wasteful to have to bring new teachers in from Palestine to replace those who were leaving. In fact, he seriously questioned the advisability of again bringing in teachers under a one-year contract. Quite a few months would pass before the teachers became acquainted with the "problems inherent in the crazy-quilt set-up in Germany," the mentality and the idiosyncrasies of the DPs and their DP teachers.<sup>19</sup>

In January 1948, a JDC worker from the Ansbach area reported that because of the constant lack of teachers, and in spite of the help coming from the Palestinian group,

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<sup>19</sup> Samuel L. Haber, U. S. Zone Director, Munich, to M. Beckleman, AJDC, Paris, May 5, 1948 (YIVO, 158).

"for every two steps forward there is still one step backward. Teachers leave and there is no one trained or competent to replace them. Unqualified teachers undertake a program but after a short, gasping existence, it falls through because the teachers are just not competent to carry it out."<sup>20</sup>

In October 1949, only one Israeli teacher remained.<sup>21</sup>

Recruiting qualified teachers among DPs was also made difficult as a result of the low salaries and, above all, small rations, which were even more important than salaries paid in cash.

A plan of compensating teachers through food packages was too complicated. The camps submitted lists of too many people entitled to receive such packages.<sup>22</sup> As of August 1946, there had been no unified system of providing satisfactory food rations for teachers. In some places they were on the German city councils' payrolls;<sup>23</sup> other camps provided amenity supplies while in still other places

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<sup>20</sup>YIVO, 192.

<sup>21</sup>AJDC Report for October 1949, p. 5 (YIVO, 48).

<sup>22</sup>M. J. Jaslow to Leo W. Schwartz, Report on June 30, 1946 (YIVO, 23/000179).

<sup>23</sup>In Bulletin No. 17 of November 30, 1947 George Sugar--man in charge of personnel and administration, AJDC speaks of "noon day meals for civilian employees and payment through Burgermeisters payroll." In accordance with the provisions of IRO it is possible to arrange through IRO in each area to receive noon-day meals and Burgermeister's payroll payment for AJDC civilian workers (YIVO, 17).

no provisions were made at all.<sup>24</sup>

In October 1946, a union of teachers was organized and the teachers started to obtain better working conditions. For example, an agreement was reached on May 21, 1948, that any worker who is accepted as a teacher for evening courses will receive, in addition to his normal worker's ration, an additional ration for his evening teaching up to half a teacher's "stavke" (basic rate).<sup>25</sup>

On November 19, 1946, about 600 Jewish teachers of the American zone declared a strike. Dr. Philip Friedmann, Educational Consultant to the AJDC, stated then that the strike was a warning to the AJDC because the teachers were used not only for educational purposes but also to help in other fields of cultural activity:

They are one of the best elements in our DP population, and have already shown that they are idealistic and solve the difficult tasks of their work. It's too bad that we are letting this useful element become disappointed and embittered. If the teachers wouldn't have financial difficulties, they would have more time for cultural work in the camps. To become influential in the camps, they have to attain a social position in the community which, under these financial circumstances is impossible.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>YIVO 26.

<sup>25</sup>AJDC District I, Muhich May 27, 1948. Bulletin No. 50 by Maurice Lipian, Director, District I, (YIVO, 17).

<sup>26</sup>YIVO, 28, 1933, ibid, Report, November 1946.

Indeed, the teachers' strike completely disorganized not only the schools but also all other cultural activities. Often, parents themselves demanded better working conditions for the teachers in order to prevent their wandering from place to place. The following is a petition sent on November 19, 1946, by 180 parents in the camp of Ainring, written in Yiddish with Latin characters:

Mir unten untergeszribene eltern fun di szulkinder fun lager Ainring, ojsherendig dem 18/xi-46 ojf aine ferzamlung di lage fun di jidisze szul, welche arbet bis ject ohne szum bicher un netikste szul rekwiziten, bekantmachendig zich mit der szwerer lage fun di lerer un mit di sybes fun wanderungen fun di lerer fun ort cu ort welche drojert di szulen mit intergang, ojsherendig ojch dem baszplus fun lererferband wegen iberraisen di limudim in ale szulen fun Bajern fun 19/xi-46 bis cum oprifen; driken ojs unser tifste ferwinderung ojf dem Central Komitet beciglich sein handlung legabe di szul un lerer, beciglich zajn gringszeczung so ain frage wi der chinuch in dos bildung fun jidiszen kind, welches hot gebrenzt cu dem ibberajs fun di limudim in ganz Bajern un betnsofort cu farinteresiren zich mit di lage fund di szul un foderungen fun di lerer un interweniren oncufangen di lumudim.<sup>27</sup>

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We, the undersigned parents of the school children of Camp Ainring, having heard on xi/18/46 about the situation of the Jewish school which operates till now without the minimum necessary equipment, having acquainted ourselves with the difficult situation of the teachers and the reasons for their wanderings from place to place which undermine the very existence of the school, having been informed about the teachers' resolution to stop instruction at all schools (Jewish) of Bavaria from xi/19/46 until further notice; express our deepest astonishment at the Cenral Committee with respect to their treatment of the teachers, their disregard for such an important problem as is the education of the Jewish child, which attitude caused the stoppage of instruction in all of Bavaria and we therefore request

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to immediately consider the situation of the schools and the demands of the teachers and intervene in order to reopen the schools.

Note: No attempt was made to render a "correct" translation of the above Yiddish text. (S.G.)

XIV. TEXTBOOKS

At first, the Jewish DP schools were run in the most primitive fashion. Neither teachers nor pupils had textbooks, or even equipment and educational supplies (paper, pencils, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Until the spring of 1946 most of the instruction was from memory or with only one or two textbooks available for both the teacher and the entire class. In December 1946, Koppel S. Pinson reported that at a class of Hebrew in the Kibbutz Ichud (near Zeilsheim) only the teacher had a textbook and there were one or two books scattered through the class of some 30 young men and women. In many cases, the entire homework of the students consisted in copying pages and pages of material they had received in dictation in the classes.<sup>2</sup>

The following data give an idea of the difficulties encountered in providing the necessary textbooks and other material for Jewish schools in Germany:

During the month of June 1946, AJDC distributed in the American zone of Germany 4 bags and 118 packages of chalk, 327 packages of crayons, 395 writing pads, 11 large bottles

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<sup>1</sup>K. S. Pinson's Report of December 1946 (YIVO, 54).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

of ink, 104 dozen penpoints, 2,850 copybooks, 206 dictionaries, 206 English texts, 1,810 Hebrew primers and 95 Hebrew readers, 520 Yiddish primers, etc.<sup>3</sup>

For the first months of 1947 the JDC tried to provide 1,412,500 sheets of paper (86x86 cm.) for printing textbooks, also 136,050 sheets (61x86 cm, approximately 8 tons) of writing paper, 500,000 sheets (approximately 10 tons) of mimeograph paper, 407 square meters of photo-offset film, etc.<sup>4</sup>

The problem of textbooks was solved through reprinting in Germany by photo-offset or editions of textbooks from other countries. Most texts reprinted were textbooks published in Palestine.<sup>5</sup>

At the end of 1947, the Publishing Department of the JDC had set up a printing schedule for six months. The following books were then in print:

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., (YIVO, 23/000198).

<sup>4</sup>AJDC Zone Headquarters, Munich. Estimate of Paper and Film Needs for Printing of Textbooks for Jewish Children in Germany, December 6, 1946 (YIVO, 453).

<sup>5</sup>See, for example: מנחם ארנון, מחברות לעבודה בתנ"ך: ספר שמואל ב', אושר על ידי מחלקת החנוך של כנסת ישראל בארץ ישראל.  
(YIVO, 1992).



a) School - Textbooks

- |    |                                                                                                                   |            |        |  |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------|--|
| 1. | Yesodoth (Hebrew for adults);                                                                                     | 5,000      | copies |  |
| 2. | Jewish History (Hebrew for<br>schools) Part II;                                                                   | 2,500      | "      |  |
| 3. | Sepher HaMesibboth (Hebrew Manual<br>for leisure time activities in<br>school);                                   | 1,000      | "      |  |
| 4. | 10 small booklets (reading ma-<br>terial) for Kindergartens and the<br>lower grades in public school<br>(Hebrew); | each 1,000 | "      |  |
| 5. | Three reading books for Kinder-<br>gartens and the lower grades in<br>public school (Hebrew);                     | each 1,000 | "      |  |
| 6. | Mikraoth (Hebrew <u>Chrestomathy</u> for<br>upper classes) Part V;                                                | 3,000      | "      |  |
| 7. | Mikraoth (Hebrew <u>Chrestomathy</u> for<br>upper classes) Part VI;                                               | 1,000      | "      |  |
| 8. | Segal, Introduction to Bible<br>(Hebrew) Part I;                                                                  | 600        | "      |  |
| 9. | Eckerley, Essential English vol.II.                                                                               | 5,000      | "      |  |

b) Reading books and miscellaneous

- |    |                                                                                           |            |   |  |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---|--|
| 1. | Dubnow, Yidische Geshikhte (Jewish<br>History for adults);                                | 5,000      | " |  |
| 2. | 10 small reading books (short<br>stories of Sh. Ash, Shalom Aleikhem<br>and J. L. Peretz) | each 5,000 | " |  |

7. Uriel Akavia: Aratzoth Ve'amim  
(Geography)  
Part II, 72 pp. 3,000 copies  
Part IV, 38 pp.; 3,000 "
8. S. Dubnow: Yidishe Geshikhte  
(288 pp.). 2,500 "

3.	Grozowsky (Milton) Hebrew- Yiddish dictionary;	10,000 copies
4.	Barachiahu, Yiddish-Hebrew dictionary;	5,000 "
5.	Map of Eretz Israel	1,000 "

The following books were published during the period of January-February 1948:<sup>6</sup>

1.	<u>Sepher Ha-Heshbon ve-ha-Handasah</u> (arithmetic for upper grades);	4,000 copies
2.	J. Tchernovitz: <u>Zug Naalayim</u> (Hebrew tale for grades II-IV);	2,000 "
3.	J. Tchernovitch: <u>Hu yavi otham</u> (Passover tale for grades II-IV);	2,000 "
4.	Segal: <u>Mevo Hamikra</u> (On teaching Bible, a book for teachers);	
5.	Dania Levin: <u>Bamachol Ubathnuah</u> (methods of teaching music, song and dancing in the schools; (pre- paring for festivals) mimeographed;	500 "
6.	Ravnitzky Bialik: <u>Sippurey Hamikra</u> Part I, 82 pp.	5,000 "
	Part II, 102 pp.;	5,000 "

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<sup>6</sup>JDC Reports for November, 1947 and January-February 1948 (YIVO, 46-47).

PART V

THE CHALLENGE OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD

XV. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Many pre-war Jewish University students who had been forced to give up their studies because of the war, tried to continue their studies at various German universities. In addition, UNRRA opened its own university at the Deutsche Museum in Munich, with 2,378 students, about 200 of whom were Jews.<sup>1</sup>

At the request of the UNRRA the Military Government directed the German universities to admit DP enrollment of up to 10 percent of the total number of students enrolled (directive S.35573). By the end of March 1946, there were 964 DP students at the German universities in the American zone, of whom 179 were Jews.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning, the DP University (which was organized by a former Belgian professor and later taken over by the UNRRA) had to give refresher courses and instruction on a pre-college level and the school's aim was to prepare the students for transfer to other German universities.<sup>3</sup>

It was not always easy to become a student. Some of the universities accepted DP candidates only when UNRAA provided board and lodging. In order to obtain this help from UNRAA

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<sup>1</sup>YIVO, 55, 25, 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>AJDC Report on Education in the Third Army Zone, December 26, 1945, January 5, 1946, p. 9 (YIVO, 54).

the candidate had to obtain a clearance from the United States Army Intelligence this took time, and some applications from Jewish students' organizations or individual candidates, treating them as "Nurenberger Gesetz Verfolgte" and almost no difference was made between these and the German students.<sup>4</sup>

The AJDC, The Central Committee and other organizations tried to help the Jewish students. In May 1946, a central billet and mess was opened at Erlangen University. Including Munich, there were then four university hostels at which Jewish students were serviced. But at Goethe University in Frankfurt, 17 Jewish students were without proper care. More than 350 Jewish students were then enrolled in the universities in Germany. There was one aspect which was of much concern to some AJDC workers. More than half of the 350 students were in medical schools (faculty) and it was questionable if all of them were adapted to such studies. It was apparent that many chose this field because this was one of the first two departments to open in German universities and because of the publicity given to medical schools.

