

Displaced Persons im besetzten Deutschland: Kollektive Identität und unterschiedliche Erfahrungen der Überlebenden
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American officer Saul Padover's early (1946) description of the veritable *Völkerwanderung* (mass migration) of refugees at war's end is telling in its assumption that the Jews had all been murdered: "Thousands, tens of thousands, finally millions of liberated slaves were coming out of the farms and the factories, and the mines, and pouring onto the highways...They were all there, all except the Jews. The Jews, six million of them, the children and the women and the old men, were ashes in the incinerators and bones in the charnel houses." But in fact the story, while no less tragic, is more complicated. In 1933, at the beginning of the National Socialist regime, Germany counted approximately 500,000 Jews. In 1946/47, three years after Germany had been declared *judenrein*, quite unexpectedly, over a quarter of a million Jews, survivors of the Final Solution were gathered in Germany, albeit on occupied and defeated territory – probably about 300,000 altogether in occupied Germany, Italy, and Austria together. About 15,000 of this small remnant, the *She'erith Hapleita* (the rest of the rest, the saved remnant) were German Jews, of whom almost half were in Berlin. The great majority were Eastern European Jewish "displaced persons" of whom, in turn, only a minority were

survivors of Nazi camps.

The largest cohort, by a substantial margin, -- and the least studied -- comprised perhaps 200,000 (maybe more, up to 400,000) Jews who had been repatriated to Poland from their difficult but life-saving refuge in the Soviet Union and then fled again, as so-called *infiltrates* into American-occupied Germany from postwar Polish anti-Semitism, Especially after the notorious pogrom in Kielce, Poland, on July 4, 1946, that Jan Gross has written about so eloquently in his book, Fear. A key part of the Jewish DP story and key to understanding who these “survivors” were and their varied wartime experiences.

Mir zeyn do (“we are here,” the Jewish DPs declared in Yiddish
Assembly centers and then DP camps (c. 60) were established, mostly in the American zone (one major camp in the British zone, Belsen-Höhne) where the “living corpses,” liberated from concentration camps and death marches on German territory, gathered, followed by the survivors pouring in from Eastern Europe: Jews who had first returned home to seek – generally in vain -- loved ones and reclaim property, former partisans, those who had been in hiding, those who had passed on the “Aryan side,” and finally starting in the late 1945, the repatriates from the Soviet Union. These DP communities grew parallel to the small German-Jewish communities re-

establishing themselves in German cities, in Berlin, in Frankfurt, in Munich, in the British and French zones, as well as in the Soviet zone (the SBZ, with its c. 3000-4500 returnees) which however did not officially sanction the presence of DPs or DP camps.

In this liminal period from war's end to 1949, before the establishment of the Federal Republic, Germans and Jews lived, as they often claimed, and mostly continued to in their recollections, in different worlds on the same terrain, divided by memory, experience, and mutual suspicion and antagonism. But, (as Michael Brenner also discusses in his contribution), regulated and observed by their (mostly) American occupiers and international relief organizations, they also continually interacted, in uneasy, sometimes cordial, only occasionally violent, and overwhelmingly pragmatic ways: in the general messy stuff – the nitty gritty -- of everyday life: feeding people, taking care of children and the sick, the grey and black informal markets, establishing local businesses, and administering the refugee camps, engaging in sports and education, even entertainment and sexual relations, and in a small stigmatized but visible minority of cases. Policed and protected by the American occupiers, under the “care *and* control” of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by the Allies already in 1943 to deal with the

expected masses of people displaced by the Nazis' war, although not predominantly the Jews who became over time an unexpectedly large group), Jews lived side by side and amongst defeated Germans who were now themselves confronting a mass influx of ethnic German refugees from the East (not defined as DPs) and the collapse of the Nazi system most had defended to the bitter end. Germans were almost universally preoccupied with their own miseries, and self-perception as victims, of Hitler and the Nazis who had misled them and of the Allies who imposed an arbitrary victors' justice, and now of the Jewish survivors who insistently claimed space, rations, and the assistance of the occupiers. In constant tension with these odd, even perverse, surroundings, whether the almost painfully peaceful and picturesque Bavarian lakes and Alps or the rubble landscapes of the cities, there emerged over several years a new and self-conscious Jewish collectivity, which named itself the *She'erit Hapleta* (or in the Yiddish vernacular *sheyres hapleyte*), invoking biblical references to the surviving ("left-over" saving and saved) remnant which has escaped destruction and "carries the promise of a future." And it was precisely in the basic and intimate arenas of food, reproduction, and sexuality that relations were both most fraught and most close.