It had been recommended by the AJDC to UNRAA that a guidance officer be assigned to each university to aid the

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<sup>4</sup>Report of November 1946 (YIVO,28).

individual student in the selection of the department for which he was best suited; and that admission be based on other factors in addition to holding matura.<sup>5</sup> However, there was never enough help and in order to ameliorate their economic status some students were "selling and exchanging products" on the black-market. The AJDC tried to discourage such practices through a system of individual monetary assistance.<sup>6</sup>

Some students were helped by both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations to complete their studies abroad. But according to an AJDC report for October 1947, of the twelve student candidates for Hillel Foundation Scholarships who had been called to the American Consul, only four were able to fill all the requirements in connection with their visa arrangements. On the other hand, forty students were accepted at different universities in Switzerland through the cooperation of World Student Relief.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>M. J. Jaslow to Leo W. Schwartz, May 31, 1946 (YIVO, 22/000020). The term used on the Continent refers to students who have successfully passed rigorous final examinations at the conclusion of their Gymnasium (H.S.) studies, thus becoming eligible for university studies.

<sup>6</sup>AJDC report of August 1946 (YIVO, 24).

<sup>7</sup>AJDC Report for October, 1947 p. 23 (YIVO, 46).

The Jewish students were organized in both a local and central student union. There existed also a union of Jewish engineers and a Jewish medical society.

There were frequent conflicts between the Central Committee--AJDC and students who demanded more aid. Thus, on May 27, 1947, the students organized a "hunger strike" and occupied all offices of these institutions.<sup>8</sup>

By December 1946, there were 570 Jewish students at German universities. Of these, 70% were men. The largest number (408) was in Munich. The distribution according to departments was as follows:<sup>9</sup>

Medical and Veterinary	171
Mechanical Engineering	147
Philosophy and Science	99
Dentistry	46
Music	32
Economics and Law	28
Pharmacy	18
Polytechnics	11
Agronomy	9
Art	9

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Total: 570

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. Philip Friedman, Report for May, 1947, p. 9 (YIVO, 757).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.



Following is the distribution of 181 students according to the specialties they had chosen (in 1947) at schools of engineering.<sup>10</sup>

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Agronomists	17	1	18
Architects	11	1	12
Building Engineers	30	-	30
Chemists	30	-	30
Electrical Engineers	45	1	46
Mechanical Engineers	30	1	31
Textile Engineers	10	-	10
Geodets	3	-	3
Hydrotech Engineers	2	-	2
Science	2	-	2
<hr/>			
Total:	180	4	184

During the winter term of 1946 (as of January 1947), there were 571 students in universities of ten cities in the U. S. zone and 656 during the summer term 1947 (as of July 1947). Following is their distribution according to universities:<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>YIVO, 757.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

LOCATION	WINTER TERM		SUMMER TERM	
	1946		1947	
	Jan.	'47	July	'47
Dillingen	1	1	1	1
Darmstadt	-	-	7	7
Erlangen	37	37	57	57
Frankfurt	67	67	93	93
Heidelberg	19	19	27	27
Karlsruhe	1	1	1	1
Marburg	25	25	34	34
Munchen	408	408	366/41	407
Regensburg	1		5	5
Stuttgart	12	12	14/10	24
TOTAL	570	570	656	656

In 1952, there were nineteen medical schools in West Germany. The AJDC then supported thirty-one Jewish medical students in six of them; most of the students were in their last semester before graduation.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>OSE survey of AJDC health services (YIVO).

XVI. EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

The education of adults was conducted through systematic courses for adults; and People's Universities, which had been popular in Eastern Europe before the war and consisted of series of lectures, concerts and discussion forums of timely problems.

In 1947-48, there were in the American zone of Germany (Berlin excepted) 235 classes in schools for adults, with 4,690 students and 171 teachers. In addition, there were 112 classes in evening courses for adults, with 2,217 students and 97 teachers.<sup>1</sup>

In many places, part of the student-body at the evening courses came from among the ORT vocational schools. The ORT school Windsheim had 205 students; 75 of them joined the evening course (8 hours weekly).<sup>2</sup> In order to stimulate the cultural activities for adults through such means as evening classes, libraries, dramatic and musical groups, lectures, etc., it was decided that special meetings of the Kultur-Leiter (directors of culture) be arranged by the Culture Department of the Board, and the first meeting, attended by about 40 persons, was held in October 1947

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<sup>1</sup>YIVO, 757.

<sup>2</sup>School Reports and Correspondence with Department of Education and Culture, 1947-1948 (YIVO, 754).

in Rosenheim. Criticism was voiced at the unsatisfactory standards of the evening classes, which were neither regularly held nor well frequented, with particular emphasis on the lack of good English classes. In order to raise the level of lectures in the Camps, it was decided to invite from time to time lecturers from Munich. A better control of the repertory of the dramatic groups was also found necessary. Similar meetings were held in Stuttgart, attended by 20 Kultur-Leiter, and in the Kassel area, attended by 15 Kultur-Leiter.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the regular program of adult evening courses, special lectures were held in 64 camps in January 1948 alone. These lectures were attended by 3,240 members of the camp population. In order to raise the level of the lectures, a Seminar for lecturers was established, in which specialists gave model lectures which then were discussed and analyzed by the student lecturers. During January, 14 student lecturers attended model lectures given on literary subjects and on Jewish history.<sup>4</sup>

An agreement was reached between the Board of Education and ORT according to which a curriculum of general education was introduced in the ORT vocational schools, and the following subjects were taught in each of the programs conducted by ORT:<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> AJDC Report, October 1947 (YIVO, 46).

<sup>4</sup> AJDC Report, January, February 1948 (YIVO, 47).

<sup>5</sup> AJDC Report, October 1947 (YIVO, 46).

Hebrew..... 4 hours weekly  
 Bible - selected chapters..... 1 hour weekly  
 History - General and Jewish..... 2 hours weekly  
 Physics..... 1 hour weekly

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Total..... 8 hours weekly

On December 1, 1946, the Central Committee opened a "High School" for the preparation of translators and office workers for institutions and private offices.<sup>6</sup>

At the Leiphem camp, a nursing course was organized offering the following program:<sup>7</sup>

<u>Monday:</u>	Anatomy	- Dr. Lipski	2 - 3 P.M.
	Infection	- Dr. Kliesch	3 - 4 P.M.
	Surgery		4 - 5 P.M.
<u>Tuesday:</u>	Pharmacology	- M. G. Laufer	2 - 3 P.M.
	Bacteriology	- Dr. Kliesch	3 - 4 P.M.
	First Aid	- Dr. Hulslenrat	4 - 5 P.M.
<u>Wednesday:</u>	Anatomy	- Dr. Lipski	2 - 3 P.M.
	Infection	- Dr. Kliesch	3 - 4 P.M.
	Bacteriology	- Dr. Kliesch	4 - 5 P.M.
	Surgery		5 - 6 P.M.

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<sup>6</sup>Dr. Philip Friedman, Monthly Report, December 1946 (YIVO, 1993)

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., (YIVO, 23/0000502).

<u>Thursday:</u>	Pharmacology	- M. G. Laufer	2 - 3 P.M.
	Bacteriology	- Dr. Kliesch	3 - 4 P.M.
	First Aid		4 - 5 P.M.
<u>Friday:</u>	Anatomy	- Dr. Lipski	2 - 3 P.M.
	Infection	- Dr. Kliesch	3 - 4 P.M.
	Surgery		4 - 5 P.M.
<u>Sunday:</u>	Pharmacology	- M. G. Laufer	3 - 4 P.M.
	First Aid	- Dr. Hulsenrat	4 - 5 P.M.

Closely connected with formal education were various forms of cultural activity. For example, during the first half of 1948 there were 1,233 showings of films attended by 656,099 people. In Foehrenwald, the school had a Hebrew drama club which had given 22 performances by September 1947. It also had an orchestra.<sup>8</sup> In August 1948, the AJDC Mobile Film Unit organized 255 shows of films in the American zone, which were attended by 121,000 people.<sup>9</sup>

In the field of education for adults, the lack of trained teachers often made it impossible to organize good courses. Thus, a group of 25 invalids at the Bleidorn camp was anxious to learn Hebrew in preparation for their emigration to Palestine, but no teacher was available.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Fernvalder Almanakh Bamidbar, September 1947, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup>YIVO, 47.

<sup>10</sup>Report of January 1948 (YIVO, 192).

PART VI

EXODUS AND LIQUIDATION

XVII. VARIOUS PROBLEMS

By November 1946, the educational work among Jewish DPs in the French Zone came under the direct sponsorship and supervision of the JDC in the American Zone. There the Jews were scattered and the educational work was often neglected.<sup>1</sup>

The education in Austria is not the subject of our present study. However, a short comparison with Germany is worthwhile. According to a report of August 1948, the situation in Austria was not entirely comparable to that of Germany. At the time this report was made the numbers were smaller and the teaching personnel was more than proportionately smaller. They were concentrated mainly in the camps around Salzburg and Linz. At the time the report was made there were no Palestinian teachers left and there were not enough local teachers to carry on the school program for the coming year. The AJDC attempted to consolidate the schools and arrange for bus transportation for the children from the smaller camps to the larger camps, where a full program could be conducted, utilizing the combined teaching

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<sup>1</sup>Report of November 1946 (YIVO, 28 and 1993).



personnel of these camps. This involved many hardships: for example, some believed that during the winter, when automobile travel would be difficult, many parents may keep their children from traveling to the central school. The alternatives were gloomy: the complete disintegration of the school network.<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between relief and educational reconstruction was inherent; the impossibility of separating them was recognized by the AJDC and other agencies. There can be no doubt, therefore, that some aspects of educational activities were closely connected with other fields of activity; medical, for example.

At a meeting between the Board of Education and Culture and of the Central Committee and the Medical Department, a cooperative plan was worked out between the two bodies in connection with the school health and feeding programs. The head of the Health Department of the Central Committee was appointed as Consultant to the Board of Education and Culture on questions pertaining to the school health program.<sup>3</sup>

In May 1948 the Stammerers School at Geretsried gave rise to some concern as it was felt that it was not conducted properly. Following a meeting with representa-

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<sup>2</sup>YIVO, 446.

<sup>3</sup>AJDC Report, May 1948 (YIVO, 47).

tives of the various departments concerned, it was agreed that the school was not serving its purpose and should, consequently, be closed. It was also decided that a survey should be made by the Medical Department throughout the District, and subsequently throughout the American Zone, to determine the number of stammerers, stutterers and deaf-mutes, the amount of interest in a course of study and the need for the establishment of a new school with a suitable program from both the educational and medical point of view.<sup>4</sup> A teacher complained that this school would become a sanatorium in the woods, with nice surroundings, but not a school, not a place where the pupils could be trained for a healthy, normal participation in society.<sup>5</sup>

On February 11, 1948, Theodore D. Feder, AJDC liaison officer at Heidelberg, complained that seventeen children at the Mietraching Camp were unable to attend school because of lack of transportation to and from school.<sup>6</sup> At the Firth camp, the kindergarten was closed during the cold season because of the lack of a suitable room.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>AJDC Report, May 1948 (YIVO, 47).

<sup>5</sup>Correspondence of Culture Department, Munich Region, October 1947 - January 1948, (YIVO, 1252).

<sup>6</sup>AJDC Reports and Correspondence, District IV, U.S. Zone, Germany, October 20, 1945 - July 23, 1948. (YIVO, 193).

<sup>7</sup>AJDC Report, December 1947 (YIVO, 50).

Sometimes health hazards completely disrupted the normal work of schools. In the Ansbach area the scarlet fever epidemic in several camps resulted in the quarantine of some of the camps, thereby disrupting the school program. At Eichstaatt, the school was closed for over two months.<sup>8</sup>

The situation among surviving Jews in neighboring countries also had its influence on education among Jewish DPs in Germany. The following is but one example:

The Jewish children's institutions in Poland were on a par with those in the United States. One home near Warsaw, for example, had its own economy with a type of self-government. The children did the work under expert supervision. They had their own bees, their own cows, their own animals. There was a children's sanitorium opposite the house which purchased milk from the children's home. They had workshops, a photography shop, and they even maintained their own warehouse. This was the reason the emigration of children from Poland was viewed as undesirable. A gentlemen's agreement with the Central Committee of Polish Jews stipulated however, that children to be reunited with relatives abroad would be assisted.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>AJDC Report, November 1948 (YIVO, 192).

<sup>9</sup>AJDC Bulletin (Paris) No. 24, March 8, 1948, p. 212 (YIVO, 158).

Both adults and children did "emigrate" to DP camps in Germany with a view of leaving the country as soon as possible, but not in an organized nor legal manner. They still believed then in a possible future for Jews in Poland.

XVIII. LATER YEARS

After the emigration of most DPs from Germany and the liquidation of Jewish DP camps, small Jewish communities remained in various cities. They were composed mostly of German Jews, but also of some non-German-Jewish DPs who remained in Germany. The number of children was smaller than in normal communities. Let us take, as an example, the community of Berlin:

In November 1949, 6,746 Jewish DPs were registered in Berlin. Only 742 of them were 18 years old or younger. (See Table XXXII).<sup>1</sup> By 1968, the Berlin Jewish community, the largest of the seventy-three Jewish communities in Germany, had a Jewish population of 6,000, with only 230 children below the age of ten. Sixty-seven Jews lived in the State of Schleswig-Holstein and their average age was sixty-seven. . . "waiting to die". . . as one author wrote.<sup>2</sup> The same author stated that it was not the revival of Nazism which represented the greatest danger to Jews in Germany, but the condition and attitude of the Jews themselves. One Jew told him that the Jews have no faith in their own permanence. They are

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<sup>1</sup> AJDC Report, November 1949, p. 5 (YIVO, 48).

<sup>2</sup> Leo Katcher, Post Mortem, The Jews in Germany Today, New York, 1968, pp. 2, 24.

unhappy and unsettled. The young talk of leaving Germany and the old seek to deny even to themselves that they are part of it. This Jew told him: "I often wonder if it is possible to have a Jewish society without Judaism. The young Jews seem so far removed from the religion itself. Our daughter is fourteen and keenly aware that she is Jewish, but not aware of its significance. She lives in a whipped-cream world. She suffers no discrimination or antagonism. Nearly all her friends are Christian because there are so few Jews. What happened under Hitler--what kind of country--this was--is almost impossible for her to understand. We will have to send her out of Germany to finish her education. We have to give her perspective. She does not get it here. And I am not sure that I have retained my own. Sometimes I laugh at myself when I think of the dreams I had when I first returned. I would help to bridge the abyss between the past and the present. I have learned that this cannot be done. There is nothing on which to build. The Germans will not face the past; the Jews cannot. So the question is not how to make a fresh start, but whether such a fresh start is worthwhile. What kind of Jews will we have in Germany? I don't know. I don't know."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

By 1959, Jewish education, or rather religious education was offered in the following German cities: Aachen, Amberg, Augsburg, Baden-District (including Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Konstanz, and Mannheim) Brelefeld, Bremen, Dortmund, Duesseldorf, Essen, Fuerth, Gelsenkirchen, Hanover, Mannheim, Muenster/W., Neustadt/W (including Dahn, Kasserlautern, and Zweibruecker), Nuernberg, Regensburg, Stuttgart (and environs), Trier. Altogether, religious education was given to about 800 pupils. According to a questionnaire among 388 of these pupils in 20 schools or communities, 174 were between 6 and 10 years old, 139 . . . 11-13 years, and 25 over 13 years old. These were not day schools anymore but rather Jewish supplementary schools and courses. It was estimated that of about 6,000 Jewish children of school age (6-17 years old) only 13% received a Jewish education. According to a questionnaire among sixteen schools or communities, Jewish education was given between one and eighteen hours per week, with four hours per week on the average. According to the questionnaire among twenty schools, the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew was used in eleven courses, Ashkenazi in six, and three courses used both pronunciations. According to a questionnaire in seventeen schools or communities, two conducted classes at synagogues, thirteen in community buildings and two in other places. In twenty schools or communities a total of twenty-eight teachers was employed with a minimum of two working hours per week and a maximum of forty hours. The trend in Germany, with 800 pupils

to an estimated number of 30,000 Jews, was not less positive than in other countries with larger Jewish populations. France, with an estimated number of 350,000 Jews had an estimated number of 6,000 pupils. Belgium with 35,000 Jews--1,000 pupils, Italy with 34,000 Jews. . .150 pupils, Switzerland with 19,000 Jews. . .950 pupils.

In fourteen western continental countries (except Communist countries) there were only 11,920 pupils to an estimated number of 532,000 Jews.<sup>4</sup> Let us make a comparison with an earlier period. A historian of Jewish education in Germany under the Nazis offered the following conclusions: As a result of the advent of the Third Reich with its anti-Semitism as a political weapon, German Jewry gradually came into its own. It was not a voluntary move, for at least fifty percent of the Jewish school population continued their schooling in the purified "Aryan" schools.

The Jewish child in morally devastated Germany was of primary concern to the German Jewish organizations. "Whereas the Jewish adult finally understood the source of his troubles and the causes of his sufferings: that complete integration with the German community by disinheriting his Jewishness was

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<sup>4</sup>Proceedings, Session on Jewish Education, Annual Oversea Conference, November 1959, and Survey of Jewish Day and Supplementary Schools in Western Continental Europe, Education Department, American Joint Distribution Committee, Geneva (1960).



impossible--the perplexed Jewish child, reared in such an atmosphere, was awakened to the reality." The child was introduced to the sources of his heritage. Palestine became a reality to him. "Slowly but surely he was transformed from an existential (or non-existential) Jew into an essential Jew. It was not until the child was settled in Palestine that he finally felt that he can and does contribute to the welfare of the community. Instead of being an innocent and ridiculed bystander, he became an active participant in the construction of his community. Thus the Jewish child of Germany was reborn."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Solomon Colodner, Jewish Education in Germany Under the Nazis, New York, 1968.

SUMMARY

Finding a rationale for existence after a cataclysm is perhaps a universal phenomenon. Examples in Jewish history would point to the rise of mysticism after the expulsion from Spain, the movement of Shabbatai Zvi and the spread of Hassidism after the Chmielnicki pogroms in Poland of the 17th century.

The Holocaust of European Jewry of the 20th century, while enormous in its dimensions and beyond grasp of the contemporary generation, and probably of generations to come, did however cause a remarkable response on the part of the decimated few survivors strewn over the face of the European continent: Jewish nationalism or a reaffirmation of Zionism as the only lifeline of the Jewish people.

The insistence on recognizing Jews as Jews in the DP camps was in actuality a voluntary unilateral revocation of citizenship on the part of Jewish survivors who in essence proclaimed to the world: We suffered as Jews and from now on we want to live as Jews. We shall not return to a status quo ante;

The study "Education Among Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany, 1945-50" was undertaken to prove that it was the emergence of a heightened Jewish awareness, a militant Jewish nationalism, a Jewish challenge to the world that

gave rise to an autonomous Jewish community on the territory of the Third Reich occupied by the Western Allies. The concept of national minority formulated and recognized after World War I gave Jews the right to fight for that recognition in the DP camps, ignoring the relationship to their countries of origin.

Organizing a complete school system on all levels, under the most unusual circumstances, while fighting to leave Germany as soon as possible, is in itself a most fascinating story. It was nurtured philosophically by Zionism and a keen awareness of an interdependence of Jewish communities throughout the world and the triumph of democracy over Fascism.

The establishment of a school system gave rise to a pattern well known and characteristic of Jewish communities the world over, that of cultural pluralism. The question of national versus religious education, Hebrew versus Yiddish, Palestine or a universal-centered curriculum resurfaced. The national ideology prevailed and put its stamp on the educational system. Interesting is the acceptance and identification of this trend even on the part of those who did not go to Palestine.

The role of the Jewish Palestinian teachers was crucial for two reasons: They were culturally and ideologically almost identical with the DPs and were the only trained professionals available on the scene.

The role of the American Jewish organizations cannot be overstated. No non-governmental private agencies have ever undertaken a rescue and rehabilitation program faintly matching that of AJDC. The political clout, the organizational know-how and the resources at its disposal made it possible at first to provide help and later on to re-establish and revive the Jewish communities of Europe. A network of social services, of which education was only a part, would have been unimaginable otherwise. This massive action was of historic and unprecedented proportions.

It should be pointed out that the Jewish DPs also fought for autonomy with the "Americans" i.e., American Jewish organizations. The latter often would not agree with the ideological trends of the school system, always trying to maintain a neutral position. Another area of irritation was the financial, economic control of the system. To overcome the above-mentioned conflicts, a Directorate representing the DPs, the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Joint Distribution Committee was established which was the governing body of the entire school network.

If education, affective and cognitive, formal or informal is the process by which man attains his humanity and enables him to assume his responsibilities in society and, if education is a function of love and discipline, then this study is testimony to the abounding love brought and shown by brethren, in this case by the Jewish community of America and the Yishuv in Eretz Yisrael to their Jewish

brethren in the DP camps. Only this love made it possible to regain faith in the worthwhileness of life and gave meaning to the process of education.

The roles of the Sheerit Hapletah in the struggle for Israel's independence and their contribution to Jewish life in communities throughout the world are noteworthy and redeeming factors after a long, dark, period.

TABLES

TABLE #1

Number of Jewish D.P.'s In the Camps of Germany, Austria and Italy  
 1947 and 1948<sup>x</sup>

Area	April 30 1947	August 31 1947	December 31 1947	May 31 1948
Germany				
U.S.Zone	125,110	114,596	109,522	92,863
British Zone	11,000	10,428	9,033	7,417
French Zone	1,800	1,859	1,850	300 (approx.)
Austria				
U.S.Zone	29,463	19,214	20,133	16,347
British Zone	2,156	1,641	973	600 (approx.)
French Zone	0	0	0	0
Italy	15,705	18,686	18,579	18,000
Total	176,234	166,424	160,090	135,527

x K.R. Grossman, op. cit., p. 17

TABLE # 2

Number of Jewish D.P.'s outside the Camps in Germany, Austria and Italy  
 \*  
 May 31, 1948

Germany	
U.S. Zone	20,000
British Zone	4,500
French Zone	900
Austria	
U.S. Zone	600
Vienna	2,000
French Zone	500
Italy	4,000
<hr/>	
Total	32,500

\* K.R. Grossman, op. cit., p. 17



TABLE 111

Age of Jewish D.P.'s in the British and United States Zones and Berlin.

\*  
February 1946

Age	Total Number	%	British Zone		U.S. Zone		Berlin	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
14 & under	2,800	4	332	-	1,954	5	514	5
15 - 18	5,189	8	1,097	8	3,798	9	294	3
19 - 34	36,051	55	8,227	60	25,337	61	2,437	24
35 - 50	13,878	21	2,872	20	8,243	20	2,763	28
Over 50	7,512	12	1,661	12	1,988	5	3,863	40
Not Reported	329		105		216		8	
TOTAL	65,759	100	14,294	100	41,596	100	9,679	100

\* YIVO, 55, p. 12 IIIC.

TABLE IV

Age of Children in the American Zone of Germany, 1946. \*

Month	1 - 5 Years	6 - 9 Years	10 - 17 Years
January	120	380	770
February	150	600	1250
March	250	1550	3250
April	1280	1860	3730
May	1300	2018	4725
June	1600	2220	5130
July	2450	2790	5520
August	3050	3420	6950
September	4160	4070	8830
October	4340	4260	8520
November	4420	4230	8585
December	4431	4355	8839

\* YIVO, 63

TABLE V

Statistics of Jewish Children of Pre-School and School Age in the American  
Zone of Germany - January 1947

\*  
 Part I. District I

Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre-school age (up to 5 incl.)	School age (6-17 incl)	Total Children
<u>Camps</u>				
Backnang		27	50	77
Fellbach USEAC		no report		
Heidenheim		200	341	541
Schwaebisch Hall		176	200	376
Stuttgart West & Degerloch		65	70	135
Ulm Boelcke, Donau, Hindenburg Sedan and community		617	781	1,398
Wasseraalfingen		170	331	501
<u>Hospitals</u>				
		no report		
<u>Children's Centers</u>				
Aglasterhausen		no report		
Ulm Bleidorn		6	172	178
Ulm Dornstadt		59	304	363
<u>Communities</u>				
Heidelberg		10	12	22
Karlsruhe		4	0	4
Mannheim		3	10	13
Rheinpfalz		no report		1
Stuttgart		76	52	128
<b>Total District I</b>		<b>1,413</b>	<b>2,323</b>	<b>3,736</b>
<b>of them:</b>				
<b>In camps</b>		<b>1,255</b>	<b>1,773</b>	<b>3,028</b>
<b>in children's cent.</b>		<b>65</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>541</b>
<b>communities</b>		<b>93</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>167</b>

\* YIVO, 54. \*The figures for this district were prepared as of Dec. 1, 1946;