For the vast majority of Jewish DPs and a significant number of

German Jews, however that possible future meant, and this is key also for understanding the understudied question of German responses to their discomfiting unexpected presence, emigration, as soon as possible, from the “blood-stained, cursed” soil of Germany. In the meantime, however, the years of postwar limbo as Displaced Persons, supported by U.S. Military Government, UNRRA and international Jewish aid organizations, notably the American Joint (Jewish) Distribution Committee (JDC, Joint), provided a frustrating – but also in many ways necessary – interregnum, a space between the trauma of war, genocide, and displacement and the burdens of starting new lives in new homelands, generally outside of Europe, in the United States, Israel, Australia, and Canada.

The largest group among the Jewish DPs in occupied Germany comprised so-called “infiltrates,” who had not entered the American zone before December 22, 1945, the initial cut-off date for classification as displaced persons. They poured into the American zone because the U.S., alone among the occupying powers, was willing to accept these Jewish refugees fleeing postwar Eastern Europe, especially Poland after the pogrom in Kielce in July 1946. General Eisenhower’s inspection of Feldafing, the first all-Jewish camp, on the shores of Lake Starnberg near Munich, in September 1945 signifies the beginning of what DP leader Samuel Gringauz

described as a “a golden age” which lasted until the intensification of the Cold War and the corollary rapprochement with Germany in the summer of 1947. Eisenhower went to Feldafing because of pressure from Washington, specifically from President Truman, who was in turn pressured by American Jewish organizations, which had been galvanized by devastating reports from American Jewish GIs and chaplains about deplorable conditions in the DP camps. Truman had then dispatched a remarkable man, Earl G. Harrison, on an investigative tour in August 1945.

Harrison, President Roosevelt’s former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, who had just been appointed dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, was asked by President Truman to lead an official mission “To inquire into the condition and needs” of stateless displaced persons, “with particular reference to the Jewish refugees who may be stateless or non-repatriable.” The report Harrison submitted to President Truman at the end of August 1945, just as the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal was getting underway, proved to be a political “bombshell.”

This unlikely advocate, who had been responsible among other things for wartime alien registration and the internment of Japanese-Americans, now gave voice to the bitterness and frustration of survivors three months after liberation and validated the Zionist goal of resettlement in Palestine:

“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.” Most dramatically he declared:

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 military guard, instead of the S.S. troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

The passionate outrage of this highly publicized report -- the full text appeared in the New York Times on September 30, 1945 -- was in parts hyperbolic and unfair to the substantial relief efforts that had been made by the U.S. military. But it led to the official establishment of what Jews had already been organizing on their own: all Jewish displaced persons camps. The Americans, unlike the British, acknowledged, as Harrison put it, that “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.” This willingness to recognize the exceptional nature of Jewish wartime persecution provoked, unsurprisingly, resentment among the local population and highlighted the

intense rivalries over rations, food, and housing among Jewish DPs, native Germans, and ethnic German refugees from eastern territories captured by the Red Army, all gathered in a still rural area like Bavaria. Decades later, Germans still remembered Eisenhower walking through the placid elegant streets of Feldafing pointing out villas for immediate requisition, thereby displacing the German residents and making room for the influx of Jewish survivors.

Within these refugee camps, now all-Jewish with internal self-government, something rather amazing happened: organized by survivors themselves, in complex interaction with the surrounding German population and emerging postwar authorities, with help from UNRRA teams, the US Military Government, and, above all, American-Jewish Army chaplains, Jewish aid organizations, (especially the JOINT), and Zionist emissaries from the *Yishuv* (Jewish community in pre-state Palestine), there emerged an extraordinary transitory and in many ways extraterritorial community of the stateless. Jewish DP life in occupied Germany encompassed simultaneously a final efflorescence of a destroyed East European Jewish culture, a preparation for an imagined future in a Jewish national homeland, *Eretz Israel*, which stood in many ways for any place where survivors would be safe and amongst themselves, and a “waiting room” in which new lives did -

- against all odds – begin.