\*\* Figures as by January 1, 1947, in some cases as by Jan. 31, 1947

PART II. DISTRICT 2

Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre-School Age	School Age	Total Children
<u>Camps</u>				
Bad Salzshlirf		101	104	205
Bensheim		146	143	290
Babenhausen		115	133	248
Dieburg		187	100	287
Eschwege		338	379	717
Frankfurt (transient)			n o r e p o r t	
Fritzlar		168	166	334
Hasenhecke-Kassel		226	406	632
Hess - Lichtenau:				
Goldcup		88	124	212
Herzog		131	158	289
Teichhof		12	71	83
Welmeden		36	28	64
Vereinshaus		16	38	54
Hofgeismar		272	239	511
Lampertheim		146	72	218
Moencheberg		257	179	436
Schwarzenborn		71	127	198
Wavel - Hofgeismar		150	53	203
Wetzlar		504	548	1,052
Zeilsheim		315	192	507
Ziegenhain		281	301	582
<u>Children's Centers</u>				
Gersfeld			n o r e p o r t	
Lindenfels		1	269	270
Schwabda			n o r e p o r t	
<u>Hospitals &amp; Sanatoria</u>				
<u>Hachsharoth</u>				
Geringshof		1	5	6
Gersfeld		2	1	3
Holzshausen		0	0	0
<u>Communities</u>				
Bad Homberg		1	2	3
Bad Nauheim & Friedberg		11	28	39
Bad Orb (& Gelnhausen)		0	1	1
Bad Wildungen (& Korbach)		3	3	6
Bebra		1	0	1
Buedingen			n o r e p o r t	
Darmstadt		0	8	8
Eschwege		7	0	0
Frankfurt on Main		26	66	92
Fritzlar		0	0	0
Fulda		2	2	4
Giessen		0	0	0

		n o	r e p o r t	
Grifte	0	0	0	0
Homberg	2	4	4	6
Kassel	11	0	0	11
Marburg	1	0	0	1
Offenbach	4	3	3	7
Sprendlingen	1	2	2	3
Wetzlar	8	7	7	15
Wiesbaden	2	2	2	4
Zennern (Wabern)	3	15	15	18

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Total District 2:	3,647	3,979	7,626
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among above:			
in camps	3,560	3,561	7,121
in children's centers	1	269	270
in hachsharoth	3	6	9
in communities	83	143	226

Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre-School Age	School Age	Total Children
<u>Camps</u>				
Ansbach Bleidorn		157	125	282
Bamberg Ulanen Kaserne		149	166	315
Eichstaett Camp & Annex B/C		139	173	312
Fuerth		77	54	131
Hof		114	103	217
Rehau		7	6	13
Wildflecken			no report	
Windsheim		221	238	459
<u>Children's Centers</u>				
Ansbach Struth		18	287	305
Schauenstein		1	103	104
<u>Hospitals &amp; Sanatoria</u>				
<u>Hachsharoth</u>				
Aschbach		1	18	19
Bayreuth - Zettlitz		5	2	7
Bernstein am Wald		1	14	15
Forkenhof		0	2	2
Funkendorf		0	2	2
Losau - Mapilim		3	0	3
Massbach		3	4	7
Muenchberg Seminar (Ch.School)		1	17	18
Muenchberg Zettlitz		1	9	10
Oberschwarzach		3	2	5
Fleikershof - Streicherfarm		3	0	3
Prebitz - Dati		0	2	2
Prebitz - Nacham		0	4	4
Schesslitz		3	6	9
Voita - Nebew		7	3	10
Wildbad			no report	
Windschenlaibach		0	4	4
Wulmersreuth		1	0	1
Zeckendorf		0	1	1
<u>Communities</u>				
Ansbach		16	15	31
Bamberg		1		

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# Teena Marie

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## Questions

1. What is the main idea of this story?
  - a. Teena has become a star and she loves it.
  - b. Teena didn't have a recording contract until she was in college.
  - c. Teena started appearing on stage as a professional when she was eight years old.
2. What kind of music did Teena's brother like to play?
  - a. Motown
  - b. rock
  - c. Beatles
3. What does the story say is Teena's biggest hit ever?
4. What does Teena do that gives her the chance to come up with a sound all her own?
  - a. She uses her own band.
  - b. She plays her own instruments.
  - c. She produces her own records.
5. Put the following events in the right order.
  - a. Teena starts her first band.
  - b. Teena makes her *Starchild* album.
  - c. Teena signs her first record contract.
6. If you *preferred* the songs of Teena Marie it means
  - a. you liked her music better.
  - b. you liked other music better.
  - c. you liked all the music.
7. If you *appreciate* something you
  - a. don't care for it very much.
  - b. understand how good it is.
  - c. really couldn't care less about it.
8. Reading the story about Teena you get the idea that she
  - a. doesn't care much for the music world.
  - b. makes music in order to earn a living and that's all.
  - c. has loved music all her life.
9. What kind of music is your favorite? Why?

## Activities

1. Name three women who produce their own records.
2. Teena says, for her, success is creating something special or meeting new friends. What are some other ways of measuring success?

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## AMONG THEM:

in Camps	864	865	1,729
in child. centers	19	390	409
in hachsharoth	32	90	122
in communities	270	136	406

Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre-School Age	School Age	Total Children
<u>Camps</u>				
Deggendorf		107	100	207
Mietraching		23	17	40
Pocking		665	1,049	1,714
Schlupfing		82	40	122
Vilseck		241	136	377
Windischbergendorf		70	46	116
<u>Hospitals</u>				
Amberg Halbeser & TB Sanatorium, Haustein, Kohlbruck		0	0	0
Zaltzkofen		0	1	1
Other hospitals			no report	
<u>Hachgharoth</u>				
Boxdorf, Marine-Kibbutz & Passau-Auerbach		0	0	0
Mainkofen-Natternberg		0	26	26
Teublitz		3	11	14
<u>Communities</u>				
Amberg		13	11	24
Arnstorf		0	0	0
Bruck		1	0	1
Cham		15	7	22
Eggenfelden		71	42	113
Ergebach		14	1	15
Falkenstein		10	0	10
Floss		4	1	5
Geiselhoering		8	2	10
Landau		7	4	11
Landshut		18	2	20
Lanquaid		1	1	2
Mallersdorf		2	0	2
Nabburg		4	0	4
Neunburg v.W.		13	5	18
Passau		10	14	32
Plattling		3	7	10
Pocking		6	3	9
Regen		3	3	6
Regensburg		101	69	170
Roding		7	4	11
Rottenburg		1	5	6
Roetz		4	3	7
Schwandorf		41	17	58
Schwarzenfeld		9	4	13
Stamsried		2	0	2
Straubing		20	9	29
Tirschenreuth		12	16	28
Vilshofen		2	1	3
Weiden		52	19	71
Woerth on the Danube		7	9	16
Wurmannsquick		4	6	10
Total Regensburg Region:		1,665	1,690	3,355

of them:			
in camps	1,188	1,388	2,576
in hospitals	0	1	1
in hachsharoth	3	37	40
in communities	474	264	738
Total Districts 3:	2,850	3,171	6,021
of them:			
in camps	2,052	2,253	4,305
in children's homes	19	390	409
in hospitals	0	1	1
in hachsharoth	35	127	162
in communities	744	400	1,144

## Munich Region

Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre-School Age	School Age	Total Children
<u>Camps</u>				
Ainring		326	336	662
Attel		19	84	103
Bad Reichenhall		439	775	1,214
Feldöling		276	219	495
Foehrnwald		412	676	1,088
Gabersee		142	137	279
Landsberg		323	350	673
Leipheim		202	358	560
Munich & Freilman		253	189	442
Munich - Deutsches Museum		23	143	166
Munich - Funk Kaseren USSAC		46	132	178
Neu Ulm		278	263	541
Schliersee		71	40	111
Traunstein Kriegs lazarett		196	343	539
<u>Children's Centers</u>				
Aschau		14	146	160
Bayrisch Gmain		9	153	162
Indersdorf		2	179	181
Prien		3	168	171
Rosenheim		25	679	705
Purten I		5	180	185
<u>Hospitals, Sanatoria &amp; Rest Centers</u>				
Bad Reichenhall, Cure		11	11	22
Bad Woerishofen, Sanatorium		7	59	66
Gauting Sanatorium		2	31	33
St. Ottilien		63	43	106
Feldafing Elisabeth		20	86	106
Other small hospitals		39	50	89
<u>Hachsburoth</u>				
Blumengarten		0	0	0
Eisolzried		0	0	0
Firstbach		0	0	0
Grass		0	1	1

Hochlandslager

Holzhausen

Lipphof

Kellhofen

Rotschwalger

Weiheim Agr.kulturelle Schule

Dieser

Communities

Allgäu

Allgäu

Allgäu

Allgäu

Allgäu (cont. only)

Allgäu

Allgäu

Fuerstenfeldbruck	22	9	31
Garmisch-Partenkirchen	8	16	24
Graefelfing	11	4	15
Irsingen	3	0	3
Kaufering	7	0	7
Kempton	3	0	3
Kraiburg	1	5	6
Krailling	11	8	19
Krumbach	4	0	4
Laufen	6	9	9
Markt Oberdorf	6	1	7
Marktschwaben	9	5	14
Memmingen	11	9	20
Mindelheim	1	1	2
Mittenwald	11	4	15
Moosburg	15	2	17
Munich - City	429	269	698
Murnau	0	0	0
Nandlstadt	8	3	11
Olching	5	5	10
Penzing	7	0	7
Planegg	5	2	7
Puergen	5	0	5
Rosenheim	5	3	8
Schwabmeunchen	4	0	4
Starnberg	27	7	34
Traunstein	6	3	9
Trostberg	4	0	4
Tuerkheim	44	4	48
Unterammingen	9	2	11
Utting	2	3	5
Waging	1	1	2
Wartenberg	9	5	14
Weilheim	29	27	56
Wiedergeltingen	5	0	5
Wolfratschausen	11	4	15
<b>Total District 5</b>	<b>4,130</b>	<b>6,470</b>	<b>10,600</b>
of them:			
in camps	3,006	4,045	7,051
in children's centers	59	1,505	1,564
in hospitals & sanatoria	142	280	422
in hachsharoth	5	158	163
in communities	918	482	1,400

PART VITotal in the U.S. Zone of Germany

Districts & Installations	Total Jewish Population	Pre- School Age	School Age	Total Children
District 1		1,413	2,323	3,736
District 2		3,647	3,979	7,626
District 3 Bamberg Region		1,185	1,481	2,666
District 3 Regensburg Region		1,665	1,690	3,355
District 5		4,130	6,470	10,600
Total Zone		12,040	15,943	27,983
of them in:				
camps		9,873	11,632	21,505
children's centers		144	2,640	2,784
hospitals & sanatoria		142	281	423
Hachsharoth communities		43	291	334
		1,838	1,099	2,937
Berlin		949	1,030	1,979
Bremen *			no report	
Grand Total		12,989	16,973	29,962



TABLE VI

Age of Jewish D.P.'s from Germany at the Feldafing Camp  
\*  
after the Liberation, 1945

<b>Sex</b>	<b>0-4 yrs.</b>	<b>5-16 yrs.</b>	<b>17-30 yrs.</b>	<b>31-40 yrs.</b>	<b>41-60 yrs.</b>	<b>over 60 yrs.</b>
<b>Male</b>	0 %	3.1%	55.3%	30.5%	10.8%	0.3%
<b>Female</b>	0 %	2.1%	80.2%	13.2%	3.8%	0.0%
<b>Total</b>	0 %	2.8%	62.6%	25.6%	8.8%	0.2%

\* YIVO, 52

TABLE VII

\*

Children's Centers in the U.S. Zone, October 1, 1946

Location	Capacity	Children Present	Adults Present
Ulm - Bleidorn	350	168	
Ulm - Dornstadt	800	169	97
Aglasterhausen (Internat)	-	12	
Lindenfels	450	377	54
Ansbach - Strueth	500	359	89
Aschau	500	263	246
Bayrisch Gmain (Juda Makkabi.)	230	174	33
Indersdorg,	375	258	90
Rosenheim (trans.)	3000	1011	134
Prien (Intern.)	150	150	
Total	6355	2932	Plus 743 adults

\* YIVO, 52

TABLE VIII

SCHOOLS IN THE U.S. ZONE OF GERMANY, MARCH 30, 1947\*

Districts	Number of students Kindergartens included	Number of Teachers	Number of Schools	Number of Classes	Number of Kinder- gartens	Number of Teachers in Kinder- gartens	Number of Pup- ils in Kin- dergarten
I. Stuttgart	1776	157	10	71	10	33	240
II. Frankfurt	1700	121	11	47	9	22	210
IIa. Kassel	1606	119	12	54	11	25	244
III. Bamberg	1283	101	16	61	6	141	
IV. Regensburg	1031	69	8	146	7	18	184
V. Munich	3427	257	26	138	14	37	592
Total	10823	826	83	417	57	150	1611