Whether within the protected gates of refugee camps or outside, in German villages and cities, the DP communities in occupied Germany gave the overwhelmingly young Jewish survivors time to recover physically, re-establish contact with or (more likely) mourn lost family members, build a lively and contentious autonomous political and cultural life – conducted mostly in Yiddish – with political parties, theaters, literature, and newspapers, and in some cases to learn a trade or even attend university. DPs developed schools and theater troupes and sports competitions (especially soccer and boxing), a fractious political party life (including all varieties of Zionism as well as Bundists), religious culture (divided among the orthodox, Chassidic, and secular or simply traditionally observant) that organized holiday celebrations and mourning rituals, Zionist youth movements with their own Kibbutzim and Hachscharot (agricultural settlements), and even an internal police force to control crimes ranging from major black market offenses to sanitary violations. They established an autonomous form of transitional justice, in DP Honor Courts (*Ehrengerichte*) that adjudicated – beyond the reach of either German or Allied law – acts of collaboration or “treason” against the Jewish people during the war or more current everyday violations such as theft or (overly

obvious) relationships with German women. This internal bureaucracy, under the auspices of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American zone (which even boasted its own Public Relations Department, appropriately given only an English name), was officially recognized by occupiers in a ceremony at U.S. Headquarters in the IG Farben Haus in Frankfurt in September 1947 and headquartered in Munich, the former *Hauptstadt der Bewegung*, now the *Hauptstadt of DP Land*.

Virtually immediately, DPs constructed memorials (all of them long gone), published eyewitness accounts, set up exhibits, created Historical Commissions, centered in Munich, which gathered about 3500 testimonies and over 1000 photographs documenting wartime experience in Nazi-occupied Europe. Jewish DPs publicly identified as survivors of Nazi extermination plans, even if, as was the case for many of them, they had escaped because they had landed, either by choice or by force, in the Soviet Union; the Commissions gathered very few testimonies about the more numerous cases of survival in the Soviet Union. In a very direct sense, therefore, these acts of collection and memory represented the beginning of what would become Holocaust Studies and historiography.

DPs also became agents in the broader landscape of postwar retribution, revenge, and justice, ranging from the internal courts to extra-legal acts of

revenge and Nazi-hunting, as well as intensive mostly “behind the scenes” involvement, as prosecutors, interrogators, interpreters, journalists, psychologists, and witnesses in Allied war crimes trials. From the beginning, campaigns for material restitution and cultural reconstruction, efforts to rescue and reclaim the material remnant of European Jewry, in the form of property, books and ritual objects as well as calls for monetary compensation were on the agenda. At the same time, the frustrations of stateless refugee existence also promoted a Zionist consciousness that served to give Jews a sense of agency and hope for the future regardless of their eventual destination. They committed to Zionism and Jewish identity (even if they were not religious and did not go to Palestine/Israel or left again after having gone). For many, Palestine surely was, as one U.S. reporter astutely observed, “a kind of magic word...which means not so much Palestine as some never-never Utopia of which they dream. It might be anywhere they could live freely,” the dream of a home where they would be peaceful, safe, and above all amongst themselves.

Finally – and importantly – shadowed by a traumatic recent past and under the most “abnormal of circumstances” survivors began to construct a kind of quotidian “normality.” Rapid marriage and childbirth led to the formation of new families but, paradoxically perhaps, “normality” was also

practiced through the fraught yet frequent negotiation of encounters, both confrontational and harmonious, with defeated Germans

Inevitably, images of apparently healthy young DPs parading their babies in prams or showing off their muscles on the soccer field obfuscate as well as make visible; they efface the pain and scars carried by tough bodies and smiling young parents. But they suggest two main points: There are specific notions of masculinity and femininity and fitness that underline the attempted “return to life” and to “normality.” Moreover, whether expressed in demonstrations for open emigration to Palestine, Hebrew language training, or in the stars of David emblazoned on those soccer uniforms, Zionism, with its radically anti-nostalgic, anti-sentimental vision of a future in Palestine played an absolutely crucial role in providing a sense of agency and possible “normality.”

Arguably, the many quick marriages and the “baby boom” they produced were the most important signs of this drive for “normality” after trauma and under clearly “abnormal” conditions. DPs married, sometimes within days, neighbors in the next barrack or distant kin or acquaintances from what had once been home. Many of the newlyweds barely knew one another; there were “so many marriages, sometimes really strange marriages that never would have happened before the war.” “Hitler married us,” many

remembered with sad irony. The many DP camp wedding photos speak to the ambivalence of these ceremonies; they are shadowed by absence, generally portraying only one young age group with parents and grandparents and younger children missing.