YIVO, 757

Schools in the U.S. Zone of Germany - October 1947

Number	Nos. of IRO** Teams	Localities	Number of Schools	Number of Children	Number of Teachers
1.	1025	Höfgeismar	2	307	25
2.	"	Munchberg	1	198	13
3.	"	Hasenhecke	1	270	15
4.	"	Goldkop Lichtenau	1	72	6
5.	"	Eschwege	1	215	15
6.	"	Herzog	1	122	12
7.	"	Friclar	1	139	10
8.	"	Raschel	1	184	12
9.	"	Zigenhein	1	179	13
10.	"	Schwarzenborn	1	126	9
11.	1023	Bad Salzschiefer	1	77	8
12.	"	Wetzlar	1	505	23
13.	1022	Frankfurt	1	20	4
14.	"	Zeilsheim	1	88	12
15.	"	Zeilgimn	1	38	8
16.	1021	Dieburg	1	138	9
17.	"	Bensheim	1	99	9
18.	"	Lindenfels	1	196	11
19.	"	Lampertheim	1	92	11
20.	1041	Ansbach	1	28	2
21.	"	Windsheim	1	158	11
22.	"	Ansbach-Bleidorn	1	158	9
23.	"	Furth-camp	1	45	5
24.	"	Furth-town	1	11	1
25.	"	Eichstat	2	242	22
26.	1044	Hof-camp	1	84	9
27.	"	Bayreth	1	17	1
28.	"	Damberg camp	1	66	9
29.	"	Bamber town	1	39	4
30.	"	Marktridwitz	1	7	1
31.	1041	Greisen	1	15	2
32.	"	Struth Ansb.	1	304	21
33.	"	Schwabach	1	20	2
34.	1045	Filseck	1	262	17
35.	1046	Regensburg	1	50	5
36.	"	Schwandorf	1	20	2
37.	"	Staubing	1	10	2
38.	"	Roding	1	7	1

59.	1063	Bad Worishofen	1	161	16
60.	1066	Dachau	1	85	4
61.	1069	Rosenheim	1	10	1
62.	"	Attel	1	7	2
63.	"	Traunstein	1	184	8
64.	"	Prien	1	76	3
65.	"	Gabersee	1	98	10
66.	"	Bad Reichenhall	2	333	23
67.	"	Bayrisch Gmain	1	109	3
68.	"	Aschau	1	160	10
69.	1066	Indesdorf	1	70	8
70.	"	Munich	2	255	25
<hr/>					
	Total	70	76	9597	759
<hr/>					

\* Yivo, 757

\*\* International Refugee Organization 1947

TABLE IX.

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1943, U.S. ZONE of GERMANY (excluding Berlin) \*

Type of School	Number of school courses			Number of classes		
	District 1	District 2	Total	District 1	District 2	Total
Kindergarten	24	22	46	47	52	99
Elementary School	42	28	70	216	189	405
Courses for adults	67	46	113	-	-	-
General Education Courses for ORT students	77	47	124	-	-	-
	Number of Teachers			Number of Pupils		
	District 1	District 2	Total	District 1	District 2	Total
Kindergarten	53	65	118	924	944	2096
Elementary School *	301	283	584	3530	3439	8963
Courses for adults	61	40	101	1106	649	1855
General Education Courses for ORT students	37	54	91	1188	1020	2208

District 1. - former Bamberg, Regensburg and Munich Regions.

District 2. - Greater Hesse, Wurttemberg - former Frankfurt and Stuttgart Regions and Kassel Area.

\* Includes 3 high schools.

\* YIVO, 47

TABLE X

School System in Jewish Camps of US Zone, Germany - January 1st & March 1st, 1949. \*

Districts, Areas	Day - Schools						Kindergartens				Total		Total #	
	No. of Schs.		No. of Class		No. of Pupils		No. of Kdgn.		No. of children		# of pupils		of teachers	
	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<u>District 1</u>														
Amber	8	6	40	29	556	324	3	2	118	107	674	431	54	36
Munich	15	14	81	71	1261	922	16	14	578	495	1839	1417	127	92
Munich Town	1	1	11	11	220	205	1	1	30	30	250	236	29	26
Regensburg	6	4	28	13	401	152	6	4	231	96	632	248	57	29
Total Dist. 1	30	25	160	124	2438	1604	26	21	957	728	3395	2332	267	183
<u>District 2</u>														
Frankfurt	6	5	32	26	585	430	5	4	101	140	776	570	42	35
Stuttgart	7	7	47	44	871	734	9	9	473	437	1344	1171	87	76
Kassel	10	3	61	21	1057	469	10	3	433	165	1492	634	90	34
Total Dist. 2	23	15	140	91	2513	1633	24	16	1099	742	3612	2375	219	145
Grand Total	53	40	300	215	4951	3237	50	37	2056	1470	7007	4707	486	328

TABLE XI

Places of Birth of Jewish D.P.'s at the Lephelm Camp, June 1946 \*

Country of Birth	Men	Women	C h i l d r e n						Total
			Up to 6		6 - 12		12 - 16		
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Poland	1206	832	20	24	60	72	75	60	2349
Hungary	205	150	28	12	119	81	108	72	775
Rumania	58	25	1	1			17	5	107
Czech	100	72	3	2	2		34	30	243
Lithau.	11	10					1		22
Others	19	15	3						37
<b>Total</b>	<b>1599</b>	<b>1104</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>3533</b>

\* YIVO, 423



TABLE XII

\*

Country of Origin of Children at Struth, June 1946

Age	Hungarian		Polish		Czech		Rumanian		Russian		Austrian		Yugoslav		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
2 - 8	5	1	1	2											9
5 - 9	11	8	3	7	1										30
10-13	<u>31</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>84</u>
sub-total	47	42	7	11	3	2		3	2	2	1	1	1	1	
Total	89		18		5			3	4		2		2		123
14-18	80	56	12	16	5	6	1	1	4	2	2	1	1		187
18 over	<u>29</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>89</u>
sub-total	109	75	21	26	10	13	2	1	12	1	2	1	1	1	276
Total	184		47		23			3	15		3		1		276

\* YIVO, 423

TABLE X.III

\*  
Age and Origin of 60,689 Jews in the American Zone of Germany, March 31, 1946

	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	61.45%	38.5%	100.0%
<u>Distribution by Age</u>			
<u>Years of Age (Birth)</u>			
0-4 (1942-1946)	0.9%	1.5%	1.1%
5-9 (1937-1941)	1.2%	1.8%	1.5%
10-14 (1932-1936)	2.2%	2.9%	2.5%
15-16 (1930-1931)	3.0%	3.2%	3.7%
17-18 (1928-1929)	6.5%	7.1%	6.9%
19-24 (1922-1927)	25.2%	36.5%	29.6%
25-34 (1912-1921)	32.5%	29.7%	31.1%
35-40 (1906-1911)	15.0%	7.1%	11.9%
41-50 (1896-1905)	9.5%	5.4%	7.9%
over 50 (Bef.-1896)	3.7%	4.3%	3.9%
Not reported	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Countries of Birth

Poland	72.5%	68.6%	70.6%
Lithuania	4.6%	5.1%	4.7%
Latvia	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Hungary	5.6%	6.3%	5.9%
Rumania	3.1%	3.6%	3.3%
Czechoslovakia	4.2%	4.0%	4.1%
Russia	9.8%	0.9%	0.9%
Germany	5.8%	7.8%	6.7%
Others	2.3%	1.7%	2.3%
Not Reported	0.6%	1.5%	1.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\* YIVO, 54

TABLE XIV

Age by Distribution of Language of 10,460 Jews in Camps and Communities of Berlin - April 1946

Language	Age 0 - 4	Age 5 - 9	Age 10 - 14	Age 15 - 16	Age 17 - 18	Age 19 - 24	Age 25-34	Age 35 40	Age 41 - 50	51 or More	Not Regis- tered	Total
Yiddish	10	18	10	7	21	137	266	129	71	42	4	715
Hebrew	-	-	1	-	1	6	14	5	1	-	-	28
Polish	13	17	22	17	26	217	342	148	121	127	2	1,052
German	88	107	172	84	113	523	703	690	1,364	3,610	4	7,458
Others	1	1	-	4	-	17	23	26	46	80	-	198
Not Registered	72	21	33	13	25	173	352	170	98	51	1	1,009
Total	184	164	238	125	186	1,073	1,700	1,168	1,701	3,910	11	10,460

\* YIVO, 55

TABLE XV

Hours Per Week Allotment in the Curriculum of Elementary Schools, 1947<sup>\*</sup>

Subject	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV	Grade V	Grade VI
Hebrew	11	7	6	6	6	6
Arithmetic	5	5	5	5	5	6
Bible	-	5	6	4	5	5
Biology	-	-	5	3	3	3
Geography	-	-	-	3	3	3
History	-	-	-	2	3	3
Drawing	4	4	4	4	4	3
Misc. Song (Singing)	2	2	1	1	1	-
Gymnastic	2	2	2	2	2	2
English	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	24	25	29	30	32	35

\* YIV0, 757

TABLE XVI

Language Hours in Schools

Schools	Total No. of hours weekly	of them hours of							
		<u>Hebrew</u>		<u>Yiddischi</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>Latin</u>	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily Schools	10,542	2,686	25.5	22	0.2	364	3.4	5	0.0
Evening Courses	880	508	57.7	--	--	234	26.6	-	--
ORT Courses *	382	283	74.1	--	--	18	4.8	-	--

\* for supplementary instruction in general subjects

\* YIVO, 47

TABLE XVII

\*  
Former Nationality of Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons

Nationality	Germany & Austria (April 1946)		Italy (Feb. 1946)		Sweden (as of 1945)		Switzerland (June 1945)	
Poland	68,740	83.8%	7,134	67.2%	3,976	42.84	1,588	37.3%
Hungary	4,580	5.6	355	3.3	1,487	15.9		
Roumania	2,700	3.3	1,759	16.6	1,183	12.7		
Czechoslovakia	480	0.6	743	7.0	1,658	17.9		
Germany & Austria			94	0.9	333	3.6	1,655	38.7
Greece			110	1.1	37	0.4		
Yugoslavia			107	1.0	54	0.4	326	7.5
Lithuania	2,960	3.6	202	1.9	56	0.6		
Latvia			6	0.05	17	0.2		
U.S.S.R.			37	0.03	5	0.06		
Others and Unclassified	2,540	3.1	89	0.9	501	5.4	705	16.5
Total	82,000	100.0	10,636	100.0	9,307	100.0	1,204	100.0

\* Zorach Warhaftig, Uprooted, New York, 1946, p. 50

TABLE XVIII

YESHIVOTH MAINTAINED BY THE AJDC IN THE AMERICAN ZONE OF GERMANY\*  
March - April, 1948

District & Location	Number of rabbis	Number of teachers	Number of students
<u>District I:</u>			
1. Pocking (Lubavitscher)	1	3	64
2. Foenrenwald	1	4	69
3. Pocking	1	2	32
4. Landsberg	1	2	38
5. Krumbach	1	2	35
6. Windsheim	1	1	22
7. Eichstatt	1	1	17
<u>District II:</u>			
8. Zeilsheim	1	4	61
9. Wetzler	1	2	30
10. Heidenheim	1	4	43
11. Bensheim	1	-	9
Total	11	25	420

\* YIVO, 47

TABLE XIXReligious Education - May 1948 \*1. Talmud Torahs:

No. of schools:	62
No. of melamdlim:	172
No. of menahalim:	43
No. of pupils:	3,750

2. Yeshivoth:

No. of schools:	12
No. of Rosh Yesh.:	12
No. of Yesh. Melam.:	25
No. of students:	420

\* YIVO, 47



Educational Institutions established by Vaad Hatzala in the American Zone of Germany