A group portrait of several mothers showing off their newborns in the Elisabeth Hospital in Feldafing or a photograph of a nun-midwife cradling a Jewish newborn suggests both the entanglement with German society and the consciously collective understanding of this baby boom. Some observers estimated the 1947 Jewish birth rate at an incredible 50.2/1000, ostensibly among the highest in the world in that postwar moment.

Survival on the Margins: The Soviet Story

At the same time, with the new arrivals from Poland, some families or parts of families, which had survived in the Soviet Union, came into a world of young single survivors of what had once been large families. A photo from a private album archived in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, depicting an exhausted mother nursing a baby while sitting next to her own father, is markedly different from the more common images of proud mothers with their babies. Both in its representation of a multi-generation unit and its clear exposure of the trauma of multiple losses and escapes, it suggests what is not visible on most other photos. Indeed, by late

summer 1946, most Jewish DPs were not “direct survivors” but had escaped extermination by an ironic twist of fate: deportation into the far reaches of the unoccupied Soviet Union.

It is yet another irony of DP history (the first being the fact that survivors sought safety on – albeit American-occupied – “blood-stained cursed German soil”) that Stalin’s Soviet Union also proved to be a crucial if difficult haven for East European Jewry. Some had fled the advancing *Wehrmacht* into those parts of Poland that had become Soviet after the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939 and had then, now labeled suspect foreigners from a German-occupied Poland, been deported in 1940 into the Russian interior. Others, local Jews already living in newly Sovietized parts of eastern Poland, were deported as “capitalists” or other “undesirable” elements, first into labor camps or “special settlements” in Siberia, Kazakhstan, or other remote areas, or later after the German invasion in June 1941, simply as part of general wartime evacuation of Soviet civilians, including c. 1.2 million Soviet Jews, away from the front. By this twist of history, “Stalin ended up saving Polish Jews from the death camps of the Nazi occupiers who attacked Russia in July of 1941.”

With the onset of war between Germany and the Soviet Union in summer 1941, an “amnesty” pact between Stalin and the Polish government

in exile in London led to the release of the deportees, which in turn led to a “chaotic and disorganized” rush south to warmer, even more distant sites in Kazakhstan and the central Asian republics -- Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan -- following “[distorted] rumors of warm climates and abundance of fruits and other food products”. Instead the emaciated Polish and Polish Jewish survivors of Soviet camps were greeted by typhus, malaria, overcrowding, and hunger in a completely unfamiliar alien and exotic environment.

This is an extremely complicated and compelling story, which I cannot detail here. It must be stressed, however, that Polish Jews who had eventually survived in predominantly Muslim Central Asia constituted the largest if not the most visible (or remembered) core of the *She'erith Hapleta*. Statistics are vague and problematic. In 1942 the JDC estimated that there were some 2 million Poles of whom 600,000 were Jews in remote communities in Siberia and Central Asia; most sources agree that perhaps 200-250,000 Jews, out of a total of about 330,000 survivors (c. 10% of the prewar population of c. 3.3. million) were repatriated to Poland after the war, of whom many, c. 200,000, quickly fled again. Up to 80 % of Polish Jewry that did survive did so in the Soviet Union, a momentous fact that has still not been integrated into our understanding of Holocaust history or memory.

Political and ideological factors, most importantly the pressures of the Cold War and the dominance of a narrative that subsumed all Jewish DPs under the rubric of the *She'erith Hapleta*, have shaped and distorted history and memory. An overarching and undifferentiated story of “the” Holocaust, its victims and survivors, has effaced the role of the Soviet Union as the site where – with substantial financial and material support organized out of the Lend Lease capital Teheran by Jewish aid organizations, -- the great majority of Jewish DPs had in fact survived the war, as well as the great differences of wartime experience among and within the *She'erith Hapleta*.

Repatriated to Poland after the defeat of Nazi Germany, many Jews fled again from the “vast graveyard” and renewed anti-Semitism they faced in postwar Poland via the semi-clandestine Zionist underground railway *Brichah* (flight). Once settled in the American zone they become the DPs whose story historians like Michael Brenner, myself, and numerous others picked up, without however examining how and where they had in fact survived.

Close Encounters

As DPs in occupied Germany, surviving Jews, whether they had emerged from the Soviet Union via Poland, or from Nazi camps and ghettos, hiding and partisan units, found themselves in a dual world; living

within the extraterritorial community of fellow Jewish DPs they were also continually pressed into “close encounters” with Germans and Allies.

After the catastrophe of the “Final Solution” Jewish babies were precious, and they were carefully monitored; it was (again ironically) deep concern for their well-being that led to some of the most unexpected and intimate, both commonplace and complicated, encounters between Jews and Germans. As the slogan on camp posters, „Gesund durch Zojberkeit“ suggests, DP leaders, camp administrators and relief workers mobilized all the principles of modern social and preventive medicine -- from immunization and cleanliness campaigns to home visits by nurses and hygiene lectures in clinics and schools -- to assure not only the survival but the good health of the next generation as well as general hygiene and order in the camps. Using a pervasive rhetoric of duty and obligation, Feldafing camp authorities appealed to residents to “combine the practical with the useful.” If they volunteered for four consecutive days of picking up dirt, paper, and rags during the “cleanliness week” of a Spring “cleaning action” they would be compensated with ten cigarettes a day -- an excellent black market resource. One response to this pressure for order and cleanliness was to turn the tables and petition the camp officials for German employees to help maintain the rather unrealistic standards DP administrations were trying

to enforce.

Jews, for whom survival during the war (where ever they were) had so often depended on their ability to work (*Arbeitsfähigkeit*), could now use their very lack of that ability as a lever for gaining German assistance and labor power. Whether they resided within the camps or outside in German towns and villages – and by 1947/8, almost 25% were living outside the both protective and confining camp gates -- DPs demanded that Germans be hired to help them perform their daily chores and meet the incessant demands by camp administrators for levels of hygiene and cleanliness, set unreasonably high for a refugee population housed in overcrowded and temporary quarters. If you want us to be so tidy, the message often seemed to be, send us some Germans -- the generally acknowledged cleanliness mavens -- to clean up after us. The head of the Feldafing tailor shop coolly informed the Camp Sanitation Department that since his workshop had been deemed too messy, he had engaged an elderly German woman so (*sie soll sauber halten*).

Local German women, hired, paid for, and regulated by camp welfare authorities, cared for the precious new offspring of the Jewish DP baby boom, did the DPs' laundry, and cleaned Jewish homes and barracks, (thereby also providing opportunities for sexual and romantic encounters).

German doctors wrote the medical affidavits (*Atteste*) certifying that Jewish women needed help with babies and housework. Germans entered DP camps daily, as baby nurses, cleaning women and men, skilled workers such as plumbers and mechanics, tradesmen, and teachers, clerical workers, and doctors. The many requests submitted to DP camps authorities for German baby nurses, to help exhausted, lonely, sick, and very young and lonely parents, reflect a jumbled mixture of need and entitlement: “As you surely know, I am busy all day as a building manager so that my wife is totally alone and since she has not a clue (*keine Ahnung*) about childcare, I need ...help,” one Feldafing resident wrote to camp officials.

Trade in food also provided not only an occasion for resentment and conflicts over entitlements, but also a crucial site for negotiations among Jews and Germans: about revenge, guilt, and benefits, and about how to co-exist in the post-Nazi present. Ita Muskal for example, recalled with some pride how at age 18, as a young refugee from Rumania, she became a “businesslady” and a bit of a “big shot” as a Feldafing DP camp “black marketer.” Decades later, she still vividly remembered the deep satisfaction of walking the two and half miles to a nearby village café with her cash and ordering a German pastry, just like the “businesslady” she was; or the defiant pleasure of going to the German grocer, ordering bread, salami, and

buttermilk, and insisting on real Swiss cheese. The grocer, wanted to sell her a lesser smelly soft cheese, (*Schmierkaese*) but Ita would have none of it. “Too expensive,” he told her, but Ita said no, “I have money and ration cards, I want the cheese with the holes.” And then she treated herself to the short train ride home, munching her cheese on the way. Ita sometimes took her wares all the way to Munich, where she pocketed real dollars from the storekeepers. Hard currency bought her further luxuries such as a dress or a \$10.00 pair of shoes crafted by expert DP cobblers and tailors. Armed with a picture from an illustrated magazine, she could take her dollars to the shoemaker and get the shoes she wanted, just like those pictured in the German paper. And sometimes she travelled into Munich with her husband Sam and played the “big shot.” They went out, to the theater or circus, even to a real restaurant to eat the *Liverwurst* that she loved.

On both sides, it seems, and in what I think of as a strange dance of distance and intimacy, the immediate larger past, while its shadow was always hovering, was silenced in favor of an explicitly temporary – and this key -- but mutually advantageous interaction. I’ve used the term “productive forgetting” as way of understanding these encounters but another perhaps better description would be strategic forgetting.