\*  
from September 15, 1946 until January 1, 1947

Location	Institution	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
Ansbach	Talmud Torah	100	5
Aschau	Yeshiva Bnei Akiva	80	5
Aschwege	Element. & Second.	60	5
Bebenhausen	Girls Elementary	40	6
Bebenhausen	Elementary	77	8
Bebenhausen	Yeshivah	30	3
Bad Reichenhall	Javne	236	10
Bamberg	Yeshiva	37	3
Bergen Belsen	Yeshiva Bet Josef	110	6
Bensheim	Element.	65	5
Diburg	Element.	60	5
Eichstadt	Yeshiva Ketana	45	2
Feldafing	Yeshiva Bet Aaron	45	4
Haseneck	Element. & second.	95	6
Haseneck	Girls & Element.		
Hess-Lichtenau		90	9
Hof	Yeshiva Ktana	65	4
Hoffgeismar	Element. & second.	154	11
Fritzlar	Element.	75	8
Landsberg	Kollel Evrechim	26	
Leipheim	Yeshiva Chofetz Chaim	40	4
Leipheim	Talmud Torah	35	4
Pocking	Lubavitcher Yeshiva	220	8
Menchenberb	Element. & second.	80	6
Regensburg	Gemilas Chesed		
Sedan Kaserne	Yeshiva Oer Hanare	31	3
Schwabish Hall	Talmud Torah	96	6
Salschrieff	Elementary School	55	5
Traunstein	Talmud Torah	65	4
Ulm	Yeshiva Oer Hanare	47	3
Zeilsheim	Yeshiva	88	8
Ziegenheim	Element. & second	131	6
Weiden	Talmud Torah	36	2
Windsheim	Yeshiva Merkaz Hatorah	85	
Wasserburg	Yeshiva Javne	35	4
Wasseralfingen	Yeshiva Ketana	85	6
Wildsek	Yeshiva Ketana	76	4
Wetzlar	Element. & second.	157	12
Wetzlar	Yeshiva	25	3
Wetzlar	Girls Element.	84	5

TABLE XXI

CHILDREN AT THE HOME OF STRUTH, JUNE 1946\*

Age	Hungary		Polish		Czech.		Rum.		Russ.		Aust.		Yugoslavia		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
2 - 8	5	1	1	2											9
6 - 9	11	8	3	7	1										30
10-13	31	33	3	2	2	2		3	2	2	1	1	1	1	84
14-18	80	56	12	16	5	6		1	1	4	2	2	1	1	187
18 over	29	19	9	10	5	7		1		8	1				89
Total	273		65		28		6		19		5		3		399

\* YIVO, 23

TABLE XXI

Summer Camps in the American Zone, July 1948 \*

Location of Camp	Organization	Number of Children
Dorfen	Mizrachi	64
Hartmansberg	Dror	56
Feldafing	Betar	262
Hochland	Hashomer Hazair	215
Nili	Nocham	126
Heidenheim	Dror	104
Gehringshof	Dror	223
Eschwege	Aguda Israel	120
Total		1,170

\*YIVO, 446

## Children in the District 5 (Munich Region), January 1, 1947 \*

Type & Name of installation	Number of Children		Total
	In pre-school age (under 6)	in school age (6-17)	
<u>Camps</u>			
Ainring near Freilassing	315	336	651
Attel	19	68	87
Bad Reichenhall	416	752	1,168
Feldafing	251	219	470
Foehrenwald	376	691	1,067
Gabersee near Wasserburg	142	145	287
Landsberg	307	346	653
Leipheim	188	353	541
Munich - Freiman	238	184	422
Munich - Funk Kasserne	45	108	155
Neu Ulm	263	353	616
Schliersee	71	48	119
Traunstein		figures not available	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,631</b>	<b>3,603</b>	<b>6,234</b>
<u>Children's Centers</u>			
Aschau	15	185	200
Bayrisch Gmain	10	153	163
Indersdorf	2	234	236
Munich Orth. Home	16	73	89
Prien (Chimesee)	4	153	157
Purten	5	195	200
Rosenheim	24	829	853
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1,822</b>	<b>1,898</b>
<u>Hachsarothe</u>			
Greifenberg	1	68	69
Hochlandslager	3	34	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>106</b>

TABLE XXIV

Age Distribution of the Jewish Population in the British Zone  
of Germany, 1946

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Displaced Persons Percent</u>	<u>German Jews Percent</u>
9 or less	1.0	1.1
10--18	10.8	4.8
19--34	69.5	32.5
35--49	16.6	27.3
50 or over	2.1	34.3
Total	100.0	100.0

\* YIVO, 160

TABLE X XV

Statistics of 9,021 children in Schools in the American Zone of Germany, July 1, 1947 \*

Schools	Teachers	Classes	Children
Kindergartens			1,401
Mechinot			309
I. Grade		98	1,798
II. "		80	1,521
III. "		71	1,564
IV. "		66	1,145
V. "		43	711
VI. "		25	383
VII. "		11	109
VIII. "		5	55
IX. "		-	-
X. "		1	25
Total 83	826	400	9,021

\* YIVO, 453

TABLE XXVI

Age of Students in Elementary, Secondary and Trade Schools in Belsen, British Zone, 1946 \*

Age	Elementary Schools	Secondary Schools	Trade Schools
Under 10	31	-	-
10-14	44	1	-
15-18	34	69	40
19-25	1	55	132
26-35	-	-	79
Over 35	-	-	21
Total	110	125	272

\* YIVO, 55, p. 27

TABLE XXVII

General Education at ORT Evening Courses and Schools, December 1, 1948 \*

	Evening Courses			General Education at ORT Schools * ↓		
	Distr. 1	Distr. 2	Total	Distri. 1	Distri. 2	Total
No. of courses	46	27	73	8	6	14
No. of students	594	396	990	84	97	181
No. of teachers	39	24	63	6	4	10
No. of hours weekly	424	242	666	75	40	115

\* On February 1, 1948 - there were 113 courses with 101 teachers and 1855 students.

\*\* On February 1, 1948 - there were 124 courses with 91 teachers and 2208 students.

\* YIVO, 47.



TABLE XXVIII

Statistics of Teachers in the American Zone of Germany, January 1948

(in percentage)

District	Qualified Teachers	Hebrew Speaking Teachers	With professional education (higher)	With professional education	Experience up to 10 years	Experience over 10 years
1. Bamberg	27.4	60.2	10.9	28.89	32.8	8.2
2. Frankfurt	46.3	76.1	33.4	26.9	52.2	20.9
3. Kassel	46.8	86.1	6.3	23.4	60.4	18.9
4. Munich	38.5	68.6	11.6	43.9	18.8	19.7
5. Regensburg	47.1	86.8	35.8	28.3	40.4	20.7
6. Stuttgart	36.5	68.2	18.2	30.7	52.8	12.5
Total	42.5	76.7	15.9	35.5	42.0	18.4

\* YIVO, 446

TABLE XXIX

\*  
Personal Statistics of Teachers - July and December 1948

	July 1, 1948	%	December 1, 1948	%
Total No. Surveyed	658		506	
One-subject teachers	237	35%	183	37%
With knowledge of Hebrew	364	55%	247	49%
With College education	95	15%	52	10%
With pedagogic training	169	25%	180	35%
<u>Experience</u>				
Under 10 years	255	39%	248	49%
Over 10 years	158	24%	130	26%
Unknown	245	47%	128	25%

\* YIVO, 47

TABLE XXX

\*

Personal Statistics of Teachers by districts, July, 1948

Districts	No. of teach.	- - - o f - - - t h e s e - - -					
		special.	with knowl. of Heb.educ.	with high.	with pedagog. training	with exper. under 10 years	with exper. above 10 years
Bamberg	73	19	49	7	16	20	20
Frankfurt	84	34	<b>52</b>	<b>12</b>	24	<b>40</b>	12
Kassel	127	41	52	9	37	55	31
Munich	165	60	91	20	63	70	48
Munich City	30	23	21	15	5	9	14
Regensburg	62	21	34	12	11	24	11
Stuttgart	117	39	65	20	13	37	22

\* YIVO, 47

TABLE XXXI

Teachers and Pupils In the American Zone, 1948 \*

Dates	Public Schools (Elementary)		Kindergartens	
	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils
January, 1948	592	7,045	417	6,305
October, 1948	115	1,698	1135	2,342

\* YIVO, 446

220  
TABLE XXXII

\*  
Age of Jewish D.P.'s in Berlin, November, 1948

Age	Boys	Girls	Men	Women	Total
0 - 1	126	129			255
1 - 6	64	54			118
7 - 10	52	55			107
11 - 14	53	59			112
15 - 16	28	28			56
17 - 18	84	10			94
19 - 25			224	218	442
26-335			357	363	720
36-45			479	547	1026
46-55			681	840	1521
56-65			695	620	1315
66-100			523	457	980
Total	407	335	2959	3045	6746

\* YIVO, 48

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

Prepared by AJDC U. S. Zone Headquarters--Heidelberg  
c/o UNRRA Headquarters--3rd Army Headquarters  
APO 757 November 30, 1946 #11

Camps: Accomodations requisitioned by the United States Army, administered by UNRRA.

Children's Centers: Army requisitioned installations administered by UNRRA, used only for the case of unaccompanied children.

Hospitals, Sanatoria and Rest Centers: These include UNRRA administered installations as well as Jewish and German installations. Patients in camp infirmaries are not listed spearately but are included in the figures of the camp.

Hachsharoth-Agricultural Training Centers: These are farms or farm schools for the preparation of emigrants to Palestine. These are partially administered by UNRRA.

Communities: Jews living in privately rented homes without regard to whether or not they are receiving UNRRA care. For clarification it is necessary to stress that UNRRA considers all persons who are receiving its care as living in assembly centers without regard to whether they are actually living in private dwellings or in army requisitioned installations. It may be that persons who are listed in this report as living in communities

are reported by UNRRA as living in centers (taken care of in centers).

NOTE: By Solomon Goldman

This may explain the discrepancies of statistical data on DPs, in this as well as in other studies on the subject.

## GLOSSARY

- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee: Abbreviated to AJDC, or JDC; philanthropic agency founded in 1914 to aid Jews in need all over the world.
- HIAS: United Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, founded in 1902 in New York; dedicated to helping Jewish immigrants all over the world, and especially those bound for the United States.
- IGCR: (Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees); founded through American initiative in the wake of the Evian Conference on refugees held in 1938. In the aftermath of World War II its purpose was to implement the agreement reached in the 1943 Bermuda Conference between the United States and the United Kingdom on the care and resettlement of stateless refugees.
- IRO: (International Refugee Organization); successor organization to UNRRA. Founded in 1947 by interested nations, it participated in the upkeep of DP camps and the emigration of Jews to Israel and other countries.
- JDC: See American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.
- Jewish Agency for Palestine: Founded in 1929 as a partnership between Zionists and non-Zionist Jews for the



upbuilding of Palestine. By the 1940s it had in fact become synonymous with the Zionist movement and served as its political executive body and prime mover in fund-raising.

ORT: Organization for Rehabilitation and Training.

UNRRA: (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration); founded in 1943 by the United Nations to administer relief to war-stricken areas and populations.

Vaad Hatzalah, Vaad Hahatzalah: Organization of Orthodox rabbis in the United States to aid and rescue Orthodox groups in Europe and Asia during and after the Holocaust.

YIVO: Institute for Jewish Research.

ZK: Zentralkomitee, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria. Founded in July 1945, its main headquarters was at Munich. Not to be confused with the Central Committee of Polish Jews, founded in Lublin in 1944, which was the central representative of Polish Jewry after liberation.

#### ZIONIST PARTIES AND YOUTH MOVEMENTS

Agudat Yisrael: Ultra-orthodox, originally anti-Zionist, but later non-Zionist, political organization, founded in 1912. Very influential in Poland prior to the Second World War. It veered toward Zionism after the war and organized itself as a political party in Israel.

- Betar:** Zionist youth movement emphasizing military education. Affiliated (until the 1940s) with the Revisionist Party and acknowledging the authority of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, Jewish nationalist, orator and man of letters.
- Bnai Akiva:** Zionist religious youth movement with a moderately left-wing hue, allied to the Palestinian religious kibbutz movement.
- Dror:** Zionist youth movement affiliated to the left-wing Kibbutz Meuchad federation of kibbutzim in Palestine (and today in Israel); also known by its Yiddish name, Freiheit (Freedom).
- Gordonia:** Zionist movement of a moderate non-Marxist socialist tendency, affiliated with Mapai and the Hever Hakvutzot federation of kibbutzim in the Palestine of the 1940s.
- Hashomer Hatzair:** Young Guardsman, oldest Zionist youth movement; left-wing socialist and Marxist; affiliated with the Kibbutz Artzi federation of kibbutzim in Palestine.
- Mapai:** Founded in 1930; chief political party in the Zionist movement and in Palestine with a moderate socialist tendency. Led since 1944 by David Ben-Gurion.
- HaNoar HaZioni:** Zionist youth movement of a non-socialist liberal tendency.
- Poale Zion Party:** (Workers of Zion Party), moderate labor

party of the Zionist movement outside Israel; run in fact by Mapai, the Palestinian (later Israeli) party. Not to be confused with the radical left-wing Poale Zion, which was especially active in Poland.

Revisionist Party: Founded in 1925 by Ze'ev Jabotinsky; radical right-wing party demanding the foundation of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan.

APPENDIX

CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
for Liberated Jews in Niederbayern and Oberpfalz  
Regensburg.