Of course there were also violent confrontations, some of them

murderous between Germans and Jews. Antisemitism, still very much present, was contained, especially in these early years, by the reluctant but undeniably protective presence of the Americans. Tensions became more visible starting in 1946 as the large wave of Jewish “infiltrates,” entered Germany from Poland – almost always as I have indicated into the American occupied areas (which is why I am not discussing the other zones in this paper), in some cases overwhelming small postwar German towns, themselves dealing with the losses of war and the arrival of bedraggled ethnic German refugees and expellees from the Soviet occupied East.

The point is: so many of these encounters, both hateful and cooperative, have been shelved and forgotten, deemed insignificant and discomforting, by both Jews and Germans. We have only masses of sources and yet much of our knowledge remains partial and fragmented, fitting only uneasily into the collective memory of both Jews and Germans, much of it absent from the written secondary history. If we read archival files, memoirs, and oral histories carefully – often against the grain of received memory -- we can, however, tease out a sense of those relationships. Clearly, the possibilities for close encounters, for both revenge and especially co-existence among Jews and Germans, among individuals from the collective of victims and of perpetrators, were facilitated by the fact that

the situation was defined by all – Jews, Germans, and Allies -- as “abnormal” and “transient.” Moreover, for many Jewish DPs, their most recent experiences of persecution (as well as assistance) had been at the hands of Poles and Soviets, not Germans. Very quickly, enemies changed, with the British who kept the doors to Palestine firmly closed becoming, as emblazoned on the banners of DP demonstrations marching through German towns, the official villains, the “hangmen” threatening the Jewish future. Hamans who had been dressed up as Hitler for the first postwar Purim morphed into British Foreign Secretary Ernst Bevin by the second.

My main point in these comments: So much of everyday life and political discourse, in the years immediately after the war and Holocaust was conceptualized and negotiated in the encounters and interactions among Germans and Jews -- both the tiny remnant of German Jews and the larger group of DPs -- who were actually physically present, not only in guilty memory or finger-pointing allied denazification programs, but in the German landscape, on the streets of German towns and cities.

Over time, almost 25% of DP Jews became “free-livers’ living amongst German neighbors in German towns and cities. Over 500-700 young DPs attended German universities, especially in technical fields like medicine, dentistry, or engineering. With their tuition paid for by German state

restitution funds and their food rations provided by the DP camps, these young men and women were happy to finally pursue their education and use their student IDs for cheap entry to Munich, Frankfurt, or Berlin's cultural attractions. Arnold Kerr, a young survivor, remembered. "I couldn't care less...I wanted to get an education, even if I was going to get it from the devil."

Jews and Germans met in the village cafés, bars, and cheap dancehalls run by Jewish DPs, sometimes on the soccer field and at boxing matches, and of course in the thriving bazaars of the black market. The thriving Yiddish language press relied on the equipment, facilities, and skills of German printers. German farmers sold their cows and equipment to young Jewish DPs preparing for *Aliyah* to Palestine on *Kibbutzim* and *Hachscharot*. Some 20% of these settlements had German managers, farmhands, and agricultural instructors. Kerr also reflected on what was perhaps the most troubling aspect of the Jewish German encounter right after war and *Shoah*; sexual and romantic encounters, and by extension, approximately 1000 marriages, mostly between Jewish men and German women up until 1950. There was, he noted, perhaps some added satisfaction in the knowledge that they were engaging in a bit of "*Rassenschande*," that "Hitler would not have agreed with it, he had other things in mind for me."

End of the DP Era.

After the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, the formation of a semi-sovereign Federal Republic in West Germany, and the easing of U.S. immigration regulations in 1948 and then more fully in 1950, most Jewish DPs left Germany to build new lives elsewhere. Somewhere between 100-140,000 departed for Israel. 70-100,000 to the United States; others settled in Canada, Australia, South America, and elsewhere in Europe to build their *Leben aufs neu*. Some 30,000 Jews, the “hard core” who could not or would not leave (last DP camp, Föhrenwald, only closed in February 1957) remained in Germany, and became, together with a smaller group of German Jews, more visible in the former British zone, the nucleus of the Jewish community in the postwar Federal Republic. Now in a united post 1990 Germany, the Jewish community has been transformed by another influx from the East, from the former Soviet Union, and the future of Jewish identity and life within Germany, Europe, and new transnational networks is still contested and subject to continual re-negotiation.

Atina Grossmann, New York/Berlin, 2015

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