צנטראל קאמיטעט

פאר באפרייטע יידן אין נידערבאיערן און אהערפאלץ

רעגנסבורג.

אויפן 15

ליעב, היינטיג יונגעס!

אויס א העלפליכע ציקונג האט איר זיך נישט פארענט, יודעל הינטן!

דורך די לעבע זענט יאר קיין האב קיין זין איך זיל היינטליכן מיין באמאלט מיין פויער.

אונט און טרעך נעקויען דע בארענט, ווען געברעייטע דע דעם פויערן מיין איך קענען דאס גייסטע.

פיוואקן, טראגט דעם זעלבע איר זיך קאנען אונטערן א ניי, געווען אין גען לעבן.

קודם כל כחט איר: וואס טוענדיג אונטערלעך זיך

פון דאס טלענט אין פארשטייערונג וואס די קאנצענטראציע-לאגערן האבען אין אירע נפשות איבערגעלאזט.

ווייניגער טוט איר זיך טענהן די הארבעט גראנץ:

וואס וועל איך זיין יעדן די העלפ זענט יודעל צווישן די צו א נאכמאל לעבן?

צו זיין איך זיין יודעל געווען צווישן איר צו קאנען זיין זא-מיין א טעם קויטענען?

ווען איר וועט זיך באהענדען צו טענהן איר די דאזיקע פאקטן יודעל איר קענען זיין איינציג א דאס איינציג.

איר דאס איר נייענט זיך אפגעצויגען אין יודעס, און געברענגט!

וועל איר זיך דורכשלאגן איר גענוג איר טעם איר טענהט געטן מיין איר זיך

לעצטע, לעצטע און נאכמאל לעצטע

געברענגט און יודעס — איר זעט געטענע קאמפאטאל

געברענגט און יודעס — פארשטייערונג איינציג לעבן.

מיט געברענגט און יודעס — איר איינציג לעבנט פאר-יעדע געוויסער.

געברענגט

אלע זעט דעם לעצטע — לעצטע זעט דעם

זעט יודעס און יודעס פארשטייערונג איר זעט

אויסגעבן פאר קלער  
דייט צענטראל קאמיטעט פאר באפרייטע יידן  
אין נידערבאיערן און אהערפאלץ.

SD AT.I

Lazarett St.Ottilien, Abteilung  
für ehemal. polit. Häftl.  
Dr. Z. Grinberg Chefarzt

St.Ottilien, den 31. 5. 1945

RETURN TO  
W. J. C.  
FILING DEPT.

Appell an den jüdischen  
Weltkongress.

Wir, der Rest der europäischen Judenheit wenden uns an Sie, als Zentrale Instanz für jüdische Fragen mit folgendem Appell:

Es sind 4 Wochen seit unserer Befreiung verstrichen und kein Vertreter der jüdischen Welt, kein Vertreter von irgendwelchen jüdischen Organisationen ist zu uns gekommen um mit uns nach dem schwersten Leidenswege aller Zeiten und aller Völker zu sprechen, zu trösten und die momentane Not zu lindern und die erste Hilfe zu geben. Wir mußten uns, mit unseren eigenen schwachen Kräften zu helfen versuchen. Dies ist für uns die erste und größte Enttäuschung nach unserer Befreiung. Dies ist für uns eine unverständliche und traurige Tatsache.

Zwei wichtige Fragen bewegen uns momentan. Jeder von uns, will die Blutbilanz seiner Familie machen, daher wenden wir uns an Sie und ersuchen Sie auf dem schnellsten Wege uns Listen zu schicken von den überlebenden Juden in Sowjetrußland und im

Westdeutschlands. Wir wollen wissen, nach wem wir uns wenden. Die zweite Frage die uns bewegt ist die: Was ist uns geschehen? Wohin werden wir gebracht? Was ist unser nun ein unglückliches Leben weiter-

*A Report to President Truman*

By EARL G. HARRISON

American Member, Inter-Governmental Committee  
on Refugees

THE PLIGHT  
OF THE DISPLACED JEWS  
IN EUROPE

Released by The White House on September 29, 1945



EARL G. HARRISON



### INTRODUCTION

*Few documents in recent years relating to the Jewish situation have had the impact and far-reaching consequences of the report that was submitted to President Truman by Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, following a survey of the conditions of displaced Jews in Europe after V-E Day.*

*Mr. Harrison's detailed description of the plight of the Jews in war-ravaged Europe, his moving plea for increased aid in the form of relief and rehabilitation overseas, and his emphatic support for the immediate settlement in Palestine of 100,000 Jews dramatically underscore the overwhelming tasks that confront the agencies of the United Jewish Appeal at the present time.*

### Text of Report by Earl G. Harrison

*London, England*

The White House, Washington.

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 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 the 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. Schwartz 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, vice-director of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees and Mr. Herbert Katzski of the War Refugee Board. These gentlemen, likewise, have had considerable experience in refugee matters. Their assistance and cooperation were most helpful in the course of the survey.

#### I Germany and Austria CONDITIONS

(1) Generally speaking, three months after V-E Day, 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, amid 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) 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, personally attended, since liberation, 23,000 burials (90 per cent Jews) at Bergen Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, 14,000 displaced persons are still living, including over 7,000 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 effect—while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German SS 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 reunite 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 Luxembourg 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.

(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 in their requisitions with the German burgomeister, and many seemed to accept whatever he turned over as being the best that was available.

(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 100,000 probably the top figure; some informed persons contend the number is considerably smaller. 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 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 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 destinations.

(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.

(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. 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 preeminently 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 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 shoes (most sorely needed), more varied and palatable diet, medicine, 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 or authorized to operate displaced persons camps or centers on any large scale, has not been in a 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.

Under these circumstances UNRRA, to which has been assigned the responsibility for coordinating activities of private social welfare agencies, has been in an 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.

It must be said, too, that because of their preoccupation 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 1939 ought to be possible without too serious repercussions. For 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.

The Jewish Agency of Palestine has submitted to the British Government a petition that 100,000 additional immigration certificates be made available. A memorandum accompanying the petition makes a persuasive showing with respect to the immediate absorptive capacity of Palestine and the current, actual manpower 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, a prominent member of the new British Government, is reported as having said at the Labor party conference in May, 1945:

"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 coun-



tries 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 have also 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 cooperation 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. 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 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 persecuted persons who are not physically fit or otherwise presently prepared for emigration.

Here I feel strongly that greater and more extensive effort 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. 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," 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, overcrowded camps while the German people, in rural areas, continue undisturbed in their homes.

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 SS 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 DP's (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 (model apartments) with conveniences and the other a series of shabby buildings with outside toilet and washing facilities, the Burgomeister readily succeeds in persuading the town mayor 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 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 employes who have not facilitated matters.

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.

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 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 Seventh Army area, 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, 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 elected 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 cooperate with UNRRA and other relief and welfare agencies.

(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, if on open postal card only, be made available to displaced persons within Germany and Austria as soon as possible. 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

**"The Main Solution—Palestine"**

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 6,000,000 displaced persons found in those countries. Less than three months after V-E Day, more than 4,000,000 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 post-fighting jobs. In directing attention to existing conditions which unquestionably require remedying, 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 had 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 as a tendency not to take into account the full scope of the overwhelming tasks 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 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.

(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.

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. 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, the shipping situation should also become sufficiently improved to make such a move feasible.

The 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.

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(Leader of the Culture Office of the  
Committee for the former Jewish political  
prisoners in Landsberg/Lech.)

## THE MEANING OF THE LIFE- CREATIVE WORK.

(Speech delivered on the 1st October 1945 in the cinema-building of the  
Caserne at the evening of the festival "Culture and work" and devoted  
to the opening of the schools.)

The stormy billows carry forward our ship.  
We are driven by thirst into the deepest deep.  
Ten times turned away — and we dare forward.  
(From the poem by Kulbak "The Earth".)

The Deluge is over. The storm is gone. Our ship is wrecked. A few  
of us shipwrecked folks have been saved on the crests of the waves. Thrown  
up by the stormy seas we remained on the mountains of Bavaria lonely and  
miserable. Friendly breezes are wafting in. Slowly we became aware how  
vicious the strike was that knocked us down. We are awaiting impatiently  
the dove that shall bring us the olive branch from the sunny green shores  
where we shall find our inward peace.

Five months have gone by since we were liberated. We came out  
of the concentration camps starved, emaciated, enfeebled and covered with  
vermine, afflicted with various diseases. Our main tasks were to heal the  
sick and to restore the physical strength of the tortured captives.

We are gratified to state due to energetic measures we have taken  
the majority of the people were restored physically. Our youth again im-  
press us with their vigor and exuberance, and the thought is ripening  
toward the beginning of our second and more important task i. e. to heal  
the mental state of our people and to restore their spiritual equilibrium.  
This is a task difficult and complicated even in normal times.

Any educated person knows how tangled and confused are the psychic  
and mental processes in man. At the present time it is impossible to find  
one's way in the labyrinth of the human soul and to fathom the springs  
of the various actions of human beings both good and bad.

We former camp inmates, who suffered so much and who witnessed  
the chaotic condition of man's mental state, we know and we understand  
how difficult it is to restore the mental equilibrium in the former inmates  
of concentration camps. But it would be downright criminal on our part  
to look on the idle and indolent life in the camp without doing anything  
about it and permit ourselves to be carried away by the stream. We have  
to give the man in the camp the possibilities of a future life. We have to  
reform the daily life, introduce work of all variations and adumbrations

We have to feel once more the pulsation of activities. Only in that way will we be able to avert the further demoralization and deterioration of thinking and feeling among our fellow sufferers.

It has been years now since we were flung out from our peaceful and normal way of life. Our lives that we built up through years of physical and mental labor were destroyed by the Hitler regime. We sunk to a state lower than that of Pariahs. In the years of the Hitler regime work became a ghoul that drove us into the arms of the death.

When we see now in the Bavarian villages the oxen carts and as we look on beast clumsily dragging on, we are vividly reminded of our work in the concentration camps. But the oxen have a better lot in these Bavarian villages as was ours in the camps. They are kept clean, they are well fed and they are not beaten. Because of the conditions superimposed upon us by the Hitlerites work became our greatest enemy. In the innermost of our hearts a complex was created that caused us to take a negative attitude toward labor.

The times and conditions of life have, however, radically changed. We shall not remain for ever in the camp and we have to consider the latter only as a preparatory step and transitory to a normal life. Therefore we must exploit all possibilities in this transition period and try everything to prepare this remnant of the Jews for a new life.

Normal life means a life of meaning and purposes, filled with useful and creative work which could be placed later at the disposal of the community. Now we have to endeavour to eradicate from our minds the negative attitude to work, to destroy that complex that is not justifiable under the present circumstances.

"Habata! Hee Eim Kol Chatas" — "Idleness is the mother of all sins." We see the first attempts to direct life into normal channels in the establishment of trade schools and other institutions of learning, where the former inmates of concentration camps are learning some trade in accordance with their ages and inclinations. Only when this former inmates will become qualified workers will they be able to lead a well ordered life. The soul of „camper“ has absorbed so many terrible experiences and memories that move like great dark shadows in the chambers of his inner life. Only through creative work can we tear them out from this condition and bring them into a lighter world.

This conviction gets stronger and stronger in me when I spend my time in the workshops of the professional school and in the various professional courses and note the expressions of the former camp inmates. Already in the year 1934 I became convinced that only through reeducation as qualified workers can such people regain a new meaning and purpose in life. This was at the time when the first victims of Hitlerism, the Jews, came from Germany to Lithuania to learn some trade or profession to prepare themselves for Palestine and for other countries. Notwithstanding the primitive conditions amidst which they lived in Lithuania after having been torn out from their comfortable homes in Germany, they were full of joy of life and faith in their future. And when you visit our trade schools and our technical courses then you will see the faces lit with joy and the glow of creative work.

The working out of dead substance, the taking off of the unfriendly surface of the material in order to give it shape and content in connection with the process of creative work, is a divine act of creation. Here man



emulates Divinity on that first day of creation, when God Almighty instilled elixir of life into the dead material. If one follows the history of the Jewish mental creation from the Bible to modern Jewish literature one can see how the strong principle that the work shapes the foundation of our life has been put into relief in the course of thousands of years. We endeavour to escape from the imprecation of God Almighty: "In the sweat of thy brow you were to eat your bread". But nevertheless the deeper mind of our life is the creative work.

We have met here to appeal to the whole of the residents of the camp admonishing them to arrange their daily life in work and activity. I am very glad firstly to salute the pioneers who just apprehended the task imposed on them and set to work with strong intention by work and industry, by forge and weld, by lathe and file to pave the way for the future. From this category will be recruited our future lock-smiths and mechanics. Further we see here our future nurses who are ready to place themselves at the disposal of those who suffer after theoretical and practical instruction. I do not want to pass over in silence also the dental technicians, the radiotechnicians, motor technicians and the tailors and tailoresses who intend to secure their future-existence by learning of these professions.

In our workshops 320 schoolboys and schoolgirls learn at the present time. In community of 4000 persons this number is very small. Therefore we call our brothers and sisters to give up idleness, to meditate on their fate and future and to come to us in order to learn. In all places of the camp the pulsation of the work must be felt.

Goethe who with his sharp and poetic comprehensive view set about to penetrate the deep mystery of nature and the human being. Goethe, the Epicur, who surely has drunk on his long course of way from the beaker of the human luck, Goethe who surely understood in his old age to value the happiness of life for the human being puts into the second part of his "Faust" the execution that man can find a satisfaction in the creative work:

Yes! I am quite attached to this sensitive faculty  
This is the wisdom's last conclusion  
Only that man merits liberty as well as life  
Who must daily conquer it."

We have to accomplish in the future great creative tasks. Erez Israel waits for men sound in body and mind who will later understand to transform their muscular strength into suitable and creative work.

I send to all men and women of the camp the call of the poet Kulbak:

"Must we go, must we go and leave behind the enfeebled  
The bells have rung and the youth of bronze came on their call  
Driven by the wish to appease the anger about the lost years."

We can only satisfy the anger about the lost years by creative work.

משה'לעך, שלמה'לעך

ווערטער : י. פאפערניקאוו  
מוזיק : ישראל ארטער

אונטער די פוילישע גרינגקע ביינערעך,  
שפילן זיך מער ניט קיין משה'לעך שלמה'לעך,  
שפילן זיך מער ניט קיין שרה'לעך לאה'לעך  
ניט אויף קיין גרעזעלעך, ניט אויף קיין  
שנייעלעך . . .

ס'הילכן שוין מער ניט די יודישע שטימעלעך,  
פון די קונדסימלעך מאטעלעך שמעולעך,  
מיט די צעקרעלטע צעדראפעטע צורה'לעך  
פונעם באווייזן ווונדערס און גבורה'לעך.

ס'טרויערן אצינד די פוילישע ביימעלעך,  
טויט זיינען יודישע היימען און היימעלעך,  
טויט זיינען געסעלעך, חרוב די הייזעלעך —  
ווי עס פארשטעקן זיך קינדער ווי מייזעלעך.

יודישע קינדער מיט גרויסע אויגעלעך,  
שווארצע אוי ווי מיט חרשן פארצייגענע  
אייגעלעך פורע מיט פחד פארראפענע  
אונטער דעם אינגליק דעם ברוינעם  
געטראפענע.

אונטער די פוילישע גרינגקע ביינערעך,  
שפילן זיך מער ניט קיין משה'לעך שלמה'לעך,  
שפילן זיך מער ניט קיין שרה'לעך לאה'לעך  
ניט אויף קיין גרעזעלעך, ניט אויף קיין  
שנייעלעך . . .

משה'לעך, שלמה'לעך

ויר קינה על כליון ילדיו היהודים בפולין,  
לא עוד ישתקו נחתה לעצים ושיחים  
מישה'לך ושלמה'לך, שרה'לך ולאה'לך, נדם  
קול צחוקם של הילדים בבית ישראל  
בפולין ישכח את בניו, רק פה ושם  
מסתתרים ילדים בודדים בנתיקים ;  
הם מכתתרים טרופי-פחד  
ובעיניהם אימת המוות האורב להם.

MOYSHE'LECH SHLOIME'LECH

**A** DIRGE on the death of the Jewish children in Poland. No longer do they play under the trees and in the bushes. Moyshe'lech and Shloime'lech, Sara'lach and Lea'lach, the sound of their laughter has been silenced. The House of Israel in Poland has lost its children. Only here and there do lonely children who survived still hide in holes, covering, crazed by terror, with the fear of death in their eyes.

When our children cried in the shadow  
of the gallows,  
We never heard the world's anger;  
For Thou didst choose us from all  
peoples,  
Thou didst love us and favor us.

For Thou didst choose us from all  
peoples,  
Norwegians, Czechs and Britons;  
And when our children are marched to  
the gallows,  
Jewish children, wise Jewish children,  
They know that their blood is not  
counted in the bloodshed—  
They only call back to their mothers:  
"Mother, don't look!"

How great the concern for paintings  
and sculptures,  
Treasures of art, lest they be bombed;

While the art treasures of baby-skulls  
Are dashed against walls and  
pavements.  
Their eyes only speak: "Don't look,  
mother,  
Veterans we are, soldiers renowned—  
Only undersized!"

Their eyes speak yet other things;  
God of the patriarchs! We know  
That Thou didst choose us from all  
children,  
That Thou didst love us, and favor us.  
That Thou didst choose us from all  
children  
To be slaughtered before the Throne  
of Glory;  
And Thou dost gather our blood in  
buckets  
For there is none else to gather it.

And Thou dost scent it like the  
perfume of flowers,  
And dost sponge it up in a kerchief;  
And Thou wilt seek it from the hands  
of them that murdered  
And from the hands of those that kept  
silent.

ורקת דממה לקטניות ופסלים  
ואפורה חקונות פן ירצו  
עך אפורה חקונות של ראשי-עללים  
אל קירות וקביצים ירצו  
שיניהם פתורות: אל פביטי. קטם.  
איך שורות ארפות התנו.  
חלים ותיקים וידועים קטם.  
רק קטנים בקופה אנהנו.

שיניהם פתורות עוד דברים אקדים:  
אלהי קטבות, ידענו  
שאתה בחרתנו ככל חלדים,  
אמרת אותנו ורצית בנו.

שאתה בחרתנו ככל חלדים  
לקרב מול פתה כבודך.  
ואתה את דמנו אסף ככדים  
כי אין לו אסף מלבדך.

ואתה קריתו כמו בית פתים  
ואתה מלקטו כששפעת.  
ואתה תבקענו מידי הרוצחים  
ומידי השותקים גם נסד.

מפיל העומים

בבמות ילדנו כשל בדרמים  
את חמת השולם לא שמענו.  
כי אתה בחרתנו ככל העמים.  
אמרת אותנו ורצית בנו.  
כי אתה בחרתנו ככל העמים.  
מורגנים, מצויים, מברזים...  
ובשלי ילדנו אלי בדרמים.  
ילדים יהודים, ילדים חקמים.  
הם יודעים כי דקם לא נחשב פתים -  
הם קוראים רק לאם: אל פביטי!

ואתה הגרון פתים ובליל  
וקטב מוקרי שקרוש בעיר רום  
לא נשא שהיכל עם צלמי המאל  
לעמד יום אהד במאגרום.  
לעמד יום אהד, יום אהד ויהודי,  
בפתים שעומד בו שנים כמו נדי  
ילד קט,  
אלמוני,  
יהודי.

נתן אלתרמן, הטור השביעי, שירי העת והעחון, הוצאת "עם עובד"  
חל-אביב, חש"י

Translated by Simon Halkin in "A Treasury of Jewish Poetry,"  
ed. Nathan and Maryam Ausubel, New York, 1957. P. 157.

## RECITATION OF THE NAMES

Blimeshi. Toybeshi. Rivele.  
 Leyenyu. Feygenyu. Perele.  
 Khatskele. Motele. Kivele.  
 Hershele. Leybele. Berele.  
 Shayeshi. Khayeshi. Goldeshi.  
 Mendelelekh. Gnendelekh. Mindelekh.  
 Kh'tseyl in der nakht in der shlotflozer  
 Nemen fun yidishe kinderlekh.  
 Nemen fun yidishe kinderlekh,  
 Rokhelekh, Rakhelekh, Nekhelekh,  
 Getselekh, Velvelekh, Vigderlekh,  
 Yankelekh, Yoynlekh, Mekhelekh.  
 Kopele, vu iz dayn kepele?  
 Vu iz dos likht fun dayn eygele?  
 Vu iz dayn hentele, Yentele?  
 Vu iz dayn fisele, Feygele?  
 Nemen – ot dos iz geblihn nor:  
 Dvoyrele – Dvoshele – Khayele.  
 Shmerele – Perele – Serele.  
 Shimele – Shiyele – Shayele.

Ver kon gefinen itst Moyshelen,  
 Shoylikn, Shmulikn, Srolikn?  
 Got hot af zey nisht derbaremt zikh,  
 Hot zey geshonken Amoleykn.  
 Blimeshi – Toybeshi – Rivele.  
 Leyenyu – Feygenyu – Perele.  
 Khatskele – Motele – Kivele.  
 Hershele – Leybele – Berele.  
 Oys un nishto mer di Heshlekh,  
 Heshlekh, Peshelekh, Hindelekh.  
 Klagen, bloyz klagen, bloyz lidklagen –  
 Nemen fun yidishe kinderlekh.  
 Vu iz dayn fisele, Zisele?  
 Tsipele, vu iz dayn tsepele?  
 Roykh bistu, Yentele's hentele!  
 Ash bistu, Kopele's kepele!

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Aaron Zeitlin, "A Kholem fun noch Maidanek," Part IV,  
 in Lider fun Khurbn un Lider fun gloybn, Vol. 1, pp. 93-  
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 Washington, D.C., 1971.

# געדענקען...

פון דר. מאַרק דוואַרזשעצקי

געדענקען די קאמפאזיציע פון ישראל  
 געדענקען דעם קאמפ אין דעם אויסקום - און לערן פון זיי א לערע.  
 און זאל דאס געדענקען זיין דור א באגרייפער, זייען די גייסט אין זייען,  
 זייען די שפאסט אין זייען די האכסט אויף.  
 וארשט לעולם דעם זכרון פון די וואס זענען שוין נאכא,  
 און זאל דער זכרון פון דער קאמפאזיציע זיין זאלן אין זיין בלוט  
 און זיין שלישי און בייך.  
 פארקריין די זיינער און געדענקען! און זייען די לעסט - געדענקען!  
 און זייען די טרינקסט - געדענקען!  
 און זייען די הערסט א ניד - געדענקען!  
 און זייען עס שינט די זון - געדענקען!  
 און זייען עס קומט די נאכט - געדענקען!  
 און א שטוב, און די וועלט בויקע ברעד אין איר א וואנט - בכדי די  
 זאלסט תמיד זיין פאר זיינע אויגן דעם זכרון בית ישראל.  
 און און די וועלט א פעלד פארזאקערן - א בארג פון שטיינער שטעל  
 אויף אין אים - צו ערות און זכרון פאר ברודער, וואס זענען  
 צו קבר ישראל נישט געקומען.  
 און און די וועלט זיין קינד צו חופה פירן - הויב אויף דעם זכרון פון  
 יידישע קינדער, וואס צו דער חופה וועט זיין זיין קיינמאל  
 נישט פירן - און אפילו קיין קדיש וועט קיינער נאך זיי קיינמאל  
 נישט זאגן.  
 און זאל זייען איינס! דער טויטער און דער לעבעדיקער; דער אויסגע-  
 ריסענער - און דער איבערגעבליבענער; די וואס זענען אוועק -  
 און די שארית ישראל.  
 דער צו און הער, זיי עס רופט זייען איינעם פון אונז - די לערע פון  
 דער פאלקסקאמפאזיציע צו אמרו! צו אמרו! געדענקען!

## REMEMBER...

By DR. MARK DWORZECKY

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Remember Israel's Catastrophe,  
 Remember the fighting and the slaughter — and learn a lesson  
 from them.  
 And may that remembrance be your companion, when you sleep  
 and when you wake.  
 Eternal be the memory of those who are no more.  
 And may the memory of the catastrophe be salt in your blood  
 and flesh and bone.  
 Grit your teeth and remember; and when you eat remember,  
 and when you drink — remember;  
 and when you hear a song — remember;  
 and when the sun bursts forth — remember;  
 and when the shadows fall — remember;  
 And should you build a house, smash through one wall — that  
 you may always see before you the ruin of your people.  
 And should you plough a field,  
 heap stones there, mountain-high,  
 as witness and memorial for your brothers who did not have  
 a Jewish ritual burial  
 And should you lead your child unto the bridal canopy,  
 Lift high the memory of Jewish children, who never will be led  
 unto it,  
 And for those whose souls no Kaddish will ever be said  
 And let them be One! the perished and the living  
 he who was torn away and he who was spared;  
 he who departed, and that who remain  
 Hearken and hear, how it calls to each of us —  
 the lesson of Israel's catastrophe;  
 to unrest! to unrest! remember.

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